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Utilitizing and Moving Beyond a Constructionist Approach To Trace the Emergence of Racial and Ethnic Identities Among Pre-Mexican, Mexican and Americans of Mexican Descent

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UTILITIZING AND MOVING BEYOND A CONSTRUCTIONIST APPROACH TO
TRACE THE EMERGENCE OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITIES AMONG
PRE-MEXICANS, MEXICANS AND AMERICANS OF MEXICAN DESCENT

by

Owen Williamson

A thesis submitted to the faculty of

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science

Department of Sociology

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

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Cornell and Hartmann (2007) developed a constructionist framework that can describe the development of racial and ethnic identities. Yet this framework has greater utility than its authors have intended as it also provides the best rubric to date for comprehending the transitions between collective identity group types. This study engages in a thorough investigation of the development of racial and ethnic identities within the context of those that precede it via an ethnohistorical analysis. It also demonstrates that this framework is capable of describing pre-modern religious and national identity types in addition to racial

and ethnic identity types. This permits it to demonstrate that this framework can also be utilized in the analysis of identities and identity types in the pre-modern era, in addition to the modern examples that Cornell and Hartmann have used. To this end Weber's concept of the ideal type is used to support the examination of identity transitions among pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent in the ethnohistorical analysis. This methodological approach is in accordance with Romano's (1968) indication that the most effective way of understanding the way that Mexican persons define themselves is through a historical and not a sociological investigation. This investigation encapsulates the transition from pre-modern religious identities in the Iberian Peninsula, to the appearance of racial and national identities in the Viceroyalty of New Spain and the Mexican Republic. It examines a second racialization of those that lived within the northern Mexican provinces as Mexicans in the newly conquered Southwestern United States come into contact with the dominant white majority of the United States. The ethnohistorical analysis concludes with a description of the emergence of four distinct identity types among Americans of Mexican descent, each a means to combat the normative discrimination they faced.

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1 Introduction

Delanty and Isin (2003) state that the classical works of historical sociology by Marx and Weber were completed during times of social upheaval and change. Just as the onset of the industrial revolution radically transformed Western Europe's social milieu (Hobsbawm & Wrigley, 1999), so globalization is transforming the institutions and constructs of the enlightenment (Friedman, 2000). The transformation from pre-modern societal forms to those of our own post modern societies has also altered the way that we relate to each other in the intersubjective space (Crossley, 1996). This is true of interactions between individuals and between an individual and the groups that they belong to. These changing relations (the enlightenment and globalization) have produced a variety of new types of group-based identities that replace those that existed prior to these changes. The identity groups that we belong to have a powerful influence on how we relate to the social world around us. Consequently, the genesis of these groups, the way they evolve and are maintained and, in some instances, the way identities fade from use and salience have been the focus of a great deal of study by social researchers.

What has not been studied is the historical transition between types of identity groups, though the genesis of types, specifically race has been examined (Puzzo, 1964; Gomez, 2007; Smedley, 2007). Furthermore, research into these subject areas has mainly been divided into two camps for the last four decades. Those that emphasize the subjective or primordial

elements of these identities and those who find that objective or circumstantialist accounts provide a more accurate description of their development. The primordialist camp is particularly ill suited to the study of transitions between identity types, given the longevity that its adherents ascribe to ethnic or national groups. Circumstantialist accounts, on the other hand, are by their nature more interested in determining the causes for the emergence of a particular ethnic or national group, but are limited by their focus on the objective. This prevents such theories from being able to examine more closely the motives of key individuals and those that followed their lead, which can be the result of careful logic or can be constrained by emotive attachments and/or cultural praxis. When examining these various historical types of identity group it is apparent that the identities of their members shift in response to changes in circumstances. Yet the way they react to those circumstances is shaped by their own subjective interpretation of events or situations. The constructionist approach of Cornell and Hartmann (2007) reconciles these observations, drawing upon both the subjective, internal group factors and objective, contextual elements of our social milieu to integrate portions of these theoretical approaches. It does so by offering a useful framework for understanding the complexities of ethnic and racial identity formation.

1.1 Research Questions

Examining the identity formation processes of Pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent provides an opportunity to demonstrate the usefulness of Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework by describing not only identity type transitions but transitions from dominance to subjugation both within and between identity groups.

Jacoby (2004) asserts that more contemporary immigrants and children of immigrants challenge the American ideology of assimilation. While this study will not engage itself in the contemporary immigration debate, it does recognize that the study of a series of historically connected groups that have engaged in conquest, been conquered and has been racialized twice would be of great benefit to a debate on group assimilation processes.

Historical data¹ will be used to provide insight into transitions from a variety of groups holding pre-modern collective identity group types to those national and ethnic identities that characterize this heterogeneous group. This investigation will begin with their roots in medieval Europe and continue through the development of Mexican society and culture and the forced integration of a segment of the population into the United States. It will then focus on paradigmatic shifts that have taken place in the identities of Americans of Mexican descent in relation to continual immigration from Mexico. The discussion will end with the 1980s, to avoid entering the contemporary immigration debate too deeply and becoming lost in the size of that issue of national concern.

Before moving on to a discussion of the import of this study or the theoretical concepts it relies upon, it is important to clarify the terms used in the study. Those who currently possess identities of interest to this study are persons of Mexican origin including US citizens and immigrants who belong to minorities in this country. To describe those of Mexican heritage who are citizens and did not themselves migrate to the US, the phrase American of Mexican descent will be used. When referring to pre-Colombians and those

¹ A discussion of the sources used in this study is located in the research methods chapter.

persons whose familial heritage in the US predates the arrival of the first European explorers, the terms indigenous or native peoples will be used.

A brief terminological discussion must take place before we can proceed, one that focuses on race and ethnicity, given that they are the focus of Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework. Garcia (2007) states that most objections to the use of the term race are based on the lack of a biological basis for racial categorization or on the contradictory systems of racial classification that exist throughout the world. Cornell and Hartmann (2007) state that race is "a human group defined by itself or others as distinct by virtue of perceived common physical characteristics that are held to be inherent" (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007, p25). While their definition is in agreement with the aforementioned objections discussed by Garcia (2007), they are quick to demonstrate that the term has utility because of its social meaning throughout a long period of history. Ethnicity, according to Cornell and Hartmann is a far more complex matter than is race. Cornell and Hartmann draw on Schermerhorn's (1978) definition of ethnicity, which will be used in this study. It states that ethnicity is:

A collectivity within a larger society having a real or putative common ancestry, memories of a shared historical past, and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood. (Schermerhorn, 1978, p12)

1.2 Importance of the Study

This study differs from others that examine the history of pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent in a number of ways and from those specifically used as

source material for this ethnohistory. The most important way that the study varies from others is that it asserts that Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework possesses the ability to assist in the explication of types of collective identity groups other than just the racial and ethnic types that it was designed for. Related to this is the way in which the study differs from those it uses as sources for the analysis in the types of identities it examines, in that its focus is identity types and transitions between them. While some authors of the source materials used by this study touch on issues of identity (Rodríguez, 1997; Álvarez Junco, 2002; Telles and Ortiz, 2008) they do not possess the historical scope of other sources (Wolf, 1982; Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera, 1993). These latter sources do not attempt the degree of analysis, or focus that analysis on identity issues, found in the former. This study bridges this gap in the literature. A more specific element that differentiates this study from its source are the number of identities it examines, the scope of history investigated, its use of a combination of historical and sociological methods and in the lack of a guiding ideology. The latter can at times lead to conclusions that do not agree with a broader examination of the context surrounding the object(s) of examination, such as combining groups in ways that ignore the differences between them (Weber, 2003). This section will investigate each of these in turn.

This study is primarily a demonstration that Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework has a far greater utility than its creators supposed. Specifically, I will examine the degree to which this framework, while optimally configured for the examination of racial and ethnic identities, can assist in understanding the emergence of race, nationality and ethnicity from within the context of the identity types that preceded them. While some studies examine

the inception of racial collective identity groups (Puzzo, 1964; Lopez, 1996; Gomez, 2007;² Smedley, 2007) and ethnic collective identity groups (Hutchison & Smith, 1996; Smith, 2004; Weber, 1968), they tend to focus on one collective identity group type, rather than seek to understand the context of preexisting identities from which it emerged. This provides the first important contribution that this study hopes to make to the sociological development of Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework.

The second sociological contribution is a widening of the historical scope in which Cornell and Hartmann (2007) describe their framework. In their presentation a great variety of contemporary examples are presented from racial and ethnic groups all around the world. Missing from their presentation are examples from a larger variety of groups from different time periods. This study asserts that Cornell and Hartmann's framework can be utilized in the examination of pre-modern religious, national, racial and ethnic identities. This necessarily indicates that this framework should be able to examine both pre-modern and modern identities. This will enhance its ability to describe the development of racial, national and ethnic identities from the context of preexisting identities that include a pre-modern religious identity type.

Related to the investigation of the genesis of racial, national and ethnic identity types among pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent - is the number of group identities that this study examines. Some of the studies that the historical analysis draws upon, such as Sanchez (1993) García (1997) and Gomez (2007), focus on a single group with great intensity. These studies, and those that examine a larger number of group identities,

² Of these studies examining the emergence of race and ethnicity only Gomez (2007) does so in relation to the Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, though she does not add pre-Mexicans to this treatment.

present a wealth of detail on the nature of a group and to varying degrees the identity that they possess. This does, however, limit the ability of these works to examine the genesis of identity, as the contextual nature of the group identities that they emerged from is missing or underdeveloped.

The sources used in this study that examine more than one group in detail include Wolf (1982), Hall (1989), Meier and Ribera (1993), Constable (1997) Rodríguez (1997), MacLachlan and Beezley (1999), Weber (1992; 2003), Ruiz (2004), De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006), Levy (2008) and Telles and Ortiz (2008). As mentioned above, the degree to which these authors deal with identity varies, though it is often minimal. Only the work by Wolf (1982), Hall (1989) and Meier and Ribera (1993) examine a similarly large number of groups. Wolf (1982) and Hall (1989) both cover a larger period of history than this study, and Hall examines Mesoamerican groups in detail, but their focus is not on group identities but on the interactions of the groups they discuss on a political and economic level. Meier and Ribera give more attention to identity, though they cover a more limited history than Wolf or Hall. Like Hall and unlike this study, however, they give more attention to indigenous groups. This is due to the emphasis that their study takes from their *Chicano* ideological focus. This leads them to equate the history of pre-Colombian groups with that of Americans of Mexican descent, a fault that Weber (2003) takes particular issue with.

This study, in order to avoid Weber's (2003) complaint, relates historical data to contemporary research in a manner that is sensitive to the historical period of the individuals and groups it discusses. Often when scholars are examining the past they overlay contemporary concerns and issues on the peoples they study. This occurs when the similarities between contemporary situations and historical events are taken to indicate that

the ideologies of our own age are present in the prior era under examination. An excellent example of this is found in Mendieta's (2000) discussion of inter-group tensions in the Iberian Peninsula. His first mistake is to project Spanish national identities on pre-Spanish peoples when the nation of Spain³ had not yet been formed (Álvarez Junco, 2002). He further compounds this error by describing racial tensions during the feudal era. To be more precise, he describes conflict between Christians and Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula in addition to discrimination leveled at Jewish persons primarily by the Catholics as racial conflicts.

Characterizing individuals belonging to these three groups as viewing each other in racial terms is problematic for a number of reasons. The first of these is that race refers to an absolute otherness that is biologically inherited and so cannot be discharged by individuals so long as they remain within the social region that uses the classification. Such a fixed identity is not what is present in the region and time period that Mendieta discusses. While it is unlikely that many individuals would convert to the faith of one of the others, such a scenario is certainly in the realm of the possible. Mendieta's error is further compounded when we note that the Moors were present in the Iberian Peninsula at the time of his discussion (pre-1492),⁴ and colonization did not occur within Europe until after this time. Discussions of the development of race as a means of social organization generally assign some connection to the slave trade that emerged under colonialism (Blackburn, 1997; Smedley, 2007).

³ The discussion of the conditions in the Iberian Peninsula at the time of the conquest of the New World, which appears in the first history section, plainly describes a feudal and not a modern society according to Wolf's (1982) criteria. Anderson's (1991) commonly accepted assertion that nations are essentially modern constructions further problematizes Mendieta's (2000) terminological impropriety.

⁴ The Muslims were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula in the main by 1300 AD, though they were able to maintain a presence in the extreme south in the present Costa del Sol with the kingdom of Granada. This was finally surrendered to the armies of a united Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492 (Coppée, 2002).

In order to ensure that this study will be as historically accurate as is feasible, Weber's (2003) critique of Chicano investigation into their own history must be discussed. He makes the complaint that too often Chicano writers confuse the history of Mexican persons and the group as a whole with that of indigenous groups. He singles out Alurista (1969) as being particularly prone to confuse pre-Colombian Aztec history with Mexican history. In light of Weber's (2003) critique, it seems that Meier & Ribera's (1993) *Chicano* history will have to be carefully screened against the four ideal types proposed in this study to ensure that this study also does not draw ideologically-based conclusions. Weber (2003) takes pains to indicate that Mexican history is not to be confused with the history of the native peoples of Central America and the Southwest of the United States. He agrees that a number of these groups were friendly to the citizens of the Viceroyalty of New Spain and later of Mexico, such as the Tlascalans and certain of the Pueblo peoples. Other indigenous groups, such as the Apache and Comanche were so hostile that they effectively inhibited Mexican expansion in the Southwest. It is for this reason that this study refers to pre-Mexican peoples, those the groups, who, in the process of time, would become part of the Republic of Mexico and possess (at least officially) a Mexican nationality.

Given that the groups that are the focus of this study fall into three categories - pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent, this study also finds import in following in the footsteps of the noted Chicano scholar Octavio Romano (1968). Romano, like other Chicano scholars was disappointed with the way that social science research on Americans of Mexican descent was littered with stereotype and prejudice. One of the themes that emerged from his work was a suggestion that the best way to improve our understanding of the ways that Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent define themselves may be

through historical discussion rather than social analysis. While this study is interested in performing sociological analysis, it is doing so via an extensive reading of the history of pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent. It is hoped that the material presented will contribute to a growing body of literature by non-Mexican persons (Hall, 1989; MacLachlan & Beezley 1999; Weber, 2003) that supports their proper representation in social science literature. While it is hoped that this study will make a contribution to the investigation of the identities and self-definition of Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent, the primary aim of this study remains the investigation of the analytic utility of Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework.

In that light it should be mentioned that this study intends to present the material in the ethnohistory in a way sensitive to both the fluidity of Mexican identity in the region once known as greater Mexico and the debate in the field of history over the impact of colonialism and immigration on 20th and 21st century Mexican identities in the United States (Sanchez, 1993). Sanchez' discussion of fluidity is a reference to the comfort that many Americans of Mexican descent and Mexican immigrants feel in moving between a pride in their Mexican heritage and pride in their American heritage. This flexibility that makes any discussion of the identities of Americans of Mexican descent rather complex. The debate within the field of history concerning the prime cause of Mexican identity formation in the US is focused on those who favor colonialism and those that feel that immigration is the key to comprehending Mexican identity formation during the 20th and 21st centuries. Without delving too deeply into that debate, it appears that the immigration camp is more accurate in describing Mexican identity development within the time and space that the debate concerns itself within. That

said, this study focuses on that time period and the colonial period, which will be reflected in the layout of the ethnohistorical narrative.

1.3 Organization

This investigation has a number of complex tasks and will be organized as follows. All of the theoretical elements necessary for the sociological basis of this study will be presented after this introduction. It will deal with the precursors of Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework that have some impact and bearing on the ethnohistorical analysis. It will then present Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework, with a number of supporting concepts from the work of other scholars. The secondary and limited primary data to which these concepts are applied will be presented as an ethnohistory, defined as a qualitatively focused historical study of a specific group. In this instance a number of pre-modern, racial, national and ethnic groups are investigated as they interact and as the identities and character of groups transform.

There are limitations imposed upon this study by the use of data in this form, and Levi-Strauss's caveat on the subject of historical and ethnographic research which means to describe societies and cultures not our own is pertinent to the present venture:

The best ethnographic study will never make the reader a native... All that the historian or ethnographer can do, and all that we can expect of them, is to enlarge a specific experience to the dimensions of a more general one (Levi-Strauss, 1963, pp 16-17).

Levi-Strauss's statement indicates that when dealing with material concerning a culture far removed from one's own, as this study is attempting to do, there is a limit to what can be reasonably expected by author and reader. Both must realize that such an analysis of historical data will always be carried out with some degree of bias, or rather a lack of immersion in the cultures being described. This will affect the analysis in ways that cannot be predicted nor accounted for. That the historical data are, in the main, secondary further limits the study as it is dependent on the scholarly product of other researchers who may have overlooked or considered unimportant material that would have been of vital import to this study. This is perhaps more problematic, but can be overcome to some degree by extending the scope of the historical literature reviewed and ensuring that each author's aims, both scholastic and political are understood. The final problem with historical data is that which is omitted from the historical record entirely, specifically that there are many events that go unrecorded. There is no way to overcome this issue, indeed the degree to which it affects this study can not even be ascertained.

To facilitate a sociological analysis, Max Weber's ideal type will be used to fully develop four collective identity group types. These ideal types have been qualitatively developed from the sources used for the ethnohistorical narrative. Each of these ideal types will be described in detail so that their key components of each will be made clear, as they will indicate the presence of a particular type of identity.

The historical data will then be presented in the analysis demonstrating the presence of the transition between pre-modern religious, national, racial and ethnic collective identity group types in the history of the pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent. It is beyond the scope of the present study to examine in detail the development,

maintenance and evolution of every aspect of each of the four identity types under scrutiny. Such a task would require volumes, so with regret this study will confine itself to demonstrating that elements of the ideal types can be found within the historical record and that the elements of Cornell and Hartmann's framework can assist in generating an understanding of the transition between the types using that data.

The ethnohistorical analysis will be presented in three chapters (four through six). This will make it clear when the ethnohistorical narrative is focused on pre-modern or modern identities and colonially or immigration effected identity construction. Each chapter will be composed of three sections. In chapter four the first section will detail the pre-modern religious identities of the Iberian Peninsula and ways in which the dominant group, the Castilian-Aragonese interacted with minorities to prepare a ground work for the second section in which they engage in racialization. That section will examine the way in which the events and meaning involved in the conquest of the New World and the development of the Viceroyalty of New Spain affected the interaction of the *Peninsular* elite with native groups (Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera, 1993, Díaz Balsera, 2005; Levy, 2008) which led to the development of racial identities. The third section of chapter four will focus on the development of national identities as the Republic of Mexico comes into being and its government sought to generate unity among a very disparate group of peoples (McFarlane, 1997; MacLachlan & Beezley, 1999).

The chapter five will be modern and colonial in character and shifts its focus from Mexican identity to introduce the dominant white majority of the United States in the first section. Both nativist (Huntington, 1981; 2004a; 2004b; Gordon, 1961; 1964) and more objective accounts (Pratt, 1927; Waters, 1990; Frankenberg, 1993; Lopez, 1996; Doane,

1997; Hartigan, 1997; de Tocqueville; 2000, Brown et al, 2003) of the development of this racial group will be presented. An understanding of the white majority is important when investigating the difficulties faced by Mexicans in the US after the Treaty of Guadalupe, which have continued beyond the chronological scope of this study (Meier & Ribera, 1993; Weber, 2003; Gomez, 2007). The second section of this chapter will, therefore, describe the contextual conditions and internal group elements that influenced the reactions to those conditions of Mexicans post-conquest, while the last section of chapter five concentrates on the pro-assimilation Spanish-American racial identity, an asserted racial identity that sought to preserve meaningful elements of “Spanish” culture at the same time as attempting to structurally integrate into US society.

Chapter six is a complete shift from chapter four in that it focuses on modern identities whose development is driven by immigration. The first section will deal with the paradigm shift inherent in the Mexican-American nationally focused response to continued racial assignment identity occurred in the wake of the mass immigration from Mexico that started just prior to the 1910 Mexican Revolution (Sanchez, 1993). Section two will deal with the anti-assimilation, reactive *Chicano* identity that emerged in the 1960’s among intellectuals and working class Americans of Mexican descent. The realization that assimilation oriented identities had not diminished the racial prejudice faced by poor Americans of Mexican descent will be documented and the development of a new way of understanding and framing what is meaningful in an ethnic *Chicano* identity will be explored. The final section focuses on the emergence of pro-integration, pan-ethnic Latino/Hispanic identity, this approach to gaining greater acceptance in US society focuses its efforts on making gains for individuals from all Latin American groups and cultures.

2 Theoretical Framework

The constructionist framework of Cornell and Hartmann (2007) provides the most comprehensive account of the development of racial and ethnic identities across time. This is due to the way that it combines the subjective worldview of those who actually possess the identity of interest and the objective and, often contradictory, evidence to be found in historical accounts. Additional theoretical concepts relevant to this study will be discussed. These include population size-power relationships (Schermerhorn, 1978), voluntary and involuntary minorities (Ogbu & Simons, 1998), boundaries (Nagel, 1994), reactive identities (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001/2006), assimilation (Gordon, 1961; 1964) and integration. Also relevant is research on the white majority in the US (Lieberson, 1985; Waters, 1990; Doane, 1997; Hartigan, 1997) that plays a significant role in the context of group relations, primarily as a source of political, economic and cultural oppression (De Leon & Griswold del Castillo, 2006; Gómez, 1997; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Weber, 2003).

2.1 Precursors to a Constructionist Framework

The constructionist framework draws upon and reconciles two opposing approaches to the theoretical description of ethnicity: primordialism and circumstantialism. These theoretical camps arose, according to Cornell and Hartmann, out of dissatisfaction with the assumptions of the assimilation model that emerged in the work of Park (1934; Park & Burgess, 1921), Frank Boas (1940) and Gordon (1961; 1964). A discussion of assimilation will be of use in the case of Americans of Mexican descent, given that certain of their approaches to life in the US have focused on assimilation or rejecting assimilation (Sanchez,

1993; García, 1997; Rodríguez, 1998). Assimilation refers to the transition of individuals from one group to another. In the American context this has entailed racial minorities in and immigrants to the US becoming immersed in the narrative of the dominant white majority and, when assimilation occurs, forsaking their own culture (cultural assimilation). Lieberman (1961) refers to this form of ethnic stratification as indigenous superordination, where the peoples settled in a region are able to dictate to those entering it the culture they should possess and having the power to penalize those who do not comply. For the majority of the history of the assimilationist imperative, in the US at least, the roots of differentiation between groups are racial.

Yetman (1998) states that there are a number of forms that assimilation can take – the transmuting pot, the melting pot and pluralism. The transmuting pot refers to total loss of immigrant or minority culture as they seek to find acceptance and a place in the dominant indigenous society. The melting pot is far less demanding and indicates a willingness on the part of all of the groups sharing a geographic space to forsake their own culture as a new one emerges which encapsulates elements of all contributing groups. While the term melting pot has often been employed to describe the American experience, it has usually been the case that transmutation was required of the immigrants and minority groups. With the advent of ethnic enclaves (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; 2006) pluralism is becoming more apparent in the US, though it is not encouraged (Huntington, 2004a; 2004b).

Given the reality of the historic demand for transmutation (Huntington 2004a) a number of social scholars set out to describe the process. Milton Gordon's (1964) classic examination of the concept of assimilation notes that it has two types – behavioral and structural assimilation. Behavioral assimilation refers to the giving up of one's own cultural

values, beliefs, habits and language in order to acquire those of the mainstream or dominant social group. The most important aspect of behavioral assimilation is that, according to Gordon, it is the gateway to structural assimilation. Behavioral assimilation can make one more appealing to the members of the dominant or mainstream group, but it does not necessarily grant the privileges that membership entails. It is that privilege that is the usual goal of members of minority ethnic groups or immigrants, as structural assimilation refers to equal participation in residential and labor markets, as well as the privilege of full social participation in dominant group society. It is that social participation which allows Gordon to further break down the concept of structural assimilation into primary and secondary forms, with marital assimilation constituting a third sub-form.

By splitting the concept of structural assimilation Gordon (1964) is able to differentiate between the grudging acceptance that may place the behaviorally assimilated in employment, education, political groups or social groups usually the exclusive preserve of members of the dominant or mainstream group, and the forming of friendship and affective relationships with individuals of the dominant group that move within that exclusive preserve. A behaviorally assimilated individual, therefore, can achieve secondary structural assimilation and the grudging acceptance of their dominant peers, and still not be fully assimilated. To fully transmute oneself and lose one's previous culture, as well as the social networks that can still classify one as an outsider, assimilation into primary groups is required. Primary structural assimilation/ transmutation allows the individual to deepen their ties to the dominant group through marital assimilation. Marital assimilation should be differentiated from the term inter-ethnic marriage, as it implies full acceptance of the minority group member or immigrant, where inter-ethnic marriage does not.

While the reality of the expectation of assimilation on the part of many Americans (Huntington, 2004a) may make discussion of assimilation necessary, as a theory of ethnic and national identity group interaction it is quite unsatisfactory. The first major point is that it provides no indication of the origin or persistence of an ethnic or national identity group, only one route for its gradual decline. It assumes that there is no power differential between groups and further assumes that one group's culture is objectively more desirable than another. In the end, however, we find that assimilationist thought and research is rather unhelpful in explicating the origins, maintenance and decline of identity groups. To provide such an account for ethnic and national identity groups and avoid the assumptions of assimilationism, the primordialist and circumstantialist schools of thought emerged.

A primordialist explanation of ethnicity emerges from the work of Edward Shils (1957), Clifford Geertz (1963) and Harold Issacs (1975) and focuses on the attachments that bind the individuals within an ethnic group together. These can include the history and origins of the group as well as language and culture, so focusing on a more subjective account of ethnicity. The primordial theories developed by these thinkers have an unfortunate connection to sociobiological thinking. Geertz and Issacs in particular were accused of this, Geertz for proposing that ethnicity was a given and Issacs for connecting it to the body of the individual. More recently the connection between primordialism and sociobiology has been detached in order to preserve the subjective descriptive ability of primordialism.

An excellent example of this is found in the work of Anthony D. Smith (1987; 2004), one of the most prolific contemporary primordial theorists, who posits the existence of an ethne. Smith asserts that shared kinship, institutions, culture, language and social ties define the ethnic group and that these elements disappear into the undocumented past. Thus

primordialism is particularly effective when describing the ethnic assertions of various groups. However, given that the ethne relies upon reading back into history, it demonstrates an inclination to subjectivity. The notion that the ethnic group has been extant from time immemorial is highly problematic. It assumes that the ethne is relatively static and that it is the primary means of differentiating between oneself and the other through history. This allows for very little of the evolution of collective identity group types that this study discusses.⁵

A circumstantialist account of ethnicity and nationality, on the other hand, avoids the subjectivism of the primordialist explanation and instead focuses on the ethnic group or nation as the product of a set of social and historical circumstances; in so doing circumstantialism flirts with a social constructionist mode of understanding ethnicity (Abner Cohen, 1969; 1974; Glazer & Moynihan, 1970; Yetman, 1998). It also allowed social scientists more opportunity to study the development of ethnic identities and groups, as primordialism's focus on the ineffability of ethnicity (Geertz, 1963) precluded such study. Perhaps the best and most widely referenced example of a circumstantialist study of the development of such a group is found in Anderson's (1991) development of the concept of the imagined community. Anderson suggests that the circumstances attendant to the rise of modernity formed groups that shared meaning and identity across large geographic areas in ways that could not be achieved through social bonds forged through interpersonal interaction. This account and the theoretical tools that emerge from it provide the researcher a way to avoid the subjective reconstruction inherent in lay primordial accounts of ethnicity.

⁵ Just as Mendieta (2000) was described in the introduction to be guilty of projecting contemporary concepts back beyond their conception Smith seems to be doing the same with the concepts of ethnicity and nationality.

It allows the social scientist to objectively describe the manner in which an ethnic or national group emerges. However, Smith is correct when he states that circumstantialist accounts tell only half a story (Mortimer, 1999). Nagel (1994) goes further than this when she correctly asserts that a marriage of the most useful elements of both primordialism and circumstantialism is necessary for the proper description of ethnic identities, a conclusion that Cornell and Hartmann (2007) agree with.

2.2 Cornell and Hartmann's Framework

Cornell and Hartmann (2007) begin to construct their constructionist framework by making a distinction between an identity that is forced upon a group (assignment) by another more powerful group, typically the dominant racial or ethnic group, and an identity that is chosen (assertion) by a given racial or ethnic group for its own reasons. This possession of a racial or ethnic identity (and the presence of a multiplicity of other racial/ethnic identities) acts as a series of fault lines between groups or boundaries (Nagel, 1994). These boundaries are of interest to Cornell and Hartmann as a site of definition, a place to organize “Us” and “Them”/in-group members and the other. A number of authors (Padilla, 1985; 1986; Cornell, 1988; McBeth, 1989; Waters, 1991; Espiritu, 1992; Gimenez, Lopez and Munoz 1992) in addition to Cornell and Hartman (2007) point out that the meanings associated with these boundaries are not necessarily static.

As members of the in-group face members of different out-groups, for example an American of Mexican descent facing a Cuban, a Cuban-American, an African-American and a member of the dominant white majority would present different aspects or layers (McBeth,

1989) of their identity. In the presence of a Cuban an American of Mexican descent might present an American layer, with the Cuban-American perhaps a Latino layer, with the African-American a white layer might be presented and with a member of the dominant white majority a Mexican face might be presented. This would of course depend on the way that the individual from the out-group relates to the shared boundary.⁶ The nature of in-group/out-group interactions on this boundary can affect the meaning of these different aspects of an identity. Let us say that the American of Mexican descent from our previous example has little contact with African-Americans and only negative interactions with Anglo-Americans. This would surely have a serious impact on the meaning of whiteness for this individual. Further if our example was set on a 1960s college campus in California, any notion of whiteness may be particularly unpalatable, and the probable Mexican-American preexisting nationally oriented identity such an individual would likely poses might give way to a *Chicano* ethnic identity.

This is further complicated when we note that an individual may actually possess a variety of different identities, including racial, national and regional identities. Such a collection of salient identities is referred to as a nested identity (Calhoun, 1994; Brewer, 1991; Brewer & Gardner, 1996; Medrano & Gutiérrez, 2001). The theoretical discussion of this identity typically describes it as a number of identities, where one is nested within the rubric of another, not unlike like a Russian doll. Such an identity, for an individual that this study would be interested in could have a Mexican-American nationalist identity, as well as a

⁶ This degree of complication is precisely the sort of problem that Sanchez (1993) was alluding to as immigrants and their children attempt to navigate the complex ethnic structures that exist within the US. The degree of reflexivity (Giddens, 1984) involved in the negotiation of these multiple layers may be what is leading to the rise in identification hyphenated or pan-ethnic identities.

Latino/Hispanic pan-ethnic identity that allows the individual to feel an association or bond with non-Mexican Hispanic persons. All of this could be cocooned within an American national identity (separate to the Mexican-American nationally oriented identity), which has a salience of its own, particularly on days like the fourth of July or Thanksgiving. Sanchez (1993) describes individuals who have these apparently competing loyalties. Medrano and Gutiérrez, (2001) explain this apparent contradiction by stating that the component identities within a nested framework have differing degrees of salience. Such salience would account for apparent preferences between the identities. Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) inclusion of an examination of the boundaries between groups in the framework allows it to identify variations in salience between nested identities.

The boundary is a prime site of racial and ethnic group organization and has a powerful influence of identity salience. It is a site where group members are able to draw upon history, both real and perceived, as well as symbols to promote group unity and identify the other as demonstrated above. It is also the region within intersubjective space in which the impact of circumstance, as shaped by the worldview of interacting racial or ethnic groups, is felt. This element allows Cornell and Hartmann (2007) the opportunity to focus on the differences between dominant and minority racial or ethnic groups. Dominance refers to political, economic and cultural power that allows the dominant group the ability to reach across a boundary and force other groups to submit to the dominant group's ideology and the policies that flow from that ideology. The friction generated between racial or ethnic groups by dominance can lead individuals to invest more comprehensively in identity, which Cornell and Hartmann measure on a continuum of thick and thin polarities.

To possess a thick identity an individual must have a major portion of their life organized by their racial or ethnic identity; it must mean more to them than the occasional holiday. Thick racial or ethnic identities typically affect the way the family operates, whether the language spoken at home differs from the national language(s) and the way that the individual relates to the society and world around them. A thin racial or ethnic identity is one that an individual may be highly or loosely attached to (more likely the latter), but in either case organizes little of the individual's day to day existence. So when we note the presence of a thin identity it is most likely that there are other thicker/more salient identities that shape the world of a given individual.

Cornell and Hartmann organize this continuum of salience and daily experience of racial or ethnic identity by using the interests, institutions and culture that draw individuals and identity concepts together to form or maintain racial or ethnic groups. Interests draw individuals together within a given set of circumstances. Identities based on interests tend to be fragile and susceptible to collapse when the circumstances that formed the interest inevitably change. Institutions are more powerful than interests in the maintenance of racial or ethnic identities, as they tend to be more difficult to eradicate as societal change occurs. The institutions referred to are those that a particular racial or ethnic group creates to serve its interests, one that they appropriate for the same purpose or an institution that conforms to the ideals of the dominant group and a minority ethnic group suffers under. They also generate interactions among the members of a group as they utilize the services that formal institutions provide or enter into the relationships that characterize informal institutions; these interactions can generate further ties between the members of a racial or ethnic group.

Culture is not coterminous with racial or ethnic identity, rather it is a foundation for the generation of a more lasting sense of identity than do the two previously mentioned catalysts of identity generation. Cornell and Hartman refer to culture as “shared understandings and interpretations that include what is important and what is real as well as strategic and stylistic guides to action” (2007, pp 90-91). In essence they are discussing a worldview which, when shared, provides powerful impetus to view others who possess the same culture as members of an ethnic group, most particularly when that culture possesses symbols, myths and language (which are used as symbolic repertoires) that help explicate the validity and origins of this people. This is the most powerful of the three elements that determine the “thickness” or “thinness” of a racial or ethnic identity as it easily lends itself to the development of shared interests as well as institutions by members of the cultural group.

This study has so far examined some of the descriptive elements employed by Cornell and Hartmann (2007) in their framework. This section now discusses the external or contextual, critical sites and internal group factors which form the backbone of the framework. It will begin by examining the extra-group critical sites, which enhance the explanatory power of their constructionist approach to racial and ethnic identities, elements of which are commonly found in circumstantialist accounts. Cornell and Hartmann’s (2007) description of these factors as critical sites stems from the powerful effects these factors have on identity construction. This means that these sites are extremely useful when examining the circumstances surrounding the genesis of an identity, currently or in the past.

