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Representational Scales: Latinx Media Production in Chicago, 1953-2012

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ABSTRACT

Representational Scales: Latinx Media Production in Chicago, 1953 – 2012

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Like the majority of media studies, research on Latinx media is characterized by a focus on a single medium. As an alternative, this dissertation provides a media ecology of the city's Latinx mediascape between the years 1953 and 2012. This dissertation investigates four case studies: (1) Univision's former television affiliate, WCIU; (2) the Little Village/Pilsen neighborhood micro-broadcasting radio stations, WCYC and WRTE; (3) the longest running Latinx film festival in the country, the Chicago Latino Film Festival; and (4) the renowned activist group, the Immigrant Youth Justice League.

Over the course of four chapters, this work outlines the history of Chicago's Latinx media industry, revealing four eras hereafter known as the dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-1986); the decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996); the intermedial turn (1996-2006); and the rise of social media (2006-2012). These historical junctures demarcate key moments of change in the city's Latinx media industry, each containing specific, distinguishable characteristics. The dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-1986) was marked by broadcasters privileging Latin America in their representations of Latinidad, the sense of being Latinx. The decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996), a term first introduced by Maria Elena Toraño in 1979, bore witness to the development of a more unified U.S.-American Latinx viewing public. The intermedial turn (1996-2006) was characterized by an interest in producing work across media platforms. Lastly, the rise of social media (2006–2012) was, in many ways, a continuation of the intermedial turn but differed in that there was a quicker, more pronounced shifting of scales, which demonstrated a clear strategy for developing a sense of community and undocumented identity according to scale.

Each scale-shift not only addressed a different segment of the U.S. undocumented community but also reflected an alternative understanding of citizenship, where the U.S.-American Latinx population was not only made-up of U.S. citizens but also of undocumented Latinxs, who could engage with the nation through Latinx cultural citizenship and other forms of deviant citizenship.

This study's primary question is: "what insights do we gain by focusing on the question of scale in the history of the city's Latinx media industry?" This dissertation shows that communication establishes relationships according to scales, and by shifting those scales, media producers set boundaries for community inclusion and establish new relationships among their audiences. In other words, by focusing on scale, this work reveals how people in Chicago have used media to relate to each other, to their surroundings, and to their technologies.

This dissertation's interest in the relationship between media and space exemplifies an overall shift in media research known as the spatial turn, which is marked by a swell in the number of works on the cultural geographies of media. Building on the work of Henri Lefebvre, Ana Tsing, Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, this study introduces the concept of representational scales, which consists of a triad of proximity, transmission, and identity and describes the productive geopolitical, technological, and social boundaries that have made up Chicago's Latinx mediascape.

While grounded in media studies, this work engages in an interdisciplinary dialogue with Latinx studies, building on the work of Claudia Milian to introduce the idea of mediated Latinites, the qualities of being Latinx as expressed through media. This dissertation explores how Latinx media producers represented a sense of Latinidad through such mediated Latinities, offering a more nuanced language for discussing the varied representation of Latinx identity in media. As a media ecology, this work also engages with literature in media convergence and

intermedia studies, building on Henry Jenkins' notion of transmediation, a spread of cultural

material across media, to argue that mediated Latinities engender a structure of feeling that

coheres Chicago's Latinx mediascape through the transmediation of Latinidad.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Of the many that things I learned from writing this dissertation, perhaps the most life-changing was the realization that something is not nothing. This aphorism became my mantra as I balanced my expanding life with the demands of writing a dissertation, working a little bit each day to chip away at the project that rests before you. This little saying took on even greater meaning as it came to represent the ways in which all people contribute to the societies and cultures in which they find themselves. Shifting now to a slightly different scale, I would like to take a moment to turn my attention to everyone that contributed an important "something" to this dissertation.

I would like to thank the institutions that provided the resources, historical materials, and staff that were crucial to completing this dissertation. My gratitude goes to the Chicago History Museum Research Center, the Northwestern University Archives, the Northwestern University library, the DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, the University of Chicago Special Collections Research Center, the University of Illinois Archives in Chicago, el General de la Nación in Mexico city, the Harold Washington Library, the Chicago Public Library, St. Augustine College, and the International Latino Cultural Center.

Writing this dissertation not only took time and effort but also money, and I am indebted to the following institutions for helping me keep my math in order: The Graduate School at Northwestern University, Hampshire College, the Internet Archive, and Saatchi and Saatchi in Los Angeles.

As a work of historical recovery, I could not have written this dissertation without the words, insights, and information from the people that were actually there, advancing the institutions that helped define a sense of Latinidad in Chicago. Thank you to Harv Roman, Jorge

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I would like to thank my big sister, Jessica Paz, and her wonderful clan: my bro(in-law), Jimmy Paz, and my nephew and nieces, Nathan, Samantha, and Mackenzie. Jecca, thank you for your kindness and love. Your massive heart has always been a safety net for me, and I thank you for always being supportive of my crazy adventures.

St. Augustine College was not only the site of the first Latino Film Festival, it was also where my parents first met as they took English classes after having migrated to the United States. As such, I thank my parents Angela and Roger Almendarez for not only supporting me throughout my education but also exposing me to some of the most important Latinx markers in Chicago. I owe everything to both of you, and I will always live my life according to the ethics and sense of love you have inspired in me. Thank you for making this "anchor baby" a testament to the good things that can come out of kindness and compassion.

Lastly, I would like to thank the love of my life, Valeria Jimenez. We first met at a screening of the Chicago Latino Film Festival as graduate students at Northwestern, and since then our exploits have taken us across the country and throughout the world. You've challenged me, helped me grow, and shown me a love, love, a love like this, and I am eternally grateful. I have never known you outside of being a graduate student, and I am excited to embark on this next chapter of our lives as doctors (WE DID IT!), taking care of our little dog Spock and our will-be-born-within-a-week baby, Adeline. To Addie: you're an outlier, but always remember the glue that binds.

DEDICATION

To my parents, for showing me the courage required to chart new paths. To my wife, for showing me the courage required to perform an act of love.

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INTRODUCTION

Representational Scales in Chicago's Latinx Mediascape

> "Here [in Chicago] we have a combination of different Latino[sic] populations; however, in each community the majority takes care of its own first...When I talk to people in my community I use Mexican, but I use Latino[sic] when the situation calls for issues that have citywide implications."[1]

During an episode of *Sin Papeles,* a program on Pilsen's micro-broadcasting radio station, WRTE, Catalina Maria Johnson spoke about her stint as editor of the January 2012, issue of *Contratiempo,* a local independent Spanish-language literary journal.[2] Johnson explained that she had themed that particular issue around immigration and cultural production in an attempt to frame

Figure 1.1

immigrants "de otro punto de vista (from another point of view)," doing so by highlighting what she called their "creative...riches."[3] Johnson made this intention clear by depicting a trio of howling, Mesoamerican characters on the issue's cover, which included a woman with a video camera, a man holding a guitar, and a coyote (Figure 1).[4]

The cover's design was an artist's rendition of an infamous Caltrans road sign that could be seen along the 5 interstate freeway near California's U.S.-Mexico border, which intended to warn

Figure 1.2

drivers of undocumented pedestrians (Figure 2).[5] However, by re-imagining the sign in terms of

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[1] Felix M. Padilla, "On the Nature of Latino Ethnicity," *Social Science Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (1984): 655.

[2] Radio Arte, "Sin Papeles," wrte.org, accessed February 12th, 2012, http://wrte.org/sin-papeles.php. *Sin Papeles* translates to "without papers," a euphemism denoting one's undocumented immigration status.

[3] Radio Arte, "Sin Papeles," wrte.org, accessed February 12th, 2012, http://wrte.org/sin-papeles.php.

[4] Radio Arte, "Sin Papeles," wrte.org, accessed February 12th, 2012, http://wrte.org/sin-papeles.php.

culture, *Contratiempo* suggested an alternative view of Latinidad, a sense of being Latinx, which both countered the stereotype of Latinxs as "illegal" and advanced the journal's mission to frame immigrants "de otro punto de vista" by highlighting their cultural potential with the means of production literally in their hands.[6] What is most remarkable about January's cover is that it engages with multiple media in its representation of Latinidad, which can likewise be said of Johnson's interview on *Sin Papeles*.

According to Anna Tsing, scale is the "spatial dimensionality necessary for a particular kind of view, whether up close or from a distance, microscopic or planetary."[7] By discussing the journal on *Sin Papeles,* Johnson, in effect, amplified the scale of *Contratiempo's* transmission*,* extending the print journal's reach across three distinct media platforms as the interview aired on the radio and later was hosted on WRTE's website.[8] Not only did this amplification bring multiple media into contact, it also entangled various scales of proximity: the interview was broadcast from Radio Arte, a neighborhood micro-broadcaster; it incorporated *Contratiempo*'s citywide scope; and it assumed an international perspective during Johnson's discussion of immigrant cultural production. However, the journal's theme did not necessarily scope as broadly in its representation of Latinidad.

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[5] The sign was created by John Hood, a Navajo Vietnam War veteran from New Mexico for California's Caltrans system. See Scott Gold, "The Artist Behind the Iconic 'Running Immigrants' Image," latimes.com, April 4, 2008, accessed November 28, 2017, http://www.latimes.com/local/la-me-outthere4apr04-story.html; Cindy Carcamo, "With Only One Left, Iconic Yellow Road Sign Showing Running Immigrants Now Borders on the Extinct," latimes.com, July 7, 2017, accessed January 15, 2018, http://www.latimes.com/local/california/la-me-immigrants-running-road-sign-20170614-htmlstory.html/.

[6] For more on the stereotype of the "illegal alien," see Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).

[7] Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 58.

[8] The episode was available for download and streaming on Radio Arte's former website, http://www.wrte.org.

As Mae Ngai notes, U.S.-American Latinxs are often incorrectly stereotyped as undocumented, even though they are, by birthright, citizens of the United States.[9] So, by referencing the Caltrans design, *Contratiempo* alluded to a specific, non-native segment of the population, which consequently narrowed its scale of Latinx identity. And here in lies the point, the various entanglements of scale within this example provide a glimpse of a more general tendency among Latinx media producers, which is to shift between levels of scale when representing Latinidad.

As both this episode of *Sin Papeles* and the introductory quote suggest, scale matters. It matters because it establishes the scope of a broadcast's public address, it qualifies representations of Latinidad, it positions communities within a geopolitical context, and it creates relationships between social actors. But in terms of the study of media, what can scale tell us about the history of Latinx media production in Chicago?

Over the course of four chapters, I intend to analyze the role of scale in the historical representation of Latinidad in Chicago by constructing a representative media ecology of the city's Latinx mediascape between the years 1953 and 2012. This ecology consists of four case studies: (1) Univision's former television affiliate, WCIU; (2) the Little Village/Pilsen neighborhood micro-broadcasting radio stations, WCYC and WRTE; (3) the longest running Latinx film festival in the United States, the Chicago Latino Film Festival; and (4) the renowned activist group, the Immigrant Youth Justice League (IYJL). Each of these case studies provides a distinct vantage point from which to investigate the primary junctures in Chicago's Latinx media

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[9] I use Mary A. Rend's term U.S.-American to specify that I am referring to U.S.-born Latinxs. (Mary A. Renda, *Gender and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).) Doing so recognizes that the word "America" is not exclusive to the United the States but applies to all North, Central, South, and Latin American countries. (Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004).)

history, which I have outlined as the dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-1986), the decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996), the intermedial turn (1996-2006), and the rise of social media (2006-2012).

I argue that each historical period had specific, distinguishable characteristics with an overarching sense of scale with regards to Latinidad. I locate the industry's historical junctures, its primary moments of change, during times of transformation, the effects of which were evident across my case studies. To begin, the dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-1986) was marked by broadcasters privileging Latin America in their representation of Latinidad. In so doing, their broadcasts adhered to an international scale that obscured the regional specificity of Chicago's diverse Latinx community. Next, the decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996), an idea first articulated by Maria Elena Toraño, introduced a proliferation of Latinx media production, which promoted the idea of a unified "Hispanic" audience and Latinx population. I specifically use the term "Hispanic" as opposed to Latinx in order to differentiate between Latinxs forming community among themselves and producers developing Spanish-language media as a way of engendering a marketable audience. In other words, I see "Hispanic" as a term affixed to the Latinx community that does the work of othering them from non-Latinxs, whereas "Latinx" emerges from within the Latinx community and promotes self-agency. Unlike in the previous era, media producers drew a sharper focus on U.S.-American Latinxs, scale-shifting to a national level that nevertheless was still informed by international media productions. The following era, the intermedial turn (1996-2006), was characterized by an interest in producing work across media platforms. During this time, the scale of Latinx identity in popular media expanded, offering a sense of Latinidad that was informed by multiple sources, not only geographically, such as pulling from Latin America and Europe, but also in terms of subjectivity, such as a

greater inclusion of gender and sexual minorities. In the final period of this history, the rise of

social media (2006-2012), Latinx media producers demonstrated greater fluidity in how they

shifted between representational scales, more overtly scale-shifting between multiple levels as

they expressed a sense of identity. By outlining the historical junctures in the city's Latinx media

industry, I intend to detail the history of my case studies "not in isolation, but in relation to each

other."[10] Moreover, these historical periods demonstrate shifts in both the relationship between

media and space and the boundaries of inclusion that demarcated Latinx identity in Chicago

between 1953 and 2012.

Throughout each historical period, Chicago's Latinx media producers established media

industry mandates that configured what I call representational scales, whose scope of address,

technological qualities, and sense of location represented a relationship between Latinx identity,

media production, and space. I introduce the idea of representational scales as a way of outlining

the productive geopolitical, technological, and social boundaries that shape what Nick Couldry

and Anna McCarthy call mediaspaces, which describe both the "spaces created by media" (e.g.,

the virtual space of the Internet) and the environments that encompass them.[11]

Mediaspace is a useful concept for describing the varied cultural geographies that I

encountered in my research. For example, the Immigrant Youth Justice League generated such

spaces on the Internet, creating a sense of group identity among the country's geographically

dispersed undocumented community through the use of social media. However, the IYJL used

the Internet in multiple ways, such as moving their political actions offline, demonstrating that

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[10] Jacob Smith, "Vocal Tracks: Modern Vocal Performance in the Sound Media" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 2005), 2.

[11] Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy, *Mediaspace*: *Place, Scale and Culture in a Media Age* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 2.

mediaspaces can reach across multiple frames of reference, and as such, I contend that

representational scales offer an effective framework for describing this multidimensionality.

My analysis of Johnson's interview on WRTE demonstrates how I conceive of

representational scales as a triad of proximity, transmission, and identity, each of which

describes a different aspect of an institution's representational strategies. As WCIU demonstrated

by positioning its locally produced live content alongside its Mexican imports from Univision,

the station's broadcasts shifted between local and international points of reference. To highlight

the differences in scope and varied sense of space engendered by these shifts, I describe WCIU's

representational strategies as shifting between local and international *scales of proximity*. In the

case of the micro-broadcaster WRTE, the station had a relatively limited broadcast range that

was mostly constrained to the Pilsen neighborhood, which stands in contrast to the nearly

limitless reach of the IYJL's Internet media. These differences played critical roles in how each

institution set the scope of its address, which was directly related to its media platform. To

account for the differences between each institution's technological capacity to transmit

information, I introduce the term *scale of transmission*, which, again, highlights the differences

in scope and varied sense of space that accompany shifts in scale. Lastly, as I will show in

chapter four, the Immigrant Youth Justice League shifted between various scales of proximity in

its Internet media. At times, the group shifted to the level of the neighborhood and made direct

references to Chicago's Latinx community. At others, the IYJL shifted the scope of its address to

the country's broader undocumented community, foregoing any references to a specific ethnic

community. In so doing, the group aligned the scope of its address with its scale of proximity,

and as a way to describe this entanglement I use the term *scale of identity,* which highlights how

media delimit community membership by establishing boundaries in the scope of their address.[12]

These representational scales are useful for explaining the significance of an institution's

representational strategies. However, they only provide partial insight into an institution's

motivations. As such, I incorporate Amanda Lotz's understanding of media industry mandates to

supplement this framework and gain further insight into an institution's goals, what Lotz calls its

"very reason for being."[13] Lotz's framework sheds light on an institution's use of

communications technologies, and by combining this framework with an analysis of an

institution's representational scales I can describe how certain communications technologies

become "institutionalized and socialized" in the ways that they do, which according to Néstor

García Canclini is what ultimately makes them meaningful.[14]

My focus on scale is particularly useful in an analysis of media industry mandates

because, as Lotz argues, "rich understandings of media operations require studies at all these

levels from the macro to the micro," which I exemplify in this media ecology by incorporating a

range of transmission types, from the micro-broadcasting radio of WCYC to the unbounded

Internet of the Immigrant Youth Justice League.[15] These frameworks work well together because

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[12] Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1989, no. 1 (1989): 139-167.

[13] Amanda D. Lotz, "Media Industry Mandates," in *Understanding Media Industries*, eds. Timothy Havens and Amanda D. Lotz (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 49. Madeleine Akrich and Bruno Latour, "A Summary of a Convenient Vocabulary for the Semiotics of Human and Nonhuman Assemblies," in *Shaping Technology / Building Society. Studies in Sociotechnical Change,* eds. Wiebe E. Bijker and John Law (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1992), 259-264.

[14] Néstor García Canclini, "Hybrid Cultures, Oblique Powers," in *Media and Cultural Studies: KeyWorks Revised Edition*, eds. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 432.

[15] Amanda Lotz, "Industry-Level Studies and the Contributions of Gitlin's *Inside Prime Time*," in *Production Studies: Cultural Studies of Media Industries*, eds. Vicki Mayer, Miranda J. Banks and John T. Caldwell, (New

they can be adapted to the study of various media. However, in order to gain a better sense of how my case studies relate to one another, both in terms of media production and how they engaged with their surroundings, I turn to previous research on media ecology.

Although Matthew Fuller describes the field of media ecology as rather "ambiguous," scholars such as Marshall McLuhan, Neil Postman, Charles Weingartner, Lance Strate, Robert McKenzie, Ursula Heise, William Kuhns, Bonnie A. Nardi, Vicki L. O'Day, Marie-Laure Ryan, and Jordan Stalker generally share an interest in the relationship between media and their environment.[16] According to Ursula Heise, the field was inspired by biological and sociological research that investigated how habitats inform the development of organisms.[17] This dissertation reflects this lineage by adopting Neil Postman's definition of media ecology as "the study of media as environment," which provides a useful framework for understanding the relationship between media technologies and space.[18]

This dissertation's interest in the relationship between media and space exemplifies an overall shift in media research known as the spatial turn, which is marked by a swell in the

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York and London: Routledge, 2009), 36. See also David Morley, *Home Territories: Media, Mobility, and Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002).