Table 1– Circumstantial Critical Sites Impacting Racial and Ethnic Groups

Critical Site	Type of Impact on Racial/Ethnic Group
Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Distribution of political power may or may not fall along racial/ethnic group boundaries. – Government policies may treat individuals differently based on racial/ethnic group membership.
Labor Market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Racial/Ethnic groups may be occupationally concentrated, leading to a degree of stratification concentration for certain groups.
Residential Space	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Racial/Ethnic groups may be residentially concentrated in specific urban areas, or regions of a geopolitical entity.
Social Institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Normative or Legal institutions may restrict or allow intermarriage between members of differing racial/ethnic groups.
Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Racial/ethnic categories of ascription may or may not be commonplace in a given society. – The dominant group may or may not indulge in the assignment of racial/ethnic identities. – The dominant racial/ethnic group may or may not assert a status differential between themselves and other groups.
Daily Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – The above factors may or may not have little effect on the everyday experience of racial/ethnic group members.

Adapted from Cornell and Hartmann (2007, p 205)

The first of these critical sites is politics, which encompasses the type of political system and government classification systems of a particular geopolitical unit⁷ affecting cultural, ethnic or racial groups. This critical site and a number of those that follow are defined by the interplay between groups rather than an ethnic group itself. That interplay reflects the degree of access that particular racial or ethnic groups have to political power. It can also refer to governmentally organized policies that generate or reinforce boundaries that

⁷ The phrase geopolitical entity or unit is used in the course of this theoretical discussion as the ethnohistorical narrative finds its chronological beginnings in an era prior to the emergence of the modern nation state, and is thus an attempt to avoid unintentionally directing a reader to that modern political construct.

segregate racial or ethnic groups. Those policies can arise from the interplay between dominant and minority groups as well as from reactions within the geopolitical entity, home to the dominant and minority groups of interest, to other geopolitical entities.

Thus, the critical site of politics can heavily affect all other critical sites. Specifically a government can, when wielded by a dominant group with sufficient power, manipulate labor market participation, institute and enforce residential segregation, create social institutions that intrude on and shape the lives of minority racial or ethnic group members in a way that ensures their continued minority status. All of which, if undertaken across a sufficient period of time and with adequate effect on the daily experience of those the government in question is trying to dominate, can lead to the development and or reinforcement of cultural practices and norms that can long outlast the institutional instruments that generated them.⁸

Schermerhorn's (1978) classification system allows for an accurate classification of groups in relation to each other, in a way that relates well to the critical site of politics. It accomplishes this by organizing racial or ethnic groups by their size and access to power in the nations or geopolitical regions where they reside. Schermerhorn describes dominant groups as those that have the ability to maintain and manipulate the "controlling value system." He uses size to distinguish between those that dominate in part through numeric superiority (majority groups), and those that are a numeric minority and must maintain their position through other methods (elites). Majority groups commonly dominate a minority group, a racial or ethnic group small in population size and that has at most only a tenuous

⁸ Brown et al (2003) provide an excellent discussion of this form of cultural longevity in racial group boundary maintenance, as they describe the continuance of racial attitudes in the United States after the successes of the civil rights movement in removing the institutional instruments that were set in place to guard those boundaries.

and miniscule ability to affect the value system in the region they make their home. Elites most often control what Schermerhorn terms mass subjects, a racial or ethnic group that vastly outnumbers the tiny elite that direct the course of their existence.

The second critical site that is affected by the interplay of competing groups at their boundaries is the labor market. Ethnic occupational concentration and the dynamics that emerge from such concentrations are of critical importance to the either the maintenance of a static inter-group boundary or its fluidity. Residential space is the third critical site and encompasses residential concentration boundaries and the relative geography of those concentrations. The boundaries between groups in the labor market and residential space, as with Schermerhorn's classifications, are further defined by Ogbu and Simon's (1998) concepts of voluntary and involuntary minorities.

The central aspect of these two concepts is choice and its effect on the way that individuals respond to the discrimination that they suffer. Ogbu states that a voluntary minority is one that chooses to move to an area or nation based on a desire to find a better life, but once there finds itself the object of discrimination in the labor market or residential space, for example. An involuntary minority is subject to the choice of a dominant ethnic group in another region. This occurs when a group is enslaved and imported, is conquered and incorporated into the geopolitical unit presided over by the dominant group, or that geopolitical unit slowly colonizes its borderlands and a group that was previously not in contact with the dominant group and its minorities find itself after some time, against its will, under the aegis of the dominant group.

Ogbu and Simon's (1998) perspective addresses variations in the circumstances minorities face and their perceptions of the dominant group. Although a voluntary minority is

more likely to attempt to assimilate with the dominant group, how successful that attempt will be is dependent on the attitude of the dominant group toward that particular minority. An involuntary minority, according to Ogbu and Simon, will avoid assimilation, and resist it if the dominant group seeks to integrate them. However, this model falls short in identifying change to these predicted patterns of integration among these groups. Cornell and Hartmann's framework can explain such variation within a voluntary or involuntary minority through the application of their fourth and fifth critical sites.

Social institutions are Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) fourth critical site for the description of racial and ethnic identity development and maintenance. They play an important role in the type of group interactions described by Ogbu and Simon (1998). Social institutions, within the framework, encompass both formal and informal institutions. An example of a formal institution may be the educational or legal systems of a racial or ethnic group, depending on their autonomy or dominance. These formal institutions can refer to those that belong to a group or those that are imposed upon a collective identity group by another more dominant racial or ethnic collective "other." In this way this critical site can be deeply connected with the political critical site. It can also have strong ties to the next critical site- culture, through the informal social institutions that fall within its rubric, e.g. marriage and family groups.

This site also describes the forms those institutions take within various racial and ethnic groups and the way those institutions affect boundary interactions. For example group members can enter the institution of marriage with persons from their own or other groups. However intermarriage between members of competing racial and ethnic groups has ramifications for not only that union, as marriage as an institution and the roles that

individuals play within it may be understood differently, but for the groups to which the spouses belong. Intermarriage as a social institution produces offspring that do not have a clear sense of which group they belong to. In this instance they must choose which group they will affiliate with. However many children of such unions routinely experience the assignment of an identity by both groups that may or may not correspond with the identities of the parents of individuals in this situation.

The fifth critical site that examines the contextual factors surrounding the developmental trajectory of a racial or ethnic group is culture, which refers to the modes or patterns of behavior that permeate a racial or ethnic collective identity group. These patterns arise from the worldview shared by the group which is in turn a product of the concepts, language and context that a group has developed within. Elements of culture such as language and symbols that define the ethnic group and set them apart from others in the minds of group members, belong more properly to the group factor symbolic repertoires, which will be discussed later in this section. This worldview or cultural lens is used to interpret internal group elements, as well as those parts of the world that lie outside their racial or ethnic boundaries. In this instance the most commonly interpreted out-group elements are members of other groups who are categorized as “other.”

Cornell and Hartmann assert that individuals or groups ascribe a status to those belonging to groups that they interact with in a way that reflects the balance of power between them. For example, a dominant group would be likely to assign a low status to a minority group, which would lead group members of the dominant group to view minority group members negatively. Groups that hold roughly equal levels of power in a given society are thus able to either respond with limited categorization, reflecting disinterest, or when they

are in competition are likely to assign an inferior status to the competing group and its members (Johnson, Farrell & Guinn 1997). This is evidenced in the inter-minority conflict of the Los Angeles riots (Olzak, 1992; Bergesen & Herman 1998).

An example of the usefulness of sites four and five can be seen in the differences in treatment that Cuban immigrants faced when they encountered the dominant white majority of the US versus that of Americans of Mexican descent who experienced conquest and incorporation into the Southwest portion of the United States. The first wave of Cuban immigrants chose to immigrate to the US as they shared much of its ideology and were fleeing communism, which at the time the US perceived to be its greatest threat (Portes & Bach, 1985). This first wave was also highly educated and brought with them the collateral necessary to start Cuban immigrant targeted businesses and educational institutions. These individuals were welcomed into the US and through their use of alternative institutions and the degree of cultural similarity (political ideology and class status) were able to ameliorate the discrimination that they faced from certain quarters of US society in addition to the greater prejudice faced by succeeding waves of Cuban refugees.

On the other hand, many Americans of Mexican descent in the southwest have experienced conquest and over time lost the ability to generate their own institutions which were less powerful than those of the Cuban immigrants. Further their cultural differences were a sticking point for the dominant white majority and contributed to the racially based discrimination that they suffered under the prevailing policy of manifest destiny (De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006; Gómez, 2007; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Portes & Bach 1985).

The last critical site is perhaps the most important. This is due to the fact that daily experience, the sixth site, refers to the experience of the degree of interaction that a

racial/ethnic group member has with all other critical sites. It is also the arena in which subjective responses are made to those circumstantial stimuli. Given this, daily experience forms a key to understanding which of the other sites have a particular impact on the shaping or maintenance of a racial or ethnic identity. When many of these sites are impacting members of a group following a particular pattern, the identity of that group will be thicker than that of groups who are more randomly affected in only a few sites. In other words, when effects from these sites bombard a group, particularly if that bombardment has a degree of constancy across a considerable length of time, new racial or ethnic identities emerge and existing identities becomes more entrenched and increase in salience to group members. Yet the effects of the critical sites on a given group are not necessarily constant, except where a dominant group has almost a monopoly on the power in a particular geopolitical entity, so variation is able to develop within an ethnic group as its members seek their own interests.

Cornell and Hartmann (2007) then move on to identify the internal aspects of the group itself that have an effect on the direction of the development of a racial or ethnic identity within their framework. They state that when groups interact and more particularly when groups form they do not do so from a state of collective *tabula rasa*. Rather they act on the basis of a well developed social context to develop new contexts and circumstances (see the table below for a summary of these internal contextual elements).

Table 2 – Internal Group Factors Impacting Racial and Ethnic Groups

Group Factor	Type of Impact on Racial/Ethnic Group
Preexisting Identities	– Salience of preexisting identity impacts the degree to which it shapes emergent group interactions in period following first contact, or prolonged contact between groups.
Size	– Size of specific group in relation to other racial or ethnic groups determines approaches to boundary interactions.
Internal Differentiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Relative proportions of men to women, i.e. the availability of partners, affect the way that groups perceive inter-group marital relations. – Proportion of first generation migrants in a group affects the way it relates to the geopolitical unit of origin. – The class distribution of group members affects the variety of economic and political interest, in turn affecting group cohesion and actions.
Social Capital	– Stronger and more numerous relationship ties and familial bonds connecting members of a racial or ethnic group together can increase the group cohesion and identity salience.
Human Capital	– The abundance or dearth of skill sets that a racial or ethnic group possesses in aggregate affects the way they relate at group boundaries within the labor market.
Symbolic Repertoires	– The stylized manner in which a group refers to itself and other groups, a part of the group’s worldview determines to some degree the way in which group members can classify.

Adapted from Cornell and Hartmann (2007, p 245)

It follows, therefore, that the first thing that a racial or ethnic group brings to the formation of a new identity group, or to circumstances that present themselves in their daily experience is a pre-existing identity. Preexisting identities should not be considered homogenous as they can be affected by a variety of factors. The specifics of that variation are a feature of another group factor that will be discussed later. However it should be noted that the salience or degree to which this preexisting identity dictates the routines of everyday live

will have a major impact on the degree to which that identity affects future group relations. Interestingly Cornell and Hartmann (2007) point out that this preexisting identity does not have refer to an identity possessed by a racial or ethnic group that comes into contact with another collective identity group. They suggest that a racial or ethnic group that comes into contact with another collective identity group is predisposed to assign them an identity and a status, which is then reinforced during subsequent interaction. The nature of that identity and status would be determined by the way the newly contacted group fit within the worldview of the assigning group. The degree to which this assignment can be successfully accomplished by a group, meaning that the assigned identity would be accepted and embraced to varying degrees, would depend in part on the next group factor.

The second subjective group factor in determining the way racial and ethnic groups interact is population size. This group factor can have a dramatic effect on the way a racial or ethnic group interacts with other groups. Population size can affect the decision making of the group and the dynamics of their interactions with other groups. For example, a very large racial or ethnic group can often find it easier to impose their will on other groups, though technology or other factors could affect that ability (Diamond, 2005). Group size also affects the degree to which members can rely on the group in order to meet needs. Larger racial or ethnic group size allows greater group dependence, while smaller group size forces group members to interact more with individuals and organizations belonging to other racial and ethnic groups. However the level of intergroup cohesion that results from a group's ability to meet its own needs, as well as the level of salience that results from group size is dependent on other circumstantial and subjective elements, most particularly the next group factor.

The third group factor that affects the development and maintenance of racial and ethnic identities is internal differentiation, specifically the various demographics of the group. The distribution of group members in regard to sex, first generation immigrant and class ratios, can have a major impact on identity trajectory. Sex ratios are particularly important as they will determine the need for intermarriage between groups, where a roughly equal sex ratio would present a low need and a highly disparate ratio would necessitate large scale intermarriage between racial or ethnic groups. This has implications for the children of such unions as they are faced with the question of which group they belong to. This is an issue due to the way that so many interactions between racial or ethnic groups involve differential statuses and negative identity assignments.

Cornell and Hartmann (2007) also focus on the importance of the presence and proportion of first generation immigrants in the population of the racial or ethnic group under consideration as a key element of group differentiation.⁹ A very small number of first generation immigrants would present little impediment to the development of new identities or assimilation. On the other hand, if a racial or ethnic group has a large proportion of first generation immigrants then the ability of the group, as a whole, to adopt new identities, either self generated or via assimilation, is generally diminished. This is more particularly the case with groups that experience a continual influx of large numbers of immigrants from the area that they originate from.

The issue of class as an area of group differentiation is just as important to the cohesion of a racial or ethnic group. This potential for lower group cohesion and identity

⁹ This is obviously important only in the instance of a racial or ethnic group that has moved from the area that in which it has historically been located.

salience is due to the way that the economic and political interests of highly skilled individuals, who belong to the middle and upper classes, tend to differ significantly from those of group members who could be designated either unskilled or low skilled and are more likely to belong to the lower or working class. This, coupled with the previously discussed elements of group differentiation – sex ratios and proportions of first generation immigrants, has serious implications for the potential continuity of a racial or ethnic identity and the ability of the group that possesses the identity in question to be able to maintain a level of equality with the other racial or ethnic group with which they interact.

The retention or loss of group cohesion and identity salience can be mitigated or exacerbated by the presence or absence of the fourth group factor – social capital. This factor firstly refers to the number of relationship ties and familial bonds linking members of the group to each other. Secondly, it refers to the services that racial and ethnic group members can provide for each other. Cornell and Hartmann (2007) borrow the term institutional completeness from Breton (1964) to describe the degree to which the social, political, economic, physical and institutional needs of racial or ethnic group members can be met by others within the group. The greater the social capital of a racial or ethnic group the higher the institutional completeness is likely to be. Thus, the daily experience of the group members will be composed of a large number of interactions with other group members reinforcing the bond with the in-group for each of the members that participate in this informal social exchange and support institution.

In essence, Cornell and Hartmann (2007) state that racial or ethnic groups that have had some of their members migrate on mass to a new area or geopolitical entity, who possess a high degree of institutional completeness that is founded in a complex and extremely

developed network of social capital are likely to experience a continued influx of large numbers of individuals sharing the original racial or ethnic collective identity. Thus, the constant nourishing of the subjective nature of the racial or ethnic group with the concepts, institutions and norms of the parent group by a constant influx of immigrants from the parent geopolitical unit creates a highly complex dynamic characterized by chain migration¹⁰. The foundation of that dynamic is the change in the nature of this parent racial or ethnic group over time, due to interactions between critical sites and group factors amongst the parent group members and other groups in the parent geopolitical unit. This will be reflected in the way that the group factors of the new immigrants and the collective identity group colony members diverge, though the identity and precise nature of the group factors of the collective identity colony members will be constantly affected by the influx of the variably altered group factors carried by the immigrants.

This dynamic is supported by the fifth group factor which is somewhat similar to the fourth- human capital. This group factor refers to the skill sets, e.g. agricultural skills, blacksmithing musical abilities or computer programming, and knowledge bases, e.g. knowledge of traditional or western medicine, organizational principles or history, possessed by the group members. It is this form of capital, aside from the assignments and details of racial or ethnic group boundary interactions, that determines the way that a group economically integrates or fails to integrate into the common labor market it shares with other racial or ethnic groups it is in contact with. This in turn affects the way that various

¹⁰ Chain migration refers to familial and other relational ties that bring a constant flow of immigrants to a new geopolitical unit. This is contrasted with individual migration, which involves unrelated individuals immigrating for their own reasons to the same geopolitical unit. In the process of chain migration, large family units form, or are reunited, in the geopolitical unit immigrated to.

racial or ethnic groups congregate in available residential space. In the event that a group collectively possesses little human capital they would likely experience segregation in the shared labor market and in residential space, which would then have the effect of reinforcing racial or ethnic group boundaries.

Racial or ethnic groups can protest such detrimental reinforcement of the boundaries that enclose them via the last group factor discussed by Cornell and Hartmann (2007) – symbolic repertoires. By this Cornell and Hartmann refer to the ways that racial or ethnic groups explain the nature of their group to themselves. This can be accomplished through the use of story that explains the origins or history of the group. This story, while explicating the in-group also serves to strengthen the ties between group members through the provision of a shared interpretation of their group and its place in the wider world. It is not necessary for this group narrative to be an accurate depiction of the history and nature of the group. It is common for narratives that delve too far into the distant past to become parodies of real events that more positively represent the racial or ethnic group.

The effect of such a story, which is either accurate or merely perceived to be accurate, can be reinforced with the use of ritual and celebration that provide a means for the dramatization and visualization of key elements of the story of a racial or ethnic group. As such Cornell and Hartmann (2007) state that these ritual or ceremonial elements differ from a group's culture, their fifth critical site, as these practices and narratives are not so much common behaviors or practices, but symbols of the group. Examples of symbols belonging to racial or ethnic groups can include languages, gestures, logos, songs and concepts, each of which represent the peoplehood of the group, conjure up its achievements and point to the possibilities of the future. It follows then that the greater the symbolic repertoire of a given

racial or ethnic group, the more salient the identity that is possessed by members of that group.

These six group factors and the critical sites of context and circumstance that were discussed previously provide a rubric that could facilitate the description of the responses of a racial or ethnic group to interactions at boundary sites. Cornell and Hartmann (2007) state that the critical sites and group factors, described above, must be used to illuminate each other in order to produce an accurate understanding of the growth and development of a racial or ethnic group. One more element is needed to ensure that such an undertaken can be successfully accomplished - the intent of the groups. One might assume that it is possible to decipher the intentions of a racial or ethnic group from a sufficiently detailed examination of the worldview of that group. Intentions that contradict accepted elements of group behavior are not uncommon however. It will be shown that such contradictions can be explained away by shifts in the identity of the racial or ethnic group.

This chapter has presented a discussion of the broader theoretical roots from which Cornell and Hartmann (2007) developed their framework for describing the rise and maintenance of racial and ethnic identities. That framework has been presented and this section would be complete were it not for the way that its authors limit it to describing the manner in which ethnic and racial identities are initially conceived, develop and are replaced. Cornell and Hartmann (2007) make no claim about its ability to describe the conception and maintenance of other types of collective identity group. This is interesting given that the assimilation model as well as the approaches of primordialism and circumstantialism apply equally well to ethnic, racial, national and even pre-modern religious collective identity groups. All are social groups that individuals are born to, and that one can leave (with the

probable exception of racial identities, due to the nature of the power imbalance in their assignment), either through assimilation/integration or naturalization. It is possible to hold multiple identities within each type of group, each of which is upheld by interest, institution and culture. Both ethnic and national identities can be thick or thin in terms of meaning to the individuals that possess them.

While Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework can be used to identify current ethnic group formation processes, it may also be used to trace the history of the emergence of racial and ethnic types of identities, not merely the groups that possess them and the transformations they undergo. Using Cornell and Hartmann's framework as a starting point, an ethnohistorical analysis will identify the emergence of new types of identity – national racial and ethnic for pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent from the starting point of a pre-modern religious identity. Thus, this study will examine the rise of collective identity groups among both Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent and the identities they possessed from the contexts of those groups and identities that preceded them. This will be accomplished by treating each of these four group identities, which interact across the history of the historically connected groups that this study is interested in, as ideal types.

3 Research Methods

Qualitative methodological tools will be used to explore the origins and emergence of ethnic and racial identities from those group identities that preceded them in an ethnohistorical analysis. Krech (1991) states that ethnohistories usually focus on a single group. However, this study examines the initial interactions of a number of related and unrelated groups in early colonial history, their merger¹¹ and later transformation into several distinct groups. In this instance the historical focus is on pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent as groups. Each of these groupings includes a number of identities whose specific characters change over time. These identity change are, in part, created by circumstances, which individuals have interpreted and reacted to, sometimes by including individuals from other groups and at times entire peoples. Before describing the nature of ethnohistory, the ideal types developed to assist the analysis and how these help accomplish the aims of the study in regard to demonstrating the utility of Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework will be discussed.

This study will be use secondary sources for the ethnohistorical analysis. Given that entire fields of study and scholarly work on items of specific interest (such as particular identities, groups, historical events or concepts) could be referenced in the ethnohistory only research with historical interest directly related to the purposes of this study were selected and examined. Having made an initial assay into the mass of potentially useful literature, I moved from general works to those that dealt with specific groups and identities whose narrower focus would provide more of the detail needed to demonstrate the utility of Cornell and Hartmann's

¹¹ The use of the word merging should not in any way be taken to indicate that this study finds that in the coming together of pre-modern religious groups in the conquest of the New World that homogeneity is the result. On the contrary this study finds a wealth of diversity in the source material examined.

framework for describing the rise of racial and ethnic identities among pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent on a group level.

Information on pre-Mexican groups (that is groups that existed prior to the founding of the Mexican Republic, and the development of the Mexican national identity) was found in Krickberg (1969), McAlister (1969), Wolf (1982), Weber (1992), Álvarez Junco (2002), Bakewell (2004), Ruiz (2004), Díaz Balsera (2005), Ray (2006), Scarborough and Clark (2007) and Levy (2008). These authors discussed groups, concepts and events in Medieval Iberia, Mesoamerica and the Spanish Colonies in the Americas. My investigation of identities, groups and key events relating to the founding of Mexico and the development of nationalism involved examining scholarly works by Nájera-Ramírez (1994), McFarlane (1997), Brandes (1998), MacLachlan and Beezley (1999), Gonzales-Berry and Maciel (2000), Morris (2001) and Bakewell (2004). To gain a more complete understanding of the experiences of Mexican persons and Americans of Mexican descent in the United States and their reactions to those experiences, I turned to Sanchez (1993), García (1997), Rodríguez (1998), Gonzalez, (2000), Portes and Rumbaut (2001), González, (2004), Nieto-Phillips (2004), De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006), Gómez (2007) and Telles and Ortiz (2008).

Having examined these studies of the experiences of pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent the work of other scholars was needed to present a more complete account of the experiences of these groups. The basis for searching out other information sources was Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework. Often the narrative of a particular group would lack depth, and it was the framework, specifically the critical sites important to group identities, that guided this search. Emerging from the analysis of these sources was the importance of including a discussion of the dominant white majority of the

United States, due to its role in the second racialization in the history of the groups examined in the ethnohistorical narrative. Of specific relevance is the position of power that his group holds in relation to other groups and the key events that have impacted the community of Americans of Mexican descent. These historical factors have shaped the subjective responses of persons of Mexican descent in the US. Key readings for the examination of this group include Doane (1997) Hartigan (1997), Jacobson (1998), Travers (1999), de Tocqueville (2000) and Huntington (2004a).

This study uses ethnographic methods of analysis to examine the subjective elements of group transformation within the limits of Levi-Strauss's (1963) aforementioned caveat. Boyd (1996) asserts that an ethnohistory develops themes from data gathered via fieldwork that produces data collected using archaeological, ecological, linguistic and ethnological methods (Krech, 1991). In contrast to a fieldwork based study, this study depends on historiographic secondary data sources and published historical documents to construct an ethnohistorical account that is true to the experiences of the groups studied. This research attempts to meet the standard that Schieffelin and Gewertz (1987) set for ethnohistorical analysis when they state:

For historians 'ethnohistory' has traditionally meant the reconstruction of the history of a people who previously had no written history... [T]his notion of ethnohistory [is] insufficient, if not faulty. For...ethnohistory...must fundamentally take into account the people's own sense of how events are constituted, and their ways of culturally constructing the past. (Schieffelin & Gewertz, 1987, p 3)

Stanfield and Dennis (1993) suggest that all too often researchers have generated themes or typologies to use Loftland et al's (2006) terminology, without making reference to the experience or subjective interpretation of those studied. This study will avoid a top-down

analysis (Levi-Strauss, 1963) and the misrepresentation of those who cannot speak for themselves through the use of sources that present the viewpoints of the groups involved. For the construction of identity types using ethnographic methods, the propriety of using secondary sources in ethnographic analysis must be addressed. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), the use of secondary sources in ethnographic analysis can be considered appropriate depending on the nature of the source. They assert that historical works, due to the way in which they are constructed, can be analyzed in the same way that transcripts are analyzed.

The analysis for this study involved coding the historical documents to identify relevant identity types. Principles of coding outlined by Fetterman (1998) and Corbin and Strauss (1998) were used to develop the identity categories, or a typology of identity groups. Lofland et al (2006) define a typology as a form of cross-classification of elements present in the data analyzed. Since it is the emergence and subsequent development of race and ethnicity from other collective identity group types that this paper is chiefly focusing on, it follows that a typology of collective identity groups should be the organizing principle that allows the analysis and arrangement of the data to present narratives familiar and salient to those that lived these experiences. The use a typology in conjunction with Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework will ensure that this study meets its aim of being sensitive to the experiences of those whose history this study examines.

The form of typology that best suited the aims of this study is one of sociology's classic historical research tools – Weber's (1949) ideal type. This tool for historical research involves the use of one or a number of refined conceptualizations for the examination of instances in history in which elements of the given social constructs appear in varying degrees of development and/or completeness. Perhaps Weber's (1976) most well known application of this

tool was in the analysis of the rise of capitalism. He further refined the use of the ideal type in later work as a method of historical investigation by using multiple ideal types to express the differences evidenced within a society (1968). Holton (2003) asserts that Weber used the interactions between these ideal types to refine an understanding of the workings of different societal forms. Weber performed a careful ethnographic analysis to produce his historical accounts. It is in this same vein that four ideal types will be used in this study, specifically - pre-modern religious, national, racial and ethnic identity types.

Each ideal type was formed through rigorous examination of relevant historical scholarship. The guiding principle in the creation of each ideal type was evidence of the salience of a particular identity type in the interactions and experiences of the individuals and groups involved. I also turned to the works of scholars who had investigated each type of collective identity group. To assist in development of a pre-modern religious collective identity group ideal typology I used work by Gadd (1945), Nibley (1951), Cantor (1993) and Bertelli (2001). Construction of an ideal type for a national collective identity group was assisted by reference to works by Anderson (1991), Hutchison and Smith (1996) and Smith (2004). The racial identity drew on a wealth of information found in Puzzo (1964), Ellison and Martin (1999), Yetman (1999) Brown et al (2003), Garcia (2007) and Smedley (2007). Finally the construction of the ideal type that would indicate the presence of an ethnic collective identity group was completed through use of Hutchison and Smith (1996) and Ellison and Martin (1999).

Table 3 – Chief Characteristics of Collective Identity Group Ideal Types

Collective Identity Group Ideal Type	Chief Characteristics
Pre-Modern Religious	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Cultural worldview of a group is founded in theology – Group members are uninfluenced by enlightenment ideology – Institutions of the group are uninfluenced by enlightenment
National	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Enlightenment ideology must have influenced at least a significant proportion of group members – Print capitalism must have developed – The group must reside in a nation state, or desire to create one
Racial	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Classification of individuals and groups on a biological basis – Group boundaries are impermeable, or highly impermeable – Group must exist during or after the colonial era at time of investigation – Power must be almost entirely in the hands of the dominant racial group
Ethnic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Classification of individuals and groups on basis of kinship – Group cohesion is internally generated by symbols – Group members engage in reflexive thinking, to a greater or lesser extent

Before moving on to present each of the four ideal types that will be used, some clarification is needed about whether these four collective identity group types are related to specific time periods. Toohey (2003) asserts that periodization often indicates that an unwarranted degree of homogeneity has been imposed upon temporally and geographically defined groups or peoples. Similarly, because my analysis shows that these four collective identity group types can and have existed simultaneously discussion of linear development, or progression, from one identity form to another is not appropriate.

Weber's (1949) ideal type was used as a guide to indicate the presence of a social construct. It should be noted that while the discussion of Mesoamerican peoples is relatively

scant, the data show that their pre-modern religious identities were of markedly different character than that of the Castilian-Aragonese *conquistadores* making incursions into their lands. In the same vein the nationalism of Mexican immigrants in the early 20th century was dissimilar in nature to the nationalism of the dominant white majority of the United States as is demonstrated when the discussion of that majority is compared with the presentation of material on Mexican nationalism. With these caveats in mind, in the next section I describe the four ideal types that will be used to measure the presence of particular collective identity group types and identify development within and transitions between them.

3.1 *A Pre-Modern Religious Collective Identity Group Ideal Type*

To explain the term pre-modern religious identity and develop an ideal type for this collective identity group type, it is necessary to describe the reasoning behind my use of the phrase. If a concept emerged as the result of the interaction of certain social institutions and cultural norms, then any group or individual living prior to those interactions would be ignorant of the post-interaction form of the concept.¹² It seems then that we can logically deduce that pre-modern individuals or groups would interpret major events, in the main, via religious worldviews quite different to those possessed by their religiously minded counterparts affected by modernity. Hence, no reference is made to religious identity as this could be mistaken for a discussion of modern religious identities that are different in character to their pre-modern counterparts.

¹² To illustrate this point we note that religion has existed across the breadth and depth of recorded history. Yet the notion that the physical reality around an individual, such as freak weather, disasters or outbreaks of disease is the result of simple cause and effect and subject to natural laws and not to capricious deities emerges as a widespread notion from the events and concepts incident to the emergence of modernity. It therefore follows that individuals and groups living in the pre-modern era (that is unaware of the effects of the circumstances and ideas that produced modernity) would be generally ignorant of such a notion, with the exception of a few highly unusual individuals.

In the ethnohistorical analysis presented later, it will be demonstrated that the individuals who lived prior to the founding of the Mexican Republic, *the Peninsulares* and those that they ruled who cannot be properly referred to as Mexicans, did not possess contemporary religious identities. It will also be demonstrated that they lacked national or ethnic identities. In contrast, these individuals possessed pre-modern religious identities (Álvarez Junco, 2002) and identified with the Monarchy of a united Castile and Aragon, rather than a Spanish state. These subjects of this united crown still differentiated between members of their own group and those who were “other” in ways consistent with Cornell and Hartmann’s framework.¹³

Regarding the nature of a pre-modern religious identity, scholars (Nibley, 1951; Kern, 1985; Bertelli, 2001; Cantor, 2003) using a social historical method have argued that in the pre-modern era, particularly in Europe, the Middle East and Asia, the world was understood in pre-modern religious, rather than modern ethnic or national terms.¹⁴ How then did the pre-moderns distinguish between those of the in-group and those who were “other,” and how were the latter viewed? In answering these questions it should be noted that the monarch was viewed as God’s representative on earth (Gadd, 1945; Nibley, 1951; Kern, 1985; Bertelli, 2001). Being loyal to one’s monarch during this time period was synonymous with loyalty to God and the subjects of a monarch constituted God’s/the Gods’ own people. This religious or theistic comprehension of one’s place in the cosmos as well as the pre-modern geopolitics that resulted from it formed the basis for the identity of the pre-modern religious group. For individuals who held such identities,

¹³ A full discussion of their interaction with the Jews and Moors that lived as subordinate minorities within Castilian-Aragonese territory that illuminates the behavior of the *conquistadores* in the New world is to be found in the opening section of the historical analysis.

¹⁴ This would agree with Anderson’s (1991) commonly accepted general account of the rise of the nation state and national identities as a direct result of modernity.

persons who could be considered “other” were those who professed loyalty to an alternate monarch and corresponding deity/deities.

In relation to the framework discussed in the previous chapter, the first thing to be noted is that the pre-modern religious identity is a particularly thick one. This is due to the way that religion provides all three of Cornell and Hartmann’s sites of identity emergence and maintenance: interest, institutions and culture. The interests range from desiring providence’s blessing on one’s ventures in this life to specific cosmological states and a certain quality of existence after death. Institutions develop to organize these desires and facilitate worship in temples or holy sites. The priestly orders that labor therein have an impressive ability to mould the culture that develops from the mores that are associated with the specific form and object(s) of worship. The institution of monarchy, interwoven to various degrees in different groups with the priestly class and its operations (Kern, 1985; Bertelli, 2001), further supports the ability of the theistic component of the society to affect its development.

Given this worldview, members of pre-modern religious groups would be likely to pejoratively identify individuals belonging to non-compatible religious groups as the “other.” The boundaries between groups with religious identities are natural sites for the generation of the “other,” as Cornell and Hartmann indicate is the case between ethnic identity groups. Nibley’s (1951) observations provide support for these notions: the presence of another religion, and specifically one with a monarch as God’s/the Gods’ representative on the earth is seen as a false religion that exists to pervert the way of the followers of the true God(s) and usurp power over

them.¹⁵ Nibley describes a sense of outrage at the presence of the religious “other” and a varying willingness to attribute low status, malign and even attempt genocide in an effort to destroy these “other”/false faith groups. In terms of Cornell and Hartmann’s (2007) framework we could term hostilities of this sort as violent anti-“other” activity. The variance obviously depends on the specific religious culture under examination.

We now have three elements that constitute the pre-modern religious group identity ideal type. When using historical material, the degree to which the individuals and groups as a whole correlate with this ideal will determine whether they can be included in the pre-modern religious group category. The first element states that individuals and groups who can be considered for inclusion will generally have conceived of and understood the world around them in religious and not scientific terms. The second basis for inclusion is related to the first. Given the difficulty of accurately assessing identities of persons who lived centuries ago, the first element must be supported by the second. The individuals or group members under examination must live before the emergence of enlightenment ideals or it must be demonstrated that they have not yet been influenced by them. The last component that we may find in those being investigated relates quite directly to Cornell and Hartmann’s (2007) framework. The interests, institutions and culture of the group being considered must stem in the main from a theistic worldview. These societal components must also show that they have been unaffected or marginally affected by modernizing influences.