[16] Matthew Fuller, *Media Ecologies*: *Materialist Energies in Art and Techhnoculture* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2005), 2. For more on media ecology, see Lance Strate, "Containers, Computers, and the Media Ecology of the City," *Media Ecology: A Journal of Intersections* (1996), ubalt.edu, accessed February 12th, 2012, http://raven.ubalt.edu/features/media_ecology/articles/96/strate1/cybertime_1.Html; Robert McKenzie, "The Ecological Approach to the Study of the Human Community," in *The City*, eds. Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick McKenzie (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), 63–79; William Kuhns, *The Post-Industrial Prophets: Interpretations of Technology* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1971); Bonnie A. Nardi and Vicki L. O'Day, *Information Ecologies: Using Technology with Heart* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999); Marie-Laure Ryan, "On the Theoretical Foundations of Transmedial Narratology," in *Narratology beyond Literary Criticism: Mediality, Disciplinarity*, ed. Jan Cristoph Meister (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2005); Jordan Stalker, "Imagining an India: The Media Ecology of the Indian Diaspora in the Greater Chicago Area" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2017).

[17] Ursula K. Heise, "Unnatural Ecologies: The Metaphor of the Environment in Media Theory," *Configurations* 10, no. 1 (2002): 149-168.

[18] Neil Postman, "The Reformed English Curriculum," in *High School 1980: The Shape of the Future in American Secondary Education*, ed. Alvin C. Eurich (New York: Pitman, 1970), 161.

number of works on the cultural geographies of media, or what Chris Berry, Soyoung Kim, and

Lynn Spigel describe as the study of "electronic elsewheres."[19] Examples of such work includes

scholarship by Edward Soja, Doreen Massey, Anna McCarthy, David Morley, and Lynn Spigel,

which engage with the field of critical geography in order to conceptualize the relationship

between media and space. This dissertation participates in this tradition by drawing on the work

of one of the field's most influential theorists, Henri Lefebvre. [20]

According to Lefebvre, space is a social construct; in other words, it is a process that

results in the "materialization of 'social being.'"[21] Lefebvre's work is particularly apt for

interdisciplinary dialogue with media studies because it highlights the importance of perception

in the development of space, especially in the case of what he calls "representational spaces,"

which are locations that bespeak the ideological systems that engender them (e.g., consider the

imperial undertones of the saying "All roads lead to Rome" or the glossy capitalist veneers of the

storefronts lining Chicago's Magnificent Mile).[22] Building on this idea, Michel de Certeau

argues that it is possible to *read* space because it is "constituted by a system of signs," which

suggests that, as Berry, Kim, and Spigel note, "media do not just represent—accurately or

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[19] Jeffrey Sconce first introduced the term "electronic elsewhere," which he defined as "an invisible utopian realm generated and accessed through the wonders of electronic media." (Jeffrey Sconce, *Haunted Media: Electronic Presence from Telegraphy to Television* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2000), 57.) For more on media and space, see Chris Berry, Soyoung Kim, and Lynn Spigel, "Introduction: Here, There, and Elsewhere," in *Electronic Elsewheres: Media Technology, and the Experience of Social Space*, eds. Chris Berry, Soyoung Kim, and Lynn Spigel (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), xvii-xviii; Doreen Massey, *Space, Place, and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Doreen Massey, *For Space* (London: Sage Publications, 2005); Anna McCarthy, *Ambient Television: Visual Culture and Public Space* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001).

[20] See Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson, "Introduction," in *The Social Logic of Space*, eds. Bill Hillier and Julienne Hanson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 4.

[21] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), 101-102.

[22] Lefebvre delineates the three aspects of space as spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces. Representations of space consist of objects, such as urban planning blueprints, and can also include other depictions of space, such as those found in fictional films. (Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford and Cambridge: Blackwell, 1991), 38-39.)

inaccurately—a place that is already there" but rather that such "places are conjured up, experienced, and in that sense produced through media."[23] My takeaway from these studies is that both media and their environment are dialectically related, each informing the other in the production and communication of meaning.

However, researchers interested in transnational media industries have complicated such notions about the relationship between media and space by engaging with postmodern scholarship in their analysis of community formation.[24] For example, David Morley and Kevin Robins incorporate insights from postmodern theorists, such as David Harvey and Frederic Jameson, to argue that transnational flows of media establish alternative geographies, which challenges the idea that national borders can isolate cultures and communities. According to Hamid Naficy, this is precisely the case for diasporic communities, which transcend national boundaries when they participate in transnational flows of media, what Naficy terms "exile media."[25] This line of research reveals that the relationship between media and space engages with questions of identity, all of which are central issues to this project.

In particular, Morley and Robins' understanding of mediaspace resonates with my own formulation of representational scales because their notions of "spaces of transmission" and

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[23] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 117. Chris Berry, Soyoung Kim, and Lynn Spigel, "Introduction: Here, There, and Elsewhere," in *Electronic Elsewheres: Media Technology, and the Experience of Social Space*, eds. Chris Berry, Soyoung Kim, and Lynn Spigel (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), vii.

[24] For more on postmodernism and media, see Chela Sandoval, "Frederic Jameson: Postmodernism is a Neocolonizing Global Force," in *Methodology of the Oppressed*, ed. Chela Sandoval (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); Frederic Jameson, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," in *Media and Cultural Studies: KeyWorks Revised Edition*, eds. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).

[25] According to Naficy, immigrant communities create "exile media," which (1) help transition migrants to their new surroundings, (2) connect viewers with social resources, and (3) link migrants to their homelands. (Hamid Naficy, *The Making of Exile Cultures: Iranian Television in Los Angeles* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), xvi.)

"spaces of identity" likewise describe how media technologies inform the development of identity.[26] Taking this idea a step further, Couldry and McCarthy note that mediaspaces are "multi-scaled" and "entangled," which is evident in what Deirdre Boden and Roger Friedlander call "'the compulsion of proximity' in modern, complex, dispersed social worlds."[27] In other words, communications technologies facilitate cultural formations across various representational scales, and in so doing, weave together local, national, and international scales of proximity.

I incorporate these different notions of space (as representational and in terms of transmission, identity, and proximity) in my concept of representational scales to describe how media flows, cultural identities, and a sense of place are similarly "conjured up" but delimited through specific configurations of technological, social, and geopolitical boundaries—scales. However, as Tsing notes, "scale is not just a neutral frame for viewing the world;" rather, it is constructed and constantly debated.[28]

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[26] David Morley and Kevin Robins, *Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995), 26. Claus-Dieter Rath were the first to use the term "spaces of transmission." (Claus-Dieter Rath, "The Invisible Network: Television as an Institution in Everyday Life," in Television in Transition, eds. Phillip Drummond and Richard Paterson (London: British Film Institute, 1985), 199-204.)

[27] Nick Couldry and Anna McCarthy, *Mediaspace*: *Place, Scale and Culture in a Media Age* (London and New York: Routledge, 2004), 1-7. Deirdre Boden and Harvey Molotch, "The Compulsion of Proximity," in *Now/here: Time, Space and Social Theory*, eds. Deirdre Boden and Harvey Molotch (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1993).

[28] Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 58. Other scholars have noted the same. For example, Harvey notes that "objective conceptions of time and space are necessarily created through material practices and processes which serve to reproduce social life." (David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge and Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 204.). Glynn and Cupples also claim that "the concept of the local is often activated in terms of its difference from the global, it is important to recognize that the latter is constituted and becomes effective within local material and discursive spaces." (Kevin Glynn and Julie Cupples, "Indigenous MediaSpace and the Production of (Trans)locality on Nicaragua's Mosquito Coast," *Television & New Media* 12, no. 2 (2011): 103.)

As Marshall McLuhan notes, the dynamism of scale is critical to understanding media because a medium "shapes and controls the scale and form of human association and action," and its significance, what he calls its "message," is determined by the "change of scale or pace or pattern that it introduces into human affairs."[29] For Tsing, this change in scale is not incidental but emerges from what she calls "scale-making projects," through which institutions "imagine locality," the "space of regions or nations," in order to organize political economies of media and negotiate power.[30]

Like Tsing, Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly conceive of scale as a dynamic construct. For example, their notion of "scale-shift" describes a transition between scales, such as from "localized to large-scale," which they argue shift as institutions expand the scope of their address.[31] I deploy this understanding of scale-shift in this study not only because it is descriptive but also because it indicates its intentionality. For example, the Immigrant Youth Justice League's scale-shifts were strategic; the group adopted a national scale of identity to gather community in order to exert greater political force when engaging with the federal government, but it adopted a local scale of identity to mobilize activists in support of specific undocumented detainees. However, both Tsing and McAdam et al. explain their conceptions of scale within an organizational context, which suggests that attention to scale only matters at an institutional level. I contend that representational scales inform all acts of mediation, which means that all media exhibit varying scales of identity, proximity, and transmission. In order to

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[29] Marshall McLuhan, "The Medium is the Message," in *Media and Cultural Studies: KeyWorks Revised Edition*, eds. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 108.

[30] Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 57-58.

[31] Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 339.

support this claim and add validity to my study, I include a wide sampling of media so as to represent multiple scales of transmission.

By conducting a study across multiple media industries, this dissertation invariably engages with contemporary transmedia research, which has gone under various headings, including multimedia, new media, media convergence, and intermedia studies.[32] Intermedia studies and scholarship on media convergence, in specific, appear similar in that they both explore cultural formations across multiple media systems, but they differ with regards to their methodological frameworks and conceptions of media. This dissertation intervenes in both intermedia studies and research on media convergence by providing a framework that incorporates their insights and concerns yet avoids their potential pitfalls: being too abstract in the former and not sufficiently addressing questions of identity in the latter.

As its name suggests, scholars working in intermedia studies, such as Johan Fornäs, Dick Higgins, Lars Elleström, Henk Oosterling, Ewa Plonowska Ziarek, Paul McDonald, Jørgen

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[32] For more on multimedia, see Johan Fornäs, "Passages Across Thresholds: Into the Borderlands of Mediation," *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 8, no. 4 (December 2002): 97-101; Steven S. Wildman, "Media and Multimedia: The Challenge for Policy and Economic Analysis," *Information Economics and Policy* 10 (1998): 3-4. For more on new media, see Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2006), 6; Scott Curtis, "Still/Moving: Digital Imaging and Medical Hermeneutics," in *Memory Bytes: History, Technology, and Digital Culture*, eds. Lauren Rabinovitz and Abraham Geil (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 219. For more on media convergence, see Ithiel de Sola Pool, *Technologies of Freedom: On Free Speech in an Electronic Age* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983), 23; Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2006), 5; Espen Ytreberg, "Convergence: Essentially confused?" *New Media Society* 13 (2011): 502. For more on intermedia, see Lars Elleström, "Introduction," in *Media Borders, Multimodality, and Intermediality*, ed. Lars Elleström (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 4; Henk Oosterling and Ewa Plonowska Ziarek, "General Introduction," in *Intermedialities: Philosophy, Arts, Politics,* eds. Henk Oosterling and Ewa Plonowska Ziarek (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2011), 3; Dick Higgins, "Intermedia," *Something Else Newsletter* 1, no. 1 (1966): 2; Paul McDonald, "Introduction," *Cinema Journal* 52, no. 3 (Spring 2013): 148; Ana M. López, "Calling for Intermediality: Latin American Mediascapes," *Cinema Journal* 54, no. 1 (Fall 2014): 137; Jørgen Bruhn, "Heteromediality," in *Media Borders, Multimodality, and Intermediality*, ed. Lars Elleström (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 226; Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2008); Lars Elleström, "The Modalities of Media: A Model for Understanding Intermedial Relations," in *Media Borders, Multimodality, and Intermediality*, ed. Lars Elleström (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 13.

Bruhn, Jay David Bolter, Ana M. López, and Richard Grusin, demonstrate an interest in how communities represent themselves across multiple media, which Johan Fornäs exemplifies in his definition of intermediality as the "passages between media."[33] For Fornäs, there are actually various ways to conceive of intermediality, but he surmises that they all ultimately describe how people come to have media in common. For Ana M. López, scholarship within intermedia studies assumes that "media do not exist disconnected from each other," which aligns with my own understanding of media ecology in that it posits the same premise, if for no other reason except that all media in a media ecology share the same environment.[34]

In contrast to intermedia studies scholarship, work on media convergence from scholars such as Espen Ytreberg, Joshua Green, William Urrichio, Ithiel de Sola Pool, and Henry Jenkins privileges a more empirical understanding of media and tends to focus on industry strategy and the dynamics of production and consumption.[35] Ithiel de Sola Pool, one of the field's earliest scholars, exemplifies these tendencies in his study of the federal regulation of communications technologies by defining convergence as the "economic process of cross-ownership."[36] For de Sola Pool, convergence does not directly describe how people come to have media in common, as is the case with intermedia studies; quite the contrary, convergence details media cooperation at an institutional level, i.e., between media companies.

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[33] Johan Fornäs, "Passages Across Thresholds: Into the Borderlands of Mediation," *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies* 8, no. 4 (December 2002): 97 – 101. Ana M. López, "Calling for Intermediality: Latin American Mediascapes," *Cinema Journal* 54, no. 1 (Fall 2014), 138-139.

[34] Ana M. López, "Calling for Intermediality: Latin American Mediascapes," *Cinema Journal* 54, no. 1 (2014): 138.

[35] Henry Jenkin's *Convergence Culture* is arguably the most well-known work on media convergence, explicitly building on de Sola Pool by drawing a sharper focus on culture. (Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2006).)

[36] Ithiel de Sola Pool, *Technologies of Freedom: On Free Speech in an Electronic Age* (Cambridge and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1983), 23.)

The result of such diverging research interests is that each field regards the question of medium specificity differently from the other. According to López, addressing this question is critical in intermedia studies because they describe media in terms of the systems and structures that make them meaningful, which requires a consideration of the medium-specific intermedial relationships that generate them.[37] However, work in media convergence puts less of an emphasis on medium specificity and instead focuses on "synergy" and the proliferation of content across forms.

This dissertation incorporates insights from both fields in order to describe how medium specificity mattered in the representation of Latinidad in Chicago between the years 1953 and 2012. This is not to say that technologies somehow act autonomously to induce social change because, as Lynn Spigel notes, communications technologies are "shaped by social practices and cultural expectations" and turned into what Jacob Smith describes as "crystallizations of larger cultural processes and discourses."[38] Instead, I incorporate some of the guiding precepts of media convergence research by analyzing medium specificity within a specific geographical context to substantiate my analysis of the dialectical relationships between communications technologies, space, and notions of identity, which grounds my claims in a material foundation. For example, I will show that medium specificity mattered in WCIU's representation of Latinidad by describing how its commercial mandate aligned with its scale of transmission because as a UHF broadcaster, it had certain technological and economic limitations that motivated it to target the city's "special interest" audiences in order to distinguish itself from its major network VHF competitors.

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[37] Ana M. López, "Calling for Intermediality: Latin American Mediascapes," *Cinema Journal* 54, no. 1 (2014): 136.

[38] Lynn Spigel, *Make Room for TV* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 4. Jacob Smith, *Vocal Tracks: Performance and Sound Media* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2008), 4.

Although I incorporate some key insights from scholarship on media convergence, this dissertation differs from the majority of research on media convergence because it investigates the impact of intermediality on the representation of ethnic and racial identities. According to Joshua Green and Henry Jenkins, "much of the scholarship on convergence excludes issues of difference among audiences and viewers by not noting ethnicity and race."[39] Jenkins even demonstrates this proclivity by acknowledging the he developed his ideas about convergence from the perspective of the "disproportionately white, male, middle class, and college educated...early adopters," whom he calls its "settlers and first inhabitants."[40] Despite the narrow scale of identity in his work on convergence culture, Jenkins' understanding of transmedia is helpful for framing ethnic and racial identities in intermedial research.

According to Jenkins, cultural productions "spread" across multiple media platforms through what he calls "transmedia storytelling."[41] Roger Silverstone offers a similar understanding of mediation as "the movement of meaning from one text to another," but what is distinct about Jenkins' notion of transmedia is that he uses it to explain how it provides a basis for the development of cultural communities, which are akin to the "communit[ies] of sentiment" that Arjun Appadurai refers to as "sodalities."[42] When applied to the study of ethnic media, the reasoning behind transmedia storytelling suggests that specific cultural markers "spread" across a community's media productions. The transmediation of cultural identity explains how, for

[39] Joshua Green and Henry Jenkins, "Spreadable Media: How Audiences Create Value and Meaning in a Networked Economy," in *The Handbook of Media Audiences*, ed. Virginia Nightingale (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 109-127.

[40] Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2006), 250.

[41] Henry Jenkins, *Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2006), 96.

[42] Roger Silverstone, *Why Study the Media?* (London: Sage, 1999), 13. Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 8.

example, a sense of Latinidad can permeate throughout multiple media industries. In order to describe the spread of cultural, ethnic, and racial representations in media, this dissertation explores transmediation in Chicago's Latinx mediascape to argue that there is an inherent intermediality to the city's Latinx media productions because of a common cultural thread, what Chon Noriega has called the "'hilo' Latino[sic]."[43]

According to Arjun Appadurai, mediascapes are "large and complex repertoires of images, narratives, and ethnoscapes," which disperse "cultural material" across "different streams or flows."[44] Appadurai supports his view of mediascapes with an understanding of culture "as a dimension of phenomena," where what is cultural is actually a "process of naturalizing a subset of differences that have been mobilized to articulate group identity."[45] I interpret Appadurai's "subset of differences" as referring to traits and not individuals; in other words, he is describing the unique qualities that distinguish the members of one sodality from another, which likewise appear in the media they share. This suggests that mediascapes engender what Raymond Williams calls a "structure of feeling" for their associated sodalities. According to Williams, these structures emerge from a "social material process" where specific groupings of cultural productions coalesce into a growth medium (in the biological sense) for cultural identities.[46] In other words, a structure of feeling outlines a sodality's cultural idiosyncrasies.

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[43] Chon Noriega, "El Hilo Latino: Representation, Identity and National Culture," *Jump Cut* 38 (1993).

[44] Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 35-46.

[45] For these reasons, Appadurai suggests using the adjective cultural instead of the noun culture to describe the "differences that either express, or set the groundwork for, the mobilization of group identities." (Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 12-15.)

[46] Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 133.

Among Latinx studies scholarship, Williams' framework has been particularly useful for conceptualizing Latinidad as what Frances Aparicio calls an "analogous structure of feeling."[47]

As a study of Latinx media in Chicago, I engage with Latinx media scholarship, such as that from Frances R. Aparicio, Felix Padilla, Gilberto Freyre, Sidney Alexandar, Vincent Flores, Rina Benmayor, Myrna García, Mérida M. Rúa, Juan Flores, Michael Mendez, Néstor García Canclini, Gloria Anzaldúa, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, Pedro A. Cabán, Nicholas De Genova, Claudia Milian, Alejandro Madrid, and Diana Rios, in order to benefit from its insights about Latinidad and also to heed Aparicio's call to change the "perception that one need not specialize in [Latinx studies] in order to teach [about Latinidad]."[48] I previously defined Latinidad as the sense of being Latinx, but I expand on that definition to also denote what Aparicio calls "interlatino[sic]...moments of convergences and divergences."[49] For Aparicio, Latinidad sprouts from what Mérida M. Rúa calls "inter-Latino[sic] encounters," which are cultural exchanges

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[47] Frances R. Aparicio, "Jennifer as Selena: Rethinking Latinidad in Media and Popular Culture," *Latino Studies* 1 (2003): 93. See also Felix M. Padilla, *Latino Ethnic Consciousness: The Case of Mexican Americans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1985), 155; Nicholas de Genova and Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas, "Latino Racial Formations in the United States: An Introduction," *The Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 8, no. 2 (2003): 9.

[48] Frances R. Aparicio, "Latino Cultural Studies," in *Critical Latin American and Latino Studies,* ed. Juan Poblete, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 3-31.

[49] Frances R. Aparicio, "Jennifer as Selena: Rethinking Latinidad in Media and Popular Culture," *Latino Studies* 1 (2003): 93. Although research on shared characteristics of people from Latin America has an earlier history, it was Felix Padilla's study of Mexican and Puerto Rican coalitions in Chicago during the early 1980s that introduced the term Latinismo (what Latinidad would later replace), which he described as a Latinx "ethnic consciousness," a "situational type of...collective generated behavior which transcends the individual national and cultural identities of the various Spanish-speaking units and emerges as a distinct and separate group identification and consciousness." (Felix M. Padilla, "On the Nature of Latino Ethnicity," *Social Science Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (1984): 651- 654. See also Gilberto Freyre and Sidney Alexandar, "Americanism and Latinity in Latin American: Increasing Interdependence and Decreasing Separateness," *Diogenes* 11, no. 1 (1963): 5.) What is key about Padilla's understanding of Latinidad is that it emerges from a shared marginalization among Latinx subgroups. Vincent Flores and Rina Benmayor also offer the idea of "Latino[sic] cultural citizenship" to describe how Latinxs form communities in order to share resources, which especially applies in the case of undocumented Latinxs. (See William Vincent Flores and Rina Benmayor, *Latino Cultural Citizenship: Claiming Identity, Space, and Rights* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1997).)

between Latinx subgroups.[50] Like other contemporary Latinx studies scholars, Aparicio

conceives of Latinidad in terms of its hybridity, which likewise characterizes Gloria Anzaldúa's

understanding of "mestiza" and "borderlands" identities.[51] However, both the idea of a shared

Latinx identity and of the utility of Latinidad as an analytic have been debated among Latinx

studies scholars, including Anzaldúa.[52]

As an alternative, Claudia Milian describes Latinx identity in terms of Latinities, which

are the qualities that constitute the Latinness of Latinidad.[53] In terms of scale, Latinities offer a

close-up view of Latinx identity, which makes Milian's approach somewhat of a "scale-making

project" but for Latinx identity. As I will show, the history of Chicago's Latinx media industry

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[50] See Mérida M. Rúa, *A Grounded Identidad: Making New Lives in Chicago's Puerto Rican Neighborhoods* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 88.

[51] For more discussion on hybridity, see Juan Flores, "Latino Studies: New Contexts, New Concepts," *Harvard Educational Review* 67, no. 2 (1997): 213; Michael Mendez, "Latino New Urbanism: Building on Cultural Preferences," *Opolis: An International Journal of Suburban and Metropolitan Studies* 1, no. 1 (2005): 38; Néstor García Canclini, "Hybrid Cultures, Oblique Powers," in *Media and Cultural Studies: KeyWorks Revised Edition*, eds. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 442; Juan Flores, *From Bomba to Hip-Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity: Popular Cultures, Everyday Lives* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000). Borderlands studies is bifurcated according to conceptions of the border, considered a physical site in historical and sociological research (See Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Sheila McManus, *The Line Which Separates: Race, Gender, and the Making of the Alberta-Montana Borderlands* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Margaret Cornell Szasz, "Introduction," in *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker*, ed. Margaret Cornell Szasz (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 3.). On the other hand, more theoretical borderlands scholarship conceives of the border as an abstract in-between space of converging subjectivities, often focusing on discussions of culture and ethnicity. (See Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands = La Frontera* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999); Alejandro Madrid, "Transnational Musical Encounters at the U.S.-Mexico Border: An Introduction," in *Transnational Encounters*, ed. Alejandro Madrid (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 8; Josh Kun, "Playing the Fence, Listening to the Line: Sound, Sound Art, and Acoustic Politics at the US-Mexico Border," in *Performance in the Borderlands,* eds. Ramon H. Rivera-Servera and Harvey Young (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmilan, 2014), 20-21; Ramón Rivera-Servera and Harvey Young, "Introduction: Border Moves," in *Performance in the Borderlands*, eds. Ramón Rivera-Servera and Harvey Young (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmilan, 2010), 3.)

[52] See Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, "Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation," *American Sociological Review* 62, no. 3 (1997); Richard Delgado, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Nicholas De Genova, *Latino Crossings: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and the Politics of Race and Citizenship* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 44; Pedro A. Cabán, "Moving from the Margins to Where? Three Decades of Latina/o Studies," *Latino Studies* 1 (2003): 25.

[53] Claudia Milian, *Latining America*: *Black-Brown Passages and the Coloring of Latina/o Studies* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 15.

consists of an evolving representation of the U.S.-American Latinx community that shifts in scale, moving from a fragmented population that was fractured according to Latin American nationality to one more unified through a structure of feeling that was engendered by media production.

I incorporate Milian's framework into my study as a way of describing what de Certeau might call the "series of signs" that appear in Latinx media production. I call such signs mediated Latinities, Latinities expressed through media, which I argue engender a structure of feeling that coheres the transmediation of Latinidad in Chicago's Latinx mediascape. I use this idea of mediated Latinity to explain how, for example, a non-Latinx band, *The Other Half,* conveyed a sense of Latinidad by enacting a mediated Latinity when they performed Richard Valenzuela's (Ritchie Valens) arrangement of "La Bamba" during their audition for WCIU's Spanish-language program, *The Raul Cardona Show.*

By incorporating Milian's framework, I support her intervention in Latinx studies but deviate slightly in that I opt to reframe my understanding of Latinidad as an assembly composed of Latinities.[54] I intervene in Latinx studies scholarship by introducing the concept of representational scales as a way of refining the scope of an otherwise generalized understanding of Latinidad, which can account for what Federico Subervi and Diana Rios call the "gradations of ethnic group consciousness" that nuance different forms of Latinidad.[55] Conceiving of Latinidad in this way prevents the fixing of Latinx identity into a stable ethnoracial category, all

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[54] Milian avoids the use of Latinidad in her study because she claims that it privileges a U.S.-American perspective and erases inter-racial coalitions, especially between Latinxs and African Americans. (Claudia Milian, *Latining America*: *Black-Brown Passages and the Coloring of Latina/o Studies* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013). For more on assemblies, see Manuel DeLanda, *A New Philosophy of Society: Assemblage Theory and Social Complexity* (London and New York: Continuum, 2006), 4.)

[55] Federico Subervi and Diana Rios, "Latino Identity and Situational Latinidad," in *Hispanic Marketing & Public Relations: Understanding and Targeting America's Largest Minority*, ed. Elena del Valle (Boca Raton: Poyeen Publishing, 2005), 45.

the while preserving the term's ability to generalize about the Latinx "imagined community." [56] I

contend that Latinidad is a useful analytic because each of my case studies exemplified Tsing's

idea that the "universal is an aspiration," doing so by promoting the idea of a common Latinx

community and in turn supporting Aparicio's claim that Latinidad is "realized not only at the

level of symbolic discourse but in more concrete, real ways," as was the case when Chicago's

National Museum of Mexican Art relocated WCYC to the predominantly Latinx Pilsen

neighborhood and reopened the station as an explicitly Latinx broadcaster.[57]

    Although my engagement with Latinx studies is in itself an intervention in the study of

Latinx media, this dissertation deviates from much of the scholarship in the field by tracking the

representation of Latinidad across various communications technologies, building on the work of

Chon Noriega, who has likewise investigated Latinx, specifically Chicanx, media across film and

television.[58] This project also differs from the majority of Latinx media research in that it focuses

on local producers and not national and international media corporations, which typifies the

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[56] For more on imagined communities, see Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).

[57] Anna Lowenhaupt Tsing, *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2005), 6. Frances R. Aparicio, "Jennifer as Selena: Rethinking Latinidad in Media and Popular Culture," *Latino Studies* 1 (2003): 102.

[58] Chon A. Noriega, *Shot in America: Television, the State, and the Rise of Chicano Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000). Examples of such scholarship includes Arlene Dávila, *Latinos Inc.: The Marketing and Making of a People* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2001); América Rodriguez, "Making Latino News: Race, Language, and Class," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 24, no. 2 (1999); Juan Piñon, "A Multilayered Transnational Broadcasting Television Industry: The Case of Latin America," *The International Communication Gazette* 76, no. 3 (2014): 211-236; Arlene Dávila and Yeidy M. Rivero, *Contemporary Latina/o Media: Production Circulation, Politics* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2014); Rodrigo Gómez, "Latino Television in the United States and Latin America: Addressing Networks, Dynamics, and Alliances," *International Journal of Communication* 10 (1996); Sandra V. Navarro, "The silent other in contemporary border cinema: The Latino figure in *No Country for Old Men* and *The Three Burials of Melquiades Estrada*," *Latino Studies* 15, no. 3 (2017); Kristin Moran, "'If They're Trying to Say Something About My Culture … I'm Confused': Recognizing and Resisting Authenticity in Latino-Themed Television," *Mass Communication and Society* 18, no. 1 (2015); Dolores Inés Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging: U.S. Spanish-language Radio and Public Advocacy* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2014); Christopher Chávez, *Reinventing the Latino Television Viewer: Language, Ideology, and Practice* (London: Lexington Books, 2015); María Elena Cepeda, "Beyond "filling in the gap": the state and status of Latina/o Feminist Media Studies," *Feminist Media Studies* 16, no. 2 (2016).

greater part of research on Latinx television, such as Arlene Dávila's seminal work on Univision

and its marketing to Latinxs.[59] In this regard, this project aligns with contemporary research on

Latinx radio by scholars, such as Sonia De La Cruz and Maria Castañeda, who share a mission to

recover the histories of Latinxs working in alternative media outlets.[60] This dissertation adheres

to a similar mission by offering a history of Latinx media production in Chicago, which is a

major lacuna in Latinx media studies. Moreover, even the scholarship on Chicago's media

industry that addresses questions of race and ethnicity, such as by Chris Anderson, Michael

Curtin, and Jacqueline Stewart, there is a glaring absence of the city's Latinx population.[61] As

such, this dissertation expands on what we generally know about Chicago's media history, while

also providing one of the first in-depth studies of the city's Latinx media industry.

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[59] Arlene Dávila, *Latinos Inc.*: *The Marketing and Making of a People* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2001). The "Latina/os in the Media" special edition of the *Latino Studies* journal focuses on mainstream organizations and does not investigate local Latinx producers. ("Latina/os in the Media," *Latino Studies, 9* (2011).) For more examples of research on Latinx national network television, see Vivian Rojas and Juan Piñon, "Spanish, English or Spanglish? Media Strategies and Corporates Struggles to Reach the Second and Later Generations of Latinos," *The International Journal of Hispanic Media* 7, no. 1 (2014); América Rodriguez, "Objectivity and Ethnicity in the Production of the Noticiero Univisión," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 13 (1996): 59 – 81; Viviana Rojas, "The Gender of Latinidad: Latinas Speak About Hispanic Television," *The Communication Review* 7 (2004): 125-153; Amy Jo Coffey, "Trends in US Spanish Language Television, 1986-2005: Networks, Advertising, and Growth" *Journal of Spanish Language Media* 1 (2008): 4-35; Kenton T. Wilkinson and Anthony Aguilar, "Technology and Market Development: How U.S. Spanish-Language Television has Employed New Technologies to Define and Reach its Audience," *Journal of Spanish Language Media* 1 (2008): 37-43; G. Christina Mora, "Regulating immigrant media and instituting ethnic boundaries – The FCC and Spanish-language television: 1960–1990," *Latino Studies* 9, no. 2/3 (2011): 242-262.

[60] See Sonia De La Cruz, "Latino Airwaves: Radio Bilingüe and Spanish-Language Public Radio," *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 24, no. 2 (2017); Monica de la Torre, "'*Programas Sin Vergüenza* (Shameless Programs)': Mapping Chicanas in Community Radio in the 1970s," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 3/4 (2015); Maria Castañeda, "Altering the U.S. Soundscape through Latina/o Community Radio," in *The Routledge Companion to Latina/o Media*, eds. María Elena Cepeda and Dolores Inés Casillas (New York: Routledge, 2016).

[61] Daniel Berger and Steve Jajkowski, *Chicago Television* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2010); Joel Sternberg, "A Descriptive History and Critical Analysis of the Chicago School of Television—Chicago Network Programming in the Chicago Style from 1948 – 1954" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1973); Chris Anderson and Michael Curtin, "Mapping the Ethereal City: Chicago Television, the FCC, and the Politics of Place," *The Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 16, no. 3/4 (1997); Christopher P. Lehman, *A Critical History of Soul Train on Television* (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland, 2008); Jacqueline Najuma Stewart, *Migrating to the Movies: Cinema and Black Urban Modernity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005); Jordan Stalker, "Imagining an India: The Media Ecology of the Indian Diaspora in the Greater Chicago Area" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2017).

Of all U.S. cities, Chicago is the ideal site for exploring this question for numerous reasons. First of all, the city is home to a historically diverse Latinx population, which has prevented it from being stereotyped as containing only a single nationality, as has been the case in other parts of the country where Latinx communities tend to skew predominantly towards a single nationality.[62] For example, according to the 1980 census, the first to ask respondents to identify as being of "Spanish/Hispanic origin or descent" with the option to specify if Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or "other Spanish/Hispanic," Los Angeles' Latinx community was 80% Mexican, Miami's 70% Cuban, and New York's 60% Puerto Rican.[63] Moreover, in comparison with these cities, Chicago best reflected the overall distribution of Latinx nationalities living in the United States in 1980, with its Latinx community being 64% Mexican, 22% Puerto Rican, 3% Cuban, and 12% other Latinx, which was nearly identical to the national distribution of 60% Mexican, 14% Puerto Rican, 4% Cuban, and 20% other.[64] Not only did the 1980s census bring to light the relative diversity of Chicago's Latinx community, it also provided insight into the spatial distribution of the city's ethnic and racial communities. For example, the 1980 census showed that over 80% of the population in South Lawndale and the Lower West Side, home to

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[62] As Linda Martín Alcoff notes, Latinidad "does not carry the same connotations in every part of the United States," "in Miami it means Cuban; in New York city, it means Puerto Rican; and in the southwest it means Mexican. So in California I am supposed to have as my native food tacos, in New York City, arroz con gandules, and in Miami, arroz con frijoles negros." (Linda Martín Alcoff, "Is Latina/o Identity a Racial Identity?" in *Hispanics/Latinos in the United States: Ethnicity, Race, and Rights*, eds. Jorge J. E. Garcia and Pablo de Greiff (London: Routledge, 2000), 32-33.)

[63] United States Census Bureau, "General Population Characteristics United States Summary," Census.gov, May, 1983, accessed May 16, 2018, https://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1980/1980censusofpopu8011u_bw.pdf.

[64] United States Census Bureau, "General Population Characteristics United States Summary," census.gov, May, 1983, accessed May 16, 2018, https://www2.census.gov/prod2/decennial/documents/1980/1980censusofpopu8011u_bw.pdf.

WRTE in Pilsen and WCYC in Little Village, identified as being of "Spanish Origin."[65] As such, the city's distinct ethnic and racial topography provides a powerful backdrop for investigating this study's interest in the relationship between media, identity, and space.

Aside from the character of the city's Latinx community, Chicago is an ideal site for conducting this media ecology because it is what Michael Curtis describes as a "media capital," a "[center] of media activity" with a "web of relations that exist at the local, regional and global levels."[66] However, despite its diverse media industry with rich histories in film, radio, and television, Chicago is largely ignored in studies of Latinx media, which instead construe the urban triad of Los Angeles, New York, and Miami as the primary sources of Latinx media production in the United States.[67] Investigating Latinx media in Chicago expands our understanding of Latinx media history by providing an analysis of an understudied yet major site of cultural production, whose Latinx community best represents the makeup of the country's overall Latinx population.

I limit my analysis to Chicago not only because of what the city offers in terms of insights into Latinidad and to media history but also because it helps control for the effects of local legislation and social policies on media production. For example, in the 1980s, Mayor

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[65] "Data Bulletin," illinois.gov, June, 16, 1981, accessed May 16, 2018, https://datahub.cmap.illinois.gov/dataset/44f56334-143b-44c9-8f4d-a6a8a8f29c35/resource/eacb17e9-1e53-48e9-bbe4-4a01666d7f4b/download/nipcdatabul812censuspop1980byrace.pdf.

[66] Michael Curtin, "Media Capitals: Cultural Geographies of Global TV," in *Television After TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, eds. Lynn Spigel and Jan Olsson (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 272. Michael Curtin, "Media Capital: Towards the Study of Spatial Flows," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 6, no. 2 (2003): 204.

[67] See, for example, G. Christina Mora, *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats, and Media Constructed a new American* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2014); Christopher A. Chávez, "Building a "New Latino" in the Post-Network Era: mun2 and the Reconfiguration of the U.S. Latino Audience," *International Journal of Communication* 7 (2013): 1026-1045; Juan Piñón, "A multilayered transnational broadcasting television industry: The case of Latin America," *International Communication Gazette* 76, no. 3 (2014): 211-236; Beatriz Peña Acuña, "Latinos in U.S. Film Industry," *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences* 2, no. 1 (2010): 399-414.