¹⁵ This is demonstrated in Alexander the Great’s removal of the capital from Macedonia to Persia and his wearing of Persian apparel. Both the Macedonian army cores with him in Persia and those in political authority in Macedonia were reportedly disgusted and made vociferous objections to what they saw as a monarch’s betrayal of their gods and people (Worthington, 2004).

3.2 *A National Collective Identity Group Ideal Type*

Where the previous ideal type group is organized on the principle of loyalty to deity(ies) and the monarchic representative of the deity/deities, national group identity possession is identified by loyalty to a nation state, a national people and their duly elected head, or at least the office of the duly elected head. In order for such loyalty to exist there is a prerequisite need for certain enlightenment concepts to have transformed the way that people relate to each other and conceive of society. Cantor (1993) describes the starting state for this transformation when he asserts that individuals in feudal society thought of themselves in the main as bound to a particular station within that society. The initiation of this transformation is found in the economic dependency on aggressive expansion that Wolf (1982) describes as fundamental to the feudal system. He states that the European rulers pushed the boundaries of the territories under their control beyond their organizational ability to govern them. This opened the door to the enlightenment principles that Anderson (1991) describes as being so vital to the development of nation states. Once certain of these principles had been adopted, such as increased literacy and some administrative innovations, others changes followed. These changes occurred as the drive for the accumulation of wealth according to Weber's (1976) protestant work ethic¹⁶ facilitates the loosening of the class boundaries of feudal society and the implementation of further modernist thinking. This increasing drive for efficiency, power and wealth ensured that nations, according to Wolf, would come into being in order to ensure that economic development continued apace. In order to detect national group identity in the midst of all this change, we

¹⁶ This thesis forges a link between the protestant reformation and a transformation in the way business is conducted and profit utilized.

need not wait to the conclusion of this social upheaval. There must merely have been sufficient change in society for either a nation state to come into existence, or for the desire to found such a modern geopolitical entity to be present.

Anderson's (1991) thesis on the development of the subjective awareness of, and sense of belonging to a national body can be of much assistance here. According to this account, the presence of print capitalism¹⁷ and increasing literacy in some form of development is a necessary precursor of the spreading of the enlightenment concepts of nations and modern governance. Available printed materials that discuss this form of political organization must have influenced a number of persons in varying levels of authority and influence. This would allow a national group identity to emerge among the elite. In order for such an identity to have any degree of longevity generators of this national group must be able to gather popular support. For such popular support to develop, a change in the way individuals relate to deity must have taken place and become widespread, facilitating literacy among the lower classes. This would have occurred as a result of the drive to administer larger areas of the globe on the part of European rulers (Wolf, 1982) and a need for literate workers in business (Weber, 1974) that emerged during the development of modernity.

This provides the two fundamental requirements for an ideal type that could identify the presence of a national identity. Enlightenment ideals must have been present for sufficient time for the development of print capitalism. This would have to occur to sufficient degree to allow the spread of scientific notions on the operation of the world, the capitalist economic paradigm and the benefits of the nation state. With this condition met the next element of the ideal type can

¹⁷ Print Capitalism emerges as a result of Weber's aforementioned thesis.

be one of two social realities. First, there may be the desire to create a nation state, where this is combined with a subjective sense of belonging to the nation yet to be properly established. Second, if a nation state exists there would need to be a sense of loyalty to it or at the very least awareness that one has citizenship.

The elements of this ideal type can be related to Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework using the example of the United States, its founding and citizens. First, this identity is one that will in most cases be asserted; members of "other" national groups generally do not ascribe citizenship in a nation or a sense of that citizenship to individuals. This may not be the case in the situation where an individual resides in an area that becomes a nation. Such an individual may be assigned a national identity if the nation they are a part of secedes from the nation that they are currently a part of. Alternatively the region could become a part of another nation, such as the Mexican North becoming the American Southwest. The first and second instances could both refer to the founding of the United States as it seceded from British rule.

Using the assignment/assertion dichotomy we can see that those colonists attempting to throw off British rule were asserting an American national group identity. They conceived of themselves as part of a group that should be governed as an independent nation. The problem they faced was that while they asserted an American national identity, many other residents of the British Colonies in the late 1700's asserted an English identity. After the British defeat those that did not participate in the revolution and those that fought with the British would have been assigned an American national identity. Once a sufficient number of the colonists possessed an American national identity and asserted it, there was little chance that their European political masters would not object to their insurrection. So when conflict broke out, we could say that the

English were attempting to assign an English identity to those asserting an American national identity.

The thickness or thinness of a national group identity would largely be a function of the given national identity itself and the duration of the nation's existence. To continue with our example, we can say that it is likely that those who actively participated in the creation of the United States or the maintenance of the nation would possess a particularly thick national identity. It is interesting that Travers (1999) suggests that following the conclusion of the Revolutionary war, national identification decreased. It would appear that presence of the national "other" has an important role to play in determining the salience and, thus, the thickness of a national identity. Travers (1999) states that in order to bolster the subjective awareness of an American national identity in the young United States, annual celebrations were organized to commemorate the founding of the nation. These celebrations, specifically the Fourth of July, have become institutions in their own right, the celebration of which is a defining characteristic of being American.¹⁸

Institutions have just as important a role to play in the strengthening of a national identity as racial or ethnic identities. This can be seen in the immediate wake of the revolution. Wood (1998) finds that the new citizens were not all acting for the public good when holding political office. Instead, many of these political appointees would seek to further their own interests. He states that the founding fathers made further use of enlightenment political concepts in order to develop a constitutional political system that could more effectively discourage such excesses in

¹⁸ That is a citizen of the United States. It is interesting to note that Sanchez (1993) found that Mexican-Americans celebrated both the Fourth of July and the Cinco de Mayo, a celebration of Mexican independence, with equal relish and sincerity. This would seem to indicate that Mexican-Americans have a conception of national identity that is not as exclusive as that of Anglo-Americans.

public office. This political system, with minor modifications, has continued in the US to the present. Wood shows that an institution was created that reflects the character and serves the needs of this national identity group. More specifically we could say that the creation of the political institutions of the United States ensured that the cohesiveness of the groups' national identity was protected.

3.3 *A Racial Collective Identity Group Ideal Type*

This group identity type, more than any of the others, is the one that must be treated sensitively, given the effect that the concept of race has had on the lives of so many. This group type, like ethnic group types, has often been used as an excuse for discrimination (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007). This section will discuss the development of an ideal type for racial group identities in relation to what is typical of racial group identities and not of ethnic identities. A discussion of what is common to both, like discrimination, will be found in the section on the ethnic group identity ideal type.

The negative aspects of racial and ethnic identities have resulted in a backlash against use of the term race, particularly in academic work (Garcia, 2007). It is ironic that the very aspect of race that is so important for the construction of this ideal type is also the main reason for the scholarly objection to its usage, that is the biological foundation for race.¹⁹ Garcia states that the objection arises out of research into the human genome. He describes a distinct lack of genetic difference between racial groups and refers to genetic research that has clearly shown that there

¹⁹ This biological basis has been the subject of attempts to scientifically categorize humans (see discussions in Kershaw, 2000; Ehrenreich, 2007; Hart, 2008; Weingart, 2008), the purpose of which has plainly been to ensure the power of one racial group over others.

is more variation in the genes within a racial group than between them. This makes perfect sense when we consider that numerous racial classification systems have and are used (Cornell & Hartman, 2007; Garcia, 2007). Bearing this in mind, how then can we justify the continued use of the term?

Omi and Winant (1994) and Cornell and Hartmann (2007) assert that while it certainly has no genetic foundation, the social meaning of race has had a very real existence over the course of the last few centuries. Omi and Winant (1994) state that racial perceptions of the “other” have, and do, affect almost every aspect of life in the United States. It is the social reality of a biologically based classification of persons, lamentable in the suffering that it has caused, that is being studied. This element forms the first component of an ideal type that will be used to indicate of the presence of a racial group identity. It is the first step that would be taken in the process that Omi and Winant (1994) refer to as racialization, the development of a racial system of social classification.

Central to this biological foundation is the idea of the fixed nature of and almost impermeable boundaries between racial group identities that emerges from the supposed biological foundation of a racial classification. This is derived from the way that dominant racial groups are able to engineer a category of otherness, which is then ascribed to subordinated groups. This provides the second key component of our ideal type – the presence of apparently impermeable boundaries that generate group longevity.

Just as the national ideal type is founded on the presence of ideas related to the concept of nations and nationalism, so too the racial ideal type is founded on the presence of a geopolitical system that is required to bring groups who have such supposed physical difference into contact – colonialism. Blackburn (1997), Smedley (2007) and Cornell and Hartmann (2007) attribute the

development of racial systems of classification to the colonial efforts of European nations who were in competition with each other and viewed all other groups as a resource to be tapped, so the presence of colonialism is our third indicator of a racial system of classification. It is the nature of colonial domination of groups that were “other” that allows Spickard to conclude that “race is about power, and it is written on the body” (2005, p2). This statement highlights the power imbalance between racial groups, a situation that Cornell and Hartmann assert is a central goal for majority elite groups. Thus, inequality is an indicator of racial group identity within a given society. This suggests that inter-group power struggles generate an uneven distribution of resources and discrimination among racial groups.

Racial identity, as an assigned identity, reflects a far greater power imbalance than an ethnic group identity, as more power is required to dominate the lives of others. Such an assigned identity unavoidably indicates that the dominant group considers the subordinate group to be composed of individuals that are by nature inferior to them. Questions of superiority or inferiority arise in situations with ethnic group identity types, but it is far more extreme in the case of a racially based system of classification. In this we find the fourth and final element of a racial group identity ideal type: the identity is assigned as the result of an extreme power imbalance, one that puts the subordinate group or groups in such a disadvantaged state that the assertion of a different identity is highly improbable.

3.4 An Ethnic Collective Identity Group Ideal Type

There is a great degree of similarity between a racial and an ethnic group identity. That similarity can make it difficult to determine which of the two types is present in a particular

portion of the ethnohistorical analysis. The first defining feature of the ethnic group identity ideal type, which will ensure that it can be distinguished from racial group identity, is the presence of kinship ties, whether real or constructed. Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework and its primordial antecedent emphasize what is meaningful to those who possess the group identity under examination. If group members feel a certain kinship with those around them, and certainly if they are asserting kinship as a meaningful component of that group identity, then those individuals can be said to possess an ethnic and not a racial group identity. However, a common ancestry evidenced by shared physical traits may be central to an asserted ethnic identity or may be the basis for an assigned racial identity that over time may become more ethnic in nature.

The concept of kinship is one that has a varying degree of strength or meaningfulness among ethnic groups. Larger, more constructed groups, such as pan-ethnic groups, would obviously experience a lesser degree of meaningful kinship than would smaller ethnic groups or those based on kinship. One of the elements of kinship that further delineates it from the superficial physical differences that form the basis of racial classifications is the way that one can, by marrying a member of an ethnic group, an individual can gain a degree of membership in it. Cornell and Hartmann state that the boundaries of an ethnic group are far more fluid than those of a racial group, heavily policed as it is by the dominant group in order to maintain their stranglehold on power. This boundary fluidity can be detected in a number of ways. This would include the ability of members of a subordinate ethnic group to assimilate into a more powerful and dominant group, while accepting ingress from less powerful groups. This is partly due to the manner in which the ethnic group finds cohesion. While racial groups are held together by rigorously enforced boundaries, the ethnic group is more often held together by symbols that

portray elements of the group's history and experience that are most meaningful to it.²⁰ The latter is something that an isolated racial group may develop over time, thus contributing to ethnic group identity dimensions.

A further distinction could be drawn from this last component of the ethnic group identity that will assist in differentiating it from racial identities. The importance of symbols in the maintenance of ethnic group cohesion and the degree of identity choice both point to the presence of reflexivity in the society in which the ethnic group is present. Giddens (1984) explains that the reflexive individual faces a dilemma that takes the form of a question – who should I be? This problem emerges from the flexibility accorded to individuals by the society in which they live. Cantor (1993) states that medieval society was fixed, in much the same way that Cornell and Hartmann (2007) describe the caste system of India prior to western influence. In these societies individuals generally do not make choices that affect their place in society, indicating that those possessing pre-modern religious identities would be unlikely to be reflexive.

The reflexive individual described by Giddens (1984) is able to make choices that over time may bring about a change in their social position. For example, reflexive individuals can choose to pursue paths that lead to a higher economic class, make vocational choices or seek social leadership. Among collective identity group types ethnic and national group identity types are most accommodating to reflexivity. Although reflexivity can be present in a racialized society, it is not available to all members of society. Members of racial groups subordinated by the dominant group or groups would not be permitted the social freedoms integral to reflexive thinking and behavior.

²⁰ In the *Chicano* ethnic identity group the concept of Aztlán was, and is, a powerful one. It suggested a return to the legendary homeland of the Aztecs, and a Mexican-American people empowered by such illustrious heritage and the possession of a strong and capable culture (Weber, 2003).

4 Ethnohistory – Pre-Modern and Colonial Oriented

This ethnohistorical analysis is reliant upon a large number of secondary sources that were discussed in detail in the opening portion of the Method section. It was indicated then that those that formed the backbone of this study were augmented in many places by a very large body of other historical works that deal with more specific elements of the ethnohistorical narrative. In order to further ensure the veracity of the claims made by this paper a number studies that contained original material and some that were published original accounts written centuries ago have been tapped. These works include Díaz (1963), Sanchez (1993), Constable (1997) and Weber (2003).

While great care has been taken to ensure that this study accurately represents the experiences of those that lived through the history here presented as an ethnohistorical narrative, a number of issues must be mentioned that are the most likely causes of those instances where this lofty aim is not met. First, we look to my sources. While I have been careful in the selection of these sources, my selection of sources was not based on an exhaustive investigation of those available. Secondly, there may be faults in the sources themselves, faults that I cannot be held accountable for. My lack of accountability is partly due to the responsibility that each author must take for his or her own work, but also partly due to my lack of mastery of the many fields that this study and its sources stray into. In this I would encourage those who are specialists in each of the fields that have bearing on the material contained in the ethnohistorical analysis presented below to produce works that correct the errors that I have likely made. I would also encourage those possessing the

aforementioned scholarly specialties to further develop the claims made by this study as new materials come to light that directly affect it.

The ethnohistory is divided into three chapters to increase its sensitivity to both the differences between pre-modern and modern identity investigation and the debate occurring in the field of history discussed in the introduction. This first chapter will focus on the development of identity types that emerge in the pre-modern era and that rely on colonialism as a means of generating unequal power distribution between groups. It will examine the identities of the Castilian-Aragonese in Iberia, the development of racial identities within the Viceroyalty of New Spain and the emergence of nationalism that culminated in the founding of the Mexican republic.

4.1 Pre-modern Religious Identities in Iberia

(13th to 16th Century)

The purpose of this first section of the historical analysis is twofold. In the first instance, it will demonstrate the greater utility of Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework. It does so through a description of a preexisting pre-modern religious identity and the group that possessed in a discussion that begins in the 13th century and continues to the 16th century in Iberia. In the second instance, this descriptive material lays the groundwork for describing the theological basis, arising from the cultural lens or worldview of the Iberians, for the first development of race within the breadth of the history of pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent. In this first instance, race develops in the out of the context of preexisting identities in the Viceroyalty of New Spain by the elite of that geopolitical

entity for the categorization of its own people in relation to the other pre-modern religious groups that they assigned a negative status to, a sharp contrast to the racialization that would be imposed upon them by others later in their history. This later racialization will be combated with the assertion of a variety of ethnic identities.

Table 4 – Important Critical Sites and Group Factors for Understanding the Castilian-Aragonese Pre-Modern Religious Identity

Critical Site or Group Factor	Nature of Impact
Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Monarchic system of government – War with the Moors – Jews in government
Labor Market	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Concentration in pastoralism – Anti-aristocratic legislation – Military
Social Institutions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Feudalism – Catholic Church – Military orders
Daily Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Segregation based on religious affiliation
Preexisting Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Pre-modern religious identity founded in Medieval Catholicism
Internal Differentiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Religious and class diversity
Human Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Concentration in agriculture and military
Symbolic Repertoire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Medieval Catholicism

This historical analysis begins with an investigation of the character of the Iberian peoples, specifically the critical sites and group factors relating to their identity development and maintenance, prior to their incursions into the central and southern regions of the

American Continent as *Conquistadores*. The heritage of the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula is quite diverse. Their identity, genetic and culture draw on a long history of interactions with a variety of other pre-modern religious groups. Specifically these influences come from the critical sites and group factors that attended their bolder interactions with peoples from Carthage, Phoenicia, Rome, the Germanic tribes, the Jews and the Moors (Weber, 1992; Meier and Ribera, 1993), as each of these groups in turn made incursions, violently or mercurially oriented, into the Iberian Peninsula.

These territorial invasions were no mere cultural overlays on the Iberian and Basque peoples of the area. While historical records indicate that certain of these pre-modern religious groups had a comparatively minor impact on the identity of the locals (the Carthaginians for one), others like the Romans, the Jews and particularly the Moors have had a significant effect on the culture of the region and the geopolitical units within it. Specifically, it is boundary interactions between the Catholics and Muslims of the Iberian Peninsula at critical sites in accordance with the group factors of each that have left ripples that last into the present and far beyond the geographic confines of the territories they conquered.

The most pertinent effect on the identity of those living on the Iberian Peninsula, for our present interest, was the expulsion of the Moors from the Iberian Peninsula during the 11th through the 15th centuries. The conclusion of this aggressive action coincided with the establishment of the Catholic monarchy, an institution that controlled the majority of the

territory that made up the peninsula. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1469,²¹ which united the Catholic Crowns of Castile and Aragon, established the political credentials of a religious identity that was focused on loyalty to God and His Catholic majesties (Álvarez Junco, 2002). Álvarez Junco and Vento (1995) assert that the character of this new identity cannot be considered nationalist or ethnic, as the attachment is not directed to the state or people, but to God and His monarchs. Thus, loyalty to the monarchy was not a political (that is a national) attachment but a religious one in Europe before it transitioned out of the Feudal System (Nibley, 1951; Kern, 1985; Bertelli, 2001; Cantor, 1993; 2003).

So in terms of analysis, evidence suggests the presence of a pre-modern religious identity in the Iberian Peninsula possessed by those loyal to the united Crown of Castile-Aragon. This is emphasized by Rodríguez-Salgado's (1998) point that no country by the name of Spain existed (Bakewell, 2004).²² Indeed, Wolf, (1982) in his examination of European history does not refer to Spain at all, but rather to Castile-Aragon, further demonstrating the absence of a nation state. Further evidence for conclusion is supplied by the fact that the renaissance that helped fuel the intellectual basis for the enlightenment (the intellectual precursor on nationalism) had only just started earlier that century in Italy (Brucker, 1983; Unger, 2008). As the identity that emerged can only be described as a self-identification based on loyalty to the Catholic Monarchs and the Christian God, for the sake of simplicity I shall refer to this particular pre-modern religious identity as Castilian-Aragonese.

²¹ Despite the marriage and political union Ferdinand and Isabella did not ascend their respective thrones until about a decade later

²² See note one for chapter 4 in the Addendum

The Castilian-Aragonese identity takes on greater complexity when we investigate the groups that were united by the marriage of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon.²³ The aforementioned pre-modern religious identity was a component of the institutions and cultures of both Aragon and Castile. Despite being neighbors the two groups were quite different, with the majority of the common ground between the two being comprised of Catholicism and shared linguistic inheritances that date from the time of the Roman domination.

According to Hall (1989), the Aragonese possessed an agriculturally based, with the majority of their lower classes involved in the manual labor associated with this major portion of the Aragonese labor market, and relatively pacifistic culture. He states that this relative pacifism was the result of the long-term success of their economy which provided none of the economic encouragement of violence and warfare that will be noted in their Castilian neighbors. This in turn led to the Aragonese having limited involvement with the conflict with the Moors in the 15th century that ended the existence of the Islamic geopolitical outpost known as Granada.

In this they were quite different from the more belligerent Castilians, who had constructed a more impermeable boundary between themselves and the Moors, and were more open to violent anti-“other” activity. This hostility was fed by two main causes. First, the Catholic Church had assigned to the Moors the lowest and most pejorative of statuses available to them – that of antichrist. This was a primary factor in the instigation of the war that finally drove them from the Iberian Peninsula and the Catholic Castilians participation

²³ Bakewell (2004) indicates that this marriage took place in order to secure the Castilian succession for Isabella. It was being contested by her alleged sister.

therein. Wolf (1982) describes the second factor, which explicates the degree of their participation in this conflict, when he states that Castile and Portugal were economic predators who used conflict to feed their treasuries.²⁴

These two Iberian monarchies fed their own economies by indulging in hostile actions at the boundaries of their own group (Wolf, 1982). Specifically, they engaged in what would today be called banditry and earned them the dubious honor of being referred to as rogue states, attacking Moorish caravans, and landholdings in order to fuel their war machines. The choice of which “other” to take advantage of is made in reference to the pre-modern religious identity that they possessed. Engaging in such predatory action with non-Castilian Catholic groups would have been repugnant to the majority of Castilians, and in any case would have opened these groups to retribution that could have earned a papal sanction. On the other hand, continued harassment of the Muslims in Granada would have earned papal sanction in their favor, as it could be seen as the continuation of a holy war. This is quite in keeping with the nature of a pre-modern religious identity, regardless of whether one is profiting from the prosecution of violence of this sort (Nibley, 1951).

Additional evidence for this interpretation emerges from an examination of the social institutions and political intents²⁵ involved in the founding of the Castilian monarchy. Wolf (1982) states that the Castilian crown, which would later be inherited by Isabella, emerged

²⁴ While the history of Portuguese activity on the American continent has a bearing on the identities and daily experiences of many of those within Latin America, the fascinating history of this group cannot be given space in the present study given its focus on pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent.

²⁵ Cornell and Hartmann (2007) name politics as their first critical site. While the interactions of the pre-modern religious collective identity groups could certainly be referred to as political, their religious intent makes the use of the term politics somewhat problematic, as it hints at a secular rational as the basis for the border activities of the Catholic and Moorish Iberians. In order to ensure continuity in the application of the framework, the term politics will continue to be applied in this early portion of the ethnohistorical narrative on the understanding that its secular implications are to be ignored.

from three military orders 12th century - the Calatrava, Alcántara and Santiago in the (Ruiz, 2004). These orders were founded in order to wage a more effective campaign against the Moors when they were driven back in the 13th century to the enclave known as Granada. Examining these orders in terms of Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework would lead to the conclusion that Castile would have a particularly aggressive culture, both in terms of conflict and religion.²⁶

The negative, aggressive and sometimes violent daily experience of the Castilians in their interactions at the group boundaries they shared with the Moors and the Jews would have reinforced their institutional predilection for pejoratively identifying and subjugating Moors and Jews as the "other." Their desire for conquest, expansion or conversion, which stemmed from the cultural, institutional and symbolic elements of their preexisting identity, maintained the continued function of the Castilian economy. This aggressive intent and institutional need encouraged the Castilian participation in the conquest of the New World. The attitude to the other that such boundary behavior demonstrates by the Castilian-Aragonese is in line with Nibley's (1951) predictions about the potential for violence in pre-modern religious group interactions. More particularly, for the purposes of this study, it allows us to tie the potential for such behavior in the Old World to the way that *conquistadores* (of predominantly Castilian stock) treated the indigenous groups that they would encounter in the New. Specifically the cultural predilection for violence, expansion, conversion and discrimination of the other is of most interest to the present study, and the development of racial and ethnic identities in the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

²⁶ See the discussion of Jews in Iberia below, and the material relating to them in the addendum under chapter 4, for the treatment of the critical sites and group factors that were involved in this important facet of Castilian culture.

From what has been postulated on the nature of boundary interactions among groups that possess a pre-modern religious identity (Nibley, 1951) and from the materials presented in the historical account, several conclusions can be drawn. First, the presence of dominant and subordinate groups was just as common in Iberia during the time period under examination as in the present day United States, for example. Both the various Catholic Iberian groups and the Moors, according to Nibley's (1951) position and the historical record (Constable, 1997; Ruiz, 2004), would have viewed members of the opposing group as "other." Consequently, Catholic Iberians would have assigned pejorative status to the Moors when members of the latter pre-modern religious collective identity group resided within Catholic controlled territory, and visa versa. This is demonstrated by the sheer number of native Iberians that converted to Islam under Moorish rule in the 8th and 9th century in order to avoid the penalties faced by non-Muslims under the institution of Islamic law (Imamuddin, 1981; Glick, 2005).

One group that resided in the Iberian Peninsula was not able to assign status and reinforce that assignment in the same way that the Castilians or Moors, especially after the onset of the *reconquista*.²⁷ Ray (2006) argues that the Catholic monarchies of the Iberian Peninsula marginalized Jewish persons within their realms as the *reconquista* progressed. This marginalization, instigated by Catholic Iberian monarchs, led to the conversion of many Jewish persons to Catholicism to avoid persecution and maintain status (Netanyahu, 1995), a conversion that could be termed assimilation within the context of Gordon's (1964) discussion.

²⁷ The term *reconquista* refers to the Catholic Iberian framing, using their Catholic cultural worldview, of the war with the Moors in Iberia that began in the 8th century and left them only Granada as an outpost of the once expansive transcontinental empire (Ruiz, 2004).

This pre-modern manifestation of assimilationism, which manifests itself as an occasionally aggressive interest in conversion (Constable, 1997; Ruiz, 2004) is of interest to our later discussion of Castilian-Aragonese imperialism in the new world. It is interesting to note that while the boundaries between the various pre-modern religious collective identity groups that resided in the Iberian Peninsula was particularly dense, assimilation was a relatively straightforward process and one that was quite common. Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework indicates where the difference between this manifestation of assimilation and that which is demanded by the dominant white majority of the US lies - their intent. It was the intent of the peoples of the Iberian Peninsula possessing pre-modern religious identities to gain converts (Imamuddin, 1981; Constable, 1997; Glick, 2005; Levy, 2008), while the goal of the dominant white majority was to maintain its privileged status (Frankenberg, 1993; Doane, 1997; Brown et al, 2003). Constable (1997) documents an account from *Las Siete Partidas*²⁸ that highlights the degree of otherness assigned to non-Catholics by Catholic Iberians and their interest in conversion of these "others." It also demonstrates the extent to which this drive for conversion, emanating from a cultural worldview, was formally institutionalized by the Castilians.²⁹

This conversion, while it may have been complete on the part of the Jewish converts, was clearly not respected as the law called for. Netanyahu (1995) states that the new Catholics of Jewish descent were referred to as *Conversos*— the converted, in order to

²⁸ *Las Siete Partidas* comprised the Castilian law code (Ruiz, 2004), the compilation of which was instigated by Alfonso X during the 13th century. The work took decades, and was formally accepted as Castilian law in 1348. As the name indicates the law was divided into seven portions. The elements of interest to our investigation of pre-modern religious group interaction come from the seventh *partida* that covered criminal law (Constable, 1997).

²⁹ Given the size of the portions of *Las Siete Partidas* that are relevant, they are to be found under note two for chapter four in the Addendum.

distinguish them from those born to Christian families. A blind eye was turned to this sort of behavior in many cases by the magistrates. Part of the reason for this is the anti-“other” elements contained in the legislation. As has been demonstrated in the contemporary United States, legislating against bigoted activity is only partially effective when legislation to the contrary exists or existed recently (Brown et al, 2003). Such legislation existed contemporaneously in Castile.

The boundaries between the *Conversos* and other Catholic Iberians, that had not entirely been erased, had a bearing on the development of Mexican identities. In the case of both the *Conversos* in Iberia and those of mixed Iberian and indigenous descent in the Viceroyalty of New Spain, religion is the primary cause for the rise of racial classifications that differentiated between persons. In spite of this differentiation from other Catholic followers of Christ, the *Conversos* were able to maintain their standard of living. Netanyahu (1995) states that many were even able to rise to positions of political power far greater than were their Jewish forebears. It is in this that Netanyahu (1999) states that there was a pejorative identity assigned to them in place of one that merely differentiated. Rather than refer to this group as *Conversos*, a number of the Catholic Iberians began to refer to them as *Marranos* (referring to pigs in Castilian usage³⁰). This more negative identity increased in salience as discrimination leveled at the *Conversos*’ in the 15th century became more commonplace and began to become institutionalized.

The main reason for the assignment of this pejorative term and the associated development of discrimination was, according to Netanyahu (1999), jealousy on the part of

³⁰ See note three for chapter four of the addendum, for a discussion of the term

non-*Conversos* Catholic Iberians of the power accumulated by the *Conversos*. Over time the level of discrimination that was experienced by the *Conversos/Marranos* led to both residential and labor market segregation (Netanyahu, 1995; 1999; Ray, 2006). This segregation began to be more in line with what those Jews who had retained their faith experienced. One reason for discrimination was that the business of lending and usury as a means to profit from this form of business was relegated to Jews (as usury was strictly prohibited under the Christian faith). This made the Jews more particular targets of prejudice given their position as creditors (Cantor, 1993) which further exacerbated their position with non-*Conversos* Catholic Iberians.

The reason that such a distasteful industry was apportioned to the Jews was religious in nature. This is revealed in a portion of *Las Siete Partidas* that governs the behavior of Jews in regions controlled by Castilians (later the Castilian-Aragonese).³¹ It seems clear that Jews are disparaged in Catholic Iberian societies because of their lack of Christian faith, specifically their rejection of Christ, through their adherence to the Old Testament (the Law of Moses) and their rejection of Christ as the Messiah of the New. While this legal code permits vicious anti-Semitic practice, it also protects the rights of Jews to practice their religion. That is where that practice of medieval Sephardic Judaism does not conflict with the Catholic theology of the time. This can be seen in the Law stating that Jews should not be interfered with or compelled to do work on the Saturday, their Sabbath.

It is interesting that *Las Siete Partidas* treats Jews and Moors living in Castilian territory very differently. Constable (1997) notes that the legal code permitted Jewish

³¹ See note four for chapter four in the Addendum for the relevant quote.

religious practice, but expressly prohibited any practice of the Muslim faith in Castilian controlled areas. The king had the authority to permit the rebuilding of Synagogues if they had been demolished, though with some restrictions. Mosques were a different matter, any existing automatically became property of the Crown and the building or rebuilding of a mosque was expressly forbidden. In discussing the differences in legal treatment of Jews and Moors, Constable suggests that greater leniency was accorded Jewish persons as they had lived around and nearby Christians for many centuries whilst the Moors had not.

While familiarity may play a part, the intent of the Catholic Iberians to successfully conclude the *reconquista* and expel the Moors from the Peninsula, indicates that the reason lies elsewhere. An examination of the goals and methodologies undertaken to achieve this intended goal suggests that it is more likely that the conflict between Christians and Muslims in the Peninsula encouraged greater restriction on Muslim religious practice. This would have allowed the Catholic Iberians to inhibit the use of sacred Islamic spaces, which were off-limits to Christians, for the organization of insurgencies in Christian controlled territories. These potential insurgencies could have lead to the loss of said regions and delay the success of the *reconquista*.

While not potential insurgents, those Jews who had converted to Catholicism still experienced discrimination, despite the fact that the law expressly forbade it. This ill treatment was not, in the main, the fault of Jews, but rather of Castilians from families with long standing Christian roots. The problem that the *Conversos* faced was founded in jealousy over the power they were able to garner within Castilian-Aragonese and wider Iberian society (Ray, 2006), thus upsetting the intended distribution of political power intended by the dominant Catholic Castilian-Aragonese. There was also a rising number of *Conversos*

returning to their Judaic roots (Netanyahu, 1995) which would increase the daily experience of Catholic Castilian Aragonese with non-Christians.

This rejection of the faith³² combined jealousy would fuel anti-Semitic sentiment to the point that it would generate concern for the welfare of Christian souls in the minds of some (Sabatini, 1930) that would culminate in the politically sanctioned institutional atrocities of the inquisition (Netanyahu, 1995). The discrimination faced by non-Catholic groups that Ray (2006) describes, was a direct result of their lack of political power, despite progress made by the *converses*, within the structure of the Castilian-Aragonese society. Parallel to this form of discrimination is that faced by the indigenous peoples of the Americas living under, what was by then (Álvarez Junco, 2002) the Spanish yolk. McAllister's (1969) discussion of the rigid social structure of the Iberian Peninsula and the importance of a warrior class³³ or *defensores* and the place of nobles and the petit-nobility within the Castilian-Aragonese labor market within that structure presents background to the discrimination faced by native groups of the Americas at their hands.

Other than having to prevent Moorish insurgencies and to further the prosecution of the conflict with Granada, there were social reasons for the presence of a large number of highly trained fighters in the region. In the Iberian Peninsula during the 13th and 14th centuries, it was commonly believed that without the *defensores* landholdings would be laid waste by predation on the part of either other landholders or bandits. It was considered the highest honor to bear arms, and this was perceived to be a function of lineage.³⁴ This social

³² As framed by the Catholic Castilian Aragonese.

³³ See note five for chapter four in the Addendum

³⁴ In this, and the prior example of the Jews of Iberia, we see the seeds of racial and ethnic classification systems that would emerge in the Viceroyalty of New Spain

order did not begin to show signs of breaking down until the 15th century. McAllister (1969) states that this started with the emergence of a new class of individuals named the *letrados* into the Castilian-Aragonese labor market. This group could be seen as a merchant come administrative class, and one that quickly made itself indispensable. This change to the social structure certainly did not marginalize the *defensores*, but it did break their “monopoly on the role of defensor” (McAllister, 1969, pg 351). As the discussion progresses, it will become clear that Aragon had experienced far more of this change than did Castile. However, it is important to note that when this alteration to the social structure swept Castile, it did not disenfranchise the warrior ethos; rather it opened the pursuit of this aggressive lifestyle (or this sector of the labor market) to more of the middle class.

It was Castile’s still dominant *defensores* nobility and its attendant preoccupation with aggression (Wolf, 1982), its possession of a far larger population (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004), and finally its larger and more diversified economy that provide reasons for the inequality in the union of Castile and Aragon. The Castilian economy is also of interest to this discussion as its institutions served to reinforce the culture so far discussed. Hall (1989) states that by this point the Castilian economy had become oriented towards conflict and the resultant opportunity for expansion. In light of the material presented we could go further and state that the Castilian economy was founded upon warfare and had been becoming progressively more expansionist in outlook for centuries.