Harold Washington established Chicago as a "sanctuary city" with explicit municipal policies

regarding the enforcement of federal immigration laws, which is why the IYJL's founding

members became motivated to organize into a collective of local activists after police officers

appeared to have violated that policy during the detention of one of the group's founding

members. Similarly, Chicago's history of ethnic and racial segregation informed local media

practices, such as in the case of the Chicago Latino Film Festival, which exhibited its films in

either predominantly white neighborhoods or in largely Latinx areas; and again in the history of

WCYC, which became a Latinx radio station after what Eric Avila would describe as the great

"white flight" of Little Village's Eastern European residents, who left the neighborhood when

large numbers of Latinxs relocated there after the University of Illinois in Chicago extended its

campus into the Near West Side and displaced many of the area's residents.[68]

Lastly, this dissertation focuses on the level of the city because it was the primary frame

of reference for Chicago's Latinx media producers. For example, WCIU distinguished itself from

network affiliates by identifying as a local station that was based in Chicago. WRTE's

broadcasts likewise boasted of Pilsen's uniqueness among the city's neighborhoods in order to

represent the station as Latinx. The Chicago Latino Film Festival even went so far as to include

the city in its name. In each instance, the city served as a central point of reference that allowed

producers to set themselves apart from their competition, while also placing them within a

specific geopolitical context that shaped their engagement with the city's Latinx population.

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[68] Eric Avila, "*Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2004). For more on Latinxs in Chicago, see Lilia Fernández, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014); Gabriela F. Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916-39* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

Plan of Work

In chapter one, I detail the history of WCIU from 1964 to 1996, which spans the first two eras of the city's Latinx media industry, the dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-1986) and the decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996). I describe how WCIU developed its media industry mandates and eventually came to be known as the "most Chicago of television stations" during the golden age of the Chicago school of Latinx television (1964-1986), which is not a self-defining term but rather coined by me in order to compare it to the Chicago School of Broadcasting, whose innovative production practices during the 1950s were possible because Chicago's relatively smaller industry allowed for greater freedom to experiment with television, likewise indicating the importance of space in media production. During the dawn of Latinx broadcasting, WCIU became Univision's first affiliate in the city, and I argue that the station exemplified the era by centering Latin American nationalities in its representations of Latinidad, while also developing a unique broadcast that balanced the more internationally focused content of its network imports with locally produced live content the depicted more city-specific representations of Latinidad. By the second half of the station's history (1986-1996), WCIU exemplified the changes that accompanied the onset of the decade of the "Hispanic," doing so by swapping affiliations with both Univision and Telemundo and demonstrating the surge in interest in Latinx television production and the proliferation of Latinx representation in popular media, which all contributed to the development of a unified "Hispanic" audience. In the transition between these two eras, the station's representational scales shifted, moving from an international perspective to one more focused on a national "Hispanic" viewing audience.

In this chapter, I begin my discussion of mediated Latinities. WCIU and SIN displayed such Latinities by associating Latinxs with the southwestern United States, displaying a

hybridization of cultural productions, developing a sense of translocal geography, and promoting

extranational forms of community development, which circumvented federal restrictions in order

to foster Latinx cultural citizenship among the city's sanctioned and undocumented Latinx

community.

In chapter two, I present the history of the micro-broadcasting radio stations WCYC and

WRTE from 1960 to 2012, which spans the entirety of the city's Latinx media industry history

covered in this work. I describe this history from a neighborhood scale, which reflects the fact

that each station had a restricted transmission range that narrowed the scope of its address. I

explain the development the stations' media industry mandates by describing their lineage to a

parent organization, whose community mandate was directly related to its social and cultural

contexts.

Unlike was the case with WCIU, WCYC did not always feature Latinx programming, so

to offer insight into radio production in Chicago during the dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-

1986), I describe the work of other radio producers, such as José E. Chapa, whose brokered

Spanish-language programming exemplified how the city's Latinx media producers privileged an

international scale of proximity when representing Latinidad during the dawn of Latinx

broadcasting. I begin my analysis of Latinx programming on WCYC with the decade of the

"Hispanic" (1986-1996). Like WCIU, WCYC reflected the ways in which media served to

fashion a sense of community among U.S.-American Latinxs but at a local level, which was a

micro expression of the national trend in Latinx media.

This chapter advances this history of the city's Latinx media industry by initiating

discussion of the intermedial turn (1996-2006). I will show that the station exemplified the

intermedial turn by displaying a greater sense of interconnectedness with other forms of media

when compared to previous eras, which was a result of it becoming Radio Arte, WRTE, after being purchased by the National Museum of Mexican Art in 1996. Just as the station's intermediality demonstrated an interest in various media, the station's programming in turn demonstrated an advancement in the generalizability of Latinx community, becoming a hybrid cultural formation. In its promotion of Rock en Español, personal histories, and a greater representation of gender and sexual minority communities in radio programs like WRTE's much celebrated *Homofrequencia*, the station reflected a scale-shift that was marked by a greater sense of inclusion in the representation of Latinidad during this period.

In chapter three, I discuss the history of the Chicago Latino Film Festival from 1985 to 2012. As was the case with both WCIU and WCYC, the festival's foundation during the 1980s exemplified the idea that a U.S.-American Latinx community could be engendered through media. Although the festival highlighted Latin American national difference, much like WCIU did in its live programming, its aim was to present a more unified sense of Latinx identity, which represented a scale-shift from the dawn of Latinx broadcasting as exemplified by WCIU.

In 2006, the festival demonstrated a greater engagement with various media forms, typifying the intermedial turn (1996-2006) as it added the Chicago Latino Music Festival to its list of events. During this time, the festival's promotional material revealed a sense of Latinidad that was informed by multiple sources, which expanded the scale of Latinidad when compared to that of the decade of the "Hispanic."

In this chapter, I analyze the festival from multiple perspectives, including at the neighborhood, city, and international levels, to describe the ways in which the festival's relationship with the city not only informed its representation of Latinidad but also its exhibition strategies. In so doing, I show that there are relationships between scalar levels, which explains

why in choosing to screen its films in specific neighborhoods the festival reflected the city's

historical legacy of ethnic and racial segregation. I again demonstrate the interrelatedness of

scales in a quantitative analysis of the festival's schedules. I will show that the festival largely

privileged Latin American films but nonetheless offered a significant representation of

productions from Chicago and the United States. The festival's selection of films indicates the

presence of a translocal Latinity, which the festival enacted by converging its understanding of

Chicago's local Latinx community with its transnational representation of Latinidad.

In chapter four, I present an analysis of the Immigrant Youth Justice League's political

contention during the relatively truncated period between 2009 – 2012. The organization's

history falls entirely within the last historical period discussed in this dissertation, which offers

an opportunity to engage in an in-depth analysis of an institution's media productions during the

rise of social media in the history of Chicago's Latinx media industry. I will show that the IYJL

represented an intersectional understanding of identity in its Internet media, which incorporated a

sense of Latinidad, accounted for gender and sexual minorities, and included a broad range of

ethnicities and nationalities in its depictions of the undocumented immigrant community. The

IYJL likewise challenged popular conceptions of what it meant to be undocumented, especially

as it regarded the question of criminality, by articulating its own sense of identity through

testimonios. In so doing, the IYJL exemplified the strategic representation of Latinidad that

typified Latinx media production in Chicago during the early 21st century.

This chapter advances this dissertation's thesis concerning the importance of scale in

Chicago's Latinx media production by demonstrating that the IYJL shifted the scope of its

address across multiple scales to engender community formations at various levels, each serving

their own purpose: at the neighborhood level, the group narrowed its scope of address to the

Latinx community; at the level of the city, the group broaden its address to the greater

undocumented immigrant community and not just Latinxs; and by scaling to the level of the

nation the group challenged federal immigration laws and opposed traditional notions of

citizenship. However, unlike in previous periods, scale-shifting was not only more pronounced in

its social media but its rate of change increased, re-enforcing McLuhan's claim that the "message"

of a medium is a shift in its "scale or pace."[69] I continue this discussion on scale-shifting by

describing how the group's offline and online acts of political collection altered the scope of

their address depending on their social context, using the Internet to amass a geographically

dispersed, nationwide undocumented community while at the same time mobilizing local

activists for collective action by scale-shifting to the level of the city.

     In the conclusion of this dissertation, I summarize the major findings of this work and

reflect on some of the lessons I learned while writing this dissertation, including a review of how

this project could have been done differently. I conclude by re-visiting some of the key

scholarship that I engaged with and then musing on some questions and lines of inquiry that

emerged from this project.

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[69] Marshall McLuhan, "The Medium is the Message," in *Media and Cultural Studies: KeyWorks Revised Edition*, eds. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 108.

CHAPTER ONE

The Chicago School of Latinx Television

In a 1979 article describing both the history and current state of WCIU, *Chicago Tribune* columnist Dorothy Collin writes, "if Chicago is the most ethnic of cities, then [WCIU] is the most Chicago of TV stations."[1] In a market comprised of both independent and affiliated stations with a prominent place in television and radio history—such as WBBM, the local CBS affiliate; and WGN, an independent, homegrown Chicago broadcaster—what was it about WCIU that inspired Collin to claim such a strong relationship between the station and the city? Given that WCIU was also the city's first, albeit part-time, Spanish-language television station, what does Collin's statement reveal about Chicago's Latinx media industry and its Latinx community more broadly? To answer these questions, this chapter will provide an analysis of WCIU to show how its mandate shaped its strategies of representation. In the process, I will explain both Collin's conclusion and also chart the development of some key facets of Chicago's Latinx mediascape.

In this chapter, I detail the history of Chicago's first UHF television station, WCIU, which exemplified the ways that local Latinx media producers represented Latinidad during the first two phases of the city's Latinx media history: the dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-1986) and the decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996). As I will demonstrate, the station's media industry mandates informed its configuration of representational scales, which likewise reflected WCIU's location in Chicago and its conception of Latinidad. I argue that during the first phase of Chicago's Latinx media history, which included what I call the golden age of the Chicago school of Latinx television (1964-1986), WCIU balanced its institutional demands with those of its network, Spanish International Network (SIN), by oscillating between various representational

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[1] Dorothy Collin, "Channel 26 Speaks Chicago's Language," *Chicago Tribune*, March 8, 1979, 1.

scales, which at times advanced the station's scale-making project to popularize itself as local

and at others scale-shifted to an international level by participating in SIN's transnational media

practices.[2] This, in turn, promoted a sense of Latinx community that privileged Latin American

nationality. By the second half of the station's history (1986-1996), the "Spanish TV Wars" that

took place between Univision and Telemundo revealed the key ways in which the decade of the

"Hispanic" signaled not only a greater interest in Latinx media production but also in the

development of a more generalizable Latinx community, narrowing the station's scale of identity

by conceptualizing a broader Latinx community rather than one fractured according to Latin

American nationality.

Throughout its history, WCIU represented a sense of Latinidad through what I call

mediated Latinities, the distinguishing qualities of Latinidad as expressed through media.[3]

Incorporating Claudia Milian's Latinities framework, I describe exemplary moments in the

station's history, during which a particular understanding of Latinidad was expressed within the

context of media production. In other words, I will analyze how specific broadcasts or program

formats conveyed a sense of Latinx identity. To begin, I investigate the southern Latinity that

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[2] The term "Chicago School" was not a self-identified name but one that I use to describe the period in reference to what *Time* magazine referred to as "The Chicago School" of broadcasting, which was characterized by an "imaginative approach…born of necessity [that lacked] big budgets, elaborate equipment and big-name talent." ("The Chicago School," *Time*, September 11, 1950, 73 – 74.). As Joel Sternberg notes, "utilizing an almost totally script-less-improvisational approach reliant on interpretive camera work and creative use of scenery, costumes, props, and lighting, Chicago School practitioners produced successful programs in limited spaces with local talent and small budgets." (Joel Sternberg, "Chicago School of Television," The Museum of Broadcast Communications, accessed November 1, 2013, http://www.museum.tv/eotv/chicagoschoo.htm. See also Joel Sternberg, "A Descriptive History and Critical Analysis of the Chicago School of Television—Chicago Network Programming in the Chicago Style from 1948 – 1954" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1973), 470.) However, the "Chicago School" quickly came and went, taking Chicago's reputation for quality media production with it, just as had occurred with the city's popular radio industry during the 1920s and 1930s, which had declined by the 1940s. (Chris Anderson and Michael Curtin, "Mapping the Ethereal City: Chicago Television, the FCC, and the Politics of Place," *The Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 16, no. 3-4 (1997)). For more information on the Spanish TV Wars, see Steve Jajkowski, "UHF Wars," Chicago Television, accessed December 9, 2017, http://www.chicagotelevision.com/spantv.htm.

[3] I use Claudia G. Milian's idea of a Latinity as a way of detailing the qualities of Latinidad that develop a sense of what she calls "Latinness." See Claudia Milian, *Latining America*: *Black-Brown Passages and the Coloring of Latinx Studies* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).

typified SIN programming between the 1960s and 1980s, which scaled to an international level in contrast to WCIU's local focus. Next, I will describe what I call a hybrid Latinity as it emerged during the musical performance of a local non-Latinx garage rock band, *The Other Half.* Their performance demonstrated that Latinidad is engendered through a kind of bricolage, a convergence of multiple cultural referents, which the band could signify by playing Ritchie Valens' rock and roll arrangement of the Mexican folk song, "La Bamba." The third mediated Latinity that I will describe is a translocal Latinity, which entangled multiple geographies within a single media production. For example, WCIU's program *Noches Norteñas* symbolically linked northern Mexico to Chicago by way of Norteño music. Lastly, I will describe the extranational Latinity of the station's call-in show, *Ayuda,* which fostered cultural citizenship to provide resources to undocumented Latinxs. The station's mediated Latinities embodied WCIU's representational strategies and suggested a multimodal understanding of Latinx identity with various ways to signify Latinidad and, likewise, to identify as Latinx.

This chapter advances our understanding of television production during the postwar era by describing the media practices of an independent, Latinx-oriented, Chicago-based, and decidedly local broadcaster, which has been an underrepresented form of broadcasting in historical research on television. As Douglas Kellner notes, network television is "one of the most far-reaching communication apparatuses and information and entertainment transmitters that has ever existed," which explains why it has been at the center of television scholarship. [4] However, network television history has often been limited to a study of three VHF broadcasters, namely ABC, CBS, and NBC. If, as Amanda Lotz claims, "all three networks generally pursued the same strategy" to produce a "shared cultural experience" for their audiences, then their

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[4] Douglas Kellner, "Network Television and American Society: Introduction to a Critical Theory of Television," *Theory and Society* 10, no. 1 (1981): 31.

histories are not only limited in what they can tell us about U.S. society as a whole, but they also obscure the ways in which traditionally disenfranchised communities have engaged in television production.[5] This dissertation aligns itself with such works as Christine Acham's *Revolution Televized* and Chon Noriega's *Shot in America* to expand our understanding of television history by not only documenting the work of independent producers but also highlighting their challenges precisely because of the dominance of network broadcasting.[6]

This chapter extends the scope of network television history to include what has been called the fourth network, Univision, while also taking into consideration the efforts of regional producers, which in turn challenges the idea that "Latin America [is] the primary source of [Latinx] identity."[7] My focus on local production builds upon research such as Kristin Moran's history of Spanish-language television in San Diego, which accounts for the relationship between Latinx media programming and local audiences.[8] However, this chapter focuses on WCIU's activities during the dawn of Latinx broadcasting in Chicago (1964-1986) and thus supports G. Christina Mora's claim that Spanish-language television did not always "[embrace] the idea of panethnicity," which is in line with this dissertation's overall argument that a scale-shift during the decade of the "Hispanic" that facilitated the development of a more generalized Latinx community.[9]

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[5] Amanda Lotz, "What is U.S. Television Now," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 625 (2009): 52.

[6] Christine Acham, *Revolution Televised: Prime Time and the Struggle for Black Power* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005). Chon Noriega, *Shot in America: Television, the State, and the Rise of Chicano Cinema* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

[7] Arlene Dávila*, Latinos Inc.: The Marketing and Making of a People* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2001)*,* 161.

[8] Kristin C. Moran, "The Development of Spanish-Language Television in San Diego: A Contemporary History," *The Journal of San Diego History* 50, no. 1/2 (2004): 42-54.

[9] G. Cristina Mora, *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats, and Media Constructed a New American* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 119.

Mora's understanding of Univision's history stands in contrast to earlier scholarship on Latinx television, which tended to argue that the network promoted pan-Latinidad, that is, a generalized understanding of Latinx identity that effaced national and regional differences, specifically because of their focus on Spanish-language television history after the 1980s.[10] As SIN, Univision specifically catered to Mexican viewers and not necessarily to a pan-Latinx audience, a dynamic that I will show was quite evident in the network's advertising.[11] My analysis of WCIU nuances our understanding of Latinx television by describing how the station's representations of Latinidad were more diverse precisely because they represented the city's Latinx community, which speaks to both the significance of the WCIU's more limited scale of transmission and its location in Chicago, whose Latinx community best reflected the U.S.'s distribution of Latin American nationalities during the 1980s. However, although interested in the regional specificity of television production, Mora's and Moran's studies exemplify the tendency to focus on network producers, namely Univision, which characterizes the majority of the research on Latinx television.[12] Moreover, this chapter demonstrates that a

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[10] G. Christina Mora, "Regulating immigrant media and instituting ethnic boundaries – The FCC and Spanish-language television: 1960–1990," *Latino Studies* 9, no. 2/3 (2011): 242-262. For more on Univision, see América Rodriguez, "Commercial Ethnicity: Language Class and Race in the Marketing of the Hispanic Audience," *The Communication Review* 2, no.2 (1997); Amy Jo Coffey, "Trends in US Spanish Language Television, 1986-2005: Networks, Advertising, and Growth" *Journal of Spanish Language Media* 1 (2008): 4-35; América Rodriguez, "Objectivity and Ethnicity in the Production of the Noticiero Univisión," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 13 (1996): 59 – 81.

[11] G. Christina Mora, "Regulating immigrant media and instituting ethnic boundaries – The FCC and Spanish-language television: 1960–1990," *Latino Studies* 9, no. 2/3 (2011): 242-262.

[12] See Arlene Dávila*, Latinos Inc.: The Marketing and Making of a People* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2001); Félix Gutiérrez, "Mexico's Television Network in the United States: The Case of Spanish International Network," in *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Telecommunications Policy Research Conference* ed. Herbert Dordick (Lexington, Mass: Lexington Books, Inc., 1981); Jorge Reina Schement, Ibarra N. Gonzales, Patricia Lum, Rosita Valencia, "The International Flow of Television Programs," *Communication Research* 11, no. 2 (1984): 163-182; John Sinclair, "Spanish-language Television in the United States: Televisa Surrenders its Domain," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 9 (1990): 39-54; Chon Noriega, "The Numbers Game," *Jump Cut* 39 (1994); Arlene Dávila, "Mapping Latinidad: Language and Culture in the Spanish TV Battlefront," *Television & New Media* 1, no. 1 (2000): 75-94; Viviana Rojas, "The Gender of Latinidad: Latinas Speak About Hispanic Television," *The Communication Review* 7 (2004): 125-153; Kenton T. Wilkinson and

scalar analysis of media production can account for the more marginal representations of Latinidad that were produced by independent Latinx broadcasters, whose contributions to media history have become obscured because of the sheer amount of research on network television, revealing an influence from David Morley and his insights into how local, micro media practices reflect macro scale social processes, such as the development of race and ethnicity.[13] In this regard, my study of WCIU offers a fresh historical perspective, one that explores the institutional history of an independent broadcaster that shared affiliations with both Univision and its main rival, NetSpan (Telemundo).