Castile, unlike Aragon, was less well suited to agricultural pursuits and so engaged in and institutionalized the practice of pastoralism, specifically sheepherding (Bishko, 1963; Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004; Ruiz, 2004) resulting in the development of a preoccupation with the lifestyle of the pastoralist, specifically with herdsman. Hall (1989) states that this

lack of crop farming meant frequent food shortages during the 13th and 14th centuries. The Castilian economy, therefore, had a propensity to hyperinflation and collapse, which fed its predilection for preying upon the Moors. It also had an effect on the proportionally greater participation of the Castilians, over other Iberians (with the possible exception of the Portuguese), in the conflict that finally saw the end of the Moorish outpost of Granada.

Such a Castile would have been economically incapable of making an impact upon the conquest of the New World, were it not for their participation in the 15th century in the developing markets for wool in the Mediterranean (Hall, 1989). Bakewell (2004) notes that the sale of wool generated excellent returns particularly in Italian markets. That profit was sufficient to assist the Castilian economy back on its feet. This economic resurgence was supported by the efforts of Cantabrian shipbuilders and Basque ironworkers, both groups known at the time for the high quality of their work, and also within the Castilian sphere of political influence. This economic power enabled Castile to have an impact on the new world. In addition to the aforementioned factors, it also enabled the Castilians to have greater political leverage in their union with Aragon. Thus, they were able to exact greater influence over the colonies in the Americas.

This becomes important to the current argument in conjunction with Hall's (1989) statement that the Castilian-Aragonese Crown was working hard to consolidate political power at the expense of the noble classes. It will be shown that these actions against the aristocracy provided the conquest of the new world with large numbers of individuals of noble birth who were used to ruling and would participate in the subjugation of the

indigenous peoples of the Americas.³⁵ Hall (1989) notes that early in the 16th century Ferdinand and Isabella issued a number of edicts that were intended to give them more control over the aristocracy. These edicts ceded the control of land from certain members of the noble class to the Crown. The legislation³⁶ ensured that only the eldest male child of a noble family could inherit from his father. This edict effectually disinherited large numbers of the aristocratic class, and propelled them to seek a means of support in other sectors of the labor market. The most important effect of this change in the law was to exclude many members of the aristocracy from the means of maintaining their station, the result of which was to push many of these impoverished nobles towards service in the church, economy, royal bureaucracy and the army.

This gave Ferdinand and Isabella greater control over the economy and the resources with which to fuel the conquest of the New World. Hall (1989) states that the Aragonese nobles that were politically castrated in this manner were more prone to enter commercial, ecclesiastical and ministerial service. Their Castilian counterparts, on the other hand, driven as they were by their cultural admiration of the *defensores* and *hidalgos* or knights,³⁷ were more often found joining the army. Becoming *Conquistadores* would allow them to seek for personal acclaim, demonstrate the manly prowess so idealized in their culture, obtain political advancement through service to the crown and enable them to reacquire lands in the New World.

³⁵ The activities of these individuals is of particular interest to those Mexican-Americans who possess Spanish-American or *Chicano* identities

³⁶ See note six for chapter four in the addendum.

³⁷ These *defensores* and *hidalgos* as previously discussed formed a key component of the Castilian symbolic repertoire, that aided in the maintenance of their aggressive Castilian culture in the face of assimilation with Aragon.

Thus, we find that the institutional reforms of God's own Catholic monarchs had the effect of ensuring that the majority of those heading to New Spain in order to increase their fortunes and had their roots in Castile. The demographic of these would be *conquistadores* included a relatively large number from the disinherited upper class³⁸ and almost all of the immigrants being male. This meant that this particular Castilian-Aragonese group was composed of those that were more likely to engage in aggressive behavior towards non-Catholics. This is important as it sets the stage for the subjugation of the indigenous peoples that came into contact with the *conquistadores* (Hall, 1989; Hume, 1992; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Pagden, 1993; Vento 1995).

This policy was a direct result of the attitudes attendant in the Castilian-Aragonese pre-modern religious identity. *Conquistadores* with strong Castilian roots undertook this suppression, their willingness to participate in it stems from the thickness of their asserted pre-modern religious identity. It also reflects their willingness to assign a far lower status to the indigenous "other" on the basis of their own cultural norms.³⁹ From this it seems that George Foster was entirely correct when he stated, "at no time in history has there been such a significant degree of culture contact between peoples of completely different traditions" (Weber, 1992, p 14). The depth of pre-modern religious feeling, demonstrated in this section, and its fundamental effect on the cultural worldview of the individuals in the Castilian-Aragonese is important to the discussion of the theological basis for the development of race to be discussed in the next section.

³⁸ See note seven for chapter four in the Addendum.

³⁹ See note eight for chapter four in the Addendum .

Aside from these particularly important effects on the future identities of pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent, there are others that can be traced to the Castilians particularly. For one, the high percentage of Castilians taking part in the conquest ensured that the *conquistadores* were more interested in animal husbandry as a means of producing food. The cultural interest, and labor market concentration, in pastoralism on the part of Castilian *conquistadores* has had a major impact on the culture of the Spanish Viceroyalties, Mexico and the American Southwest with the development of the social institution of the Hacienda within the colony (Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Bakewell 2004). The institution of the Hacienda and the cultural norms that resulted from it are responsible for the development of one of the key symbols of post-revolutionary Mexico: the *Charro* or Mexican Cowboy (Nájera-Ramírez, 1994).

The institution of semi-feudal Hacienda was of even greater import, as it introduced a tradition of provincial thinking (Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera 1993) into New World Castilian-Aragonese culture that undermined the centrism that would be imposed by the Crown on the Viceroyalty of New Spain. This was reinforced with the participation of so many disenfranchised nobles joining the conquest. Ferdinand and Isabella's institutional reform had also ensured that at least some of those who left Iberia also carried with them the seeds of disgruntlement with Crown rule. This dissatisfaction with the crown would fuel a variety of small rebellions (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004) until, nurtured by enlightenment ideals and opportunity these tensions between the Crown and its colony gave rise to nationalist sentiments and a full scale revolt now known as the Mexican War of Independence (Meier & Ribera, 1993; Weber, 2003; Bakewell, 2004). It was this war and the lack of political stability in its aftermath that allowed the fledgling United States to demand the cession of

Mexico's Northern territory, thus provided the impetus for the racialization of Mexicans in the United States (Gómez, 2007) and the generation of the variety of identities belonging to Americans of Mexican descent (Meier & Ribera, 1993; De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006).

Thus, as Nagel (1994) states the term melting pot,⁴⁰ later used to describe the Americas, could prove to be a misnomer in both cases. For while the pre-modern religious identities of those that came together in the midst of such discrimination in New Spain were able to come to a degree of consensus (under threat of force), it also provided opportunity to begin to classify the indigenous "other" on a racial basis. This meant that any merging of disparate peoples under Catholicism did not generate common ground; rather the common ground that was forged was riven by the generation of a new type of inequality - racial inequality.

These effects last until at least the twentieth century. One ethnic group of Americans of Mexican descent - the Chicanos - define themselves in part through a reinterpretation of events that will be discussed in the coming section. Specifically they take issue with the aggression of some of the *Conquistadores* and their attendant violent behavior towards the native groups of the Americas, their drive to convert, as well as the policies of New Spain. Chicanos took great dislike to the cultural and physical violence that was inflicted on the Mesoamerican groups that they feel a familial and cultural link to, which resulted from these elements. The *Chicano* conflict-based ethnic identity takes umbrage at the racial divisions that were generated by the effects on the indigenous peoples of the attitudes and culture of

⁴⁰ Nagel is concentrating on a discussion of the United States and its ethnic diversity, however the term is equally applicable to the Viceroyalty of New Spain. An understanding of the diversity and lack of assimilation hinted at in colonial era Central and Northern America will emerge as the discussion progresses.

Castile as described in this section. If cruel treatment of the indigenous peoples of the Americas had not occurred, *Chicano* activists may not have fought against the Spanish myth (De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006) as they built what Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) refer to as an ideological history. Just as the identity and ideology of *Chicanos* were affected by the actions of the Castilian-Aragonese conquistadores another ethnic group in the United States – the Spanish Americans - interprets these events quite differently. While they do not laud the violence that took place during the conquest of the New World, they do celebrate their links with Spain. They take particular pride in the aristocratic cultural heritage that existed in Iberia, the Viceroyalties and the Mexican Republic.

4.2 *The Emergence of Race in the Viceroyalty*

(16th to 18th Century)

The framework developed by Cornell and Hartmann (2007), specifically their critical sites and group factors, can provide a means for understanding the development of racial collective identity groups form as the religious identities of the Castilian-Aragonese *conquistadores* and the indigenous peoples of the American Continent interact. This will be accomplished through continued investigation of important events and critical sites in the Viceroyalty of New Spain and will continue after the region became the Republic of Mexico. Specifically it will examine, using the racial and ethnic collective identity group ideal types, the recorded experiences and circumstances of the individuals and groups as pre-modern religious collective identity groups waned in salience and racial collective identity groups developed and grew in salience.

**Table 5 – Impact of Critical Sites and Group Factors on
Racial Identities of New Spain**

Critical Site or Group Factor	Nature of Impact
Politics	– Power divided along religious then racial boundaries
Labor Market	– Legal restrictions on Native/Mestizo/Indio production
Social Institutions	– Weak prohibition on religious/racial intermarriage
Culture	– Concept of holy blood and associated status assignment
Daily Experience	– Legal differentiation between Spanish/Criollos and indigenous persons – Religious then racial segregation
Preexisting Identities	– Castilian-Aragonese – Indigenous pre-modern religious identities
Size	– Small numbers of Iberians – Many large groups of indigenous peoples
Internal Differentiation	– High proportion of males to females in Castilian-Aragonese, later Spanish, group
Symbolic Repertoire	– Catholicism, specifically the virgin and the cross – Conquest – Conversion

Though not the first foray into the Central American mainland, the expedition of Hernán Cortés⁴¹ in 1519, composed of both soldiers equipped with artillery and horse and by porters (Levy, 2008), was one of the most important for the development of racial and later Mexican national identities. Levy’s description of the expeditions first contact with an indigenous group, specifically of Cortés’ actions explains much of the complexity of the boundary interactions between the Castilian-Aragonese *conquistadores* and the indigenous

⁴¹ See note nine in Addendum

groups they encountered. They also betray the extent to which Castilian cultural practice affected those interactions.⁴² Cortés first action after stepping on the beach was to castigate a subordinate for his raid on a nearby village that took place prior to his landing. At Cortés insistence, one of his captains - Pedro de Alvarado, was forced to return some small gold objects and fowls that he had violently appropriated, as well as release three prisoners that he had taken. Cortés then profusely apologized via an interpreter to the village's leaders. Díaz (1963) states that Cortés was attempting to ensure that he would be able to have the cooperation and assistance of the native peoples during the expedition as far as was possible.

It is interesting then, that one of Cortés actions at the same village about a week later was to so intolerant. Cortés, in both Levy's (2008) survey of historical documents and in Díaz' (1963) original account, when exposed to the religious practice of the natives demanded that they give up idol worship and place on their small pyramids a figure of Holy Mary and a Cross. When the leaders of the village on Cozumel refused to leave their traditional practice, Cortés ordered his men to destroy the figures of the native's gods, cast them down the small pyramids they were placed on, and clean the pyramids with lime to remove the blood that had collected there as a result of the indigenous sacrificial practice. Having removed every trace of the sacrifices made to the deities of the native people, Cortés had Catholic images placed on the pyramids and organized a mass that the natives participated in. Díaz' (1963) account and Levy's (2008) survey of accounts both agree that Cortés took pains to ensure that the indigenous peoples on Cozumel retained the Catholic practice that he had instituted amongst them.

⁴² See note ten in Addendum

Interesting parallels exist between the Castilian/Castilian-Aragonese repression of religious practices of the Iberian Mohammedans and the indigenous peoples of the Americas. In both situations conquest is a main focus of the Catholic Iberians in their interactions with these “others.” *Las Siete Partidas* demonstrates that the Castilians, while barely tolerant of Jewish religious practice, went to great lengths to stamp out Moslem religious practice (Constable, 1997). While in the New World the example of Cortés above is repeated throughout the conquest and the organization and existence of the Viceroyalty (Díaz, 1963; Hall, 1989; Weber, 1992; Bakewell, 2004; Díaz Balsera, 2005; Levy, 2008). The reason for this religious repression is twofold; first there is the thickness of the religious culture of the Castilian/Castilian-Aragonese. This religiosity has already been demonstrated in the drive for the conversion of the Iberian Jews (Constable, 1997). Convinced of the superiority of their religion, the Castilians were eager to encourage conversion while displaying the minimum of tolerance for the pre-modern religious “other.”

This is added to the willingness of the Catholic Iberians to engage in conquest with the Moors and the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Out of this an understanding emerges of why these to pre-modern religious collective identity groups that were so different were not treated in the same way as the Iberian Jews. One could say that there is a certain strategic necessity to the absence of religious rights granted to Moslems in Castilian territory. The successful expulsion of the Moors from Granada would have to be prefaced by keeping them out of the territory gained from them (Wolf, 1982; Hall; 1982; Ruiz, 2004). By refusing to permit Islamic religious practice within their domain the Castilian monarchy inhibited the ability of Moslems to plan and engage in insurgency within Catholic controlled territories. In

the case of the native groups encountered in the Americas, we could say that a similar need to minimize opportunity for organization of revolt from Castilian-Aragonese authority.

Such a need is only heightened when the proportionately small size of the Iberian population in the Americas is compared to that of the indigenous peoples (Bakewell, 2004; Díaz Balsera, 2005). These strategic reasons for conversion were coincidental to the thickness of the Castilian/Castilian-Aragonese pre-modern religious identity and the degree to which the institution of Catholicism ordered the everyday experiences of these persons. Both Díaz (1963) and Levy (2008) describe a continual round of the performance of mass. The religious rites were held at times deemed to be auspicious or when the blessings of the divine were desired, at the beginning of a days' journey in addition to holy days and Sundays. This religiously based impulse to convert and dominate in God's name, only strengthened the differential treatment accorded to Mohammedans in Iberia and native groups in the Americas. This religiosity is particularly important as it is from this collective identity type that race emerges in the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

Levy (2008) describes this deep religious conviction on the part of both the indigenous peoples⁴³ that Castilian-Aragonese encountered and on the part of the conquistadores. Interestingly, Levy describes Cortés using this to his advantage as he encountered and aggressively convert group after group of the indigenous peoples. In this, Díaz' (1963) account is in agreement, as he describes the leader of the expedition demanding that the sacred idols of the native peoples be destroyed to make way for the erecting of the symbols of the Catholic faith – the virgin and the cross, in their place. Given the degree of

⁴³ See note 11 in Addendum

theological bias in Díaz' (1963) account we turn to Levy (2008) to explain the success of Cortés aggressive conversion methods.

Levy (2008) certainly describes this indigenous religiosity affecting their interactions and group boundaries with the Iberian invaders. Cortés played on these sensibilities in accordance with his own religious convictions in order to convert entire peoples to Catholicism (Levy, 2008). This, combined with shrewd political manipulation of the indigenous groups had the effect of severing notions of loyalty to the triple alliance that was presided over by Montezuma. Forging alliances with indigenous groups and ensuring that their ties were severed with Montezuma was key for this small group of Iberians to have been able to gain political ascendancy in Central America (Díaz, 1963).

This was accomplished via political maneuvering, the employment of battlefield technologies that the indigenous peoples were unfamiliar with (horses, cannon and musket) and the aid of those native groups that had allied themselves to Cortés on behalf of his monarch and allowed Cortés to take control of Tenochtitlán (Levy, 2008). Given the distance between the Castilian-Aragonese homeland and the new world gaining advantage over the indigenous peoples through strength of numbers would have been close to impossible. Cortés lack of numbers, in terms of those that accompanied him from Cuba, was overcome through the conversion of a number of native groups. Cortés retained the right to interpret the will of the Christian god for these native peoples. Thus, the Castilian-Aragonese were able to increase their numbers to the point that they could take control of one of the most advanced and developed empires that existed at that point in history (Hall, 1989; Weber, 1992; Bakewell, 2004; Levy, 2008).

The conversions did not cease once control of the region had been tenuously acquired, rather it permitted a massive expansion of the evangelizing of the native peoples. Díaz Balsera (2005) states that Cortés requested the permission of Pope Adrian VI for missionaries to be sent to the New World for the purpose of converting those native peoples now subject to Cortés and thus the Catholic monarchy of Castile-Aragon. Pope Adrian IV gave his permission and sent twelve Franciscan missionaries to Cortés. Upon their arrival Díaz Balsera (2005) describes a particularly powerful experience that encouraged and confirmed the mass conversion of many of the indigenous peoples when Hernán Cortés himself abased himself before the missionaries and on his crawling on knees kissed the hand of each. That so powerful a person as Cortés would do this in the presence of the great assemblage of indigenous nobles and leaders impressed them with the theocratic authority of the Franciscans, so much so that each of the native chieftains followed Cortés' example making obeisance to each of the missionaries. Following this potent display the conversion of religious "others" to the Catholic faith and the directing of their loyalty to the Castilian-Aragonese monarch, then Charles I, continued apace (Díaz, 1963; Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Weber, 2003; 2005; Díaz Balsera, 2005; Levy, 2008).

In the Americas the Castilian-Aragonese elite found themselves vastly outnumbered by the native groups that they subjugated (mass subjects in Schermerhorn's classification system). While many were quite loyal to the Iberian *conquistadores*, the religious and political focus on territorial expansion brought the Castilian-Aragonese and their native allies into contact with ever more hostile indigenous peoples. This forced the introduction of greater flexibility to the religiously based (Kern, 1985; Cantor, 1993; Bertelli, 2001) rigid social caste that the Castilian-Aragonese had brought with them from Iberia. It was this

internal differentiation that separated the Castilian-Aragonese nobles from their common countrymen more effectively in their Iberian homeland. This was one reason that the interclass divisions between the Spaniards of New Spain were less segregating than in the Iberian Peninsula (Hall, 1989).

The other reason is bound up in how and why the rigid Iberian caste system was reinterpreted in the New World. Part of the impetus for this reinterpretation was found in the legacy of Ferdinand and Isabella's successful attempt to consolidate power by the tightening of inheritance legislation in *Las Siete Partidas* (Hall, 1989). Given that European nobles depended on landholdings for their income and to some degree their power (Cantor, 1993) it is unsurprising that the Crown moved again to inhibit the development of an aristocracy in the New World. Rather than give land to those who had served well in the Conquest, the Crown granted a right to exact tribute and labor from a proscribed number of indigenous people called an *encomienda* (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004). Hall (1989) states that over time a rift arose between those Castilian-Aragonese who had made the New world their home and had adopted the name *Criollos* (many of whom had been granted *encomiendas* and so held the title of *Encomiendors*) and those who were sent from Iberia to administrate the region on behalf of the Crown, known as *Peninsulares* or *Spaniards*⁴⁴

Hall (1989) states that this rift existed in part as many of the *Criollos* had been able to amass large landholdings in spite of the Crown laws that limited such accumulations. This properties were diverse, including farms of all sorts given that the native peoples had a facility for agriculture that the *Conquistadores* lacked in the main), mines, other natural

⁴⁴ See note 12 in the Addendum

resources and production facilities (Bakewell, 2004). As a result of this diversification the *Criollos* gained a significant amount of control over local affairs in the colony and took dislike to what they viewed as *Peninsular* interference. Hall (1989) and Bakewell (2004) state that, for their part, the administrators sent from Spain recognized that the *Criollos* were cruelly exploiting the native peoples in a way that would make governance and even the continued domination of these native groups problematic. More than political concerns motivated the *Peninsulares* however as many were clergymen sent to further the aims of the church in the New World and had, according to Díaz Balsera (2005) a particular interest in the welfare of the souls in addition to the physical wellbeing of these potential Christians and recent converts.

This provided a portion of the foundation for the development of what appears to be either a racially or an ethnically based system of classification out of a series of religious identities within the emerging society of the Viceroyalty of New Spain. The remainder is described by Álvarez Junco (2002) when he asserts that the Iberian and New World Spanish were particularly enamored of a Catholic doctrine that emerged during the Counter-Reformation. It stated that those who descended from a long line of Christians were of purer blood or stock ⁴⁵ than those who were recent converts.⁴⁶ The presence of such a doctrinal conception amongst the Spanish would have resulted in their assigning a low status (Díaz Balsera, 2005) to the native groups that they had encountered and subdued. In any case Hall and McAlister (1969) describe the rise of a complex system of classification that the Spanish

⁴⁵ This most likely referred to the degree of holiness possessed by the individual. However given the emergence of scientific explanations for the natural world and human society the religious connotation would have been lost and all that remained would have been lingering feeling of superiority.

⁴⁶ This would agree with the lack of regard that was given the *Conversos* as discussed in the first section of the ethnohistorical analysis (Ray, 2006).

use to differentiate themselves from the native groups that they had encountered and subjugated in the Americas.

The indigenous groups that they had brought under political domination were also to contribute to the development of the Viceroyalty of New Spain and its policies, specifically those that would further the development of race/ethnicity. The most basic way that native peoples would be able to do this given their political castration was through intermarriage and the resulting children of those unions. Given that very few women emigrated from the Iberian Peninsula, Meier and Ribera (1993) describe intermarriage as inevitable. However, marrying native women was something that was mostly confined to the *Criollos*. The *Peninsulares* who went to New Spain in search of a means to elevate their social standing would be unlikely to accomplish their aims if they were to intermarry, given that so many intended to return to Iberia. In any case Bakewell (2004) asserts that while a number of marriages did take place, the numbers were small, with a greater proportion of children of mixed heritage being born a number of months after Spanish soldiers moved through an area where indigenous peoples were living.

Bakewell (2004) also states that the Crown had been particularly interested in making the native peoples citizens of a second-class state in the New World to which they alone would belong. The purpose of this was to ensure that Spain and specifically the Crown could retain control of the region, by limiting the political freedoms of the native peoples. The children of intermarriages and those born out of wedlock, referred to as *Mestizos* (Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Bakewell, 2004). Bakewell (2004) and Hall (1989) assert that in addition to this institutional discrimination the *Criollos* viewed the indigenous persons as mentally inferior and almost childlike in a way that was reminiscent of the patriarchal racism

later in the history of colonialism (Blackburn, 1997; Wilson, 2004). Unlike that racially based prejudice which was founded on pseudo-science, the discriminatory attitudes and practices of the *Criollos* emerged from their pre-modern religious worldviews.

Another group that suffered prejudice was referred to by the term *Mulato* (Hall, 1989). This group was composed of African slaves and the children of those slaves and either an Iberian or a native person. These designations for children of Spanish and *Indio* parentage – *Mestizo* - and for those of Spanish and African parents - *Mulato* - in addition to those describing the Iberians – *Criollo* and *Peninsular* formed the basis of a racial system of social classification⁴⁷. However, McAlister (1969) takes pains to note that these designations were founded on a religious worldview, and related the Spanish perception of the degree to which individuals and groups were descended from those of the true faith (Álvarez Junco, 2002). Given the familial nature of this system of classification and its similarity to the one drop rule that formed part of the experience of race relations in the United States (Brown et al, 2003), it is unsurprising that it has been characterized as a racially based classification system (Hall, 1989; Yetman, 1999; Cornell and Hartmann, 2007).

Such an apparent differentiation is coincidental to the separation of religious identities; at least that was the intention of the Spaniards, given their predilection for holier blood (Álvarez Junco, 2002). Over time it would appear that the visual differences in skin tone and other physical features between the Spanish, the indigenous peoples, African slaves and those whose familial heritage was a mixture of the aforementioned, became a sort of visual shorthand for determining the purity of the holy or righteous blood flowing in the

⁴⁷ This racial system of social classification was hierarchical, it was organized as follows in descending order – *Peninsular*, *Criollo*, *Mestizo*, *Mulato* and *Indio*.

veins of a person in the Viceroyalty (Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera, 1993). Thus, what was originally a religious system of classification evolved into what is more recognizable as a racial or ethnic system to the contemporary observer. This complicated system put paid to the plans of the Crown to establish a dual state system (Bakewell, 2004). Instead, in addition to the tightening of the legal code (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004) the institutions of the Catholic Church, specifically the religious orders such as the Franciscans, were used as a means to convert those of indigenous and mixed blood. Thus a measure of theocratic control, as used in Cortés's conquest of the Aztecs (Levy, 2008), was employed in the Viceroyalty (Hall, 1989; Díaz Balsera, 2005).

One would assume that the strictures of medieval Catholicism and the degree to which the thickness of the Spanish pre-modern religious identity would seek the complete conversion of subject peoples would have removed a large part of the "otherness" of the native peoples of the Americas. This evidently is not the case and it is Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework, specifically its interest in the critical site of institutions that points to the probable causes of their lack of assimilation within the culture of the Viceroyalty, the doctrine of holy blood and associated discrimination notwithstanding. However the completeness of the evangelization of the indigenous peoples, specifically the Nahua, was inhibited by the persistence of indigenous religious institutions that also affected the Nahua interpretations of Catholicism (Díaz Balsera, 2005).

Díaz Balsera (2005) refers to a historical document with particular significance to the development of race/ethnicity and could help in the determination of which was present in the Viceroyalty. It was written by Juan Bautista in the year 1600 and reflects upon the unanticipated difficulties in the conversion process that the Franciscans had not anticipated.

It appears that the Nahua were not as totally converted as Cortés, or any others that made incursions into the mainland of the Americas in the early 16th century, thought. Díaz Balsera notes that Bautista and other non-state missionaries were struggling with the persistence of the Nahua's use of small idols which depicted their deities. The daily religious practice of the Nahua also included the continuance of the use of narcotics (a feature of their traditional religious practice) within the rituals of Catholicism. It would seem that the source of the lack of complete conversion was the polytheistic nature of the religious practice of the indigenous peoples encountered by the *Conquistadores*, as described by Díaz Balsera (2005) and Levy (2008). It was this open-mindedness on the part of the indigenous peoples that so offended many of the Spanish priests.

It is interesting that Bautista's writings, which described a means to assist the total conversion of the native peoples, were suppressed and not published until the 1800s. Díaz Balsera indicates that these writings were an appeal for greater tolerance and greater understanding of the Nahua's previous religious practices, that Bautista believed would assist missionaries in the work of conversion. Bautista's appeal for what amounts to ethnographic study of the indigenous people was unpalatable to the more bureaucratic state missionaries, known as regulars. This is important as a series of events involving the *Peninsular* administrators and the current monarch - Phillip II – ensured that the more temperate voices of the missionaries of the religious orders were drowned out.

These mendicant's interests were not confined to the salvation of indigenous souls, but as mentioned before they were also concerned that the excesses of the *Encomiendos* be restrained (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004). Bakewell asserts that the interference of the priests belonging to the religious orders had the effect of lessening some of the cruelties that the

native peoples suffered. However, the Crown moved to limit the powers that the *Encomiendos* had amassed in order to preserve its own political supremacy in the 1540s. The missionaries of the religious orders did not stop delving into political matters after this success however, and Bakewell (2004) states that the Crown began to view them as a hindrance to its own interests. The intervention of Phillip II to limit the power of the missionaries of the religious orders was perhaps stronger than he intended (as he viewed their conversion efforts as more effective than those of the regulars) due to the rise of anti-Protestant policy and activity in the Catholic Church and the Catholic monarchies of Europe (Bakewell, 2004; Díaz Balsera, 2005). The edict passed by Phillip II replaced the missionaries of the religious orders working with the native peoples with regulars (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004; Díaz Balsera, 2005). This had the effect of ensuring that Bautista's pleas fell on increasingly deaf ears. As a result the priestly class of colonial Spain took the lack of total conversion on the part of indigenous peoples as a measure of a lack of holy blood, reinforcing the negative status of the indigenous people. This, in time, led to the racialization of the various groups, as defined by the Spanish elite, in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. Aside from mildly strengthening the notion of holy blood and

Those regulars were less interested in the culturally aware and nuanced approach of Bautista because their interpretation of Catholic doctrine had grown more rigid as a result of the rise of Protestantism in Europe.⁴⁸ It would appear from this discussion that a racial identity had emerged within the Viceroyalty of New Spain, even though the initial feature of salience for those involved was religion (McAllister, 1969). Certainly Hall (1989), Yetman

⁴⁸ See note 13 in the Addendum

(1999) and Cornell and Hartmann (2007) describe it as such. However, Feros (2005) describes these identities – *Peninsular*, *Criollo*, *Mestizo* and *Mulato* as ethnic. Given the lack of consensus amongst those examining the identities of the Viceroyalty it is therefore necessary to determine the exact nature of the identities that emerged from the interactions of the pre-modern religious identities of the Spanish and the indigenous peoples of the Americas.

Given that there is more scholarly interest in the presence of a racial identity I will approach this determination by attempting to prove that a racial classification system is present, and demonstrate why ethnic identification would likely not be salient to those present in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. It has been demonstrated that the biological element of this system of social classification – holy blood - is theologically based. The system is nonetheless founded on a biological basis, and not a familial basis for social classification and thus, indicates that racial and not ethnic identities emerged from pre-modern religious identities in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. That racial and not ethnic identities are present at this point in the history of the Viceroyalty is further demonstrated when we note that the children of persons of Iberian and a non-Iberian descent were classified by their non-Iberian line of descent (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004), and that movement between the groups was highly restricted (Bakewell, 2004). The domination described in the ethnohistorical analysis of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, a facet that relates more to the racial than the ethnic group identity ideal type, would explain this sort of downward generational movement.

Only one more component must be identified, or rather its absence must be identified, to definitively confirm the presence of racial rather than ethnic identities in New Spain - reflexivity. In examining the dominant (Spanish) and minority (Indigenous and African)

groups it seems clear that reflexivity is present only in small amounts in the dominant group. Hall (1989) states that the *Hidalgos* and other minor nobles definitely have the opportunity for social advancement in their service to the crown. That they were aware of this is highlighted in the account of one of the better-known minor nobles who possessed major ambition – Hernán Cortés.

Levy (2008) makes it quite clear that Cortés was of humble southern Castilian origins. Yet the ambition that he displayed in his actions in the New World, particularly his eagerness to found a town (Vera Cruz) in order to rid himself of being bound to Diego Velázquez, his social superior, financier and the governor of Cuba. Cortés went to great lengths to conceal the founding from Velázquez, till his representatives could present the documents of founding and a large haul of indigenous gold and precious stones (a bribe) to the King. Royal recognition of the founding ensured that Cortés was able to increase his social standing and gain colonial leadership in addition to his leadership of the expedition. Demonstrably Cortés was aware that he could change his social standing and was actively pursuing major changes to the station into which he was born.

Díaz Balsera (2005) and Levy (2008) describe a very strict social structure in Nahua culture prior to the subjection of these peoples to Spanish rule, so it would seem that this sort of reflexivity is was not a component of the societies of the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Hall (1989) states that once they had been conquered, the indigenous groups owed tribute to the Spanish and lost many freedoms, such as the right to bear arms. They were also prevented from being able to wear Spanish clothing or from riding horses. In this we see a distinct ceiling designed to prevent the social mobility of the indigenous peoples. Bakewell (2004) adds that the legal system treated the native people like minors, thus ensuring that the

strict limits placed on their social mobility could not be circumvented. This lack of social mobility is interpreted to indicate a concomitant lack of reflexivity amongst the indigenous peoples.

While Hall (1989) and Bakewell (2004) describe a number of conflicts, notably the Mixton and Chichimec Wars, between the Spanish and the indigenous peoples, they were not indicators of reflexivity amongst indigenous persons living within the Viceroyalty. Rather these two conflicts were reactions against continued Spanish expansion and contact with groups that were far more aggressive, and therefore less easily cowed, than those that had become allied with the Spanish earlier in the history of their presence on the American continent. That notable uprisings are few and far between during the early years of racialization (16th century), is a reflection on the degree to which the Spanish were able to dominate and racialize⁴⁹ these peoples once they were colonial second-class subjects, and not on those subjected to the Spanish yolk (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004).

In order to conclude this section it should be noted that the racialization of the indigenous peoples was also a racialization of the invaders from Iberia themselves. While race was emerging at this point in the history of the pre-Mexican peoples, it should be noted that many still possessed pre-modern religious identities and that this earlier identity form would still be present for much of the racial history of the Viceroyalty of New Spain and play a part in the development of national identities and the Republic of Mexico. Also of interest is that the emphasis of Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework on the six critical sites was of particular use in cluing the investigation of source materials into how the pre-modern

⁴⁹ See note 14 in the Addendum

religious identities of individuals and groups in the Viceroyalty changed. Further the framework was of use in directing my investigation of source materials so that I could make a definite identification of the group identity type that was emerging in the Viceroyalty of New Spain and sides with Hall (1989), Yetman (1999) and Cornell and Hartmann (2007) that it was racial in nature.

4.3 Nationalism and the Republic of Mexico

(16th to 19th Century)

The previous two sections have documented the presence of pre-modern religious identities in Iberia, pre-Columbian America and in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. The previous section detailed the emergence of a new group identity type in Spain's northern colony and determined that it was racial and not ethnic in character. This section builds on this foundation by first noting the presence of elements of ethnicity in the racial group identities of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, while a certain number of pre-modern religious identities persist in outlying areas and the dominant Spanish groups retain a certain pre-modern religious flavor to their racial identity. This portion of the ethnohistorical narrative will then describe how the increased reflexivity of the racial identities assisted in the development of a national identity and resulted in the establishment of a Mexican nation.

**Table 6 – Impact of Critical Sites and Group Factors on
Mexican National Identity**

Critical Site or Group Factor	Nature of Impact
Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Concentration of power in hands of monarchy – Colonial powers in hands of dominant racial group
Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Racial differentiation and status assignment – Loyalty to monarchy – Loyalty to conceptualized nation
Daily Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Racial categories and attendant institutional and normative discrimination – Debate on enlightenment ideology, specifically concepts of equality and nationalism
Preexisting Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Persisting components of pre-modern religious identities – Racial identities
Internal Differentiation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Racial groups – Intellectual elite and underprivileged
Human Capital	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Pastoralism – Literacy

The ethnohistorical narrative last dwelt on the northern expansion of New Spain, and it will be seen, as it continues from this point, that this expansion and the problems that attended it played an important role in the development of the preconditions for the emergence of a national identity. Spanish authority spread north among the native peoples that Hall (1989), Weber (1992) and Bakewell (2004) describe as having a large amount of cultural variation between particular groups, though as previously mentioned, they each held thick pre-modern religious identities. The leadership of the Viceroyalty of New Spain sent small bands of missionaries and explorers into the lands to its north beginning in the mid 1500s (Hall, 1989).

This inability to dominate the native groups that were encountered as the colony expanded northwards, was in part due to the nomadic nature of the indigenous peoples of the region (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004; McCollough, 2004). It is also a reflection of the inability of the Spanish to find a tactical solution to the conquering of nomadic peoples. The other major stumbling block to the conversion of these peoples and their inclusion into the Spanish colony was the aggressive cultural stance that Hall (1989) and McCollough (2004) describe in a number of these groups. These diverse tribal groups were either integrated into the racial caste system of the Viceroyalty or instigated conflict with the Spaniards and their native allies. These conflicts include the Mixton War, the particularly violent Chichimec War as well as continuing difficulties with the raiding of settlements on the northern frontier (Hall, 1989; Weber, 1992; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Bakewell, 2004; McCollough, 2004).

Weber (1992), Meier and Ribera (1993) and Bakewell (2004) assert that the raiding of the pueblos, mines and caravans of the region by the Apache and Comanche among others had the affect of generating a distinguishable difference, in terms of culture and needs, of the settlers that lived in provinces like *Yucatán*, *Nuevo Leon* and *Nueva Vizcaya* which were relatively close to Mexico City. It affected the identities of those within the racial caste system by isolating those occupying the middle levels of the caste system - the *Crillos* to some extent, but more particularly the *Mestizos* of the various regions from each other. McWilliams (1948) and Hall (1989) state that this was reinforced by the geographic differences of the Viceroyalty, including tropical forest, rain forest, desert, savannah, high plateau and Mediterranean like coastline. The degree of cultural differentiation that developed in the distinct regions of the Viceroyalty of New Spain generated a distrust of the centralized government that had been set up by the Spanish Crown in those outlying areas

(McWilliams, 1948; Weber, 1992; 2005; Meier & Ribera, 1993). These political differences are evidenced by the degree of political turmoil that characterized the early republic as the centrist elite of the capital attempted to appease the republican provincial elites in the wake of the Mexican War of Independence (MacLachlan & Beezley, 1999).

This brought the representatives of the Viceroyalty and the Crown into contact with the peoples who inhabit what is now referred to as the northern provinces of Mexico and American Southwest⁵⁰ (Meier & Ribera, 1993). Weber (1992) states that the Centrism of the Spanish monarchs had not lessened, with the founding of a colony, and in 1573 Felipe II tightened regulations governing expeditions heading north into lands unclaimed by the Crown. It will be seen that three factors will play into the formation of the Mexican Republic and the subsequent loss of its northern territories to the United States. These are the lack of understanding of the scale of the region to the north of the still youthful New Spain, the small size of the expeditions sent into what was considered a small region and the small number of expeditions⁵¹ sent into this Northern area as a result of the desire of the Crown to maintain control over the area.

Differences also grew between the regions of the northern territories also, an example of this can be found in the self-reliant culture that developed in the *Nueva Mexico* territory. McWilliams (1948), Mayer (1975) and McCollough (2004) state that the area around Santa Fe was particularly isolated from both the colonial/national government in Mexico City and other outlying regions by the presence of raiding Apaches, Comanches, Navajos and Utes.

⁵⁰ *Chicanos* would be keen to point out that the entire region just described could be referred to as the Mexican north. The phrase American Southwest is a feature of the cession of the region to the US and its being reinvented by the dominant white majority of the US.

⁵¹ See note fifteen in the Addendum.

When these indigenous peoples were able to get access and master the use of horses and become even more effective raiders, the *Nuevomexicanos* of Santa Fe were forced to develop stronger links with the Pueblo peoples of the region. Mayer (1975) adds that this isolation was furthered by legislation passed during the colonial era by Spain that forbade trade between its positions and foreign powers.⁵² The political differences coupled with the difficulty of ensuring control in regions so far to the north of the central government ensured that the Mexican citizens of *Nueva California*, *Nueva Mexico*, and *Tejas* developed separate regional identities in addition to the religious and ethnic identities that they possessed. The import of the differences that emerged within the various regions of the Viceroyalty of New Spain for the present discussion, is that they helped provide fertile ground for enlightenment ideals regarding a new basis for government.

McFarlane (1997) asserts that the trend towards nationalist self-identification begins with the seeping of enlightenment ideas into the Spanish Colonies from Europe and the United States. Bakewell (2004) provides an interesting example of the ingress of these concepts into 17th century New Spain in his description of Juana Ramírez de Asbaje, better known as Sor (sister) Juana. As a child, Juana demonstrated a keen intellect and a great capacity for learning. She joined a convent in order to pursue education, and studied theology, art, literature and the sciences. She critiqued the church in ways that, with resemblance to Luther, to be questioning theological contradictions. But of most interest to the present concern is that Sor Juana's writings demonstrate a realization that much of the lingering elements of the Baroque (such as the inquisition, the violence of the conquest and

⁵² The purpose of which was to ensure that the trade profits which generated much of the wealth that was shipped back to Spain, did not find their way into the pockets of other colonial powers (Bannon, 1970).

the ties of a monarch to God) and enlightenment ideals that were beginning to investigate separation of church and state.

Bernstein (1961), Meier and Ribera (1993), McFarlane (1997) and Bakewell (2004) indicate that these concepts that were so antithetical to those possessing a pre-modern identity and worldview, and conversely so important the development of nationalist stirrings, were spread by print capitalism to wider audiences within the Spanish Colonies. In this they are enlisting Anderson's (1991) theory of imagined communities. Hussey (1961) confirms this when he states that not only were large numbers of texts sent to the colonies, but that contacts with France were particularly fruitful in spreading enlightenment ideals on governance and theology throughout all of Spain's landholdings in the Americas. This European effect was strengthened by the popularity of works by Benjamin Franklin, and other luminaries attached to the new nation to the north of the Viceroyalty (Bernstein, 1961; Gonzalez, 2000). Bernstein (1961) does indicate, however, that these concepts and written materials bearing them were concentrated in the hands of an intellectual elite. Thus, the basis for the development of a national identity, according to the national identity ideal type described earlier is satisfied, if only among a few in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. All that remains to be presented in order to demonstrate that a national identity emerged from the religiously oriented racial identities of the Viceroyalty of New Spain is the subjective allegiance to a nation and not to the Spanish Crown.

Weber (1992), Meier and Ribera (1993), McFarlane (1997) and Bakewell (2004) assert that opportunity was given to those possessing the burgeoning Mexican national identity when the Napoleonic war weakened Spain. It forged, in the Spanish colonials, an ironic sense of collective indignation at the imposition of French rule on the Spanish

Colonies. The irony is that this then gave opportunity for full flowering of notions of freedom and equality generated by enlightenment thinking that prompted colonists to suggest a breaking from Spain as nations in their own right. This desire for nationhood and the attendant emerging national identity was strengthened by the effect the legacy of pre-modern religious identities and the racial identities that had replaced them. MacLachlan and Beezley (1999) point out that as the War of Independence loomed and hostilities broke out, many in the Viceroyalty feared that this would be a conflict based on racial divides, similar to the one that had occurred in Haiti during the 1790s.

Meier and Ribera (1993) and MacLachlan and Beezley (1999) provide evidence for this concern over a racial conflict by stating that Hidalgo's banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe used a particularly dark skinned virgin to represent the movement, indicating that he was trying, as his successor Morelos would later do, to focus his recruitment campaign on an appeal to native peoples and sensibilities. Essentially, both of these agitators who were important to the early progress of the nationalist movement were focusing on a racial basis for independence, rather than making a statement about self-governance and the proper form that government should take, as occurred in the American experience (Zamoyski, 2000). What appeared to happen in the quest for Mexican independence from Spain was that a desire to be rid of the injustices of the racial system of social classification was reinforcing the desire of an intellectual elite (Bernstein, 1961) for a new form of governance based on enlightenment concepts.

As a consequence of this the emerging national Mexican identity lacked salience for many of those who did not belong to the elite. This group included many of the *Criollos* and those that were beneath them in the racial hierarchy – the *Mestizos*, *Mulatos* and *Indios* (Hall,

1989; Weber 1992; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Bakewell, 2004). So rather than focus purely on national issues, the early leaders of the independence movement appealed to an already well founded racial identities in order to generate broader support for separation from Europe and its monarchs. MacLachlan and Beezley (1999) continue by describing the effect of the uncontrolled violence of the *Crillos* and *Mestizos*, who belonged to a post-Hidalgo/Moreno-independence movement, directed towards the *Peninsular* elite and those *Crillos* allied with them. In 1820, with turmoil in Spain preventing it from providing clear leadership and the violence at home acting as a catalyst, the ruling elite decided to break from Spain. Their decision to side with the racially-oriented independence movement was an attempt to gain a degree of credibility by ending the violence that was perceived to be operating on ethnic fault lines. Bakewell (2004) states that the morass of political fighting in the Viceroyalty led to the creation of the Empire of Mexico in 1821, though this was overturned by those fighting for the republican cause, leading to the founding of the Mexican Republic in 1824.

The continued import of this to the present endeavor is supported by MacLachlan and Beezley's (1999) assertion that, in their haste to bring an end to the violence, the ruling elite of the newly independent Mexico neglected to spend time on the construction of a political framework for government, like the work done by some of the founding fathers in the United States after the Revolutionary War (Gordon, 1996). In examining the narratives of MacLachlan and Beezley (1999) and Bakewell (2004) it is plain to see that a quick and unstable fix did not suit the needs of a populace that had been at war for eleven years, riding as it did on the back of centuries of political division. When we combine these factors with the lack of a widespread salience for a national Mexican identity among the populace, that was the result of the lack of dissemination of enlightenment materials to the lower levels of

Mexican society, the rise of a new unified Mexico was inhibited. This had the effect of making the national identity much weaker in Mexico than in the other nations recently born out of conflict, for example France⁵³ and the United States. Instead, identities that were already salient remained so. In addition to the racial identities that were not done away with the achievement of independence, other identities, some specific to particular groups like the pueblo peoples, and others belonging to various indigenous groups as well as regionally specific and even pre-modern religious identities persisted and coexisted with the new Mexican national identity.

The political and cultural boundaries between the central government of Mexico City and the peoples of the surrounding and outlying regions and poor decision-making by the various governments that followed independence from Spain became an Achilles heel for the development of any shared sense of Mexican identity once the colony had achieved independence and become a nation (MacLachlan & Beezley, 1999). This ensured that complexity should be the byword for politics in Mexico and for what it means to be Mexican. This confusion of identity persists as Hall (1989), Meier and Ribera (1993) and MacLachlan and Beezley (1999) explicate the changes and violence that divided Mexicans through the next two decades. The loss of Texas, the Mexican-American War and the annexation of Mexican territory under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo signed on the 2nd of February 1848 are the Mexican people's first major point of contact with the white ethnic majority of the United States who, at that time, heavily espoused the concept of Manifest Destiny.

⁵³ See note sixteen in Addendum.

5 Ethnohistory – Modern and Colonial Oriented

Chapter four examined identities that emerged in the concluding centuries of the pre-modern era, that amorphous duration of time prior to the ideology of the enlightenment bringing sweeping changes to societies across the globe. Although it should be stated that the section of the ethnohistorical narrative focusing on the development of the Mexican national identity strays into the era in which the enlightenment had begun to make large changes to peoples and institutions. This chapter of the ethnohistorical narrative will focus on those identities that developed under the influence of enlightenment ideology. The balance of power between these groups was still organized in the main by colonialism. The identities examined in this chapter of the ethnography are the racial identity of the dominant white majority of the United States and the racial identity of the Spanish-Americans. It should be noted the dominant white majority maintain their monopoly on power through institutions developed in the colonial era. However, after a certain point (the beginning of the 20th century), as immigration begins to play an important role in the dispersal of political power, this group maintains its advantage through the adaption of these institutions to taking advantage of and dominating immigrants to the US.

5.1 The Dominant White Majority of the United States

(18th to 20th Century)

An understanding of the development and maintenance of new Mexican identities in the United States is dependent upon a discussion of the white majority group and its own identity characteristics. As the name indicates, this group, while being avidly nationalist

(Huntington, 2004a), also possesses a racial identity. This section will present an examination of the emergence and chief characteristics of this racial group using Cornell and Hartmann’s (2007) critical sites and group factors. This will allow this study to explain why certain racial and/or ethnic groups have been able to assimilate into the dominant culture of the United States while others have not.

Table 7 – Impact of Critical Sites and Group Factors on the Racial Identity of the Dominant White Majority of the United States

Critical Site or Group Factor	Nature of Impact
Politics	– Political power divided along racial boundaries
Labor Market	– Institution of Slavery
Social Institutions	– Strong normative prohibition against intermarriage
Daily Experience	– Assigning low status racial identities
Preexisting Identities	– Pre-modern religious identity
Size	– Large in relation to other groups within sphere of influence – Increasing with births, immigration and assimilation
Internal Differentiation	– Roughly equal proportions of men to women in population centers throughout history of the group
Symbolic Repertoire	– Protestantism – Enlightenment Ideology – Biological differentiation of persons and groups

It must be stated at the onset that there are two major views on the power held by this majority. There is one possessed by those who see it in a positive light, and incidentally belong to the group. The other viewpoint is more critical, and is held by those who recognize

the injustices perpetrated and prejudices held by majority or have experienced them. Some of those who have undertaken investigations of the origin of the majority many are members of the former group and favor maintaining its dominance, such as Huntington (1996; 2004a; 2004b). I will therefore examine these documents on the development and views of the dominant white majority with the same care described earlier with regard to the history of pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent on a group level.

Huntington's (2004a) nativist examination of what it is to be American describes a need on the part of those who wished independence from Britain to distinguish themselves in ways that did not include "race, ethnicity, culture and language" (Huntington, 2004a, p47). These elements were held in common, with only minor regional variations between the colony and the imperial nation. His reasoning indicates that in order to make independence necessary, there needed to be some difference in the colonists that would not only distinguish them, but would make their continued allegiance to England problematic. Huntington argues that rather than an attachment to land, culture or ethnic (racial) grouping, the defining feature of being American was an attachment to a set of political values that emerge in enlightenment thought: liberty, equality and individual rights.

It would appear that Huntington's (2004a) description of the emergence of the United States as a nation as a result of the presence of and a degree of devotion to the ideas of the enlightenment is in agreement with the way in which this study identifies the development of national identities and thus nations. It is worth noting a difference between the struggles for the independence of the United States and Mexico. It should be noted that race was deeply entrenched in both societies prior to the conflicts that led to the independence of each from their respective imperial rulers (Morgan, 1975; Hall, 1989; Weber 1992; Meier & Ribera,

1993; Bakewell, 2004). As stated previously the minority racial groups of the Viceroyalty of New Spain actively participated in the war that eventually led to the founding of the Mexican republic. Gonzalez (2000) explains that this was possible as the attitude to race was more relaxed in the Spanish colonies than in the United States, as demonstrated by the number of inter-racial marriages that took place there.

This degree of multi-racial participation in revolution was far more limited and tightly regulated in the United States. For while Lanning (2005) does describe the contributions of African Americans, the degree of African slave participation that he describes in the Revolutionary War is much smaller than that described by MacLachlan and Beezley (1999) and Bakewell (2004) in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. From the very beginning of the emergence of the people of the thirteen original states as a distinct and separate people there was an unwillingness to deal with the issue of race. This can be seen in the production of the Declaration of Independence. Maier (1998) asserts that slavery was an issue addressed by Jefferson in the draft given to the first Continental Congress; as to ignore it would have been to indulge in hypocrisy of the worst order when enshrining the enlightenment concept of liberty. However, the portions that dealt with this issue were removed during the debate that created the version that is now so familiar.

The “whiteness” of that American national identity stems from the creation of creation of non-white “others,” and by extension the definition of the white group as superior to those others. Huntington (2004a) asserts that the early experience of the colonists during King Philip’s War, where the casualty rate among the colonists was actually greater in terms of percentage than the civil war or the world wars, was the origin of this pejorative view of the other. He proceeds by stating that during the next two centuries of warfare with the

American Indians, the Colonists defined themselves using American Indians as other. Huntington thus seems to be suggesting that a “white” American identity emerges as the rallying cry of an embattled people struggling for survival and their rights. However, Huntington’s arguments ring with the subjectivism of a lay primordial account, he neglects the circumstances attendant to the rise of the libertarian radicalism of early patriots and fails entirely to properly situate economic individualism in a manner similar to Weber (1976) in his classic work on the origins of capitalism.

Wolf (1982) makes the victimization, enlightenment idealism and economic individualism of early colonists and Americans inherent in Huntington’s ethnocentric account extremely problematic as he discusses American Indian slavery amongst the early European settlers.⁵⁴ It seems likely therefore that it was the desire for wealth that led to the creation of “whiteness.” A position that Frankenberg (1993), taking a more constructionist approach, would agree with given that she defines “whiteness” as a structural position of social privilege. Gomez (2007) lends credence to Frankenberg’s assertion when she describes the racialization of Mexicans once the US took possession of *California and Nuevo Mexico*. Hartigan (1997) goes further by stating that it should be recognized that “whiteness” is not real, i.e., that is it does not exist independent of the historical and economic reasons for its construction.

⁵⁴ He states that this practice was widespread and only ceased for two reasons. The American Indian slaves knew that they were close to their peoples and were able to return to them upon escape, while African slaves were not so beneficially situated in geographic terms. The other reason was that the early colonists worried about American Indian groups with whom they were allied becoming alienated by American Indian slavery. This fact suggests an interesting awareness of at least the way that the institution of slavery was unacceptable. It is interesting that the drive for increased profit margins was more powerful than the understanding of the injustice of institution.

Huntington's explanation is made further problematic when we note that there is an inherent contradiction in "whiteness" which is manifested in de Tocqueville's (2000) discussion of his grand tour of the United States in 1831. He noted that Americans' allegiance to enlightenment ideals such as equality were sorely lacking when it came to Africans and the issue of slavery, as demonstrated in the exclusion of Africans from service in the revolutionary war (Lanning, 2005) and the unwillingness of some members of the first continental Congress to extend the liberty that they desired to the slaves they owned (Maier, 1998). Indeed, where slavery was present, many of the ideals that Huntington (2004a) stated were so important to the dominant white inhabitants of the United States became assertions only. It is this contradiction that Smedley (2007) states, in what has become a classic work on the development of race in the United States, which was the genesis for the notion among whites in the United States that those of African descent and American Indians were their biological inferiors. This biologically based answer to the contradiction the egalitarianism of the new nation allowed the dominant white majority to withhold rights from American Indians and African slaves. This biological basis for differential classification of persons indicates, when we refer to the ideal types used in this study, that the identity of the dominant white majority is racial.

The historical continuity of this biologically based⁵⁵ system of social classification within the white majority of the United States is demonstrated in Ono's (2002) research. Ono (2002) investigated the persistence of Mexican identity among citizens of the United States

⁵⁵ This study agrees with Garcia's (2007) assertion that this biological basis for social differentiation is physiologically unsustainable at a genetic level. So while this study uses the phrase "biologically based," it is at the same time well aware of the socially based nature of the use of biological arguments in inter-group politics and the discriminatory purpose for which they were developed.

who are descended from Mexican immigrants using the Latino National Political Survey. She found that of those who participated in the survey, there is a decrease in identification with Mexican identity that becomes greater with each succeeding generation after the initial immigrant generation. Ono found that this decrease in Mexican identity fell to half of those studied in the third generation and dropped further to only a tenth in the fourth generation. The key result of this research for this study, and specifically for understanding the white majority of the United States, is Ono's findings on those who did not fit the trend in the dataset. She found that some of the remaining persistence of Mexican identity among these persons can be attributed to the color of their skin⁵⁶. She finds that these individuals reported physical features were a better fit with the physical stereotype attributed to Mexicans by the dominant white majority of the United States. Brown et al (2003) provide an explanation for this result – some members of the dominant white majority still use a biological basis for social classification and marginalization, despite the progress made in race relations since the civil rights era. This is evident in the notorious publication by Herrnstein and Murray (1994) – *The Bell Curve*, which indicated that the correlation between economic and racial stratification in the United States was a factor of the intelligence quotient of those at each level. It effectively stated that there was a demonstrable link between the racial group an individual belonged to and academic ability. So it would seem that even in the closing decades of the 20th century and the first years of the 21st that racial identities are still salient to some members of the dominant white majority.

⁵⁶ Ono's (2002) research indicates that ethnic competition also has a powerful effect on identity. This would seem to indicate that the biological based social differentiation system of the white majority affected minorities to the point that minority groups used the same system as they competed for social position at the bottom of the ladder. Specifically, Ono's research points toward this minority racial interaction remaining a salient approach to boundary interactions for minority ethnic groups in the United States.

The evidence for a biological basis to group interactions provided by Snyder (2007) and Ono (2002) covers only the first element of the racial ideal type. Confirmation that the white majority emerged as a racial group is found in the power disparity that permitted them to enslave Africans and American Indians (Morgan, 1975), the presence of such a disparity⁵⁷ is the necessary second component of the racial group identity ideal type. The third component of that ideal type is a requirement that some form of colonialism be present. The recent emergence of the United States from colonial bondage to Britain indicates that this component can be satisfied (Wood, 1998). However Gonzalez (2000) and González (2004) indicates that the United States did not break from imperialism when they won freedom from the British Empire. They state that, on the other hand, the activities of the United States, in the enlargement of its borders (primarily into Mexican and American Indian territories) and dealings with a number of nations, could comfortably be described as imperialist. Coll (2001) and Wested (2007) and confirms this in his discussion of the actions of the United States during the Cold War, in regard to their posturing with the Soviet Union in third world nations. With this all of the conditions stipulated by the racial group identity ideal type have been satisfied by the dominant white majority of the early United States. The way in which this racial system was constructed has not been static however, and the way in which the ancestors, several generations removed, of those that would be considered to be part of the dominant white majority today were seen as “other.” The biological basis for social classification also facilitated racial discrimination against immigrants from certain European nations (Yetman, 1999).

⁵⁷ Ono's (2002) research demonstrates that this sort of power imbalance between groups shapes the behavior of their members at the boundaries that exist between groups in the United States

Gordon (1961), a default nativist,⁵⁸ describes one reason for such a categorization of European immigrants, when he states that there was a degree of worry in the minds of the founding fathers over the health of their fledgling nation. Gordon states that many early Americans understood that the marginal differences between their Anglo-protestant culture and that of their recently excised parent nation (Huntington, 2004a) were a danger⁵⁹ to what was then radical ideology. The founding fathers, therefore, were nervous about an influx of European immigrants as they were culturally inculcated to accept and even expect monarchic despotism. In so doing they inadvertently, for apparently noble purposes, began to categorize European immigrants as “other,” leading to their inclusion in the lower levels of the racial classification system. Another reason for categorizing and attributing different statuses to “whites” and those who were “other,” though one that is far less praiseworthy, was to ensure that “unequal power⁶⁰ [was] employed to derive material benefit” (Doane, 1997, p376) to the dominant white majority in the US. Lopez (1996) expands on this by stating that not only was this creation of white and “other” a reality within social interaction, but was also enshrined into the legal code through such concepts as hypodescent, or the one-drop rule, and the Jim Crow laws of the 19th and 20th centuries. These laws have often been perceived as anti-black (the ultimate “other” in the mind of the dominant majority of the United States), yet they effectively segregated and facilitated discrimination against all non-whites.

⁵⁸ Gordon is described as a default nativist for his emphasis on assimilation as opposed to integration, though from my reading of his work he does not seem to embrace ethnocentrism in the same way as Huntington.

⁵⁹ That is a preference for monarchic forms of rule and Catholicism as opposed to republicanism amongst European immigrants. The preference for Catholicism was particularly strong amongst Irish immigrants as well as those from Eastern European and Mediterranean nations.

⁶⁰ A key element of this study’s racial group identity ideal type.

Waters (1990) expands this discussion by explaining that these elements emerge from a contradictory dichotomy of individualism and conformism that pulls at dominant white culture in the United States. By individualism, Waters is referring to de Tocqueville's (2000) statement that Americans tend to turn away from larger society, and focus upon their familial and friendship circles, leaving the larger society to care for itself. De Tocqueville stated that this tendency to individualism emerges from the democratic process, which unlike feudal foundations for governance and reliance on lineage for legitimacy, tends to separate individuals from their fellows. The despotic dangers of individualism are curbed through participation in political and social groups, giving rise to a contradictory attachment to conformity. Adding to Water's discussion of individualism, De Tocqueville (2000), Fuchs (1990), Lipset (1964), Huntington (1981), Sniderman and Hagen (1985) and McClosky and Zaller (1984) all agree that this individualism not just a philosophical stance on one's relation to those that surround the individual in society, but is also a focus on economic individualism, i.e., individuals are responsible for their own economic wellbeing.

Waters (1990) states that this extreme reaction to the principle of liberty, which is a direct contradiction to de Tocqueville's (2000) description of the religious beliefs of the dominant white majority, has only been strengthened as dominant American culture developed. It is this contradictory dichotomy that facilitates the focus of the white majority on furthering their own material benefit either without regard or ignorant of this coming at the expense of "other" groups. At the same time, the dominant majority decries the inability of individuals from minority groups to make progress. The latter is possible as the white majority group's attachment to the ideology of economic individualism facilitates their ability to ignore the structural effects of their discrimination (Brown et al, 2003).

Yet this does not prevent the white majority from continuing to demand a degree of conformity as is evidenced when Theodore Roosevelt, speaking of the United States, declared that,

there is no room for two languages and two ethnic identities under the same national roof (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001, pp232-233).

Or as Huntington (2004a) stated,

The distinctive character of the ...Puerto Ricans as *in* but not fully *of* the American republic is reflected in the arrangements negotiated with them for ...commonwealth status. Residents of Puerto Rico are American citizens, but they do not pay federal taxes, do not vote in national elections, and conduct their affairs in Spanish not English (Huntington, 2004a, pp 44-45).

And again in relation to what he (2004b) termed the “Hispanic challenge,”

There is no Americano dream. There is only the American dream created by an Anglo-Protestant society. Mexican Americans will share in that dream only if they dream in English (Huntington, 2004b, p 45).

Over time the drive for economic success coupled with a disregard for or outright prejudice against non-whites among the majority white group leads to its willingness to subjugate other groups. These include the American Indians who were progressively conquered as the frontiers moved, imported black-African slaves and other groups who were either conquered, like Americans of Mexican descent, or who immigrated to the United States. This expansion of territory and increasing white dominance led to the development of the notion of manifest

destiny⁶¹ in the mid 1800s (Pratt, 1927). Those who adhered to this concept and its antecedents were convinced that it was their divine right to possess and rule the entire continent of North America.⁶² By this point the interaction of individualism and conformity in the white dominant majority had done its work in ensuring that dominion over this geographical region could only be held those who were members of the dominant group. Yet the boundaries that dictate who can be considered white are not set, as historical accounts of whiteness describe an evolution over time in those boundaries (Hartigan, 1997).

Certain groups from Europe, as pale of pigment as American Whites, had been excluded from the dominant group and were perceived as non-white (Jacobson, 1998). They were only able to culturally and structurally fully assimilate into the dominant white majority after suffering multi-generational discrimination (Doane, 1997; Gordon, 1961; 1964; Hartigan, 1997; Jacobson, 1998) as individuals via the constraints of economic individualism. The “quick success” of these groups (Irish, Italian, German and Polish immigrants, to name only a few) in assimilating is often brought up by certain segments of white society when unassimilated groups (e.g., African-Americans and Americans of Mexican descent) complain of poor treatment (Brown et al, 2003). The assimilation success of these groups is found in their physical resemblance to the white majority and the opportunity for reflexivity that this biological similarity afforded them.

⁶¹ Gonzalez (2000) states that this term was merely a thinly disguised way for the dominant white majority of the United States, during the 19th century, to make reference to their own racial superiority .

⁶² If Nibley (1951) states that the concept of a divine center or navel of the earth and its attendant notion of dominance in the group that inhabit that religious and cultural center, spread from the Middle East and western Asia into Europe and Eastern Asia (see section 2.2.4). He describes the pattern of a divine mandate for that people to rule (related to the concept of the divine right of kings, (Kern, 1985; Cantor, 1993; 2003)) the entire earth from that center point. It would seem that manifest destiny is merely an evolution of this notion. So it is argued that manifest destiny is merely the modern ethnic rationalization of a religious concept, common to many pre-modern cultures throughout the globe (Gadd, 1945; Nibley, 1951; Kern, 1985; Bertelli, 2001; Carrasco, 2000).

Self-termed racial realists object to assertions like those by Brown et al (2003) about the difficulty of assimilation by minority groups and to disregard the exigencies of context and proper methodology. They are also guilty of ignoring the specific challenges, outlined in Gordon (1961; 1964) and Ono's (2002) discussions, which have hindered minority group assimilation (Brown et al, 2003). The most important of which is that many members of minority groups look different to the white majority and those European immigrant groups that were able to assimilate with them. This exacerbates the difficulty posed in assimilation which not only demands total acceptance of "American values," that is the values of the white majority group (cultural assimilation), but also that individuals, not groups, assimilate structurally *after* assimilating culturally.

Assimilationist ideology suggests that in order to structurally assimilate, individuals must culturally assimilate. Portes and Rumbaut (2001; Gordon 1961) clearly state that ethnic communities have been expected to embrace fully American culture according to the white majority, and in so doing eradicate all else from their habit and thinking. They also describe a certain discomfort on the part of many white Americans with change and multiculturalism. This is especially so in the case of language, specifically the usage of English by immigrants. They describe not only opposition to the setting up of linguistic enclaves where non-English languages dominate, but also to the bilingualism of more successful non-white immigrants. They conclude that the latter is a peculiar offshoot of competition in a specific labor market, which contrasts with a global economy in which bilingual skills represent a distinct advantage that threatens continued white dominance.

This insecurity with the "other" (both in terms of apparent biological differences and cultural differences) stems from a portion of the white majority group which Lieberman

(1985) refers to as unhyphenated whites. The term refers to those whose families have been in the US for so long that any affiliation to the nation that their predecessors immigrated from or its ethnic groups is so negligible as to have no salience. This lack of association with an ethnic group is something more recent, however, as Nagel discusses this group as having accepted a number of European ethnic groups into its boundaries⁶³, beginning with an Anglo-American core. This seems to bear up in the face of evidence presented by Gómez (2007), which shows that members of the dominant group describes and epitomizes its nature and status with the term Anglo-Saxon American. Nagel (1994) suggests that the inability of contemporary white Americans to identify to the point of salience with an ethnic group could be the result of their dominance. She states that identification with ancestral cultures provides little reward that dominance has not already brought to them. Since dominance is synonymous with the norms of a given society, or at least those enshrined in the legal code, education and the media, it is difficult for many of this white majority to conceive of themselves in ethnic terms (Lieberson, 1985). Rather, they seem like Huntington (2004a; 2004b) to see themselves as possessing only an American national identity. Thus, the possession of salient ethnicity, or even a racial identity, is irretrievably “other” to this core within the white dominant majority group of the United States.

⁶³ These ethnic groups were treated in racial terms earlier in the history of immigrant relations in the US. As these groups were able to assimilate, however, they were able to recast the more nostalgic features of their progenitor’s identities in symbolic ways more typical of ethnic identities than parts of a racial system of social classification.

Waters (1990) contends that the degree of ethnic identification that does occur among the dominant white majority is the result of choice⁶⁴. These individuals rarely develop a hyphenated identity, but as a consequence of interest in one's predecessors, residual attachments to the immigrant traditions of their ancestors or some other factor, they choose to associate with a culture that is alien to their own dominant culture. However, since this is undertaken in the main without the individuals concerned dissociating themselves from their dominant culture, any association takes the form of a parody. The key element of Water's argument is that many of the dominant culture group who choose to make such associations cannot understand that minority groups in the United States do not have the same choice regarding keeping or giving up their immigrant or minority group language, traditions, culture and heritage. Whites fail to grasp that while minority or immigrant group identities are salient and precious to them, and they also represent an assigned identity that represents an exclusive boundary for minority or immigrant individuals and groups, a boundary that is reinforced by apparent physiological differences. This has serious implications for the assimilation of minorities or immigrants, as their only choice is to give up their ethnicity to the extent permitted. When this understanding of the dominant white majority of the United States is applied to the "integration" of Mexican citizens into the US, the challenge facing Americans of Mexican descent or other Mexican identity groups within the US are prodigious.

To summarize then, the dominant white majority is a racial group that has for the entire duration of its existence maneuvered to maintain its power and status within American

⁶⁴ Note that the Waters (1990) discusses ethnic identification and not racial identification, an indicator of how many like the racial realists described by Brown et al (2003) are ignoring the issue of race, and the absoluteness that racial others have in comparison to national or ethnic others.

society (Frankenberg, 1993; Doane, 1997; Brown et al, 2003). This group has enforced its boundaries to the point of impermeability for many groups that also call the United States their home (Hartigan, 1997; Brown et al, 2003). While there are many members of this group that oppose the prejudice and discrimination that has kept the dominant white majority on top of the social pecking order of the United States, Ono's (2002) research demonstrate that there are other group members that still identify the "other" on a biological basis, consciously or unconsciously.

5.2 *Mexicans and the United States*

(19th Century)

Having just presented a discussion of the dominant white racial majority of the United States this study can proceed to describe the effects of boundary interactions between this group and the Mexicans that became United States citizens. The importance of the cession of the Mexican North to the United States, and the resulting effects on the daily experience of those Mexicans⁶⁵ that became American citizens is found when we note that a second racialization occurs to those groups with ties to Mexico. Previously racial boundaries had been imposed by a Spanish elite that were also comfortable, to a degree, with marrying those of lower racial status,⁶⁶ who, at the same time, also racialized themselves. This racial system of social classification had a hierarchy that seems to have been fairly linear, that is a succession of groups that were placed one above the other. This section will focus on this

⁶⁵ Gutiérrez (1995) estimates that somewhere between 75,000 and 100,000 Mexican citizens were absorbed into the United States with the signing of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

⁶⁶ See section 4.2 of the ethnohistorical narrative for this discussion.

second racialization and leave the response of a certain portion of the post-Mexican population to the last section of this chapter.

However, Nieto-Philips (2004) presents evidence that the dominant white majority of the United States viewed the enforcement of racial boundaries as appallingly lax in Mexico.⁶⁷ This second imposition of racial boundaries was undertaken by a pre-existing racial group – the white majority of the United States. Their system of biologically based classifications was markedly different to that which was developed in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. In essence its structure was organized as follows - one on top and everyone else at the bottom. This caused the trajectory of Mexican racial and national identity development, for those Mexican persons living in the territory ceded to the United States, to take a radically different route. That change in direction was downward, and the first indicator of the racialization that a biological system of this sort almost inevitably generates. This section describes the beginnings of that fall.