This history of WCIU also fills a gap in the scholarship on television production in Chicago, which often falls within one of two categories when considering race and ethnicity. On the one hand, scholars often refrain from discussing questions of identity altogether.[14] On the other, researchers focus on either African-American or European broadcasters.[15] In both instances, there is an absence of in-depth consideration of Latinx media production. One of my goals for this chapter is to acknowledge the contributions of local Latinx producers and initiate a scholarly conversation on the historical representation of Latinidad on Chicago television, a history that began with WCIU's first broadcast in 1964.

Anthony Aguilar, "Technology and Market Development: How U.S. Spanish-Language Television has Employed New Technologies to Define and Reach its Audience," *Journal of Spanish Language Media* 1 (2008): 37-43; Juan Piñón, "A Multilayered Transnational Broadcasting Television Industry: The Case of Latin America," *The International Communication Gazette* 76, no. 3 (2014): 211-236. Federico A. Subervi-Vélez, "Spanish-Language Coverage of Health News," *The Howard Journal of Communications,* 10 (1999): 207-228; Felix Oberholzer-Gee and Joel Waldfogel, "Media Markets and Localism: Does Local News en Español Boost Hispanic Voter Turnout?" *American Economic Review* 99, no. 5 (2009): 2120-28.

[13] David Morley, *Home Territories*: *Media, Mobility, and Identity* (London and New York: Routledge, 2000).

[14] See Daniel Berger and Steve Jajkowski, *Chicago Television* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2010); Joel Sternberg, "A Descriptive History and Critical Analysis of the Chicago School of Television—Chicago Network Programming in the Chicago Style from 1948 – 1954" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1973).

[15] See Chris Anderson and Michael Curtin, "Mapping the Ethereal City: Chicago Television, the FCC, and the Politics of Place," *The Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 16, no. 3-4 (1997); Christopher P. Lehman, *A Critical History of Soul Train on Television* (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland, 2008).

WCIU: The Ethnic, Oddball Business of Spanish-language Television

After having built anticipation among local audiences for months prior to its debut,

WCIU, channel 26, began broadcasting in black and white at 6:15pm on February 6, 1964.[16]

WCIU, whose call sign has been said to stand for "Weigel Chicago's 1st UHF" and "Chicago

Illinois UHF," was owned and operated by Weigel Broadcasting Company (WBC), which was a

joint venture between John J. Weigel and his attorney, Daniel J. McCarthy.[17] Although private

investors had acquired the necessary permits from the Federal Communications Commission

(FCC) to broadcast on channel 26 as early as 1952, it was Weigel, a former radio producer and

industrial filmmaker, who realized the station's potential to profit from the All-Channel Receiver

Act of 1962, which as of May, 1964, required all manufacturers to include UHF receivers in their

television sets.[18]

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[16] Larry Wolters, "New Video Station to Serve Minorities," *Chicago Tribune*, December 2, 1963, C12; "Larry Wolters, "New Channel Plans to Air Bull Fights," *Chicago Tribune*, December 10, 1963, B8. "Channel 26 Switches to Color Next Year," *Chicago Tribune*, November 12, 1967, K2. Frank Hughes, "UHF Video Opens Tomorrow," *Chicago Tribune*, February 5, 1964, C5; "Chicago's 1st UHF Station Begins Shows," *Chicago Tribune*, February 7, 1964, B11. "Thursday Television Programs," *Chicago Tribune*, February 6th, 1964, B6.

[17] "About," Weigel Broadcasting Company, accessed November 1, 2013, http://www.wciu.com/about.php. "Chicago's 1st UHF Station Begins Shows," *Chicago Tribune*, February 7, 1964, B11. Steven Jajkowski, "Chicago TV Call Letters," Chicago Television, accessed December 18, 2017, http://chicagotelevision.com/calls.htm. Daniel Berger and Steve Jajkowski, *Chicago Television* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2010), 97.

[18] Daniel Berger and Steve Jajkowski, *Chicago Television* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2010), 97. Before 1962, UHF stations were regarded as "the unwanted offspring of a fruitful industry, growing up wayward and impoverished" because of federal regulations that privileged VHF stations, such as ABC and NBC affiliates. (Morris J. Gelman, "Life Without Networks," *Television* 20, no. 6 (June 1963): 61.) Realizing the limitations of VHF, the FCC issued the *Sixth Report and Order* in 1952 to promote "greater local service and wider network competition"—but only as lip-service. (William Boddy, *Fifties Television: The Industry and Its Critics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 116.) The Sixth Report and Order made UHF broadcasting possible but it was not until the passage of the All-Channel Receiver Act by President John F. Kennedy in 1962 that UHF stations could truly compete with major networks. See "Utilization of Frequencies in the Band 470 to 890 Mcs. For Television Broadcasting (Sixth Report and Order)," Nos. 8736, 8795, 9175, & 8796, 17 Fed. Reg. 3905 (F.C.C., filed May 1, 1952); Sherille Ismail, "Transformative Choices: A Review of 70 Years of FCC decisions," *Federal Communication Commission* (October, 2010); Erwin G. Krasnow, Lawrence D. Longley, and Herbert A. Terry, *The Politics of Broadcast Regulation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), 176; Morris J. Gelman, "'U' As In Upward," *Television* 22, no. 10 (October 1963): 52; Douglas W. Webbink, "The Impact of UHF Promotion: the All-Channel Television Receiver Law," *Law and Contemporary Problems* 34, no. 3 (1969): 536; Lawrence D. Longley, "The FCC and the All-Channel Receiver Bill

From its onset, WCIU initiated a scale-making project that restricted the scope of its address to within a local scale, which established a somewhat mixed commercial and community mandate because doing so implied that the station was community-orientated. For example, Weigel suggested that the station had a community bent by stating that broadcasting, more generally, should have a "grass roots flavor."[19] During its first broadcast, WCIU reinforced the idea that it was a local station by transmitting live from Chicago's Board of Trade building, which consequently associated the station with one of the city's most prominent buildings.[20] Further emphasizing its relationship to Chicago, the broadcast featured an appearance from Mayor Richard J. Daley, who praised WCIU for bringing a sixth channel to the city and ushering in the era of local UHF television.[21] Daley expressed his hopes that WCIU was to change Chicago's televisual landscape not only by transmitting on a new spectrum but also by representing the city's social diversity.

In both his interviews with the *Chicago Tribune* and during WCIU's premiere, Weigel continuously distinguished the station from other broadcasters, namely VHF network affiliates, by claiming that it would air alternative and often controversial content. Such programs included sportscasts with commentary from the contentious former NBC sports anchor, Tom Duggan;

of 1962," *Journal of Broadcasting* 8, no. 3 (1969): 294; Barry Russell Litman, *The Vertical Structure of the Television Broadcasting Industry: The Coalescence of Power* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1979); Hernan Galperin, *New Television, Old Politics: The Transition to Digital TV in the United States and Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 63; House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, "All-Channel Television Receivers," House Reports, No. 1559, 87 Congress, 2nd Session, (1962); "The All-Channel Receiver Act," 47 U.S.C. § 303(s) (1962). Larry Wolters, "May Brings UHF Tuners on All Sets," *Chicago Tribune*, April 26, 1964, N12.

[19] "New Station in Town," *Television,* April, 1964, 61.

[20] Frank Hughes, "UHF Video Opens Tomorrow," *Chicago Tribune*, February 5, 1964, C5. "Thursday Television Programs," *Chicago Tribune*, February 6, 1964, B6.

[21] "Chicago's 1st UHF Station Begins Shows," *Chicago Tribune*, February 7, 1964, B11. As had been the case with radio in the first half of the 20th century, television broadcasting throughout the country privileged national network programming in the 1960s. (Robert L. Hilliard and Michael C. Keith, *The Quieted Voice: The Rise and Demise of Localism in American Radio* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2005).)

bullfights from Spain that were produced by Mexico's Telesistema and provided to WCIU by

SIN; and the station's most protested broadcasts, reruns of *Amos 'N' Andy* (1951-1953), which

drew critique from *The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People* (NAACP)

and *The Urban Welfare League*.[22] As this controversy made clear, by identifying as local,

WCIU invited Chicago residents to consider how the station's programming represented them,

and when they did, the station increased its commitment to a community mandate by

highlighting its intended address to minoritized audiences. Weigel accentuated this point by

recognizing the city's social diversity and stating that WCIU was "in the business to serve

minority group audiences," which the *Chicago Tribune* took to mean that the station was to "aim

its programs chiefly at Negro[sic] and other minority groups."[23] WCIU, then, demonstrated a

community-oriented mandate to the extent that it broadcast ethnically and racially diverse

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[22] Duggan was famous for critiquing the involvement of organized crime in professional boxing, which eventually led to the decline of NBC's popular boxing program, *Friday Night Fights.* (Troy Rondinone, *Friday Night Fighter* (University of Illinois Press, 2013).) Larry Wolters, "New Channel Plans to Air Bullfights," *Chicago Tribune*, December 10, 1963, B8. *Bullfights* aired footage from SIN with commentary in English by the station's program director, Gus Chan. (Daniel Berger and Steve Jajkowski, *Chicago Television* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2010), 100; Larry Wolters, "New Video Station to Serve Minorities," *Chicago Tribune*, December 2, 1963, C12.) "Controversial UHFer Bows; Mex Bullfights, Duggan, Levant," *Variety*, February 12, 1964, 43. "Mexican Bullfights a Lively UHF Item," *Variety*, September 28, 1966, 45. Funded by Emilio Vidauretta Azcárraga of Mexico's Televisa, SICC first purchased San Antonio's KCOR-TV in 1961. By 1964, SIN was present in 17 markets, including Los Angeles and New York. ("KIII (TV) Signs with SIN," *Broadcasting,* July 27, 1964, 60.) According to Weigel, *Amos 'N' Andy* was popular among the city's local African-American population. However*,* both *The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)* and the city's *Urban Welfare League* lambasted the show for its caricature of African Americans. (Larry Wolters, "Amos 'N' Andy To Be Shown Despite Furor," *Chicago Tribune*, May 26, 1964, B7. "Amos n' Andy? Chicago's Upset but Nobody's Doing a Thing," *Chicago Defender*, May 30, 1964, 1.) Even if the sincerity of Weigel's claim is arguable given that *Amos 'N' Andy* was also popular among white audiences, the station nevertheless emphasized that the show represented a commitment to serving African-American viewers. For more on the history of *Amos 'N' Andy*, see See Michele Hilmes, "Invisible Men: *Amos 'n' Andy* and the Roots of Broadcast Discourse," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 10, no. 4 (December 1993); Melvin Patrick Ely, "Amos 'n' Andy: Lineage, Life, and Legacy" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1985). Larry Wolters, "May Brings UHF Tuners on All Sets," *Chicago Tribune*, April 26, 1964, G14; Daniel Berger and Steve Jajkowski, *Chicago Television* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2010).

[23] Larry Wolters, "New Channel Plans to Air Bullfights," *Chicago Tribune*, December 10, 1963, B8. Larry Wolters, "New Video Station to Serve Minorities," *Chicago Tribune*, December 2, 1963, C12. In 1968, WCIU began airing "A Black's View of the News" by Don Cornelius, who would later go on to create the nationally syndicated musical program, *Soul Train,* which the station first broadcast on August 17, 1970*.* (Christopher P. Lehman, *A Critical History of Soul Train on Television* (Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland, 2008), 18-21.)

programming, which included newscasts and variety programs "in various languages by ethnic personalities." By doing so, the station configured its representational scales with a local scale, but at the same time, was committed to incorporating a broad scale of identity, given that WCIU aimed to represent the city's social diversity.[24]

Ironically, the station's narrow community mandate allowed for a broader scale of ethnic and racial identity than was typically represented in U.S.-American television at the time, distinguishing WCIU from major VHF stations.[25] Unlike its VHF competitors, which displayed "biases against special interest" programming, WCIU lauded its "ethnic, oddball niche, [and] non-general" programming because it meant that the station did not limit its broadcasts to just "general market" audiences who were by *de facto* English-dominant and white U.S.-American.[26] As such, WCIU directly "counter-programmed...[the] deadly sameness of network programming" by offering what Art Hook claims was "missing in the market," namely more than 70 hours of locally produced, live-programming, much of which was aimed at special interest groups.[27] By reflecting the diversity of the city's local population in its programming,

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[24] "New Station in Town," *Television,* April, 1964, 61.

[25] According to Anderson and Curtin, VHF stations privileged a "white, middle-class" spectator. (Chris Anderson and Michael Curtin, "Mapping the Ethereal City: Chicago Television, the FCC, and the Politics of Place," *The Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 16, no. 3-4 (1997): 295.) For greater discussion on the representation of ethnic and racial communities on U.S. television between the 1950s and 1970s, see Murray Forman, "Employment and Blue Pencils: NBC, Race, and Representation, 1926 – 55," in *NBC: America's Network*, ed. Michele Hilmes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 129; Christine Acham, *Revolution Televised: Prime Time and the Struggle for Black Power* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005); and Chon Noriega, *Shot in America: Television, the State, and the Rise of Chicano Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

[26] Pat Widder, "The UN of the Airwaves," *Chicago Tribune,* January 8, 1993, C1. William E. Blundell, "Vying for Viewers: UHF TV Stations Aim Programs at Audiences with Special Interests," *The Wall Street Journal*, February 19, 1965, 1. For discussion on the ethnic and racial implications of "general market" programming, see Michael Spence and Bruce Owen, "Television Programming, Monopolistic Competition, and Welfare," *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 91, no. 1 (1977): 114; Christine Acham, *Revolution Televised: Prime Time and the Struggle for Black Power* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

[27] Art Hooks describes UHF as providing "counter programming," which contained "the philosophy of putting on something different" from the major networks. (Morris J. Gelman, "Life Without Networks," *Television* 20, no. 6 (June 1963): 82.) Of those 70, "32 ½ hours" were devoted to its long-running information program, *The Stock*

the station sustained a mixed, community-oriented commercial mandate, which was in part a result of the station's restricted scale of transmission as a UHF broadcaster.

As a UHF station, WCIU had a relatively limited scale of transmission because it operated at a higher frequency than VHF, meaning that it broadcast on shorter wavelengths that suffered from interference when encountering physical obstructions. Due to the inherent qualities of UHF broadcasting, WCIU necessarily had a restricted field of diffusion, which thereby aligned the station's limited scale of transmission with its local address. When taking this into consideration, we can see that broadcasting from atop the Board of Trade building was more than just a way to reinforce the station's relationship to Chicago, it was also a mechanical necessity that ensured WCIU's signal met with less interference as it spread across the city. In other words, the station's community mandate was informed by its technological constraints. If such technical issues were not challenging enough, the economic hurdles of UHF broadcasting surely contributed to the station's initial hardships.

Unlike VHF broadcasting, whose use in media industries had matured after years of investment from major networks, UHF was a relatively niche market. UHF broadcasting was so marginal that only about an estimated 50,000 homes in Chicago would have been capable of receiving such broadcasts in 1963.[28] Although the All-Channel Receiver Act set out to invigorate the spectrum and expand the opportunities of independent stations like WCIU, the law did not guarantee a willing consumer market. The station still needed local viewers to acquire signal

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Market Observer. (Susan Nelson, "Channel 26: A Success Story in Any Language," *Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 1975, B8.) *The Stock Market Observer* was directed by Ben Larson, the "once news director at WBBM radio," and featured "electronic ticker tape projections," a "Scantlin stock board statistical display wired to the Big Board...in the Board of Trade Building," and "running commentary on what's happening and other business news and maybe an interview with an economist or banker or financial editor." (Clarence Petersen, "Besides Being Different, UHF Stations Serves at Local Level," *Chicago Tribune*, November 7, 1969, B21.; Larry Wolters, "TV Ticker," *Chicago Tribune*, June 9, 1964, 14. "Chicago Tribune TV Week," *The Chicago Tribune*, December 7, 1980, H31.)

[28] Larry Wolters, "New Channel Plans to Air Bull Fights," *Chicago Tribune*, December 10, 1963, B8.

converters, purchase new television sets, and tune in. UHF stations generally sidestepped these concerns by describing their limited scope of transmission in positive terms, attracting local advertisers by claiming a more focused consumer market. However, these economic challenges proved to be more than Weigel could overcome as the station's general manager. [29]

After the station encountered "financial difficulties," Weigel stepped down as general manager in November, 1964, which was just nine months after WCIU's first broadcast.[30] Although the station never ceased broadcasting, a subsequent string of interim general managers signaled a period of corporate instability that lasted three years, nearly re-enforcing the popular stereotype of UHF broadcasters as "always hungry, down-and-out, [and] fly-by-night." [31] Fortunately for the station, this period of volatility came to an end in 1967, when WBC transferred control of the company to the station's manager, Howard Shapiro, who remained a central figure in WCIU's operations for the next 50 years until his passing in 2012.[32]

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[29] See Russell Litman, in *The Vertical Structure of the Television Broadcasting Industry: The Coalescence of Power* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1979). As Clarence Petersen notes, WCIU's "program schedule serves the local communities, of which there are so many, and serves them well enough that local advertisers spending a couple hundred instead of several thousand dollars for spot announcements keep the station going." (Clarence Petersen, "Besides Being Different, UHF Stations Serves at Local Level," *Chicago Tribune*, November 7, 1969, B21.) For more on advertising on local media, see Cynthia B. Meyers, *A Word from our Sponsor: Admen, Advertising, and the Golden Age of Radio* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014).

[30] "Weigel, Founder and President of WCIU, Quits," *Chicago Tribune*, September 5, 1965, D3. Larry Wolters, "Management Changes Made at Channel 26: UHF station Gets New Boss," *Chicago Tribune*, November 7, 1964, C9.

[31] Morris J. Gelman, "Life Without Networks," *Television* 20, no. 6 (June 1963): 61. Replacing interim general manager Andrew Muldoon, Maurice Dunne served the least amount of time as the station's general manager, resigning by telegram after only one week. (Larry Wolters, "Management Changes Made at Channel 26: UHF station Gets New Boss," *Chicago Tribune*, November 7, 1964, C9; "Decision Due on Future of Station WCIU," *Chicago Tribune*, March 28, 1965, 20; "Name Acting Manager of TV Channel 26," *Chicago Tribune*, October 20, 1965; "WCIU-TV's Financial Ills to be Discussed," *Chicago Tribune*, October 21, 1965, G7.)