While the ethnohistorical narrative has so far demonstrated that a variety of pre-modern religious, racial and national identities have developed within Mexico, Gómez (2007) states that this variety was not perceived by many Americans of the period, blinded as they were by the concept of manifest destiny. She makes their perception of a “Mexican Problem” a major point of inquiry, describing the undesirable nature of the Mexican people to the ruling Euro-American elite as a key reason for Whig opposition to the Mexican-American War. If the territory were to become part of the United States (including the mineral wealth that made that it so attractive, which according to Gonzalez (2000) totaled a

⁶⁷ See section 4.6 for an elaboration of this evidence.

third of that which belonged to Mexico), then those living there would have to become part of the US and would probably have to be extended some form of citizenship.

Gomez (2007) states that unfortunately for the ruling elites of the United States, this meant extending equality to those to whom they assigned a blanket Mexican national and racial identity, a group that they perceived as being an illegitimate mixture of indigenous⁶⁸ and European peoples. The pejorative nature of the Euro-American elite's attitude to the Mexican people and their belief in their own superiority are neatly summed up by this statement from the American Whig Review used by Gómez:

Mexico was poor, distracted, in anarchy, and almost in ruins-what could she do to stay the hand of our power, to impede the march of our greatness? We are Anglo-Saxon Americans; it was our 'destiny' to possess and rule this continent-we were bound to it! (Gómez, 2007, p19)

While the unmitigated bigotry of this statement was not shared by all those American citizens that belonged to the dominant majority, the attitudes it exemplifies nonetheless pervaded the United States. This colonial attitude and more particularly those that possessed it would have a major impact on the Mexicans living in *Nueva California* and *Nueva Mexico* (Texas having already been stripped from Mexico in 1936) on a daily basis (Gutiérrez, 1995; Gonzalez, 2000), as it provides the second indication that they would be racialized in the course of their interactions. The initiation of the Mexican-American War is an excellent example of the sort of inter geopolitical unit actions that fall within the rubric of the circumstantially oriented critical site of politics.

⁶⁸ This helps explain how the dominant white majority were able to so quickly identify the Mexican people as racial others, given that they had already identified the indigenous peoples of the Americas as racial others, as per the discussion of the previous section.

It was highly unlikely that those Americans who adhered to the concept of manifest destiny would have made the effort necessary to develop an understanding of the variety of culture and identity within the Mexican peoples. The effect of this lack of understanding was to generate a single assigned identity within the new American Southwest that was imposed upon the former citizens of Mexico. Hall (1989), Weber, (1992) Meier and Ribera (1993) and McCollough (2004) give ample evidence of the continued diversity of cultures regardless of such treatment. Hall (1989) and Meier and Ribera (1993) state that the *Ricos*, who comprised the ruling elite, major landowners and merchants, favored the take over and worked hard to assimilate themselves into the culture of the newly governing Americans. One of the reasons that they did this was their attachment to Spain (considering themselves to be European whites like the Euro-American elite they wished to merge with) and their categorization of the American Indian peoples as ethnically distinct from themselves. From an economic point of view the only other class of people that were integrated with the United States at the time of the cession were the *peons* of mostly *mestizo* background, those who worked the land and lived an almost serf-like existence, and were suffered the greatest deprivations of white dominant group prejudice. From a cultural perspective, identities were as diverse as when Mexico ruled the southwest: the new ethnic identities with their religious components still varied by region due to the effects of geography and the political differences that distance from Mexico City had generated.

These differences among the new Americans of Mexican descents led to a variety of responses to the takeover of the region. One of which was simply to leave. MacLachlan and Beezley (1999) describe a certain fluidity in the approach of both Americans of Mexican descent and Mexicans to the new US border with Mexico. So in this response to the cession

of the region to the US we can see the beginning of a long standing treatment of the area as a single extended homeland by Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent as described by Hall (1989), Meier and Ribera (1993) and De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006). Many however stayed. Weber (2003) documents what would be considered an incredible measure of condescension, ignorance and assumed power differential on the part of the white elite who were pacifying the area, were it not for their predisposition to view new “others” as racial inferiors⁶⁹, which was a result of the racial system of social classification of the dominant white majority. Their racializing of the new Americans of Mexican descent and the concomitant assignment of low status was take as an insult by *Ricos* like Colonel Diego Archuleta, who came from families who had held the reins of power for generations (Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera’s 1993). Colonel Archuleta and many others of his class, therefore, participated in some of the conspiracies that took aim at the Anglos and those that sympathized with them. Internal differentiation within the post-Mexican persons did not get in the way of non-*Ricos* participating in actions intended to expel the US from the region as Gómez (2007) describes the participants of the various conspiracies a variety of walks of life and having myriad reasons for their actions. This is reminiscent of the multi-racial participation that accompanied the struggle for independence from Spain. Gomez (2007) and Meier and Ribera (1993) describe a torrent of anti-Anglo insurrection that in the end resulted in the murder of almost two dozen Anglos and Anglo-sympathizers, including the governor of the new territory, Charles Bent.

⁶⁹ See note 17 in Addendum

Gómez' (2007) study provides some illumination into the way that trials held in relation to the murders further exacerbated the American people's simplification of the diversity of the *Nuevomexicanos*. One of the ways that the new ruling elite subjugated the Mexican people and forced an assigned identity upon them was through the medium of the judicial institution of the United States. In reality it was the Anglos' misuse of the legal system in prosecuting acts of insurrection that did so much to enforce an assigned identity with little status upon the Americans of Mexican descent. This was achieved as the prosecutors in the murder trials leveled illegal accusations of high treason against this conquered people. What Gómez questions is not the use of the courts in cases where murders certainly took place, but the willingness of the white Anglo-Saxon judges and juries to move from enquiry in the court, to conviction to execution so quickly. In one instance a single day was all it took to send some of the *Nuevomexicano* men on trial from their initial appearance in court to the hangman's noose. She states that the only occasions that the jury could fail to provide a unanimous vote of guilt with so little deliberation was when the majority of the jurors were themselves of Mexican descent.

Gómez (2007) states that the other major problem faced by the *Nuevomexicano* peoples who were now living in American territory was bound up in the treaty that the Mexican Cabinet had sent to the United States as part of its terms of surrender. The major difficulty for the new Americans of Mexican descent was that Congress significantly altered the terms of the surrender. The revisions included removal of a number of provisions that would have protected the civil liberties and property rights of those who lived in those lands claimed by the US as the spoils of war – the *Nuevomexicanos*, the Pueblo peoples and the other indigenous peoples who had been friendly to Mexico living in the new American

Southwest. This is unsurprising given the willingness of the dominant white majority of the United States to engage in the racial discrimination and enslavement of Africans (Morgan, 1975; Maier, 2006).

Of particular note, in the alterations made by the US government to the treaty, is their apparent assuaging of the worries of the Mexican government for their former citizens by granting federal citizenship to these captured peoples. While federal citizenship grants constitutional protection, only state citizenship can grant political rights. This rewrite enabled the United States Congress to make the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo an institutional instrument of discrimination since it made former citizens of Mexico second-class citizens of the United States, without the ability to participate in the political processes of their new home nation. Gómez (2007) provides evidence of the disdain that some of those in the government held for the peoples in the annexed territory, with a statement from Secretary of State James Buchanan (who would later become the President of the United States:

How should we govern the mongrel race which inhabits [the new territory]?

Could we admit them to seats in our Senate and House of Representatives?

Are they capable of Self Government as States of this Confederacy? (in

Gómez, 2007, p42)

Given this degree of racial prejudice within the dominant white majority, it is not hard to see why they withheld full citizenship from Americans of Mexican descent in New Mexico, by withholding statehood in order to exclude *Nuevomexicanos* from participation in federal government. This provides the final evidence required by the racial group identity ideal type for the racial nature of the treatment of the post-Mexican citizens by the dominant white

majority. It indicates that the dominant white majority of the US were willing to go to great lengths to preserve the power and privilege that being on top of the racial pile gave them.

This is seen in the way that voting rights were denied to the *Nuevomexicanos* in particular, as they vastly outnumbered Anglo-Americans and could have prevented Anglos from developing total political control over them via the ballot box (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). It was this degree of biological absolutism and desires for ever more power and wealth that made it easy for so many Anglos to mistreat the new second-class citizens, and disregard their constitutional rights. One way in which this disregard was particularly evident is described by Gonzales (2000) when he states that many Mexican landholders were cheated out of their lands. It is the lack of political ability of the new Americans of Mexican descent to enforce the rights granted them that the law bending and knavery of the Santa Fe Ring (which resulted in their paying so little for millions of acres which they acquired from *Nuevomexicanos*), went unpunished (Meier & Ribera, 1993).

The problem here, though, is that the Santa Fe ring was composed of government officials, lawyers, businessmen and a number of the *Nuevomexicano* elite (Arellano, 2000). The Santa Fe Ring, and other groups that engaged in such land-grabbing, included members of the *Nuevomexicano Rico* class. Part of the reason that they were able to deal so unjustly with their former *peons* is that were happy to divorce themselves from their poorer *Nuevomexicano* countrymen viewing themselves as not as former Mexicans, but as racial Spaniards. The way that the *Ricos* perceived themselves as racially different and superior to other *Nuevomexicanos* who had also recently become citizens of the US further complicates the Mexican identities that will emerge in the United States.

The complication is highlighted in the narratives of McWilliams (1948), Meier and Ribera (1993), Bakewell (2004) and De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006), who demonstrate that the semi-feudal nature of society in the northern territories of Mexico that were ceded to the United States had a particularly divided nature. The pre-modern religious notions of a society with strict divisions between the various stations of society (Cantor, 1993) were valued in this region almost since the founding of settlements by the Spanish. The aristocracy was able to dominate landless persons through the system of peonage. This involved the lending of monies or renting of lands at a rate of return that would ensure that the only way to pay such a debt would be multigenerational vassalage. This segregation in the labor market was to divide the efforts of privileged Americans of Mexican descent from their poorer fellows in a way that was to limit the ability of the entire group to mitigate their racialization at the hands of the dominant white majority.

The way in which many members of the dominant white majority ignored this class divide in their drive to derive material wealth from the conquest of the Mexican people, and in so doing strengthen the assignment of a racial identity will be examined more clearly in the next section. It has been shown in this section though, that in the acquisition of new territory and the initial meeting of peoples after the cession of the Mexican northlands, the Euro-American elite did all they could to assert their dominance and subjugate the post-Mexican populace. For their part the post Mexican peoples did what they could to reject the lower status assignment that the dominant white majority gave them. However the very heterogeneity of this national group prevented them from being able to effectively resist their own racialization.

5.3 *Spanish-Americans and Assimilation*

(1860s to 1900s)

Having presented the initial stages of the second racialization of a series of groups related to contemporary Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent, this section details more of the detrimental effects of the second racialization and the responses of this newly homogenized group to that discrimination. It explains how the actions of the dominant white majority of the US and their government, who subscribed to the concept of manifest destiny (Gonzalez, 2000; Gomez, 2007), helped to create asserted hyphenated racial and national-racial identities from the highly diverse former citizens of Mexico. At the same time it will continue the presentation of the investigated source materials with reference to the racial group identity ideal type. This will demonstrate the racial nature of the Spanish-American identity.

Table 8 – Impact of Critical Sites and Group Factors on the Racial Identity of Spanish-Americans

Critical Site or Group Factor	Nature of Impact
Politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – No right to vote in elections – Legal discrimination
Culture	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Assertion of higher racial status in relation to other Americans of Mexican descent
Daily Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lack of constitutional and legal rights – Domination of white majority – Loss of property, class and status – Pejorative racial identity and status assigned
Preexisting Identities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Affiliation with Spain – Differentiation of in-group from other Americans of Mexican descent
Symbolic Repertoire	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Purity of descent form Spain – Spanish language and culture – Catholicism

De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006), thought they consider Spanish-Americans an ethnic group, provide evidence for the genesis of this hyphenated racial identity group in their discussion of a counter-movement, that had attempted to establish a distinct identity which would mitigate the negative effects of the second racialization. They state that *Nuevomexicanos* began to distinguish themselves from the Anglo conquerors by referring to themselves as *la Raza*,⁷⁰ literally meaning the race. The term emerges from the feelings of pride that *Nuevomexicano* and Pueblo peoples had in their community and cultural norms

⁷⁰ A reason for the use of this particular term may be found in the designation that the *Peninsulares* used to refer to themselves – gentlemen of reason, which in the Spanish is *gente de razón* (Wolf, 1982). The philological connection between the terms *raza* and *razón* could indicate an attempt to recall the “golden age” of the *Peninsulares’* colonialism. It would certainly reflect the desire on the part of the *Ricos* to emphasize any aristocratic connections.

and heritage. It provides a clear indication of a reaction against the homogenizing influence of the racialization inherent in government classification systems in the US of the period.

Yet the reaction of post-Mexican citizens to racialization was neither unified nor straightforward. In certain sectors of the new community of Americans of Mexican descent such activity seems limited to cultural celebration of the sort embodied in the use of the term *la raza* (De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006). In the upper echelons of post-Mexican society there was some notion that an understanding could be reached and that class could facilitate a beneficial racialization, specifically inclusion in the white racial group. Hall's (1989) discussion of the 19th century *Ricos*, the semi-feudal landowning and merchant class of the northern territory of Mexico, shows that in many instances they switched their allegiance to the new Anglo-American elite. The *Ricos*' assertion of whiteness through being racially Spanish provides the basis for the emergence of an asserted Spanish-American racial identity. De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006) explain that this emphasis on Spain did not reflect history or genealogy; rather this association with Spain emerged from what is termed the Spanish Myth, as very few communities could actually claim Spanish blood. As stated previously, the *Ricos* did this in order to ingratiate themselves with the new Anglo elite and distance themselves from the assigned Mexican identity (Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera, 1993) and its emphasis on mixed blood (Weber, 2003; Nieto-Philips, 2004; Gómez, 2007).

The reason that the *Ricos* were so eager to distance themselves from their less wealthy compatriots owes, according to Nieto-Phillips (2004), to their belief that they were pure descendents of the Conquistadores of the Iberian Peninsula and those that emigrated thereafter from that European land. They were asserting a biologically based difference between themselves and the *Mestizos*, one which had its roots in the racial boundaries that

emerged in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. They were eager to describe themselves as Spanish-Americans, as this would avoid the stain of racial impurity that they perceived in the *Mestizos* and that the dominant white majority of the US saw in them. Yet the Anglo-Americans assigned a low racial status to even these “whiter” post-Mexican citizens, doubting their racial credentials. Nieto-Phillips (2004) provides background for this disparagement in a quote taken from an address by Senator John C. Calhoun of South Carolina before the Senate as regards a debate on the spoils of the Mexican-American War:

[W]e have never dreamt of incorporating into our Union any but the Caucasian race—the free white race. To incorporate Mexico would be the first instance of the incorporating of the Indian race; for more than half the Mexicans are Indians, and the other is chiefly composed of mixed tribes. I protest against such a union as that! Ours, sirs, is the Government of a white race. The greatest misfortunes of Spanish America are to be traced to the fatal error of placing those colored races on an equality with the white race. That error destroyed the social arrangement which formed the basis of society.

(Nieto-Phillips, 2004, pg 52.)

It was the ignominy of the mongrel status which Gómez (2007) states was conferred upon them by the majority of Anglos that the Spanish-Americans wanted to avoid. The attachment of these Spanish-Americans to the Iberian Peninsula was a longstanding and fundamental aspect of their identity, yet Anglos persisted in ignoring it and continued to perceive the presence of a single, highly pejorative, Mexican racial identity.

Wealthy Spanish-Americans were able in many instances to avoid falling below the labor dividing lines that began to characterize what Mexican meant to American adherents of

the concept of manifest destiny and thereby retained some of their privileges, despite being racially maligned. The dominant white majority's racial prejudice and fixation with impermeable boundaries, which were little affected by the protestations of the rigid boundaries set up by the Spanish-Americans themselves, prevented this minority from being able to fully integrate into Anglo society. This gave Spanish-Americans a degree of otherness that they could not escape, and it left them vulnerable to changing fortunes and the predations of members of the dominant white majority. De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006) assert that those *Ricos* who were unable to sustain their privileged fiscal status were just as likely to face discrimination as those who did not have the benefit of their previous materially advantaged status.

Meier and Ribera (1993) and Gonzalez (2000) show that the effects of second-class citizenship on the Spanish-Americans left them open to the illegal land grabbing of the Santa Fe ring and similar groups. In many instances long-established families, belonging to a broad spectrum of economic privilege, were fraudulently divested of great portions of their property. Insult was added to injury when the ensuing legal fees for largely unsuccessful court battles which sought redress generally took whatever monies and assets as were left to them. This maltreatment in addition to the willingness of Anglos to assign those Spanish-Americans, who briefly had been almost accepted into Anglo society, a pejorative Mexican identity serves to highlight the failure of the Spanish myth as a means to racial assimilation into the white American group in the decades following annexation.

Weber (2003) states that the aforementioned disgust of Anglo-Americans at the mixing of "races" from Mexico (Nieto-Philips, 2004; Gómez, 2007) was only one factor in what they perceived as failure of Spain as a Colonial power, and an indication of the

bankruptcy of Mexican leadership. Anti-Catholic prejudice developed considerable momentum in the United State in the decades leading up to the annexation of the northern Mexican territories (Billington, 1935) and this had a polarizing effect on the Protestant and Catholic communities already living within the United States. Billington describes a particular concern for the welfare of individuals living in the frontiers of the United States in the anti-Catholic literature of the mid 19th century, a concern that must have been exacerbated by Catholic Mexico. Meier and Ribera (1993) state that Catholicism was such a major component of Mexican culture that conversion to Catholicism⁷¹ was legally required for those Anglos who wished to gain citizenship in Mexico. Such closeness between the Catholic Church and the Mexican government undermined, in Anglo eyes, the legitimacy of that government and heightened their accusations of despotism (Weber, 2003; González, 2004).

It is this Catholicism and the love of their interpretation of Spanish culture that leads some commentators to suggest that the Spanish-Americans were an ethnic group (De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006). Certainly, it might appear that the symbols of Catholicism and an idealized and reinvented Spanish culture would provide social cohesion for this group. However, these symbols, specifically those of the Catholic Church, did not distinguish them from other Americans of Mexican descent. Further, the ethnohistorical narrative and the analysis of that information with the racial group identity type shows that not only was this group racialized, but they asserted a racial identity that was intended to place them on an equal footing with the Anglos, which as previously mentioned did not work as they were

⁷¹ It would seem that the pre-modern religious ideology of the *conquistadores* and the missionaries of the religious orders and the state, had left a powerful religious legacy in Mexico even when those identities were in decline.

unable to muster the political power (being excluded from the political system of the US) to allow their passage through the boundaries cast up by the white majority.

In spite of this seemingly insurmountable predisposition to make all non-Anglos “other,” Nieto-Phillips (2004) describes continued efforts on the part of Spanish-Americans to make a place for themselves within dominant white American culture by building up the Spanish racial myth. This persistence was a factor of their subjective attachment of the identity that they were asserting in the face of such opposition. He states that this was done to prevent the Spanish-Americans from falling further into the category of the pejorative “other.” This was a particular danger due to the racial laws that were emerging to ensure the dominant status of the white majority group (Lopez, 1996). The willingness of dominant whites to assign low status to any of those of Mexican heritage became a greater danger to Spanish-American efforts at assimilation with the advent of the Spanish-American War in 1898. This conflict is another example of extra-geopolitical activity provoking domestic reaction that had an effect on cross boundary interactions, which in this instance were negative, and the permeability of those boundaries, by reinforcing them.

There was considerable concern among the American public that the Mexicans within their borders would side with the Spanish (Nieto-Phillips, 2004). Reasons for such a belief stemmed from prejudice and the visibly non-Anglo customs and language of the Mexicans. One of the reasons for general distrust stems from the vitality of Catholic culture within communities of Spanish-Americans and Americans of Mexican descent, which formed an important component of Mexican ethnic forms on both sides of the border (Brandes, 1998). Dolan & Hinojosa (1994) document evidence of the vitality of this religious component of Mexican ethnic identities well into the 20th century. Huntington (2004) explains that this

distrust emerges from the loyalty of Catholics to the Pope (Billington, 1935), and the degree to which anti-papist sentiment helped frame the Revolutionary War. The colonial legislation against the practice of the Catholic faith perpetuated a culture of anti-Catholicism within the nation of the United States and is one of the prime reasons for the difficulties that Irish immigrants faced in the 19th century (Doane, 1997; Gordon, 1961; 1964; Hartigan, 1997; Jacobson, 1998). It is unsurprising, therefore, that Americans of Mexican descent, regardless of identity group affiliation, also suffered for their Catholic faith and culture.

This Anti-Catholicism was compounded by the philosophical approach of the founding fathers to citizenship in the United States. Huntington (2004a) cites an oath developed in 1795 to emphasize the degree to which one's allegiance had to singularly fixed upon the United States:

I do solemnly swear (1) to uphold the Constitution of the United States; (2) to renounce and abjure absolutely and entirely all allegiance and fidelity to any foreign prince, potentate, states, or sovereignty of whom or which the applicant was before a subject or citizen⁷² (Huntington, 2004, p204).

It was this exclusivity that was doubted by those who were antagonizing the Spanish-Americans as war with Spain loomed at the close of the 19th century. Other than general religious bigotry, a specific reason for this doubt among Anglo-Americans was the use of the Spanish language (Nieto-Philips, 2000; 2004). It was the general impression of Anglo-Americans that the use of such constituted loyalty to Spain. Gordon's (1961) description of awareness in the colonies of the lack of cultural difference between themselves and the

⁷² It was this oath (though presented only in part here) that General Kearny demanded that the authorities of Las Vegas, Nueva Mexico take in order for him to "continue them in office, and support [their] authority" (Weber, 2003, p162).

British combined with the resultant earnest searching of the founding fathers for philosophical and political means of differentiating themselves from the British beyond a greater adherence to enlightenment principles, provide grounds for such a doubt. Yet this only emphasizes the ignorance of and unwillingness to resolve contradicting beliefs about Spanish-Americans specifically, and Americans of Mexican descent generally, on the part of Anglo-Americans. De la Garza and Vargas (1992) describe a keen awareness among Mexican citizens of a difference between themselves and Americans of Mexican descent, which explains why Mexican citizens fought for the Spanish. While the efforts of the Spanish- and Mexican Americans to overcome the racial inequalities that they faced and gain full membership in the nation in which they resided, explains why they fought for the United States (De León and Griswold del Castillo, 2006; Nieto-Philips, 2004).

While De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006) show that a number of Spanish language newspaper editors were publicly supportive of the Spanish in the lead up to the war, such support was marginal at best and undertaken only by a fringe of *Nuevomexicanos*.⁷³ The vast majority of the Spanish-Americans roundly denounced accusations of a lack of patriotism or the possibility of treason. Indeed, Fuchs (1990) states that while immigrant communities have been known to have a positive association with their home countries, nary a one has continued to support that nation if the United States was at war with it. In light of this, it is no surprise, therefore, that a number of Spanish-Americans served with the US military during the war (McWilliams, 1948), some even in support of Roosevelt in the famous battle at San Juan Hill (De León and Griswold del Castillo, 2006). This commitment

⁷³ Meier and Ribera (1993) report that in some of the mining camps of New Mexico miners, comprised of a mixture of Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans voiced support for the Spanish.

to the United States was continued in spite of continued discrimination in the job market and in residential space and lead to their participation in both world wars (McWilliams, 1948; Sanchez, 1993). The continued drive for assimilation into the American mainstream in the face of continual categorization as “other” by the dominant white majority, Rodríguez (1998) states, was a calculated attempt on the part of Spanish and Mexican-Americans to garner political influence and gain greater equality.

This equality was to be achieved through assimilation based on the whiteness of the Spanish-Americans. However, Spanish-Americans did not undertake all of the work of strengthening the Spanish Myth. Nieto-Philips (2004) documents the activities of so called Hispanophiles in assisting in the promulgating of a rosy picture of the Spanish colonial era. This may have been quite a benefit to the work of Spanish-Americans, yet the Hispanophiles were not interested in alleviating prejudice, but rather in romantic visions of non-Anglo colonialism. One instance of this was the publication of the Spanish Pioneers by Charles Fletcher Lummis in 1893. Rather than attempt to portray a realistic account of the history of *Peninsulares*, *Mestizos* and American Indians, Lummis and others attempting to popularize the southwest described it within a particularly Anglo framework. Many Spanish-Americans believed that work to be a grotesque pastiche of their history. Needless to say such an Anglo-oriented genre was at odds with the needs of the Spanish-Americans, Mexican-Americans (those who were not claiming Spanish ancestry) or American Indians; it portrayed and served only to reinforce the “otherness” of these peoples in the eyes of the dominant Anglo-American majority.

To conclude this section, it was at this juncture, and in the face of such determined assault on the identity that they were trying to assert, that a portion of Spanish-Americans

began to perceive that on their own they would be unable to gain the political power necessary to make real change for their people. This constituted the first failure of an asserted identity by Mexican persons in the United States to achieve a measure of equality for group members. That failure was not a measure of the lack of effort or sincerity of the Spanish-Americans but rather a reflection of the impermeability of the racial lines that had been drawn up by the colonially-minded dominant white majority of the United States at the onset of the Mexican-American War so many years ago.

6 Ethnohistory – Modern and Immigrant Oriented

Thus far in the ethnohistorical narrative the development of race has occurred twice among the historically connected groups who share ties to Mexico that are the focus of this study. On one of these occasions it developed out of the theocratic culture of the Iberians as they colonized and subjugated the native peoples while trying to remain aloof from them. On the second occasion race developed as a result of the institution of slavery within the colonial United States. This racial system was thrust upon the Mexicans living within the northern provinces of Mexico upon their annexation with the provinces by the United States.

One means of avoiding the racialization and the attendant discrimination was to move between Mexico and the US. MacLachlan and Beezley (1999), describe this mobility becoming so common that Mexico and the newly acquired American Southwest were conceived as one contiguous region by Americans of Mexican descent. It in this chapter, however, that the notion of a greater Mexico within the Americans of Mexican descent is more relevant to the modern identities that they develop to combat the discrimination of the dominant white majority and celebrate their Mexican and American culture. The increase in the relevance of this fluidity coincides with the increasing importance of immigration in determining the power held by various groups within the United States.

6.1 Mexican-Americans, a National Response to Racialization

(1900s to 1960s)

Having described a racially based attempt to counter the discrimination and inequality that characterized the interactions of the Spanish-Americans and the dominant white majority

of the United States. This section of the ethnohistorical narrative will now examine, using the national group identity ideal type, the next major identity work by persons of Mexican heritage to counter the assignment of a pejorative racial identity by the dominant white majority. This section will demonstrate the way in which Mexican-Americans⁷⁴ as a group were attempting to reformulate the racial interpretation of their group by the dominant white majority into a debate on nationality, citizenship and the enlightenment ideals of the United States in order to assimilate into US culture. It will also be shown that the degree of social capital⁷⁵ evinced by the almost constant mass immigration of Mexican persons to the United States which has the effect of nourishing Mexican culture in the US (Sanchez, 1993; García 1997; Gonzalez, 2000; Weber, 2003; González, 2004) makes it difficult for Mexican-Americans achieve their goal of assimilation in the climate of racial prejudice generated by the dominant white majority. This section will also demonstrate that the high institutional completeness (Breton, 1964) and degree of social capital possessed by these immigrants, while a boon to post-immigration survival and the organizing the Mexican-American identity, inhibited their ability to assimilate by strengthening group cohesion in the face of prejudice.

⁷⁴ This ethnohistorical narrative has made reference to Mexican-Americans previously, a reflection of the ease of use of the term. However, in this section the term Mexican-American is being used to specifically refer to a nationally oriented group that struggled with an assigned racial identity

⁷⁵ See the discussion of social capital in section 2.2 for a discussion of the way this group factor interacts with other subjective group factors and the more circumstantial critical sites that form the backbone of Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework

Table 9 – Impact of Critical Sites and Group Factors on the Nationally Oriented Identity of Mexican-Americans

Critical Site or Factor Site	Nature of Impact
Politics	– Political power still divided along racial boundaries in the US
Residential Space	– Americans of Mexican heritage concentrated in Barrios
Daily Experience	– Racial assignment – Institutional and normative discrimination
Internal Differentiation	– Large numbers of first generation immigrants – Near constant influx of immigrants – Class differences arising due to Mexican-American success within the wider community of Mexican persons in the US
Social Capital	– Shared familial bonds with immigrants resulting in chain immigration
Human Capital	– Generally low levels of human capital upon entry into the US – Skill sets grow as Mexican-Americans make progress within the social milieu of the US – Political Organization
Symbolic Repertoire	– Patriotism – Participation in celebrations of US and Mexican culture – Catholicism

In order to accomplish that change, Sanchez (1993), de la Garza and DeSipio (1998), Gonzalez (2000) and De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006) show that Mexican-Americans started a series of politically active organizations beginning in the late 1920s with the establishment of the League of United Latin American Citizens. This group is of particular interest to the national nature of the Mexican-American group. Founded in 1929, LULAC was to be a vehicle that would help all Mexican persons residing and possessing citizenship in the US fully assimilate. Its chief focus, for the accomplishment of this impressive goal, was to vastly increase the levels of literacy among its target group. It seems

evident that the founders of the group had digested the enlightenment ideals that were enshrined, though often disregarded at group boundaries, by the dominant white majority of the US, as the group also sought to promote good citizenship and patriotism in Mexican-Americans. Other institutions were established that sought similar goals, like the Mexican-American Movement (MAM).

Sanchez (1993) discussion of the emergence of these groups is of particular interest. He places their emergence in the wake of the mass immigration that occurred in the early 19th century that was most pronounced during the years of the Mexican Revolution⁷⁶ that started in 1910. This incredible movement of people did not start to produce politically aware Mexican persons, born in the US that identified themselves as Mexican-Americans till the 1920s and 1930s.⁷⁷ Weber (2003) states that prior to the revolution, since at least the 1890's, there had been an ever-increasing influx of immigrants from Mexico into the United States. This actually reinforces the developmental context provided by Sanchez (1993) by providing a number of participants in these organizations that were economically more successful, given the extra years they had to work at this achievement. This provided not only more economic support to the organizations but also members with greater life experience and education.

⁷⁶ Knight (1990) describes the rise of racial tensions in Mexico as one of the prime contributors to the Mexican Revolution. He describes the utilization of American Indian heritage as a means of mobilizing support on the part of revolutionaries.

⁷⁷ Even as Mexican-Americans worked hard to organize themselves to assist their fellows and combat racialization, the influx of immigrants from Mexico continued. Sanchez (1993), MacLachlan and Beezley (1999), Gonzalez (2000) and Weber (2003) state that the post-Great War economy boom facilitated the inclusion of these immigrants in the economy, though they were exploited and heavily discriminated against by Anglos.

As a result of this, LULAC, MAM and similar organizations continued to grow in the midst of the depression wracked 1930s, Sanchez (1993) and De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006) state that there was an increase in Spanish language institutions, e.g., schools and newspapers. These institutions provided education, support and voice to the various Hispanic communities of the United States. The educational support was of particular import as González (2004) notes that most Anglos in the public education system were ignorant of the effects of discrimination and poverty on the academic performance of students. Receiving little help from this quarter made the efforts of Mexican-American organizations in this regard imperative.

While this progress was being made discrimination in the work place ended with the arrival of the Great Depression late in 1929. This wasn't the end of mistreatment but rather the end of employment. Both Americans of Mexican descent, regardless of the identity group they affiliated with, and Mexican immigrants became partially excluded from the work force, as they were perceived to be taking "white" jobs. The effect of the poor economy is shown by the fact that at one point fully one quarter of those eligible to work in the United States were unemployed, with many millions more underemployed (Meier and Ribera, 1993). This development is significant considering that the whites had been almost categorically unwilling to occupy the lowest sector of the employment ladder, save for those at the bottom of the white social ladder. In any case, the resultant outpouring of discrimination, prejudice and color-based protectionism forced the hand of the federal, state and local government (Sanchez, 1993; Gonzalez, 2000).

Given the level of discrimination that Americans of Mexican descent as well as Mexican immigrants were facing prior to this economic catastrophe, it is unsurprising that

they were excluded by protectionist legislation like that drafted into the Californian legal code in 1931 preventing aliens from working in the US (Meier & Ribera, 1993). Bean and Tienda (1987), Meier and Ribera (1993), Sanchez (1993) and Gonzalez (2000) add that the legislation enacted by various government bodies was intended to send thousands of Mexican migrant laborers south of the border and back to Mexico. Unfortunately, given that Americans and their government were accustomed for so long to ignoring the cultural diversity of persons of Mexican heritage, the expulsions sponsored by the government sent not only Mexican immigrants to Mexico but also Americans of Mexican descent holding citizenship. These deportations caused irreparable damage to traditional communities of Americans of Mexican descent, some of whom had been in a given place for centuries (Sanchez, 1993; García, 1997; Gonzalez, 2000). The cost to these communities is displayed in the degree of culture lost and subsequent assimilation into the American mainstream by necessity, due to loss of social capital.

While these communities never fully recovered, the protectionist laws were repealed and expulsions came to an end with the outbreak of World War Two. The need to shift into a wartime economy coupled with Britain's massive purchases of arms and material from the US produced a boom for the economy. This, in turn, eased the economic hardships and burdens of the majority of Americans. While the majority of those of Mexican descent in the US could hardly describe their burdens as having been eased, they were able to make some progress towards regaining their place in American society.

Despite the appalling mistreatment that they had suffered during the Great Depression that echoed the treatment of their parents and grandparents by the dominant white majority, Sanchez (1993) and García (1997) state that many Americans of Mexican descent fought for

the United States during World War Two. It would appear from this that the patriotism encouraged by LULAC and MAM had taken deep root. McWilliams (1948) states that a large number of Americans of Mexican descent served in the military, he estimates that number to be somewhere between 375,000 and 500,000.⁷⁸ He also describes a great number of those who served being highly decorated for their service, with a good number receiving the Congressional Medal of Honor. He states that there were a few Anglos who took note of the tremendous sacrifice of these American soldiers of Mexican descent, including Congressman Jerry Voorhis of California who stated:

As I read the casualty lists from my own state, I find that anywhere from one-fourth to one-third of those names are names like G3n3zalez or Sanchez, names indicating that the very lifeblood of our citizens of Latin-American descent in the uniform of the armed forces of the United States is being poured out to win victory this war. We ought not to forget that. We ought to resolve that in the future every single one of these citizens shall have the fullest and freest opportunity which this country is capable of giving him, to advance to such positions of influence and eminence as their own personal capacities make possible (McWilliams, 1948, p 260).

While the attitudes of some members might have been shifting in regard to Americans of Mexican descent⁷⁹, the attitudes of many others were not. McWilliams (1948) recounts the most tragic and criminal contrast to Congressman Voorhis' statement just pages

⁷⁸ De Le3n and Griswold del Castillo (2006) make their own calculations at Mexican-American participation in World War Two that come to 375,000, the lower end of McWilliams (1948) estimate.

⁷⁹ While one could cynically imply that Congressman Voorhis was fishing around for the Mexican-American vote, his statement is still a far cry from those of Us political leaders that display the utmost bigotry and contempt for the Mexican people that Congressman Voorhis is lauding.

later. He describes two instances where law enforcement officers murdered Americans of Mexican descent – José Davilla and Edward Melendes - in the course of their official dealings with them. Davilla was shot and killed after resisting arrest in October 1944 when no warrant for that arrest was presented or even existed. The Sheriff that was trying to arrest Davilla had taken umbrage at a youthful prank Davilla had played on a friend. His friend happened to be an Anglo girl. Davilla was nineteen when he was shot dead in the main street of Hart, Michigan. Printed protests by a local newspaper editor, Swift Lather, that the Sheriff was guilty of murder ensured that he was arrested for criminal libel, though he was later released without charge. Edward Melendes suffered greater brutality at the hands of police officers in St Louis. Though McWilliams (1949) gives no details on the After being kicked to death in a cell in 1942, an editor for the *Star-Times*, a local newspaper, wrote the following.

If Melendes can die in a St. Louis police cell as the result of an inhuman beating, and the perpetrators go unpunished, the painfully established liberties of all men have been whittled away. Human beings in a democracy cannot be divided into two classes, those who may safely be beaten to death and left to die in police stations, and those who may not. That is why the *Star-Times* will continue to fight to learn and print the truth, and continue to ask, “Who Killed Edward Melendes?” (McWilliams, 1948, pp 263)

So while the economic fortunes of many Americans of Mexican descent and Mexican immigrants may have been improving during the war years (Sanchez, 1993; De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006), the treatment they received at the hands of some Anglos had not. While McWilliams (1948) states that they were receiving ever more support from members of the white community who opposed their mistreatment, and the hypocrisy

inherent in such actions occurring in a democracy, the mistreatment did not cease. The war and the economic gains it had brought to members of communities of both Americans of Mexican descent and Mexican immigrant, however, did.

As Mexican-American veterans returned home, they, like so many others of the greatest generation, were imbued with a sense of determination and believed that they had ability to overcome any obstacle (Sanchez, 1993; De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006). Many of these American patriots of Mexican descent, who identified themselves as Mexican-Americans, fully expected to be able to collect the rewards promised to those returning home who had served their country faithfully. They were to be disappointed, as they saw their white brothers in arms receive loans that financed college degrees and the purchase of homes in the new suburbs, while they were denied such. Yet, Sanchez (1993), Gonzalez (2000) and De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006) describe the tenacity and determination of these veterans, when they state that in spite of continued racial differentiation and subsequent discrimination the returning Mexican-American soldiers formed political bodies, such as the GI forum, to counteract the prejudice of the dominant white majority. Sanchez (1993), Gonzalez (2000) and De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006) also state that Mexican immigrants also experienced the same old discrimination as whites began to return home from the war, and immigrants were again seen as encroaching on a white economy, though they were less able to combat the racial prejudice of the dominant white majority. Yet, it was not only whites that were displeased with the presence of Mexican immigrants.

American-Mexicans had for almost a century seen tides of immigrants from the old country moving into and out of their communities. One might have thought that the two groups would have been friendly, yet de la Garza and Vargas (1992) state that certain

Mexican citizens saw Americans of Mexican descent in general and Mexican-Americans specifically as *pochos* (literally rotten fruit), meaning that they were perceived as being mongrels, not truly Mexican or fully American. The most demeaning portion of this for the purposes of Mexican-American Mexican relations was that Americans of Mexican descent were not seen to possess *mexicanidad* (a term meaning Mexicanness that emerges in the Mexican Revolutionary War of 1910). The lack of respect that Americans of Mexican descent received from Mexican citizens made many of them ill-disposed to view Mexican migrant workers favorably where social ties of family and community did not bind them together (García, 1997).

Indeed, it appears that Americans of Mexican descent, specifically Mexican-Americans, saw the immigrants from the old country as competitors for employment, much the same way whites had done during the depression (McWilliams, 1948; Meier & Ribera, 1993). Though again familial ties, which were extensive, alleviated these tensions between Americans of Mexican descent and Mexican immigrants. Which is unsurprising given that the Mexican-Americans had labored for decades to build up the political power to combat the discrimination that they faced at the same time as participating in the political process of the country that they and their identities were so emotionally bound to. Further evidence for this hostility towards migrant workers from Mexico can be seen as de la Garza and DeSipio (1998) describe the qualification for membership in the League of United Latin American Citizens - citizenship. LULAC was set up to benefit American citizens of Mexican descent and protect them from Anglo discrimination as well as competition in the employment market from migrants.

All of these elements point to a divergence within the wider international Mexican community. The extent of the violence and hardship of the Mexican Revolution, its aftershocks and the rebuilding effort that reinvigorated and irreparably altered the Mexican national identity in Mexico was not experience by those Mexicans in the United States. Similarly, many of those in Mexico had no experience of the racial prejudice and hardships of life in the United States with the dominant white majority. Thus, while the social capital of both groups of Mexicans separated by the US border may not have decreased or changed to any great degree, the nature of their identities had changed as evinced by the identity building described on the US side of the border so far in this ethnohistorical narrative. Thus the internal differentiation within the wider international Mexican community breaks down many of the portions of Mexican controlled critical sites and the rough nature of each groups' group factors resulting in a loss of cohesion within this bisected by a border, where demographic similarities, norms and familial ties do not form a common bond.

This lack of regard from Mexico encouraged Mexican-Americans, who already looked hopefully towards the Constitution and the democratic processes of the United States, to concentrate their efforts on assimilation in the US to support the improvement of their lot, rather than look to Mexico. In this period, Mexican-Americans were able to win a number of court cases striking down segregationist legal codes (García, 1997). As Mexican-Americans began to make inroads to the middle-class, Sanchez (1993), Rodríguez (1998), de la Garza and DeSipio (1998) and Gonzalez (2000) state that they began to make more effort to integrate themselves into the American mainstream. They attempted to do this while retaining certain cultural elements such as language, symbols and holidays, though these

were elements that never came between them and their patriotic allegiance to the United States.

Portes and Zhou (2000) discuss minority focus on assimilation of this sort in relation to both the social group that an individual or group is assimilating with and the group that seeks assimilation. Their research and analysis leads them to conclude that assimilation is a strategy for advancement that only works when the group that one is assimilating with is already of higher status and is dominant. In order to assimilate with the dominant white majority, the Mexican-American middle class was moving into politics and seeking candidates who wanted their support, like John F. Kennedy (Dallek, 2004). They were willing to utilize government institutions that had historically oppressed Mexican-Americans in order to pursue a liberal road to equality majority of the United States.

Unlike the Spanish-Americans who asserted a parallel white racial identity, Mexican-Americans, who promoted a more nationalist identity were able to make some substantial gains in acquiring the rights that were denied to Mexican persons in the United States by the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Part of their success can be ascribed to the increase of permeability in the racial boundaries of the dominant white majority. The other part is, deservedly, a mark of their own hard work and their desire to engage with the political systems of the US that stemmed from their patriotism. In spite of this incredible effort and the gains made by Mexican-Americans prior to the civil rights era of the 1960s, Mexican persons in the United States, citizens or not, were still being assigned a racial identity and it would take another group, one that would take a more radical mode of interaction with the dominant white majority to make further inroads – the *Chicanos*.

6.2 *Chicano - a Reactive Identity Against Assimilation*

(1950s to 1980s)

Having presented the nationally-oriented identity of the Mexican-Americans, this section will investigate a new means utilized by certain members of the Mexican Population of the United States to reject the racial identity assigned to them by the dominant white majority. While of middle class, liberal Mexican-American nationalists and patriots had been willing to sacrifice some cultural artifacts in order to gain equality, and seen a measure of success in their efforts; their actions did not pay a dividend to all Americans of Mexican descent. Complete equality was just as far from the reach of 20th century Americans of Mexican descent as it was for the Spanish-Americans of the 19th century.

**Table 10 – Impact of Critical Sites and Group Factors on the Ethnic Identity of
*Chicanos***

Critical Site or Group Factor	Nature of Impact
Politics	– Political power still divided along racial boundaries in the US
Labor Market	– Americans of Mexican descent concentrated in low wage, blue collar work – Entry into academic arena increases as <i>Chicanos</i> make progress within social milieu of US
Residential Space	– Poorer Americans of Mexican descent concentrated in barrios
Daily Experience	– Institutional and normative discrimination – Poverty – Civil rights movements at most politically active
Social Capital	– Shared with Mexican immigrants
Human Capital	– Increasing academic and artistic skill sets – Political organization
Symbolic Repertoire	– <i>Chicanismo</i> – Aztlán – <i>La Raza Bronze</i>

Into this vacuum of total equality and opportunity for minority groups in the United States stepped a group as radical as the times that they lived through. The Cold War was in full swing (Gaddis, 2006; Wested, 2007), and the Civil Rights movement was beginning to gain momentum (Morris, 1986). It was in this political climate that the *Chicanos* emerged, swelled in number and after a brief few decades that they declined (García, 1997). What they brought to the experience of Mexicans in the US was the concept of ethnicity, which will be demonstrated in the ethnohistorical account using the ethnic group identity ideal type, and a radical rejection of the dominant white majority and their domination.

The racial assertions of the Spanish-Americans of the former *Rico* class were undermined by their second-class citizenship. Mexican-American nationalists were not permitted to fully realize their patriotism in spite of full citizenship. In the former case, the boundaries of the dominant white majority were just too impermeable. In the latter this was due, in part, to the inability of Mexican-Americans to distinguish themselves as different from the continual waves of immigrants from Mexico who did not possess either citizenship or a patriotic attachment to the US. The remainder was the result of the continued inability of Anglo-Americans to conceive of what constitutes being American in anything other than a mono-racial fashion (Lieberman, 1997).

García (1997) and Gonzalez (2000) state that during the 1960s working class Americans of Mexican descent perceived the liberal agenda of middle class Mexican-Americans to be failing to remove the discrimination faced by the entire Mexican population in the US, both citizens and immigrants, rich and poor, while they persisted in their attempts to assimilate. In response to this perception a movement emerged that represented the thinking of working class Americans of Mexican descent, one that was willing to embrace more radical and leftist approaches to equality since the other routes had become bankrupt. The movement produced a paradigm shift in the way that the majority of the Mexican populace of the US approached political activism. Given that a main focus of the movement was developing greater pride in the culture of Americans of Mexican descent, it is unsurprising that they adopt the term *Chicano*, a pejorative term for working class Americans of Mexican descent, as their *nom de guerre* (Simmen & Bauerle, 1969; Gonzalez, 2000). In this we can see the first piece of evidence that the *Chicanos* possessed an ethnic identity. The cohesion of the *Chicano* group was founded on an internal attachment to particular symbols

rather than the assignment of the dominant white majority of the United States, for as Gonzalez (2000) and De León and Griswold del Castillo (2006) state, the movement was stimulated by an attachment to the concept of Aztlán.

The term - Aztlán - refers to the mythical northlands from which the Aztecs hailed. The *Chicanos* felt that those northlands were the place in which they had suffered so much as a people since the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo signed it over to the US government, and that they needed to reclaim them. Given that the *Chicanos* also claimed a greater familial association with the indigenous peoples of the Americas, especially the great pre-Colombian civilizations (Meier & Ribera, 1993; García, 1997; De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006), they felt a great attachment to the region that is now referred to as the Southwestern United States. In this we see both the presence of a symbolic attachment that creates internal group cohesion and a claim to shared familial descent, two key components of an ethnic identity.

At this juncture, the question – how the *Chicanos* differ from the Spanish-Americans could be raised, since both claim some sort of familial heritage. The difference between the two is found in the exclusionary nature of the Spanish-American genealogical claims, that is they reserved the privilege of descending from Spanish blood, as imagined as that descent was, to an elite few. The *Chicanos*, on the other hand, were rejecting the cultural constructions of the Spanish-Americans on the grounds of the cruelty and enslavement of the indigenous peoples of the Americas by the *conquistadores* (Meier & Ribera, 1993; García, 1997; De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006). They also rejected the specious claims to “purity” of descent from Spain, embracing instead an indigenous ancestry. The emphasis, for the *Chicanos*, is on the rejection of symbols of repression and the celebration of the symbols, culture and history of a people that have endured and fought repression and exploitation.

García (1997) asserts that the four phases of development for the militant ethos of *Chicanismo*, which he describes, show that the *Chicano* movement is more than a flash in the pan, and that it has direct bearing on the activities of those Mexican groups in the United States that occur after the decline of the movement. This study would add to that assertion by stating that this singular movement also affected the identities of Mexican persons in the US. The first of García's (1997) four phases of the development of *Chicanismo* is the rejection of liberal politics. By consigning liberal policies to the wastebasket of history, *Chicanos* hoped to be able to also undo the damage done by the Spanish Myth and the misguided nationalism of the Mexican-Americans to the vast majority of Mexican persons in the United States who, due to their economic statuses and physical characteristics (Ono, 2002) could not easily assimilate with middle class Mexican America, let alone the dominant white majority.

It follows then that a reinterpretation of the past was necessarily the second step to developing equality. Portions of that reinterpretation has already been presented as this study emphasized the contributions that the indigenous peoples of the Americas made to the development of Mexican identity forms, the history of the Americas generally and the history of what is now termed the American Southwest specifically (Hall, 1989; Meier and Ribera, 1993; Gonzalez, 2000; Bakewell, 2004). The purpose of this rewriting of history of the "Southwest" was to facilitate greater pride in *Mexicanidad* and *Chicano* ethnic identity among working class Mexican persons in the United States. This would also ensure that when equality was achieved by the *movimiento*, the *Chicanos* would avoid the sacrifice of culture made by the Mexican-Americans, and retain a separate sense of peoplehood through greater efforts at cultural preservation. The final step necessary to achieve equal treatment was engaging in oppositional politics. The purpose of this was to instill cultural pride in

Americans of Mexican descent and present an alternative to assimilation that would still allow them to shake off the effects of discrimination.

García (1997) in effect, is saying that *Chicanos* felt that to some degree the Mexican-American middle class were accepting an assigned identity as they increasingly assimilated into the American mainstream. The philosophers and leaders of the *Chicano* movement clearly understood that the liberal agenda was something that whites were able to choose to associate with or not, while middle class Mexican-Americans were being bound to it. It is also clear that *Chicano* thinkers saw the cultural suicide of assimilation was not paying off, and that they must take a different route if they wished to avoid the continued discrimination and segregation of their people. An example of the oppositional politics of the *Chicanos* can be found in the Urban *Chicano* movement of the 1960s and 70s that served as an organizing body linking the Brown Beret paramilitary student group which had participated in numerous disruptive actions in Californian high schools and colleges, with relatively less radical groups like the *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán* or MEChA⁸⁰ (De León and Griswold del Castillo, 2006; García, 1997). De León and Griswold del Castillo state that the Urban *Chicano* movement placed emphasis on their difference by focusing their activities on promoting the rights of those that they termed *la Raza Bronze* (the bronze people).

The legacy of the oppositional politics of MEChA can be seen as Portes and Zhou (1993) comment on research in a Californian high school during the mid 1980s. They note that a Pro-Mexican ethnic identity existed among the second and third generation American

⁸⁰ The urban *Chicano* movement eventually took *Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán* or MEChA as its name in 1969 when it became an official student body representing *Chicano* students on campuses across the United States, in addition to promoting *Chicano* studies and recruiting *Chicano* scholars to college faculties.

high school students of Mexican descent.⁸¹ This study showed that the student's own self-descriptions, *Chicanos*, had deep meaning for the youths that espoused it. The *Chicano* identity of these high school youths focused on their difference from the white majority, and the poor treatment that their predecessors had received in the United States. The legacy of the *movimiento* was found in the need for these high school *Chicanos* only for each other's approbation and their rejection of positive feedback from non-*Chicanos*. This pride in being *Chicano* among the high school students was so strong that they described the education system they tried to avoid participating in as a thing for whites, a cultural artifact that they object to having foisted upon them (as they see it).

It was not until the advent of the Chicano Movimiento (García, 1997) in the 1960s that scholars that dealt with the Mexican population of the United States saw the long-term discrimination that led to the attitudes held by MEChA and the Californian *Chicano* high school students. Scholars, like anthropologist Ruth Tuck (1946), had been focusing on the "cultural deficiencies" of the Mexican persons in the United States as the cause of the rampant poverty that they faced in the Barrios. Unsurprisingly this work and others with similar views on the experience of Americans of Mexican descent in the US was vigorously attacked as poor scholarship with the advent of the Chicano movement, its scholars and a rising number of American scholars of Mexican descent. According to García (1997), the work of Octavio Romano and Rodolpho Acuña was of particular importance in rejecting the Anglo version of Southwestern history and its erasure of Americans of Mexican descent from history. They and more contemporary scholars (Hall, 1989; Weber, 1992; 2003; 2005; Meier

⁸¹ The second and third generations after immigration usually develop a more US-oriented identity as they engage with the educational system of the US (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; 2006), so these findings are somewhat unusual.

& Ribera, 1993; Sanchez, 1993; Rodríguez, 1997; Gonzales-Berry & Maciel, 2000; Gonzalez, 2000; González, 2004; Nieto-Philips, 2004; De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006; Gómez, 2007) have worked hard to establish the contribution of Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent to the development of the Southwestern US. Additionally they introduced a paradigm shift in the study of Mexicans in the United States that takes into account the effects of discrimination in explaining the state of Mexicans/Americans of Mexican descent in the US population. At this point in the discourse on Americans of Mexican descent, there is a burgeoning understanding of the varied subtle forms of discrimination, such as those that are discussed by Brown et al (2003) that at that time were also interacting with blunt and highly blatant de jure racism.

To conclude this section, we have shown that the *Chicanos* have made important cultural contributions to the Mexican people of the United States. They have contributed the ability to conceive of oneself in ethnic terms and have brought much needed understanding of the Mexican experience in the US to both the Mexican people and the dominant white majority. Further this section has shown that rather than find the continued influx of immigrants from Mexico problematic, the *Chicano's* ethnic identity and ideological perspective gave them a means to embrace them through symbols that the immigrants could adopt and a shared heritage that could be shared in a positive light.

6.3 *Integration, Pan-ethnicity and Immigration*

(1970s to 1980s)

Having discussed racial, national and ethnic means of dealing with the boundaries set by the dominant white majority of the United States, this study finally turns its attention to the pan-ethnic movements that originated in the 1970s. In doing so, this study will briefly examine topics relating to the immigration debate in the United States. As with previous attempts to reconcile the *Mexicanidad* of Americans of Mexican descent with the culture of the dominant white majority, *Chicanismo*, despite its victories, did not put an end to the discrimination faced by Americans of Mexican descent. Just as the Spanish-Americans and Mexican-Americans were unable to ameliorate the processes by which the dominant white majority made them the “other,” the *Chicanos* themselves were equally unable to separate themselves from the pejorative “otherness” that white America assigned them. The emphasis that the *Chicanos* placed on their alternative heritage, and their unwillingness to culturally assimilate, their isolationism, doomed their venture from the start.

Table 11 – Impact of Critical Sites and Group Factors on Hispanic/Latino Pan-Ethnic Identity

Critical Site or Group Factor	Nature of Impact
Politics	– Political power somewhat less racially divided
Labor Market	– High numbers of Americans of Mexican descent, and other Latin Americans concentrated in low wage, blue collar work
Daily Experience	– Institutional and normative discrimination – Interactions with a larger number of collective identity groups in post-civil rights US
Size	– Increasing rapidly among Americans of Mexican descent specifically and Latin Americans generally in relation to white majority and other minorities due to immigration
Preexisting Identities	– Large numbers of national and regional identities which are salient in addition to a new Hispanic/Latino identity
Internal Differentiation	– As above
Human Capital	– Low skill sets upon entry into the US
Symbolic Repertoire	– Spanish Language – Shared Latin American heritage

As we have previously established, the dominant white majority of the United States expects total assimilation as a basis for a minority being able to escape discrimination (Portes & Rumbaut 2001; Gordon, 1961). The celebration of an alternative history, language and culture among *Chicanos*, coupled with their disdain for the appeasement politics of the Spanish-Americans and *Latinos*, prevented them, as individuals, from being able to reduce the discrimination that they lived with. Scholars have demonstrated that the only way to remove the discrimination of the white majority group is to assimilate into it, while shedding

the salience of one's prior culture and heritage (Jacobson, 1994; Portes & Bach, 1985; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001 and Gordon, 1961).

The problem now for Americans of Mexican descent is actually a tripartite of challenges, specifically a crisis of legitimacy, a crisis of identity and the issue of how to relate to the continuing influx of immigrants from Mexico. The crisis of legitimacy is the result of the activism of the past. Pro-assimilation movements, like that of the Spanish-Americans and the *Latinos*, have failed to produce true first class citizenship (Rodríguez, 1997) so contemporary Mexican persons residing in the United States cannot with confidence turn to a pro-assimilation strategies for equality. Opposing strategies, like *Chicanismo* that demand equality while rejecting the necessity of the shedding of Mexican culture have similarly failed to garner first-class citizenship for Americans of Mexican descent (García, 1997).

Given that it has been so difficult for the white majority to make the face value or token alterations to the way that they interact with minority groups, that have so far alleviated some of the suffering previously experienced (Brown et al, 2003), it seems unlikely that a sudden willingness on the part of the white majority to give up all of its advantage and do away with its dislike of the "other" will change the lot of Americans of Mexican descent. This unlikely change does need to occur, as it has been demonstrated that the justified unwillingness of Americans of Mexican descent to throw away their Mexican culture is inhibiting their structural assimilation. In the face of this impasse, Americans of Mexican descent are suffering from their lack of structural assimilation as a group.

This can be seen in the fact that only 44 percent of Mexican origin individuals had completed four years of high school, in 1991, compared to 80 percent of the dominant white

group (Baker, 1996). Again in 1991 the median income among Mexican origin males (\$12,894) was almost ten thousand dollars less than males in the dominant majority group (\$22,207). Median family income a year later was \$23,240 for Mexican origin families and \$36,334 for non-Hispanic white families. Baker states that given that the poverty level was roughly \$14,000 dollars for a family of four, Mexican origin families were in far greater danger of impoverishment by government standards. So where do Americans of Mexican descent turn to find structural assimilation, if they want it, and for the first-class citizenship that Mexico thought was promised to them in the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo (Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Bakewell, 2004; Gómez, 2007)?

As to a crisis of identity, Americans of Mexican descent have seen the rise and fall of so many identity forms during their difficult stay in the United States that one wonders which will be the next rallying call. There is a degree of subjective legitimacy to all of the identity forms that have been investigated throughout the course of the constructionist and primordialist accounts of the current state of affairs in which Americans of Mexican descent find themselves. At the moment they have the opportunity to select from any of the identity forms that their predecessors have developed to combat the stigma heaped upon them by the dominant white majority. So what does it mean then for a citizen of the United States to have Mexican heritage? Which identity rubric should be used to understand that heritage?

At this juncture it would seem appropriate to introduce and briefly discuss another ethnic identity form that is open to Americans of Mexican descent, the Hispanic or Latino identity. Bean & Tienda (1987) describe the Hispanic or Latino ethnic identity as one that is pan-ethnic. However, Nagel (1986) and Garcia and De Greiff (2000) point out that the Hispanic ethnic identity is not another attempt by Latin Americans to increase their ability to

participate in the politics of the United States, but rather an identity that finds its current incarnation generated by the US government. The term⁸² was appropriated for this use by a federal agency - the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) as part of its Statistical Directive 15 issued in 1977. The OMB is responsible for ensuring that statistical information used by government bodies, including the Census Bureau is standardized. Statistical Directive 15 standardized ethnic terminology used by the government into five separate groups. The directive uses five general terms to describe the way that individuals residing within the US are grouped: White, Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander and American Indian or Alaskan Native (Garcia & De Greiff, 2000; Idler, 2007). The last four of these terms were, at the time, constructions, referring to no extant group in the US that had claimed such nomenclature.

Idler (2007) states that the purpose of these classifications was to allow the government to monitor the progress of civil rights legislation on an “ethnoracial” basis in the population and simplify record and data sharing between government bodies. That these terms are arbitrary and not necessarily held by all those who would be deemed to hold them by the US government, is demonstrated by Oboler (1995) who carried out in-depth interviews with immigrants from Central and South America who encountered with distaste the label Hispanic. She reports that they feel that their culture and achievements are marginalized when they have no other option than to report Hispanic ethnicity. Yet Portes & MacLeod

⁸² The term – Hispanic appears to emerge from the *Nueva Mexico* territory (Andres, 2000). It is likely that it is a evolution of the term - *Hispano* which appears almost exclusively in the work of writers and scholars in the 19th century, emerging only rarely in personal accounts. Since Anglo-Americans used the terms *Mexicano* or Spanish pejoratively, it seems that *Nuevomexicanos* adopted the nomenclature – *Hispano* in order to distance themselves from the negative meanings associated with the use of prior terms of self-reference. It seems that the *Nuevomexicanos* were quite comfortable with the use of the term *Hispano*, and thence Hispanic as it echoed the Spanish blood claimed by Spanish-Americans (an identity popular among *Nuevomexicanos*).

(1996) and Nagel (1986) state that the Hispanic identity⁸³ began to become something salient for second-generation immigrants from Latin America. It was able to develop its ethnic credentials to enable greater political participation. This is in line with Max Weber's (1968) assertion that the prime purpose of ethnicity was to vie for political power. Sommers (1991) states that this pan-ethnic identity, like other pan-ethnicities, is in competition with the ethnic identities of those groups that it seeks to include within its rubric. This has the effect of weakening and confusing the boundaries of the uber-group. Idler (2007) adds to this by stating that the identity created by the US government has too strong a focus on the Latin American country of origin of Hispanics, which further weakens the solidarity of the group as a whole.

Just as the salience of this identity can be found to be lacking in the face of component identities, the use of the term ethnicity seems to be similarly lacking in appropriateness. While the term ethnicity has gained in popular usage (Cornell & Hartmann, 2007) the accuracy of the application of the term is questionable. The ethnic groups referred to as components of the Hispanic pan-ethnic group, are an excellent example of this. They include Americans of Mexican descent, Mexicans, Haitian-Americans, Haitians, Cuban-Americans, Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Brazilians to name a few. Only a very vague sense of relatedness could exist within such a diverse group. Certainly all of these groups cannot be considered ethnic, as the Haitians, Cubans and Brazilians who assert such an identity are

⁸³ Members of this newer Latin American focused pan-ethnic movement utilize both Hispanic and Latino as identifying terms, though, which is more appropriate, is the subject of continuing debate (Idler, 2007). The proponents of the term Latino favor it for its focus on Latin America and its exclusion of Spanish speakers from Europe.

asserting a national identity. It seems that the word ethnicity in this instance is being conflated with notion of a culturally distinct group.

Despite such a poor foundation for common ground and the resulting lack of solidarity within the Hispanic/Latino pan-"ethnic" group, Sommers (1991) states that not only is the Hispanic/Latino identity something that has gained in salience among members of the Latin American community living within the US building solidarity among Latin American ethnic groups. Alcoff (2000) states that some members of the dominant white majority see nothing more than welfare opportunism in engaging with pan-ethnic identity. She claims instead that what solidarity that does emerge within the Hispanic/Latino pan-ethnic group is only an attempt to imbue meaning into an assigned identity. Once assigned it is quite natural that Hispanics/Latinos hope to advance Latin American issues within the United States, including the issue of immigrants from Latin American nations.

The last problem facing Americans of Mexican descent, regardless of the which identity salient to Mexican persons in the United States that this study has investigated as well as those who chose to possess a Hispanic/Latino pan-ethnicity, who wish to be able to assimilate to some degree, is the issue of how Americans of Mexican descent are to achieve some measure of equality when there is a continuous influx of immigrants from Mexico. Americans of Mexican descent have experienced a different historical trajectory for the past century and a half of American occupation so they share only a marginal amount of culture and heritage with Mexican immigrants (de la Garza and Vargas, 1992). De la Garza et al (1996) demonstrate that there is a categorical difference between Mexican immigrants and Americans of Mexican descent in terms of patriotic identification with the United States. An analysis of data from the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) revealed that often

Americans of Mexican descent identified with core American political values such as economic individualism to the same degree that members of the dominant white majority do. Even more surprisingly they found that Mexicans residing in the United States, that intended to remain here, were more patriotic than Anglo-Americans.

In spite of findings like these, there still remains a historic inability on the part of the dominant white majority in differentiating between Mexicans who have resided in the United States for two or more generations and Mexican immigrants. It seems that equality must come to Americans of Mexican descent when non-white immigrants to the United States, or those that are assigned non-white status by the dominant white majority, are no longer treated as other.⁸⁴ In order to understand the difficulty inherent in the assimilation of immigrants into the United States, it is important to first understand the hardships faced by them. It is also important to avoid confining this discussion to Mexican immigrants only, as the contemporary debate on immigrants within the political sphere does not, even though they comprise the largest proportion of immigrants (between twenty and thirty percent of all annual immigrants, according to Portes & Rumbaut (2006)).

Given the willingness of the dominant white majority to consider any non-white culture as “other,” it follows therefore that equal treatment for Americans of Mexican descent is dependent on a change in treatment of Mexican immigrants. Further equal treatment for Mexican immigrants, and thereby Mexican persons that are either permanent residents or citizens of the United States, is bound up in the treatment of all immigrant groups. While some groups have been able to assimilate into the dominant white majority (Hartigan, 1997;

⁸⁴ This effectively demonstrates the degree to which the identity of the dominant white majority is still a racial identity.

Doane, 1997), more contemporary groups face an entirely different set of circumstances (Perlmann, 2005; Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; 2006). Not least the fact that most major immigrant groups are not European, as were past groups, and therefore cannot lay claim to the whiteness of the dominant group, as easily as previous European immigrant groups (Ono, 2002; Perlmann, 2005) demonstrating the degree to which race should be a part of the immigration debate in the US.

Mahler (2000) states that many immigrants, including Mexicans, come to the US with high hopes of being able to achieve the affluence that they hear of from relatives and through the media. She further states that many immigrants who come to the US do so without a clear understanding of its costs of living. Given that, as Arizpe (1981) states, many of the migrants to the United States come from rural areas in their home nations, and they usually do not have the skills necessary to integrate themselves into the economy in the way that they anticipate. Mahler (2000) states that this lower earning potential coupled with their intention to raise funds leads to the destruction of traditional values and the commodification of relationships within the immigrant community.

This deprives many immigrants of the ability to develop or sustain the degree of social capital, either among immigrant populations or with citizen groups, that facilitates economic progress; specifically successful economic individualism which is so important to the philosophy of the dominant white majority and, therefore, to assimilation. This inability to make progress is one of the key reasons that the immigrant groups, or rather their children, find cultural assimilation to be difficult as they lack funds to enable them to develop support networks which makes obtaining education and thereafter structurally assimilating incredibly

difficult (Garza et al, 2004).⁸⁵ Garza et al (2004), however, do provide examples of some children of immigrants⁸⁶ being able to use support networks, painstakingly created and nurtured by their parents, to succeed within the education system of the United States. Thus, these children and their eventual progeny have increased their ability to assimilate on an individual basis, in a way that transforms them at least from a pejorative “other” to an accepted member of American society in the eyes of many of the dominant white majority.

This success can be associated with an inter-generational shift in ethnic identity. As previously discussed, Ono (2002) finds that the persistence of Mexican identity among those that are descended from Mexican immigrants within the United States is decreasing.⁸⁷ Her findings indicate, though, that this decrease is not universal in the community of Americans of Mexican descent. Her findings indicate that some of the persistence of Mexican identity can be attributed to the color of the individual’s skin, and the racial prejudice that still exists within the United States (Brown et al, 2003). Ono (2002) finds that this is reinforced by inter-ethnic conflict between minority groups, who discriminate on the basis of group membership and use physiological features a means to identify group members.

⁸⁵ This also has an affect on what could be termed the Mexican community of the US, as it increases the economic differences between those that have managed some degree of assimilation across the generations and those Mexican immigrants that the dominant white majority confuse with the Americans of Mexican descent. This has the effect of generating class differences within this “community” that make s any broadly popular approach to combating the impermeability of the racial boundary set up by the dominant white majority highly problematic

⁸⁶ Garza et al (2004) focus on the successes of the children of migrant workers, a group that can include both immigrants and Mexican-Americans. For the purposes of this portion of the study we will focus on immigrant issues, despite the equal application of their findings to a large swath of “ethnic” and economic groups in the United States.

⁸⁷ Given that Ono’s (2002) research deals with data that is over a decade old, and that the decade in question saw the immigration debate become particularly charged with the need to increase the impermeability of the racial boundary between white and “other” this decrease may not be as steep or may actually have reversed. This is more likely when the further points she makes in regard to physiological differences are brought into consideration.

This competition stems from boundary tensions between the dominant white majority in the US and a minority group and between minority groups and focuses on a struggle for limited resources (Olzak, 1986; Johnson, Farrell & Guinn, 1997). Competition of this sort only serves to reinforce the salience of ethnic identities (Olzak, 1986). The competition experienced by Americans of Mexican descent is exemplified in the extreme by the intergroup conflagrations that Bergesen and Herman (1998) described as a key component of the 1992 Los Angeles riots. Specifically, competition for employment and residential space between African-Americans and members of groups that fall within the US government's Hispanic umbrella within the urban environment of Los Angeles led to this widespread violence (Olzak 1992, Bergesen & Herman 1998). The violence and looting that occurred during the riots reified the sense of difference between groups and strengthened the boundaries of African-Americans and "Hispanics" that lived in the areas affected by the riots. Regardless of the unusual nature of the example, this strengthening of ethnic boundaries runs counter to any interest those ethnic groups may have in assimilation.