[32] A former radio broadcaster, Shapiro began his relationship with WCIU by producing advertisements in 1964. After a relatively short period of time, Shapiro became the dominant shareholder in Weigel Broadcasting Company. (See Neal Pollack, "The Non-English Channel," *Chicago Reader*, February 10, 1994; Robert Feder, "Howard Shapiro 1926 - 2012," Timeout Chicago*, May 24, 2012, accessed November 1, 2013, http://www.timeoutchicago.com/arts-culture/chicago-media-blog/15389261/howard-shapiro-1926-2012%201/3.) After Shapiro's death, his son, Norma Shapiro, took over as station president. (Robert Feder, "Howard Shapiro 1926 - 2012," Timeout Chicago*, May 24, 2012, accessed November 1, 2013, http://www.timeoutchicago.com/arts-

During Shapiro's tenure, WCIU maintained its mandate to target local audiences. While doing so, the station solidified its configuration of representational scales, which adhered to a limited scale of transmission and broad sense of identity that accounted for the diversity Chicago's residents, correlating with the station's commercial, yet community-oriented mandate that encouraged WCIU to represent its local audiences. However, WCIU's Latinx productions during the station's golden age (1964-1986) displayed an even more complex scalar address, as the station balanced its representation of the city's diverse Latinx community with SIN's more explicit focus on Mexican audiences.

SIN, Mexico, and the Southern Latinity of early Spanish-language Television

Like other independent UHF stations operating in the 1960s, WCIU was in need of content to fill its schedule, and after five years of broadcasting SIN imports, the station officially became a network affiliate in October, 1969.[33] Given the network's growing popularity both locally and nationally and Chicago's over 200,000 potential Spanish-speaking viewers, it is unsurprising that the station chose to affiliate with SIN.[34] Once affiliated, WCIU transformed its schedule, and by 1975, the station was airing over 40 hours of Spanish-language programming a week, which consisted of variety shows, newscasts, telenovelas, sportscasts, talk shows, and

culture/chicago-media-blog/15389261/howard-shapiro-1926-2012%201/3.) Pat Widder, "The UN of the Airwaves," *Chicago Tribune*, January 8, 1993, C1.

[33] As Bennet H. Korn, president of the independent New York station WNEW-TV, summarizes, "Life for non-network stations is much more difficult…they have tougher problems. Network affiliates have two-thirds of their lives resolved for them. Programs are created, bought, assembled and sold for them. They can focus their attention on the other one-third of life. They can concentrate on local, public affairs programming. Working in this manner allows for greater intensification." (Morris J. Gelman, "Life Without Networks," *Television* 20, no. 6 (June 1963): 82.) James Martin, "The Latins are Coming The Latins are Coming The Latins are Here..!" *Chicago Tribune*, March 4, 1973, 9.

[34] This figure given by WCIU's station manager and program director, Edward Skotch. (Clarence Petersen, "Besides Being Different, UHF Station Serves at Local Level," *Chicago Tribune*, November 7, 1969, B21.) "Mexican Bullfights a Lively UHF Item," *Variety*, September 28, 1966, 45. "The Fourth Network / U.S. Spanish Language TV Stations," *Variety*, March 31, 1976, 42.

coverage of local Latinx parades and festivals.[35] However, by affiliating with SIN, WCIU

became linked to Mexico's Telesistema because the network was SIN's primary supplier of

content, which explains the network's early focus on Mexican audiences.

Unlike the U.S. television industry, Mexico's television industry has historically been

subject to greater federal regulation, which bespeaks the Mexican government's long-standing

use of communications technologies to foster nationalism among its citizenry.[36] As such,

Mexican television did not reach an international scale until Telesistema purchased its first

videotape recorder from Ampex in 1958.[37] The ability to record its shows on video and then

distribute them worldwide made Telesistema the most prolific media producer in Latin America,

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[35] As James Martin describes, "except for Charlando, a talk-variety show seen on WGN (channel 9), Oiga, Amigo on ABC (channel 7), and the few hours on public television (channel 11), Spanish programming [was] a UHF phenomenon, and WCIU out-supplied "all other stations." (Susan Nelson, "Channel 26: A Success Story in Any Language," *Chicago Tribune*, July 22, 1975, B8.) The station's first telenovela was "La Actriz," which starred Magda Guzmán and was produced by Mexico's Telesistema. (Larry Wolters, "Channel 26 Has Soap Opera in Spanish," *Chicago Tribune*, June 26, 1964, 12.)

[36] For more on the history of Mexican broadcasting, see Joy Elizabeth Hayes, "National Imaginings on the Air: Radio in Mexico, 1920 – 1950," in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920 – 1940*, eds. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen Lewis. (Duke University Press, 2005), 247; Roberto Ornelas Herrera, "Radio y Cotidianidad en México," in *Historia de la Vida Cotidiana en México: Tomo V: Volumen 1. Siglo XX. Campo y Cuidad*, ed., Aurelio de los Reyes (México: FCE, COLMEX, 2006), 128; Joseph Castro, "Wireless: Radio, Revolution, and the Mexican State, 1897-1938" (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 2013), 10; Cristina Romo, *Ondas, Canales y Mensajes*: *Un Perfil de la Radio en México* (Guadalajara; Jalisco, Mexico: Iteso Inst. Technológico y de Estudios Superiores de Occidente, 1991), 16; Marvin Alisky, "Early Mexican Broadcasting," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 34, no. 4 (1954): 518; José Felipe Gálves Cancino, *Los Felices del Alba: La Primera Década de la Radiodifusión Mexicana* (UNAM/FCPS, 1985), 110-111; Gabriel Sosa and Perla Olivia Rodriguez, "La Radio en Mexico," in *La Radio en Iberoamerica: Evolucion, Diagnostico, Prospectiva*. ed. Arturo Merayo, (Sevilla: Comunicacíon Social Ediciones y Publicaciones, 2007), 247. Robert M. Buffington, "Radio," in *Mexico: An Encyclopedia of Contemporary Culture and History,* eds. Don M. Coerver, Suzanne B. Pasztor, and Robert M. Buffington, (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2004), 425-426; Jésus Martín-Barbero, "The Processes: From Nationalisms to Transnationalism," in *Media and Cultural Studies – Key Works,* eds. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner (Malden, MA; Oxford, UK; Victoria: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 269; James Schwoch, *The American Radio Industry and Its Latin American Activities, 1900 – 1939* (Urbana and Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1990), 106. Roberto Ornelas Herrera, "Radio y Cotidianidad en México," in *Historia de la Vida Cotidiana en México: Tomo V: Volumen 1. Siglo XX. Campo y Cuidad*, ed. Aurelio de los Reyes (México: FCE, COLMEX, 2006), 128; Fátima Fernández Christlieb, *Los Medios de Difusión Masiva en México* (Juan Pablos, 1982); Maria del Carmen Olviares Arriagara, *Emilio Azcárraga Vidaurreta: Bosquego Biografico* (Mexico: Universidad Autonoma de Tamaulipas, 2002); Celeste González de Bustamante, *"Muy Buenas Noches" Mexico, Television, and the Cold War* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 12.

37 Fernando Mejía Barquera, "50 años de television commercial en México," in *Televisa – El Quinto Poder*, ed. Raúl Trejo Delarbre (Mexico: Claves Latinoamericanas, 1985), 27. Enrique E. Sánchez Ruiz, "Hacia Una Cronologia De La Television Mexicana," *Comunicacion y Sociedad* 10 /11 (1991): 243.

and as Richard Pickens noted in 1963, it likewise contributed to a boom in U.S. Spanish-language television specifically because of "newly available video tape programming."[38]

The advent of video made Telesistema's owner, Emilio Azcárraga Vidaurreta, one of the wealthiest, although not necessarily most well-regarded, men in the country. For example, Azcárraga's heavy influence over the Mexican media industry inspired one critic to deride him as "Mexico's great media pulpo (octopus)," which C. Macedo illustrated in the independent Mexican newspaper, *La Critica*, under the heading, "El Monopolista del Aire (The Monopolizer of the Air)."[39] However, Azcárraga's control over the Spanish-Language media industry did not extend north into the United States.

Figure 2.1

Having served as a conduit for U.S. media companies to distribute their programming throughout Latin America, Azcárraga realized that there was an imbalance in the trade of television programming that favored U.S. exports. As a result, he attempted to create his own U.S. television network that could distribute Telesistema programming to the U.S.'s Spanish-speaking population.[40] However, Azcárraga initially met resistance in doing so FCC regulations prohibited foreign ownership of U.S. broadcasting companies, which had become the agency's

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[38] Mejía Barquera, "50 años de Television Commercial en México," 27. Richard Pickens, "Spanish Air Media—Ole!", *Sponsor* July 8, 1963, 76.

[39] Joseph Skinner, "Octopus of the Airwaves," *Monthly Review* 39 (September 1987): 44. C. Macedo, "El Monopolista Del Aire," *La Critica*, May, 1945.

[40] See América Rodriguez, "Commercial Ethnicity: Language, Class and Race in the Marketing of the Hispanic Audience," *The Communication Review* 2, no. 3 (1997). Gabriel Alberto Moreno Esparza, "Televisa and Univision, 50 Years of Media Post-Nationalism," *Global Media and Communication* 7, no. 1 (2001).

official policy after the Radio Act of 1912 and the Telecommunications Act of 1934.[41] As a result, neither Azcárraga nor Telesistema could directly own any U.S. broadcasting stations. To bypass the FCC's restrictions, Azcárraga enlisted the help of Reynold "Rene" Anselmo, Emilio Nicolas, and Frank Founce to form Spanish International Communications Company (SICC) and SIN in 1961, with Anselmo in charge of purchasing stations and obtaining FCC licensing and Founce tasked with distributing Telesistema's content.[42] In its first year, SICC acquired UHF stations in Los Angeles (KMEX) and San Antonio (KCOR-TV), which suggested that the network intended to target Mexican audiences because each city had a significant Mexican population. This intention was made even clearer after the network renamed KCOR-TV as KWEX, whose call letters referenced the well-known Telesistema radio station, XEW.[43] According to SICC's president, Rene Anselmo, SIN purchased KMEX and KWEX because the company believed that SIN's programming contained a "Mexican cultural background" that would appeal to Mexican audiences, which as I will show, developed a sense of Latinidad according to what Claudia Milian calls a "southern latinity."[44]

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[41] John J. Watkins, "Alien Ownership and the Communications Act," *Federal Communications Law Journal* 33 (1981): 1.

[42] Anselmo was an "Italian-American who had lived in Mexico for several years and had worked for Azcárraga's Telesistema;" Nicolas was the Mexican-American co-owner of KCOR-TV, which he acquired from his father-in-law Rauol Cortez, the owner of the first Spanish-language radio station in the United States, KCOR; and Founce was a Mexican-American theater owner who had amassed wealth from screening Azcárraga's Telesistema films "for Mexican Americans in Los Angeles." (G. Cristina Mora, *Making Hispanics: How Activists, Bureaucrats, and Media Constructed a New American* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2014), 123-124.)

[43] Martin Rossman. "New TV Stations Aims at Spanish-Speaking," *Los Angeles Times*, The World of Marketing, September 30, 1962.

[44] Martin Rossman. "New TV Stations Aims at Spanish-Speaking," *Los Angeles Times*, The World of Marketing, September 30, 1962. For Milian, a Latinity is a social construct used to identify and segment Latinxs. These constructs resonant among many different groups that are also subject to marginalization and oppression. (Claudia Milian, *Latining America: Black-Brown Passages and the Coloring of Latinx Studies* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 25-35.)

According to Milian, a southern Latinity describes the association of Latinxs with a southern imaginary, which is often deleterious and exemplifies the subjugation of the "global south."[45] Promoting a relationship between Latinxs and the south, specifically the southwest, had become a hallmark of U.S. television during the 1950s, with western-themed shows, such as *The Cisco Kid* (1950-1956), *Zorro* (1957-1959), and *The Real McCoys* (1957-1963), which also typically depicted Latinxs in a negative light.[46] However, SIN used this association to its benefit. For example, in the ad in Figure 2.2, the network proclaimed its dominance over the "Southwest Spanish Language Corridor," which also suggests that stations in Chicago—a Midwestern city—were not a part of the networks' initial target demographic.[47] However, WCIU was nevertheless a UHF station, and the city's large Latinx population made the station an attractive partner.
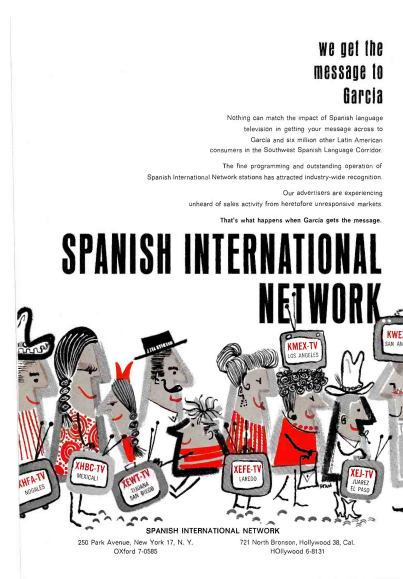
Figure 2.2

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[45] Examples of the subjugation of the global south include U.S. intervention in Latin America; European imperialism in Africa; the North's exploitation of the South in antebellum United States. For Milian, a Latinity is a social construct used to identify and segment Latinxs. These constructs resonant among many different groups that suffer from marginalization, which makes the study of Latinities a useful analytic framework with which to understand the experiences and forms of oppression that are shared among minoritised groups. (Claudia Milian, *Latining America: Black-Brown Passages and the Coloring of Latinx Studies* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2013), 25-35.)

[46] This negative characterization of Latinxs in the southwest as "greasers," dimwitted, lazy, and violent peasants, reached its apex with the creation of the Frito Bandito advertising campaign that ran between 1967-1971. (Thomas Martinez, "How Advertisers Promote Racism," *Civil Rights Digest* Vol. 2 No. 4 (1969): 5-11). For more information on early representations of Latinxs, see S. Robert Lichter and Daniel R. Amundson, "Distorted Reality: Hispanic Characters in TV Entertainment," in *Latin Looks*, ed. Clara E. Rodríguez (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997); A. Gabriel Meléndez, *Hidden Chicano Cinema: Film Dramas in the Borderlands* (New Brunswick, New Jersey; London: Rutgers University Press, 2013). Charles Ramírez Berg, *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, & Resistance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002); Chon A. Noriega, ed., *Chicanos and Film: Representation and Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992); Chon A. Noriega and Ana M. Lopez, eds., *The Ethnic Eye: Latino Media Arts* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1996).

[47] "We Get the Message to Garcia," *Broadcasting,* May 25, 1964, 96.

From an economic standpoint, the creation of an imaginary Latinx southwest was both convenient and economical for SIN, given that in 1966 roughly "half the Latin[sic] market [was] in the southwest," and, "by tradition," it was also Mexican.[48] SIN's focus on Mexicans also indicated the state of the U.S. Latinx community during the 1960s and 1970s, where nationality took precedence over the idea of a single Latinx population. Although the U.S. "Good Neighbor" policy, a federally supported push to develop better inter-American relations in the years before and during World War II, had promoted the idea of pan-Americanism and of a more general "South American" identity, such initiatives still emphasized national differences between Latinxs. In so doing, the nation became the primary source of identification among Latinxs and thus had a broader scale of identity when compared to the more encompassing yet narrower scale of a single Latinx community. SIN's focus on Mexicans continued this trend, and although WCIU's programming likewise focused on specific nationalities, the station's community mandate and its local scale-making project encouraged an alternative representation of Latinidad.

Mediated Latinities during WCIU's Golden Age

Once WCIU was a SIN affiliate, its programming fluctuated between various representational strategies. The station's local, live programming provided a useful counter-balance to SIN's international scale, allowing WCIU to maintain its community mandate and represent a broader sense of Latinidad. In so doing, the station's limited scale of transmission inflected the international scale of proximity of its content to produce a scale of identity that both privileged Latin America while at the same time providing insight into the city's specific Latinx population, which best represented the overall national distribution of the U.S. Latinx population.

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[48] "Spanish Market: Undersold, Undervalued but Advertisers are Becoming More and More Aware of its Potential," *Broadcasting,* September 19, 1966, 74.

This dynamic was evident in some the station's earliest Latinx programs, which were largely produced by Puerto Rican entertainers. Although my reference to this particular Latinx nationality might suggest that WCIU's early Latinx programs promoted a narrow scale of Latinx identity just like SIN, they offered an alternative representation of Latinidad, one that reflected the station's community mandate and focus on local audiences.[49] By doing so, the station developed mediated Latinities that represented Latinidad as hybrid, translocal, and extranational. Among WCIU's early Latinx broadcasts, *The Raul Cardona Show* is most notable not only for being one of the city's first Spanish-language television programs but also for celebrating Latinx culture during a time when popular media was beginning to negatively represent Chicago's Puerto Rican community. As Gina M. Perez states, Chicago's Puerto Rican community has been "portrayed and imagined differently over time" in local media. [50] According to Perez, the city's Puerto Ricans transitioned from "'model minorities' in the 1950s and early 1960s, to 'slum-dwellers' mired in a 'culture of poverty' in the late 1960s and 1970s, to, finally, members of an alleged 'underclass' in the 1980s and 1990s."[51] WCIU's *The Raul Cardona Show* offers a glimpse into early representations of Chicago's Puerto Rican community before such negative portrayals would become commonplace among popular media.

First aired in 1966, *The Raul Cardona Show* featured "Latin[sic] dancing" and local performers.[52] The program was hosted by the former radio announcer and nightclub promoter

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[49] Turin Acevedo's variety program, *Turin Acevedo*, is another example of WCIU programming that was both local and focused on Chicago's Puerto Rican community. "Wednesday," *Chicago Tribune*, July 27, 1968, B12.

[50] Gina M. Perez, "An Upbeat West Side Story: Puerto Ricans Postwar Racial Politics in Chicago," *CENTRO Journal* Volume 13, no. 2 (2001): 48.

[51] Gina M. Perez, "An Upbeat West Side Story: Puerto Ricans Postwar Racial Politics in Chicago," *CENTRO Journal* Volume 13, no. 2 (2001): 48.