To conclude this section and the ethnohistorical narrative it would appear that the extensive legacy of discrimination and second-class treatment across the course of over a century and a half of Mexican history in the American Southwest suggests the difficulty that Americans of Mexican descent have had in attempting to assimilate is unlikely to decrease. However, it is important to note that some immigrants do make progress in integrating into US society, even if they do not fully assimilate (Garza et al 2004). It is also possible that equality for Americans of Mexican descent can be achieved, though many fundamental changes would need to occur within the dominant racial group in the US.

The problem remains at the present, however, that many members of the white majority, despite much improvement in the treatment of the non-white “other” by the group as a whole, still have difficulty in letting go of their privilege. Other difficulties for minority racial and immigrant groups can be found in the undiminished demands for total assimilation as the basis for acceptance and equality by the dominant white racial group (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). As Ono (2002) points out, those who appear white may be able to assimilate on individual terms, but in order to do so they must be willing to give up their “ethnic” identities (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001).⁸⁸ So for Americans of Mexican descent the concept of the melting pot, to great extent, still holds true. Though it is not, as Yetman (1998) points out, a metaphor for acceptance, the melting pot represents the “cooking off” or dilution of ethnic diversity in order to preserve dominant white cultural norms.

⁸⁸ Specifically members of minority racial and immigrant groups will have to discard those cultural elements that the white majority find unpalatable and “unAmerican.”

7 Conclusion

In light of the information regarding a variety of identities and transitions between them in the ethnohistorical narrative we can say with some certainty that Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework has a great deal more utility than only the description of racial and ethnic identities. It has been demonstrated that it has the ability to assist our understanding of the development of these two identity forms from the context of their precursors. Specifically, the framework is of utility in describing the way that pre-modern religious and national group identity types develop, are maintained and decline. Important aspects of the framework that illuminate these changes include the circumstantial critical sites and internal group factors, aspects that demonstrate that Cornell and Hartmann (2007) agree with Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) and Nagel's (1994) assertion that both internal and contextual elements are of import when seeking to understand group boundaries and collective identities. It is the way that Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework integrates these two forms of data in analysis that gives it such descriptive strength.

This study has also demonstrated that Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework can be used in conjunction with other methodological tools. Specifically, the qualitatively developed ideal types developed during the course of this research have enabled the avoidance of inappropriate terminological usage in the presentation of a historical narrative. This has proven particularly useful when dealing with the breadth of historical material necessary for a study of this scope. The use of these two tools - the framework and the ideal types - has made analysis of such material more straightforward by promoting a focus on the concepts important to the individuals in a given time period. The analysis avoided the

mistake made by Mendieta (2000) who imposed modern concepts on peoples who neither knew nor were affected by them, and that of Meier and Ribera's (1993) initial foray into an examination of *Chicano* history, in which *Chicano* group and identity were conflated with groups and identities that lived prior to the development of the identity of Mexicans or Americans of Mexican descent. Such problems would have inhibited the ability of this study to demonstrate the emergence of racial and ethnic identities from the context of pre-modern religious and national identities.

The study has been careful in regard to another potential inaccuracy, that of periodizing the historical narrative in order to simplify it and bind it to contemporary issues. While it may appear that this study has generated three distinct periods of Mexican history by referring to pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent, the ethnohistorical analysis demonstrated that the transitions described were never absolute, whereby all those who belong to a particular identity group undergo an identity shift contemporaneously and describe themselves as members of an entirely different group. The combined use of the framework and the ideal types supported the avoidance of periodization and helped preserve the heterogeneity of those being studied, both within and without the groups that were included in the analysis. The historical analysis was careful to ensure that the groups who possessed pre-modern religious identities – the Castilians, *Peninsulares* and indigenous groups were all treated as possessing pre-modern religious identities very different in character from each other. Each of these was important to the evolution of national, racial and ethnic identities for both Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent.

This study was not able to include a focus on the indigenous peoples of the central and northern regions of the Americas who contributed to the development of the identities of

Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent in a way proportionate to the focus given the European influences. However, it was able to make some contribution in line with that which Octavio Romano (1968) had suggested would be beneficial for the development of a greater understanding in the way that persons of Mexican descent define themselves outside of their communities. It has done so by investigating the history of the identities of pre-Mexicans, Mexicans and Americans of Mexican descent, possessed by various groups whose experiences have been tied to Mexico in some form or another and that have had a varying degree of importance salience (summarized in the table below).

Table 12 – Summary of the Impact of Critical Sites and Group Factors on the Groups Studied

Group Studied	Critical Sites and Group Factors affecting Group Interaction
<p>Castilian-Aragonese Pre-modern Religious Identity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Politics – Monarchic system of government, war with the Moors, Jews in government – Labor Market – Concentration in pastoralism, anti-aristocratic legislation, Military – Social Institutions – Feudalism, Catholic Church, military orders – Daily Experience – Segregation based on religious affiliation – Preexisting Identities – Pre-modern religious identity founded in Medieval Catholicism – Internal Differentiation – Religious and class diversity – Human Capital – Concentration in agriculture and military – Symbolic Repertoire – Medieval Catholicism
<p>Racial Identities of New Spain</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Politics – Power divided along religious then racial boundaries – Labor Market – Legal restrictions on Native/Mestizo/Indio production – Social Institutions – Weak prohibition on religious/ racial intermarriage – Culture – concept of holy blood (status assignment) – Daily Experience – Legal differentiation between Spanish/Criollos and indigenous persons, religious then racial segregation

<p>Racial Identities of New Spain (cont)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Preexisting Identities – Castilian-Aragonese, indigenous pre-modern religious identities – Size – Small numbers of Iberians, many large groups of indigenous peoples – Internal Differentiation – High proportion of males to females in Castilian-Aragonese, later Spanish, group – Symbolic Repertoire – Catholicism, specifically the virgin and the cross, conquest, conversion
<p>Mexican National Identity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Politics – Concentration of power in hands of monarchy, colonial powers in hands of dominant racial group – Culture – Racial differentiation and status assignment, loyalty to monarchy, loyalty to conceptualized nation – Daily Experience – Racial categories and attendant institutional and normative discrimination, debate on enlightenment ideology, specifically concepts of equality and nationalism – Preexisting Identities – Persisting components of pre-modern religious identities, Racial identities – Internal Differentiation – Racial groups, intellectual elite and underprivileged – Human Capital – Pastoralism, literacy
<p>Racial Identity of the Dominant White Majority of the US</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Politics – Political power divided along racial boundaries – Labor Market – Institution of slavery – Social Institutions – Strong normative prohibition against intermarriage, – Culture – Differentiation between groups commonplace, racial and status assignment – Daily Experience – Assigning low status racial identities – Preexisting Identities – pre-modern religious identity – Size – Large in relation to other groups within sphere of influence, increasing with births, immigration and assimilation – Internal Differentiation – Roughly equal proportions of men to women in population centers throughout history of the group – Symbolic Repertoire – Protestantism, enlightenment ideology, biological differentiation
<p>Spanish-American Racial</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Politics – No right to vote in elections, legal discrimination – Culture – Assertion of higher racial status in relation to other

<p>Identity</p>	<p>Americans of Mexican descent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Daily Experience – Lack of constitutional and legal rights, domination of white majority, loss of property, class and status, pejorative racial identity and status assigned – Preexisting Identities – Affiliation with Spain, differentiation of in-group from other Americans of Mexican descent – Symbolic Repertoire – Purity of descent from Spain, Spanish language and culture
<p>Mexican-American Racial/National Identity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Politics – Political power still divided along racial boundaries in the US – Residential Space – Americans of Mexican descent concentrated in Barrios – Daily Experience – Racial assignment, institutional and normative discrimination – Internal Differentiation – Large numbers of first generation immigrants, near constant influx of immigrants, class differences arising due to Mexican-American success within the wider community of Mexican persons in the US – Social Capital – Shared familial bonds with immigrants resulting in chain immigration – Human Capital – Generally low levels of human capital upon entry into the US, skill sets grow as Mexican-Americans make progress within the social milieu of the US, political organization – Symbolic Repertoire – Patriotism, participation in celebrations of US and Mexican culture, Catholicism
<p>Chicano Ethnic Identity</p> <p>Chicano Ethnic</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Politics – Political power still divided along racial boundaries in the US – Labor Market – Americans of Mexican descent concentrated in low wage, blue collar work, entry into academic arena increases as <i>Chicanos</i> make progress within social milieu of US – Residential Space - Poorer Americans of Mexican descent concentrated in barrios – Daily Experience – Institutional and normative discrimination, poverty, civil rights movements at most politically active – Social Capital – Shared with Mexican immigrants – Human Capital – Increasing academic and artistic skill sets, political organization – Symbolic Repertoire – <i>Chicanismo</i>, <i>Aztlán</i>, <i>la Raza Bronze</i>

Identity (Cont)	
<p>Hispanic/Latino Pan-Ethnic Identity</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Politics – Political power somewhat less racially divided – Labor Market – High numbers of Americans of Mexican descent, and other Latin Americans concentrated in low wage, blue collar work – Daily Experience – Institutional and normative discrimination, interactions with a larger number of collective identity groups in post-civil rights US – Size – Increasing rapidly among Americans of Mexican descent specifically and Latin Americans generally in relation to white majority and other minorities due to immigration – Preexisting Identities – Large numbers of national and regional identities which are salient in addition to a new Hispanic/Latino identity – Internal Differentiation – As above – Human Capital – Low skill sets upon entry into the US – Symbolic Repertoire – Spanish language, Shared Latin American heritage

Within the investigation of pre-modern identities, where power differentials between groups arise from colonialism, the study has shown that the pre-modern identities and theologically based worldviews and institutions of the Iberians (Constable, 1997; Ruiz, 2004; Díaz Balsera, 2005; Levy, 2008) had an important impact on the developing relations and distribution of power between themselves and the indigenous peoples of the Americas (Díaz, 1963; McAllister, 1969; Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Bakewell, 2004). It is the pre-modern religious element of this theological worldview (Díaz Balsera, 2005; Levy, 2008) that facilitated the development of a racial system (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004) not based in economics, like that of the United States (Morgan, 1975). The effects of this theological worldview were enhanced by interactions between circumstance, institutions and the intentions of the Spanish for the American continent. It has also been shown that the Mexican

national identity emerged equally from the principles of the enlightenment (Bernstein, 1961; Hussey 1961; Gonzalez, 2000) as from the racial identities that had been developed in the Viceroyalty (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004) within a very specific context (Hall, 1989; Weber, 1992; Meier & Ribera, 1993; McFarlane, 1997; MacLachlan & Beezley, 1999; Bakewell, 2004).

It has been demonstrated in this study, in relation to modern identities whose power imbalances were also the result of colonialism, that a radical shift occurred in the trajectory of Mexican identity maintenance and formation when the northern Mexican provinces were ceded to the United States that resulted in the racialization of both new Americans of Mexican descent and Mexican immigrants (Hall, 1989, Weber, 1992; 2003; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Gonzalez, 2000: Bakewell, 2004; Nieto-Philips, 2004; De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006; Gomez, 2007). The first attempt at the development of an identity to combat the racialization endured by the Americans of Mexican descent – a Spanish-American racial identity – failed to bridge the racial boundaries set in place by the dominant white majority of the United States (Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Nieto-Philips, 2004; De León & Griswold del Castillo, 2006; Gomez, 2007). This is due to the impermeability of the racial boundaries set up by the dominant white majority, and the racial claims of the Spanish-Americans, which, far from mitigating the abuse they suffered, validated the boundaries that generated that abuse.

It is at this juncture modern identities begin to be more affected by continued large-scale immigration from Mexico to the United States than colonialism resulting in the formation of the Mexican-American nationally oriented identity (Sanchez, 1993; García, 1997; Gonzalez, 2000; Weber, 2003, González, 2004). It initially provides a break from the

racially focused identities of the Spanish-Americans, and allows an attachment to the United States to form to the degree that, while the dominant white majority were still assigning a racial identity, Mexicans in the United States were asserting a nationally oriented Mexican-American patriotism. At the same time they were able to relate to both US and Mexican culture and feel a salient tie to both, reflective of the social capital that linked them with Mexican immigrant communities and those in Mexico itself.

In opposition to this assimilationist stance, a reactive *Chicano* identity developed that embraced an ethnic form of identity. This is evidenced by the way it was supported by symbols that held particular meaning for its members, and by the way those symbols were transformed by ever increasing internal debate, into unrecognizable or sufficiently alien forms leading to the decline of this identity group. Following in the wake of the reduced salience of the *Chicano* ethnic identity group were the pan-ethnic groups – the Latinos or Hispanics - that emerged in the 1970s. This group focuses again on participation in the political processes of the United States, and amalgamated a variety of groups in order to build a political base of sufficient size to be able to demand and get change. The problem with this identity project is that it ties to other salient identities leads to a weaker association with the supra-ethnic group. This made the cohesion of the group and, thus, the political base unstable and unable to deliver the change that was needed to ameliorate the damage done by over one hundred and fifty years of racialization and marginalization by the dominant white majority.

This demonstration of the utility of Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework has avoided the contemporary immigration debate and its attendant effects on the identity of Mexican persons. The use of racial classifications by the dominant group has not diminished

sufficiently to allow Americans of Mexican descent and Mexican immigrants to make mass ingress into the dominant group in the US. Just as Spanish-Americans could not escape the pejorative statuses assigned to their poorer *Mestizo* fellows, it seems unlikely that contemporary Americans of Mexican descent will be able to escape the prejudice and normative discrimination directed towards Mexican immigrants.

Unfortunately the immigration debate is too large a topic for this study, which already struggles to contain the breadth of materials covered therein. This has prevented this study from examining what appears to be the reemergence of a Mexican national identity type from racial and ethnic identity types (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). This paper has demonstrated that a transition of this sort has occurred before; indeed the development of a national identity from the pre-modern religious and racial identities of the Viceroyalty of New Spain was instrumental in the downfall of colonial rule and the establishment of the Republic of Mexico. Given this prior demonstration, Cornell and Hartmann's (2007) framework is likely to be of use in describing this more contemporary transition between identity types. It is also likely that the potent mixture of race and nationalism will have a powerful impact on the way that the United States interacts with immigrants in general and Americans of Mexican descent and Mexican immigrants specifically.

In relation to the later half of the ethnohistorical narrative, this study has found an extraordinary persistence of racial identification of individuals in the United States that echoes the prediction of Omi and Winant (1994) and the findings of Brown et al (2003). It has been demonstrated in this study that the development of new forms of identity, with attendant groups, do not follow a linear model. Circumstance and subjective interpretations thereof provide the direction for the development of a new identity group, making each

identity unique. It follows, then, that there is no theoretical imperative for race to disappear, as proposed by Park (1934; Park & Burgess, 1921) in his examination of assimilation. The disappearance of race, of the sort proclaimed by the self-termed “racial realists” will not happen as a result of the striking down of institutions and legal codes, as Omi and Winant (1994) and Brown et al (2003) state, racial perception is linked to almost every aspect of thought and behavior in the United States. Institutions and laws form only a very small part of the experience of the society and culture of the United States.

This has important implications for the ability of Americans of Mexican descent and Mexican immigrants who face such discrimination to find equal treatment in the United States. Race as a theoretical concept and as a facet of the everyday experience pervades the major identity projects of Americans of Mexican descent. This issue needs to be addressed directly by members of the group that generated the problematic boundaries or the problems of prejudice and normative discrimination that have ensured the lack of progress among the Mexican peoples of the United States, or it will persist. In order to make ingress into the upper echelons of US society the Mexican peoples of the United States may be forced, as Gordon (1961; 1964) described, to enter that society on an individual basis. Structural and cultural assimilation would require the loss of the greater preponderance of Mexican culture and meaning that they have reinvented, even as it was nourished by continual waves of immigration (Sanchez, 1993; García 1997; Gonzalez, 2000; Weber, 2003; González, 2004).

This might be avoided if the pan-ethnic identities that have recently emerged can organize themselves more cohesively, in the manner exemplified by the Mexican-Americans and the *Chicanos*. If they do this political power would be more obtainable, and then real change could soon be helping Mexican persons in the United States to find greater equality

and decrease the prejudice that they face. That factor is the continued immigration from Mexico described by Sanchez (1993), García (1997), Gonzalez (2000), Weber (2003) and González (2004). It is already swelling the populations of the American Southwest at an incredible rate (Telles & Ortiz, 2008). If this continues, and is not hampered overly by the draconian border control measures put in place by the US government, then the political blocs dreamed of by the Americans of Mexican descents, the *Chicanos* and Hispanics/Latinos could be within reach.

8 References

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1 - Technically Philip the Second was not the King of Spain but rather: “by the grace of God, King of Castile, Leon, Aragon, the Two Sicilies, Jerusalem, Portugal, Navarre, Granada, Toledo, Valencia, Galicia, Mallorca, Seville, Sardinia, Cordoba, Corsica, Murcia, Jaen, Algarve, Gibraltar, the Canary Islands, the Eastern and Western Indies, the islands and terra firma of the Ocean Sea; archduke of Austria; duke of Burgundy, Bravant and Milan, count of Habsburg, Flanders, Triol, Barcelona: Lord of Biscay, Molina etc.” (Rodríguez-Salgado, 1998, p233). It is interesting to note that these titles are attributed to God, thus providing further corroboration to the notion that individuals understood themselves and their world in a religious sense in the era prior to the enlightenment.

2 - This is highlighted in a passage of the law discussing the benefits of conversion to Jewish persons and the penalties for Jews that harmed these converts:

No force or compulsion shall be employed in any way against a Jew to induce him to become a Christian; but Christians should convert him ... by means of the texts of the Holy Scriptures, and by kind words, for no one can love or appreciate a service which is done him by compulsion. We also decree that if any Jew or Jewess should voluntarily desire to become a Christian, the other Jews shall not interfere with this in any way, and if they stone, wound, or kill any such person, because they wish to become Christians, or after they have been baptized, and this can be proved; we order that all the murderers, or the abettors of said murder or attack, shall be burned. (Constable, 1997, p 271)

This particular passage is of interest as the statuses assigned by those possessing a Castilian pre-modern religious identity to themselves and Jews indicates how fundamental religion (specifically a medieval Catholic culture) is to their understanding of the social world. This is highlighted in the passage of the law that focuses on the treatment of converts:

Many live and die in strange beliefs, who would love to be Christians if it were not for the vilification and dishonor which they see others who become converted endure by being called turncoats, and calumniated and insulted in many evil ways; and we hold that those who do this wickedly offend, and that they should honor persons of this kind for many reasons, and not show them disrespect. One of these is because they renounce the religion in which they and their families were born; and another is because, after they have understanding, they acknowledge the superiority of our religion and accept it... If anyone violates this law we order that he be punished for it, as seems best to the judges of the district; and that the punishment be more severe than if the injury had been committed against another man or woman whose entire line of ancestors had been Christians. (Constable, 1997, pp 273-274)

This reference to decent from Christian ancestors is an indication of the importance placed on this facet of the Catholic culture of medieval Iberia, that will play an important role in the section dealing with the development of race in the Viceroyalty of New Spain.

3 - The term is often assumed to refer to the pork that the Conversos conspicuously ate as a proof of their conversion. Similarly assumed is a connection with the Arabic word *muharram* which means ritually forbidden. Netanyahu (1999) undertakes highly detailed study of historical manuscripts to prove that this was most likely a linguistic misunderstanding that emerged late in the 14th century (after the adoption of *Las Siete Partidas*). He states that the word actually stems from the Hebrew word for convert *meshumad* and the highly pejorative term that Iberian Jews used to describe those that had willfully converted away from Judaism – *mumar*. So in all likelihood the association of the term with pigs was due to Castilian ignorance of Hebrew. It is likely that post-1348 with the implementation of *Las Siete Partidas* that the term faded from use amongst Iberian Jews, but not until the Castilians had mistaken the use of the variants of the two Hebrew words (Netanyahu, 1999) to indicate references to swine given the similarity of the terms.

4 - Jews should pass their lives among Christians quietly and without disorder, practicing their own religious rights, and not speaking ill of the faith ... Moreover, a Jew should be very careful to avoid preaching to, or converting any Christian, to the end that he might become a Jew, by exalting his own belief and disparaging ours. Whoever violates this law shall be put to death and lose all his property. [The latter portion of this sentence may not make sense unless we note that the issue of inheritance is a major concern of *Las Siete Partidas* and Iberian culture generally (Ruiz, 2004)]. And because we have heard it said that in some places Jews celebrated, and still celebrate Good Friday...by way of contempt; stealing children and fastening them to crosses, and making images of wax and crucifying them, when they cannot obtain children; we order that ... if ... anything like this is done, and can be proved, all persons who were present when the act was committed shall be seized, arrested and brought before the king; and after the king ascertains that they are guilty, he shall cause them to be put to death in a disgraceful manner, no matter how many there may be.

We also forbid any Jew to dare leave his house or his quarter on Good Friday, but they must all remain shut up until Saturday morning: and if they violate this regulation they shall not be entitled to reparation for any injury or dishonor inflicted upon them by Christians. (Constable, 1997, pp 269-270)

5 - It seems clear from the literature (McAllister, 1969; Wolf, 1982; Ruiz, 2004; Levy, 2008) that this warrior status was extremely important to the Castilians specifically and Catholic Iberians generally, given the institutional ties of their monarchies to military orders of the Catholic Church.

6 - Though Hall (1989) does not make any specific references in this regard it is likely that Ferdinand and Isabella were attempting to enforce *Las Siete Partidas*. Ruiz (2004) states that the seven part legal code of the Castilians had much to say about inheritance, but had been flagrantly ignored (much as it had by Castilian anti-Semites) by a number of individuals who stood lower in the royal succession since the 13th century. The most notable of these usurping heirs is Isabella's own (possibly illegitimate) sister. Bakewell (2004) credits the marriage of Isabella to Ferdinand as a means to gain overwhelming support in war between

the sisters for the Crown of Castile. Having gone through such a contested ascent to the throne it is likely that Isabella and Ferdinand would seek to prevent such issues of inheritance causing internal strife between the nobility. In doing this it is likely that Ferdinand and Isabella modified Las Siete Partidas. Ruiz (2004) states that when it was written the legal code demanded that strict provisions be made in wills in order to ensure that multiple inheritors understood the portion that their position enabled them to receive and therefore be content. Given the conflict over inheritance that Ruiz describes, it is understandable that such a radical revision to the legal code would appeal to the monarchs of Castile-Aragon.

7 - Bakewell (2004) states that at the bottom of the aristocratic hierarchy were the hidalgos or knights. While the aforementioned focus on noble birth was a fundamental part of aristocratic life, there was opportunity for commoners embarking on the voyage to the New World to distinguish themselves and gain the position of a Hidalgo. If they were able to further demonstrate skill in combat and perform services to nobles of higher station or the crown, they could continue their advancement. This in part explains why so many Iberian men of the common class joined the conquest. The arduous nature of the journey and the uncertainty of life at its conclusion explain the dearth of women making the voyage to the colonies.

8 - Mendieta (2000) enlarges upon this when he states that the conquistadores were confused by the degree of “otherness” in the American Indian peoples that they encountered. At the time of the first decades of contact they had only two terms for describing non-Catholics – infidel and traitor. The one describing Muslims who knew Christ as a prophet but not the Son of God, and the latter describing Jewish persons whose predecessors (a gross generalization on the part of the inquisition in particular) had colluded in the death of Christ, and had refused to accept Him in the centuries that followed (Lewis, 1995). It is likely that the degree of “otherness” in the American Indian peoples, and the inability of the Conquistadores and later the Peninsulares to insert American Indians into this framework that led to the emergence of racial or ethnic means for the classification of categories in the society of the Viceroyalty.

As a side note Mendieta (2000) persists in discussing this early history and the “Spanish” of the era of the conquest in ethnic terms, as discussed in the introduction. In this his own presentation of the terms infidel and traitor, as well as the preceding discussion of religious identity should demonstrate the inaccuracy of projecting ethnicity that far into the past

9 - Levy (2008) states that Cortés was born in the town of Medellín, a town in the region known as Extramadura. Ruiz (2004), in his examination of Castilian history, notes that the province of Extramadura was a possession of the Castilians. So we cannot state conclusively that Cortés, a minor hidalgo by Levy’s account, shares familial descent with the Castilian nobility. What can be stated is that it is very likely that Cortés was not only influenced by, but born into Castilian cultural norms.

10 - Díaz (1963) was a contemporary and companion of Cortés, and wrote a first hand account of his experiences with the conquistadores that he accompanied. He presents some anecdotal evidence for the strength of the Castilian influence on the conquest of the New World. He states that certain of the indigenous people that they encountered on the island of

Cozumel (just off the Yucatan coast) would exclaim “Castilian” (Díaz, 1963, pg54) in the presence of the Iberians. Díaz and Cortés attributed this to previous expeditions, and actually found shipwrecked Iberians residing amongst the native peoples.

Further evidence for the predominance of Castilians in the conquest of the New World emerges when Nieto-Philips (2004) gives an account of a testimony given by Justice of the Peace H. S. Wooster in 1902 a report submitted to Congress in regard to the granting of statehood to Oklahoma, Arizona and New Mexico. Wooster was asked to describe the language spoken by those of Mexican descent in the New Mexico territory, he replied that:

They speak the Spanish language, or try to; but I understand that it is not pure Castilian; it is a sort of a jargon of their own. (Nieto-Philips, 2004, p88).

11 - Levy (2008) describes the indigenous peoples encountered by the Cortés expedition as being deeply religious (Krickberg et al, 1969; Séjourné, 1976; Miller & Taube, 1993; Díaz Balsera, 2005) Their cultural understanding of the world was so powerful that they were convinced that not only were disasters like drought and famine averted by the offering of sacrifices but that life itself and the continued rising of the sun was dependant on such observances. In order to ensure the latter, human sacrifice, the most potent sacrifice according to the cultural understanding of the indigenous peoples that the Cortés expedition encountered, was required. The indigenous peoples of the Americas also imbued a variety of the elements of the natural world with cosmic significance; for example ceiba trees were thought to hold up the heavens. This Mesoamerican notion is reminiscent of the role of Atlas in Greek mythology, or the Cedar tree in ancient Lebanon (Clark, 2005).

12 - Every aspect of the world that these indigenous peoples lived in revolved around religion. One of the most important of these that Díaz Balsera (2005) discusses is the notion that the Aztecs and a number of the groups that fell under their aegis thought of Tenochtitlán as the center of the universe. Florescano (2006) states that this urban Mesoamerican concept is referred to as a tollan city and that the Teotihuacáanos developed the term from the name for a plant – the tule, a type of reed that grows in great clumps. For the Teotihuacáanos the concept was merely a reference to a great population center, and held far less religious significance than it did for the Aztecs of Tenochtitlán. For reasons that are unclear the great population center of Teotihuacán began to fade at around 700 B.C.E., yet by this point the Teotihuacáanos had already made a cultural impact on the Maya and other groups (Braswell, 2003; Krickberg, 1969; Quilter & Miller, 2006; Scarborough & Clark; 2007).

The most important contribution for the purposes of this study is the transmission of the concept of the tollan city. A concept that Carrasco (2000) refers to is a religious one that states that the great population center is more than a mere city, it is the center of the world. That is *the* center for religious and political practice and governance, which helps explain the massive size of Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital. Since this is a religious concept, one that is echoed in Nibley’s (1951) work, it appears that the residents and political/religious leadership of the city did actually believe it to be the literal center of the earth. Nibley refers to this central point as a hierocentric point, from which all measurements find their origin. This is echoed in Quilter’s (2006) description of the directional points of the compass, used by the peoples of Mesoamerica at the time of the conquest, all of which emanated from the sacred center of Tenochtitlán. In short not only did the indigenous peoples possess pre-

modern religious identities, but the degree of religiosity described (Krickberg et al, 1969; Séjourné, 1976; Miller & Taube, 1993; Carrasco, 2000; Díaz Balsera, 2005; Quilter, 2006; Levy, 2008) indicates that the thickest pre-modern religious identities described in this study belonged to the indigenous peoples of the Americas.

In reference to the totem concept it is interesting to note that present day Mexico City was founded on the site of Tenochtitlán (Hall, 1989; Meier & Ribera, 1993; Bakewell, 2004), making the capital of the Viceroyalty of New Spain and later the Mexican republic a site of special significance for the indigenous groups conquered by the invading Castilian-Aragonese. Given our previous references to the hierocentric point, it may be that this site was chosen as the seat of governance for the colony by the *conquistadores* for more than convenience (Levy, 2008) It may be that the world view of the Castilian-Aragonese, that was a function of their pre-modern religious identity permitted them to understand the significance of the sacred center to the indigenous peoples. By converting it from a pagan ritual center to a lesser node of the true center at Rome the *conquistadores* would have reinforced the example that Hernán Cortés made that is discussed below. By making Tenochtitlán subordinate to a greater center - Rome - the Castilian-Aragonese would have been able to ensure that their indigenous subjects would find the true cosmological understanding of the world in Catholicism and monarchic rule from Iberia via the remnants of their religious institutions.

12 - Álvarez Junco (2002) mentions that the term Spanish, appears sometime during the 16th century, the term was used by those that the Castilian-Aragonese Crown waged war against. Álvarez Junco seems to indicate that the use of the term by Spain's enemies reinforced its use as a self-descriptor in the borders of the territory in Iberia controlled by the Trastámaran and later the Habsburg royal houses during the 16th century.

Given the presence of the term used to describe non-Portuguese Iberians in the historical record, from this point onwards the term Spain will be used in the place of Castile-Aragon. This also prevents problems of geographical confusion when referring to Spanish monarchs. As at about this point in time the Habsburgs dynasty, who controlled a large proportion of Europe, also took control of non-Portuguese Iberia. That the region of the Spanish Colonies in the Americas of most interest to this paper was called the Viceroyalty of New Spain, confirms the historical accuracy of using the term Spain in place of the term Castile-Aragon from this point in the ethnohistorical analysis onwards.

13 - Interestingly John Locke (2003) described the futility of a domineering approach to conversion in his Letter Concerning Toleration, like that taken by the Spanish. In it his logical reasoning fully explains the basis for the Nahua peoples' inability to let go of their traditional deities and practices. He states that the any attempt to bring together the state and religion and thereafter legislate towards the state religion cannot have the ability to produce complete conversion. He states that belief is a matter of the mind and heart, and while magistrates can punish infractions of theological laws adopted by the state, they cannot produce in these converts the whole hearted belief in the religion of the state. The net result being that the polytheistic "otherness" of the native peoples, specifically the Nahua in this instance, was not lessened as the regulars' rote practice of Catholicism was not sufficient to assist a complete transition from their previous religious traditions.

Both Bakewell (2004) and Díaz Balsera (2005) describe this occurring in the Viceroyalty at the instigation of the missionaries of the religious orders, who would often preside over hearings examining infractions by the indigenous converts. The practice, while widespread was not official state policy and certainly not legal. It represents one of the reasons that Phillip II was so keen to limit the presence of the religious orders in the New World, despite their greater ability to produce converts.

What is truly fascinating, in relation to the pre-modern religious collective identity group type, is that Locke (2003) states that such a wedding of the church and state (he was writing in an England that was seized by religious disagreement) was a prelude to the sort of violence and absolute domination of the religious other that Nibley (1951) describes as a part of the hierocentric states of Medieval Europe, the middle east and Asia. It would seem that Locke is describing a particularly thick pre-modern identity, and one that was present in 17th century England given that he wrote this letter as a response to Hobbes' assertion that the state should have an official religion with others being legislatively discouraged.

14 - The degree to which the indigenous peoples were racialized and made other by the Spanish colonials is demonstrated in the way that Weber (2005) describes those that the Spanish had difficulty controlling being referred to in the 18th century (a full two hundred years after the beginning of the racializing process). He states that they were referred to as *indios bravos* (wild Indians), *indios bozales* (ignorant Indians), *indios infieles* (heathen Indians) or, worst of all, as *indios bárbaros* (savage Indians). These terms indicate that the Spanish perceived that proximity and subjection to the themselves conferred important improvements to the otherwise base character of the indigenous peoples that they could not develop on their own.

15 - A number of the indigenous groups contacted in the 16th (after the establishment of the colony) through 18th centuries were far more difficult for the Spaniards and their indigenous allies (Hasket, 1996) to convert and subdue (Hall, 1989; Bakewell, 2004). These peoples were referred to as Chichimecs by their southern indigenous neighbors. The native peoples to the north of present day Mexico City were dominated by the high civilizations of the Aztec, Tarascans and Zapotecs immediately prior to the incursion of the Conquistadors (Borah, 1979) and consequently assigned a low status within that relationship as indicated by Hall's rough translation of the word Chichimec: "dirty, uncivilized dogs" (Hall, 1989, p63) is highly pejorative. The word is also misleading, as Hall states that it actually refers to quite a number of groups. The word Chichimec was applied to so many groups, that Hall is able to state that a number of families of groups were subsumed by this simplification.

16 - France was eventually able to develop a particularly potent national identity as it lived through the glory days of Napoleon Bonaparte's rule and then engaged in several major European conflicts (Wawro, 2000; 2005). Zamoyski (2001) presents an extensive discussion of the disastrous nature of French attempts at producing a functional government. Interestingly, they dealt with much the same problem as Mexico. France possessed a revolutionary elite in major, northern urban centers which was concentrated on Paris, and at the same time a reactionary provincial populace that distrusted the Centrist policies of the revolutionaries and preferred the monarchy.

17 - In order to set the tone for this examination an excerpt from General Stephen Watts Kearny's address to the people of Las Vegas in the New Mexico territory follows:

Mr. Alcalde, and people of New Mexico: I have come amongst you by the orders of my government, to take possession of your country, and extend over it the laws of the United States. We consider it, and have done so for some time, a part of the territory of the United States. We come amongst you as friends-not as enemies; as protectors-not conquerors. We come among you for your benefit-not for your injury.

Henceforth I absolve you from all allegiance to the Mexican government, and from all obedience to General Armijo. He is no longer your governor; (great sensation.) I am your governor ... Mr. Alcalde, and you two captains of Militia, the laws of my country require that all men who hold office under it shall take the oath of allegiance. I do not wish, for the present, until affairs become more settled, to disturb your form of government. If you are prepared to take oaths of allegiance, I shall continue you in office, and support your authority (Weber, 2003, pp 161-162).

Mr. Alcalde and those members of his staff standing with General Kearny then proceeded to take the oath of allegiance. In deference to their traditions, they started to do this with their eyes downcast as a mark of respect, one easily understandable given the semi-feudal nature of their society which was a legacy of the pre-modern identities that had left such an imprint upon it. Not understanding this, and apparently concerned that Mr. Alcalde and his staff members were not taking the oath of allegiance with total commitment, General Kearny reportedly told one of the individuals swearing allegiance: "Captain, look me in the face, while you repeat that oath of office" (Weber, 2003, p 161).