[52] "Thursday," *Chicago Tribune*, September 10, 1966, C34. "Spanish Market: Undersold, Undervalued but Advertisers are Becoming More and More Aware of its Potential," *Broadcasting,* September 19, 1966, 72. The show was produced by the Cuban journalist, Fernando Fernandez-Barcena, who also produced "Radar Artistco

Rafael Raul "Don Canuto" Cardona, who broadcast live from the top floor of the Board of Trade

building every Thursday evening from 1966 to 1973.[53] Although the show was primarily

presented in Spanish, it also featured non-Latinx performers, and one group in specific

exemplified the ways in which WCIU's expression of mediated Latinity advanced the station's

scale-making endeavor to promote itself as a local broadcaster, in this instance doing so by

addressing the city's Latinx community.[54]

After learning about an opportunity to perform on a variety program called *The Raul

Cardona Show* in 1969, *The Other Half* secured an audition that was to take place at an off-site

rehearsal space near the 1300 block of Milwaukee in the Wicker Park neighborhood of West

Town in Chicago.[55] As the band's drummer, George Hancock, recalls, the audition was held in

the back room of a lounge, whose patrons and sonic ambiance left the group with the impression

that it was a very "Hispanic rehearsal space."[56] According to Hancock, it was only upon entering

the room that band members realized that *The Raul Cardona Show* was a Spanish-language

program.[57] During the audition, the group played instrumentals and original songs from its

Show," another musical variety show on WCIU, which was hosted by the radio personality Elias Diaz y Perez. ("Hispanic Institute of Radio and Television Inc. Announces the Premiere of the First Bilingual Soap Opera 'Love Without Boundaries' (Amor Sin Fronteras)," *PR Newswire*, December 22, 1997.)

[53] Like other Chicago-based Latinx radio announcers, such as Jose E. Chapa and Luis Carlos Urribe, Cardona joined WCIU with the intent of broadcasting to the city's Latinx population, participating on multiple WCIU programs, including a news segment. According to fellow Spanish-language announcer and Cardona's former wife, Linda Cardona, Cardona entered television by brokering deals with SIN to bring telenovelas to Chicago during WCIU's early years. (Alvin Raul Cardona, "Los Pioneros de Radio y Television en Chicago," YouTube, November 24, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=88bN7xQVX-g, accessed December 15, 2014.) "TV Listings: Afternoon," *Chicago Defender*, September 26, 1973, 24.

[54] The *Other Half* band consisted of four members, including drummer George Hancock and singer Steve Moroniak. Formed in 1965, the band primarily played English-language rock and roll music in lounges and restaurants located on the city's northwest side. (Steve Moroniak, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, November 16, 2014.)

[55] George Hancock, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, November 11, 2014.

[56] George Hancock, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, November 11, 2014.

[57] Hancock's observation suggests that local viewers understood that WCIU's programming contained more than just Spanish-language content, supporting my claim that the station maintained a widened scale of identity. George Hancock, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, November 11, 2014.

catalog, such as "A Girl with the Long Black Hair, " which the band recorded at Orlyn records in

Chicago. However, as the band's lead singer, Steve Moroniak, notes, "eyes started opening" in

the room when someone asked if they knew any songs in Spanish, after which the group started

playing Ricardo Valenzuela's (Ritchie Valens) arrangement of the Mexican folk song, "La

Bamba," which secured their place on the show.[58]

    The Other Half's musical selection was not altogether surprising, seeing as Valenzuela's

song had risen to #22 on *Billboard's* pop chart in January of 1959.[59] What was remarkable about

their performance is that the group chose to play the song at that moment and to that audience,

which suggests their recognition of mediated Latinity, of being able to convey a sense of

Latinidad through their music. As a hybrid cultural production, Valenzuela's "La Bamba"

provided a point of identification through rock music, which allowed *The Other Half* to enact a

hybrid Latinity that was recognizable by the show's producers.[60] Although Ella Shohat and

Robert Stam describe hybridity as "an unending, unfinalizable process," *The Other Half's*

performance nevertheless revealed that hybrid Latinity supports multiple ways of identifying as

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[58] Steve Moroniak, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, November 16, 2014. However, because the band was the last to perform, the group was prematurely cutoff at the end of the live broadcast. The show's producers offered *The Other Half* a second performance as recompense for the mishap, but the band declined. (Steve Moroniak, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, November 16, 2014. George Hancock, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, November 11, 2014.)

[59] Anthony Macias, *Mexican American Mojo: Popular Music, Dance, and Urban Culture in Los Angeles, 1935-1968* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008), 187.

[60] As George Lipsitz notes, Mexican communities in Los Angeles have embraced rock and roll music as a way of gaining access to dominant U.S. culture, supporting Chela Sandoval's claim that post-colonial identities appear similar to what Frederic Jameson calls the intensities of postmodernity because such identities are characterized by a convergence of multiple subjective positions. (George Lipsitz, "Crusing around the Historical Bloc: Postmodernism and Popular Music in East Los Angeles," *Cultural Critique* 5 (Winter 1986-1987): 157-177; Chela Sandoval, "Frederic Jameson: Postmodernism is a Neocolonizing Global Force," in *Methodology of the Oppressed*, ed. Chela Sandoval (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2000); Frederic Jameson, "Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," in *Media and Cultural Studies: KeyWorks Revised Edition*, eds. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner (Malden and Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006).)

Latinx and, in turn, signifiying Latinidad.[61] Moreover, the *Other Half*'s successful performance

demonstrates what Claudia Milian calls the copiousness of Latinidad, which made it so that a

band of non-Latinx musicians could still invoke Latinidad by performing a hybridization of

Mexican folk music with U.S. rock and roll.[62]

The *Other Half*'s successful audition and later appearance on the show reveals one way in

which WCIU managed its scope of address and community-oriented mandate. The group's

appearance on the program demonstrates that WCIU's Latinx programming represented a broad

range of social identities, in this case including non-Latinx performers, which also suggests that

the program did not overtly privilege one Latinx nationality over another— "La Bamba" is, after

all, a Mexican folk song despite Cardona being Puerto Rican.[63] Likewise, other programs on

WCIU demonstrated that the station's scale of identity was broader than SIN's because it

highlighted various Latinx nationalities.

For example, *The Tony Quintana Show* explicitly focused on Puerto Ricans during its

broadcasts in the early 1970s.[64] The show's host and producer, Tony Quintana, offered viewers

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[61] Ella Shohat and Robert Stam, *Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media* (London, New York: Routledge, 1994), 42.

[62] Claudia Milian, *Latining America*: *Black-Brown Passages and the Coloring of Latinx Studies* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2013).

[63] Chicago's Latinx community consisted of "roughly comparable numbers" of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans at the time. (Nicholas De Genova and Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas, "Latino Rehearsals: Racialization and the Politics of Citizenship between Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Chicago," *The Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 8, no. 2 (2003): 29.) For more on the city's Latinx populations, see Peter N. Pero, *Chicago's Pilsen Neighborhood* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2011); Rita Jirasek and Carlos Tortolero, *Mexican Chicago* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2001); Wilfredo Cruz, *Puerto Rican Chicago* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2004).

[64] In the book *Duelos y Quebrantos*, Quintana provides a fictional re-telling of the difficulties he encountered while working at the station, revealing the limits that Latinx media producers encountered when working within an industrial context. (*Tony Quintana, Duelos y Quebrantos: La Historia de un Locutor Desempleado* (Hato Rey: Esmaco Printers Corp., 1993). Although the book is a work of fiction, Quintana adds credence to its claims by later stating that he "resigned" from the show because he was displeased "by the taste of censorship" after the station's owner stopped being "enthused of the program's vision." (Jonathan Rivera, "'El Rican' Tony Quintana," *La Vos Del Paseo Boricua*, March, 2006, 9.) Quintana's experience exemplifies how corporate interests exerted control over how producers crafted an understanding of Latinidad, suggesting that even if WCIU maintained its community mandates, it nevertheless restricted the activities of Latinx media producers.

"cutting edge, live television programs that showcased some of the biggest stars of Puerto Rico"

and "discussions on everything from Puerto Rican politics to the oppression of its people."[65]

Unlike *The Raul Cardona Show*, *The Tony Quintana Show* privileged Puerto Rican

representations and thus presented a narrower scale of Latinx identity while also scale-shifting to

an international level.[66]

Like *The Tony Quintana Show,* WCIU's *Mi Ecuador* also privileged a specific Latinx

subgroup, but it differed by providing inter-Latinx moments of convergence and divergence in its

programming. For example, during one episode, the show opened with a montage of Ecuadorian

imagery, which included voice-over narration that described the program as "hecho por

Ecuatorianos, para los Ecuatorianos, y para que todos nuestros hermanos Hispanos puedan

conocer algo de nuestra cultura, de nuestra historia, y de nuestra musica (made by Ecuadorians,

for Ecuadorians, and so that the rest of our Hispanic bretheren can learn something about our

culture, our history, and our music)."[67] Although *Mi Ecuador* makes reference to a broader sense

of Latinx identity by noting the idea of "hermanos Hispanos," it nevertheless narrowed its scope

of Latinidad by identifying as Ecuadorian. Another WCIU program, *Noches Norteñas,* similarly

focused on a specific Latinx subgroup, albeit in a different way.

Airing between the years 1971 and 1975, *Noches Norteñas* was hosted by Américo

Gómez and featured live performances by "Tex-Mex genre musicians."[68] The program was

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[65] Jonathan Rivera, "'El Rican' Tony Quintana," *La Vos Del Paseo Boricua*, March, 2006, 9.

[66] Although I position Puerto Rico within an international context, I also recognize that doing so is arguable because of Puerto Rico's history and current political relationship to the United States.

[67] The narration was likely given by the show's host, Rosalba Godoy, but this could not be confirmed. "WCIU Channel 26 – Mi Ecuador (Opening & Excerpt, 198?)," filming location and date unknown but likely Chicago, IL, May 20, 1979, video, 3:04, http://www.fuzzymemories.tv/#videoclip-1532.

[68] "Tuesday," *Chicago Tribune*, May 18, 1971, D10; "Thursday, TV," *Buffalo Grove Herald*, January 24, 1975, 54; "TV Hour by Hour," *Chicago Tribune*, October 1, 1975, B10. Claire Martin, "TV Host Chicago's Norteño-Music Don," *Denver Post*, August 2, 2006, C-06.

distinct from *Mi Ecuador* in that it promoted a community mandate by representing a specific

kind of Mexicanidad that reflected the city's local Mexican community. At first glance, *Noches*

Norteñas appears to be aligned with SIN because of the show's focus on a specifically Mexican

musical genre, norteño. However, the show's representation of Mexicanidad differed from SIN's

southern Latinity in that it represented a northern orientation, while at the same time scaling to a

local level because the genre was indicative of the specific Mexican communities living in

Chicago. According to Nicholas De Genova and Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas, norteño has been

"exceedingly popular among Mexican migrants in Chicago, especially the majority who hailed

from rural origins...[and saw it as] culturally distinctive and defining of a certain Mexicanness,"

with the name itself meaning "from the north."[69]

The relationship between the genre and Chicago's Mexican community suggests that

Noches Norteñas expressed a multidimensional understanding of Latinidad, which could be

expressed in geo-political or cultural terms, akin to the hybrid Latinity of *The Raul Cardona*

Show. Geo-politically, *Noches Norteñas* scaled internationally by focusing on a Mexican musical

genre. Culturally, the program sustained WCIU's community mandate and adopted a local

address by representing Chicago's specific Mexican community. This combination of scales

expressed a translocal Latinity in that it converged multiple spatial/subject positions, akin to

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[69] Nicholas De Genova and Ana Y. Ramos-Zayas, *Latino Crossings: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and the Politics of Race and Citizenship* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), 83. Juan Carlos Ramírez-Pimienta argues that Norteño bands during the 1970s, such as Los Tigres del Norte, also identified with undocumented Latinxs in their music. I note this to highlight that a significant portion of the Latinx community in the United States is undocumented but nevertheless informs Latinx cultural productions in the United States. (Juan Carlos Ramírez-Pimienta, "Chicago Lindo y Querido si Muero Lejos de Ti: el Pasito Duranguense, la Onda Grupera y las Nuevas Geografías de la Identidad Popular Mexicana," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 26, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 40.) For more on the mean-spirited and downright awful stereotyping of Latinxs as "illegal aliens," see Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).

what Gloria Anzaldua describes as a borderlands identity.[70] Moreover, the show's emphasis on the north demonstrated an alternative to the southern Latinity found in SIN's programming.

In these examples of early Latinx programming on WCIU, we see that scale played important roles in the representation of Latinidad. For one, the station's focus on the city's Latinx community, specifically its diversity, advanced WCIU's scale-making project to promote itself as a local broadcaster. In doing so, the station offered an alternative representation of Latinidad from that of SIN by presenting a variety of Latinx nationalities, broadening the scale of Latinx identity as part of its representational strategies. Although programs like *Mi Ecuador* suggested a recognition of a broader Latinx community, the station's programs during the dawn of Latinx broadcasting showed that Latin American nationality was the primary source of identification among Latinxs at the time. However, one program during this era signaled an upcoming shift in the Latinx community that was to take place during the decade of the "Hispanic" in the 1980s.

Transitioning into the decade of the "Hispanic"

Although it might appear that *Noches Norteñas'* focus on a specific Latinx nationality was responsible for engendering this translocal Latinity, the live call-in show, *Ayuda* demonstrated a similar mediated Latinity, but one that focused more on the relationship between Latinx identity and the nation state. By bridging local Latinxs with the nation state, the program

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[70] See Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands = La Frontera* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999). This type of convergence of multiple scales of proximity can be found in other Latinx songs, such as in the lyrics of *Los Chicanos* by Los Bukis: "Somos los Chicanos que vivimos en la Unión: California, Texas, y Chicago en Illinois (We are the Chicanos that live in the Unión: California, Texas, and Chicago in Illinois)." (Los Bukis, "Los Chicanos,*"* recorded 1980, track 5 on *Los Bukis*, Profono Internacional, Inc., compact disc.) For more on Chicago and Duranguense, see Juan Carlos Ramírez-Pimienta, "Chicago Lindo y Querido si Muero Lejos de Ti: el Pasito Duranguense, la Onda Grupera y las Nuevas Geografías de la Identidad Popular Mexicana," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 26, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 39.

reflected the changing state of the Latinx community in the United States, which would

eventually shift in scale from being fractured according to Latin American nationality to instead

engaging in inter-Latinx group affiliation to develop a more generalized Latinx community.

Beginning in October of 1969, *Ayuda* aired once a week on Thursday evenings until its

final broadcast in 1991.[71] The program was "a live television forum" that was created "to help

Spanish-speaking Chicagoans navigate the issues of workplace, government programs, and

social service agencies."[72] The show's hosts were mostly seasoned media professionals,

including Spanish-language radio veteran Armando

Pérez y Martínez, long-time ABC anchor Theresa

Gutiérrez, and *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist Rubén

Cruz, but it also featured the community activists Mary

Gonzáles and Ruth Mojica-Hammer and the show's

only non-Latinx host, immigration lawyer Robert D.

Ahlgren.[73]

Figure 2.3

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[71] Jose Cruz, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, December 1, 2013.

[72] Jose Cruz, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, December 1, 2013. "About," Weigel Broadcasting, accessed November 1, 2013, http://www.wciu.com/about.php?section=.

[73] A native of Nuevo Leon, Mexico, Perez y Martinez began broadcasting on Chicago radio in 1960, starting at WTAQ-AM and eventually moving to the popular Spanish-language FM stations WXRT and WOJO. ("Journal - City Council - Chicago," The City of Chicago, November 3, 2010, 51.) In 1972, Perez y Martinez formed the *Locutores Unidos de Chicago* (United Broadcasters of Chicago), a non-for-profit organization that supported local Latinx media producers. ("Journal - City Council - Chicago," The City of Chicago, February 26, 1997, 106.) Mojica-Hammer hosted *Ayuda* between 1970 and 1973. She replaced Theresa Gutierrez as host after a glowing reference from a local government agency that was impressed with how she helped a friend who only spoke Spanish secure employment assistance. Despite going "home and [throwing] up her dinner" after her first broadcast, Mojica-Hammer "saw an opportunity to learn about and help [the] community." Shapiro was so impressed by her zeal that he granted her full control of the station's Spanish-language programming schedule by naming her director. Mojica-Hammer later became co-host of *We are Chicago* with Chicago broadcaster Warner Saunders on WMAQ-TV, the local NBC affiliate. Outside of television, Mojica-Hammer participated in national politics: she was the first Latina to run for congresswoman of Illinois, albeit unsuccessfully; attended the first national conference of *La Raza Unida Party*—an advocate for Mexican(-American) civil rights—on September 1st, 1972 in El Paso, Texas; and participated in the *National Women's Political Caucus*, which met in Houston the following year. (Ruth Mojica-Hammer, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, February 17, 2014. Carol Oppenheim, "Women's Political

According to former WCIU general manager Peter Zomaya, *Ayuda* maintained the same setup throughout its 22-year run:

the host and hostess [sat] at desks, and Bob Ahlgren [sat] at a table. [The show was shot] all in one studio, done at the same time, [and there were] people in the background with the phones, like a telethon.[74]

During a typical broadcast, *Ayuda's* hosts fielded calls and discussed various topics, such as jobs, legal problems, medical issues, as well more trivial topics like how to register for appliance warranties.[75] Although *Ayuda*'s Theresa Gutiérrez described the show as primarily a "referral service" that directed callers elsewhere, the program fostered what William Flores and Rina Benmayor call "Latino [sic] cultural citizenship," which provided the city's Latinx community with access to social, economic, and legal resources.[76] In doing so, *Ayuda* acted as what Hamid Naficy terms "exile media" by enmeshing Latinx immigrants into their new social context.[77] The show's emphasis on the city's Latinx community was a vivid enactment of its local address, but, like *Noches Norteñas,* the show also scale-shifted to a national level by putting the U.S. government in dialogue with Chicago's Latinx residents. However, *Ayuda*

Caucus Sets Goals," *Chicago Tribune*, February 19, 1973, A8.) Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, January 22, 2014. "Pilsen Neighbors Want Hand in Running New Juarez H.S.," *Lawndale News*, October 30, 1975, 1. "Robert D. Ahlgren," Law Office of Robert D. Ahlgren and Associates, accessed December 9, 2017, http://ahlgrenlaw.com/lawyer/robert-ahlgren/.

[74] The show was sponsored by the *At&t* phone company, who donated telephone service to handle the large volume of calls that "came in over the air" as the show was broadcast live. (Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, January 22, 2014.)

[75] Clarence Petersen, "Quest for TV Glamor Job Turns into Busy Sting Helping Needy on Channel 26's Ayuda," *Chicago Tribune*, February 1, 1970, F16. In a commercial for *Ayuda*, the show advertises assistance with "dificultades con alguna compra (difficulties with a purchase)". (The Museum of Classic Chicago Television, "WCIU Channel 26 - ¡Ayuda! (Promo, 1985)," YouTube, recorded March 20, 1985, uploaded March 11, 2008, accessed December 19, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EvOsYeProjU.)

[76] *Ayuda* was so well-regarded for its service that it received an Emmy from the Chicago/Midwest chapter of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences for "Outstanding achievements for informational programming: for a public affairs series" in 1975. ("1975 - 1976 (Eighteenth Annual)," The National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences, accessed November 1, 2013, http://chicagoemmyonline.org/files/2013/04/1975-1976.pdf.)

[77] According to Hamid Naficy, immigrant communities create "exile media," which (1) help transition migrants to their new surroundings, (2) connect viewers with social resources, and (3) link migrants to media from their homelands. (Hamid Naficy, *The Making of Exile Cultures: Iranian Television in Los Angeles* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), xvi.) *Ayuda* is best characterized by the first two aspects exile media.

demonstrated an extranational Latinity, which represented Latinidad as forged through cultural

citizenship and capable of building community "outside the control of traditional national

boundaries," revealing the emergence of the decade of the "Hispanic" as it promoted a broader

Latinx community.[78]

As Casillas notes, media provide Latinx immigrants, particularly those that are

undocumented, with "enfranchised spaces and opportunities for live engagement," which she

describes as "essential components of cultural citizenship."[79] For Casillas, call-in shows allow

audience members to remain anonymous because the "sonic character" of a phone call "lends

itself to the act of seeking legal documentation for immigrants without being visually

apparent."[80] Although Casillas is specifically talking about call-in shows broadcast over the

radio, her insights also apply to *Ayuda*. For example, *Ayuda's* host, Robert D. Ahlgren, informed

undocumented Spanish-speaking "visitors" about their rights and advised callers on immigration-

related issues, which was a federal matter and outside of municipal jurisdiction.[81] As such, when

Ayuda engaged with local callers to talk about immigration issues, the program enacted an

extranational Latinity, doing so by extending resources and information to undocumented

Latinxs.

Like *Noches Norteñas*, *Ayuda*'s extranational Latinity differs from *The Other Half's*

hybrid Latinity in that it conceives of Latinidad in geo-political and not cultural terms. However,

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[78] Amy Foerster and Jennifer Miller, "Extranational Spaces and the Disruption of National Boundaries: Turkish Immigrant Media and Claims Against the State in 1980s West Germany," *Nations and Nationalism* 23, no. 4 (2017): 838.

[79] Dolors Inés Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging: U.S. Spanish-Language Radio and Public Advocacy* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2014), 84.

[80] Dolors Inés Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging: U.S. Spanish-Language Radio and Public Advocacy* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2014), 18.

[81] Clarence Petersen, "Quest for TV Glamor Job Turns into Busy Sting Helping Needy on Channel 26's Ayuda," *Chicago Tribune*, February 1, 1970, F16.

it nevertheless differs from *Noches Norteñas'* translocal Latinity in that its representation of Latinidad has less to do with geography and more to do with engaging a U.S. national imaginary that positions Latinxs as what Mae Ngai calls "impossible subjects," which are, in other words, extranational subjects that stand outside the purview of the nation state. This Latinity emerged yet again when *Ayuda* featured a guest appearance from the famed *I Love Lucy* co-star, Desi Arnaz, who appeared on the show in an attempt to convince local residents that any information they provided for the 1980s Census would not endanger them.[82]

As mentioned in the introduction of this dissertation, the 1980s Census was the first to provide U.S. Latinxs with the ability to identify according to national origin, giving a more nuanced picture of the diversity of the city's Latinx community. Although that year's census was intended to highlight national difference, it also signaled a growing political interest in the country's Latinx community. The 1980 census similarly demonstrated a translocal Latinity in that by recognizing the national differences among the country's Latinx communities it was also showing greater interest in the country's overall Latinx population, which was to typify the political climate during the decade of the "Hispanic."

Though limited to a local address by its technological constraints and community mandate, WCIU's golden age still demonstrated a rich negotiation of multiple scales: at a city, national, international level; and either a narrow or broad (i.e., more diverse) scale of Latinx identity. The station did so by supplementing SIN's Mexican imports with its live programs and refusing to rely solely "on Mexican production," which advanced its community mandate and in turn developed a more diverse understanding of Latinidad that did not privilege Latin American

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[82] During Arnaz' guest appearance, the famed actor reassured viewers that there would be no threat of deportation or danger of arrest by contributing to the census. (Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, January 22, 2014. "Desi Meets 'Destino '80'," *Chicago Tribune*, February 26, 1980, A1.)

cultural productions at the risk of alienating U.S.-American Latinxs.[83] During its golden age, the

station also enacted mediated Latinities that represented Latinidad as hybrid, translocal, and

extranational, which suggests an understanding of Latinx identity as multidimensional and

capable of being signified in either cultural or geo-political terms, which Federico Subervi and

Diana Rios claim is the reason for the "complexities of situational Latino [sic] identity."[84]

However, the program *Ayuda* demonstrated a shift between the dawn of Latinx Broadcasting and

the decade of the "Hispanic." The difference between these eras is that Latinx identity, although

still largely informed by nationality, was now being constructed across Latinx subgroups, where

the scale of Latinx identity was to narrow and produce a sense of generalizable Latinidad, which

was to be represented in Chicago by the "Spanish TV Wars" (1986-1996) between Univision and

its burgeoning rival, Telemundo.

Regulating SIN: The End of a Regional Spanish-language Broadcaster

By 1980, WCIU's broadcasts were delivered completely in Spanish after 5pm every

weekday.[85] Just as it had done during its golden age, WCIU continued to offset SIN's Mexican

imports, such as the telenovelas *El Arabe* and *Los Ricos Tambien Lloran,* with its own live

programming.[86] Although WCIU maintained its affiliation with SIN, the station's programming

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[83] Arlene Dávila describes U.S. Spanish-language television "as a receptacle for Mexican programming." (Arlene Dávila, *Latinos Inc.: The Marketing and Making of a People* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2001), 26.) Ronald W. López and Darryl D. Enos, "Spanish-Language-Only Television in Los Angeles County," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 4, no. 2, (1973): 311-312. I contend that this was a result of the station's media industry mandates more so than because of any allegiance to the city's Latinx community.

[84] Federico Subervi and Diana Rios, "Latino Identity & Situational Latinidad," in *Hispanic Marketing & Public Relations: Understanding and Targeting America's Largest Minority,* ed. Elena del Valle (Boca Raton: Poyeen Publishing, 2005), 30.

[85] "Tempo TV and Radio," *Chicago Tribune*, April 3, 1980, A7.

[86] "Chicago Tribune TV Week," *Chicago Tribune*, December 7, 1980, H31. By the 1980s, WCIU had become well-known for its sportscasts, such as boxing, baseball, and soccer with commentary in Spanish. Of these broadcasts, WCIU was best known for exclusive access to FIFA's World Cup soccer matches, attracting "more than a million"

would change throughout the decade as the network's representational scales shifted to develop a more generalized representation of Latinidad that was also narrower in terms of identity because it was to portray a less diverse sense of Latinidad.

SIN's shifting representational strategies contributed to what América Rodriguez calls the "symbolic denationalization of Latinos[sic]," allowing Spanish-language stations to disidentify Latinxs of their Latin American identities in order to acculturate them into a new "U.S. Hispanic" viewing audience so that they could be marketed to advertisers.[87] SIN exemplified this shift by adopting a more "neutral 'broadcast Spanish' that [eschewed] local colloquialisms" and made actors' nationalities "unidentifiable" in the hopes of attracting viewers from various Latinx nationalities, especially "Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans."[88] Despite SIN's shift in representational scope, WCIU still maintained its community mandate by airing locally produced live content, which became a source of tension between WCIU and its network.[89]

According to WCIU's then-general manager, Peter Zomaya, SIN wanted the station to adopt a 24-hour Spanish-language format because the network wanted "total control" of production in order to ensure that programming was consistent among its affiliates, which the station refused.[90] WCIU was uninterested in increasing its affiliation with the network because it meant losing the ability to "show local stuff like [Latin American independence day] parades"

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estimated viewers for the 1978 tournament. ("Local Telecasts in Spanish," *Chicago Tribune*, June 2, 1978, E2; Lewis Beale, "Spanish TV Gets a Big Kick from Soccer," *Chicago Tribune*, June 10, 1982, E1.)

[87] América Rodriguez, "Making Latino News: Race, Language, and Class," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 24, no. 2 (Fall 1999): 15.

[88] Lewis Beale, "Spanish TV Gets a Big Kick from Soccer," *Chicago Tribune*, June 10, 1982, E1.

[89] Such as the internationally focused yet still Chicago-based nightly news program *Informaciones 26* and the Catholic program *Ayer, Hoy, y Mañana*, which was sponsored by the city's archdiocese. ("Weekly Spanish Program to Be Televised," *Lake Union Herald*, July 29, 1980, 12.)

[90] Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, January 22, 2014.

and other live programming.[91] As Zomaya goes on to explain, shifting formats was also "a

financially risky move" because WCIU would then be completely reliant on SIN for its content,

so if the network decided to "pull the plug" and not renew its contract, WCIU would not have

any programs to air.[92] As such, WCIU pushed back against SIN in order to avoid putting all of

their "eggs in one basket."[93]

Fortunately for WCIU, being the city's most popular Spanish-language television

broadcaster gave it enough leverage to negotiate for a balance of local productions and imported

programs, which allowed it to sustain its community mandate. However, the 1980s was a

turbulent decade for Spanish-language television stations overall, which until then had been seen

as "little more than broadcasting backwater that advertisers could safely ignore."[94] During what

Maria Elena Toraño termed the "decade for Hispanics" and Coors Brewing Company re-branded

as "the decade of the Hispanic," widespread promotion of a burgeoning Latinx consumer base

inspired investors to create new Spanish-language television networks. In many ways, this was

similar to Kathy M. Newman's account of the discovery of the "forgotten fifteen million"

African-American audiences by commercial radio advertisers during the 1940s.[95] According to

Newman, radio advertisers began to aggressively market to African-American radio listeners,

which in effect created a "Negro market."[96] Similarly, Arlene Dávila argues that marketing

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[91] Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, January 22, 2014. Dorothy Collin, "Channel 26 Speaks Chicago's Language," *Chicago Tribune*, March 8, 1979, 1.

[92] Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, January 22, 2014.

[93] Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, January 22, 2014.

[94] "Hispanic TV Gains New Voice," *Chicago Tribune*, November 28, 1986, B3.

[95] Kathy M. Newman, "The Forgotten Fifteen Million: Black Radio, Radicalism, and the Construction of the 'Negro Market'," in *Communities of the Air: Radio Century, Radio Culture*, ed. Susan Merrill Squier (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003).

[96] Kathy M. Newman, "The Forgotten Fifteen Million: Black Radio, Radicalism, and the Construction of the 'Negro Market'," in *Communities of the Air: Radio Century, Radio Culture*, ed. Susan Merrill Squier (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003), 109.

agencies and advertisers created a "Hispanic market" by "selling and promoting generalized

ideas about 'Hispanics' to be readily marketed by corporate America."[97] Alongside this growing

niche market, Ronal Reagan's presidency gave rise to movement for government de-regulation

of commercial broadcasting. This greater investment in Latinx media and push for government

de-regulation set the stage for the "Spanish TV Wars," which played out locally among the

stations WCIU (channel 26), WSNS (channel 44), WPWR (channel 60), and WGBO (channel

66) between 1986 and 1996.[98]

The first major event of Chicago's Spanish TV Wars was precisely what Zomaya had

feared: when SIN's contract ended in 1985, the network cut ties with WCIU and became

affiliated with WSNS, another local UHF station that also broadcast some Spanish-language

programming.[99] The switch made sense for SIN because WSNS was willing to adopt a 24-hour

format.[100] However, the deal came as a surprise to WCIU managers, giving the impression that

the network had gone "behind [the station's] back" to sign with WSNS.[101] This was especially

troubling for the station because it had dedicated over 60% of its schedule to Spanish-language

programming and now faced losing its viewers and ad revenue if it could not find another

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[97] Arlene Dávila, *Latinos Inc.: The Marketing and Making of a People* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2001), 2.

[98] Maria Elena Toraño, "Hispanics Push for Bigger Role in Washington," *U.S. News & World Report,* May 22, 1978, 58. Ignacio Garcia, "Drunk in the Barrio: Hispanics Aren't Laughing Anymore," *Chicago Tribune*, February 18, 1981, B1. "Felicidades," Adolph Coors Company, 1979. See Steve Jajkowski, "UHF Wars," Chicago Television, accessed December 9, 2017, http://www.chicagotelevision.com/spantv.htm.

[99] Although WSNS (channel 44) had brokered Spanish-language programming since the 1970s, its quantity of Spanish-language programming was nowhere near as high as WCIU's, so its activity during that time is best understood as supplementing the city's Spanish-language programming rather than rivaling WCIU.

[100] Kenneth R. Clark, "TV Immigrants: Ethnic Stations Vie for Big Bucks," *Chicago Tribune*, July 30, 1985.

[101] Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, January 22, 2014.

supplier. [102] Luckily for the station, the "decade of the Hispanic" had produced an alternative

Spanish-language network that could rival SIN, NetSpan (now Telemundo).[103]

As had occurred with WCIU, affiliating with SIN meant ending WSNS' contract with its

Spanish-language programming provider, the fledgling NetSpan network, so when WCIU

approached NetSpan for programming in 1986, the network agreed to an affiliation that allowed

the station to keep producing its local programming.[104] Although WCIU had suffered from the

shift because SIN's programming was far more popular than NetSpan's, the station was able to

continue balancing its imports with local productions. Furthermore, the affiliate switch was a

major advancement for the city's Latinx television industry, which now boasted two major

Spanish-language networks for the first time in its history.[105] However, this landscape of

Spanish-language television in Chicago was short-lived as internal conflicts between the owners

of SIN and SICC led the FCC to investigate the network's business relationship with the

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[102] Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, January 22, 2014. Charles Barthold, "Tuning in to a 'Persian Johnny Carson'," *New York Times*, April 19, 1987, F17.

[103] NetSpan had only begun "serving the programming and advertising sales needs of independent Spanish language stations across the U.S." just a few years prior in 1984. ("Telemundo Stakes its Future on Hispanic Audience," *Broadcasting*, August 10, 1987, 67; Mark Zambrano, "Spanish Booming as Broadcasting Voice in Chicago," *Chicago Tribune*, June 22, 1986.) NetSpan was owned by Reliance Capital Group, which entered Spanish-language television with the acquisition of New York's WNJU-TV, Los Angeles' KVEA, and other stations in Miami and San Juan, Puerto Rico, from John Blair and Co. ("Hispanic TV Gains New Voice," *Chicago Tribune*, November 28, 1986, B3; "Reliance Buys WNJU-TV for $70 Million," *Broadcasting*, November 3, 1986, 40.)

[104] In an ad from 1986, NetSpan included the tagline, "Local Appeal...Network Efficiency." ("NetSpan Advertisement," *Broadcasting*, 1986.) As the ad claimed, NetSpan would expose local stations to "national advertisers," explicitly referencing "WCIU-TV 26 Chicago." ("NetSpan Advertisement," *Broadcasting*, 1986.) What this ad suggests is that NetSpan was aware of WCIU's commitment to a local scale of proximity and positioned the network to amplify the station to a wider national scale of proximity. However, unlike SIN, which shifted WCIU's scale of proximity from local to international, NetSpan offered an affiliation that maintained WCIU's community mandate in addition to scaling more broadly.

[105] Frank Segers, "Chicago Plays Out Local Version of War Between Hispano Giants," *Variety*, March 25, 1987, 124.

Azcárraga family. Upon review, the FCC ruled that SIN was acting under the influence of the

Azcárragas, and its owners would have to sell the company.[106]

SIN was officially sold to Hallmark Cards Inc. and First Chicago Venture in 1987,

thereafter going by the name Univision.[107] Fortunately for its new owners, the network was able

to renew many of its contracts with local stations throughout the country. However, this was not

the case for WSNS, which, by some accounts, had requested so much money to keep its

affiliation that the network refused because doing so would be unprofitable.[108] Once Univision

broke with WSNS, Telemundo seized the opportunity to acquire its own 24-hour station and

terminated its contract with WCIU.[109] This resulted in WCIU re-affiliating with Univision in

1989, doing so until 1995, at which point the station chose to end its 30-year run of Spanish-

language broadcasting in Chicago and become a general market broadcaster.[110]

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[106] Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, January 22, 2014. According to one of SICC's executives, SIN had sacrificed SICC's profits in order to ensure that the network and its investors, namely the Azcárraga family and Televisa, maintained control of—and greatly profited from—Spanish-language television in the United States. (Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, January 22, 2014.) The FCC determined that SIN's founder, Rene Anselmo, had manipulated the company in order to repay Televisa owners, the Azcárraga family, whose funding helped start the network. Peter W. Barnes, "Spanish-Language TV Faces Big Changes – Hispanics Fear Effect of Possible Station Sales," *Wall Street Journal*, April 24, 1986, 1. Charles Storch, "Hallmark to Acquire Univision Network," *Chicago Tribune,* November 20, 1987. Judy Hevrdejs, "TV Alternative—Fluent Spanish is not Required," *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1988.

[107] Charles Storch, "Hallmark to Acquire Univision Network," *Chicago Tribune,* November 20, 1987. Judy Hevrdejs, "TV Alternative—Fluent Spanish is not Required," *Chicago Tribune*, July 31, 1988.

[108] Antonion Zavate, "Univision Termina Contrato Con Canal 44," *Lawndale News*, October 16, 1988, 1.

[109] NetSpan officially became Telemundo in 1987. ("Telemundo Stakes its Future on Hispanic Audience," *Broadcasting*, August 10, 1987, 67.) Costanza Montana, "2 Hispanic Networks Hope Swap in Affiliates Makes Good Ratings," *Chicago Tribune*, February 13, 1989, C1. "Univision Una Realidad a Traves del Canal 26," *Momento*, 1989, 9.

[110] Fortunately for Univision, WGBO (channel 66) was willing to sell its station to the network, which it has owned since January, 1995. (Jim Benson, "Combined to Sell WGBO-TV to Univision Network*,"* Variety, January 10, 1994, accessed December 18, 2017, https://variety.com/1994/tv/news/combined-to-sell-wgbo-tv-to-univision-network-117269/. Tim Jones, "New Vision Likely for Channel 66," *Chicago Tribune*, March 14, 1994, e1.) Hallmark's purchase of SIN for $555 million and a later loss of an extra $50 million in 1989 left the network in debt and with a tarnished reputation, so Hallmark sold Univision to Televisa's A. Jerrold Perrenchio in 1992, restoring the company's original affiliation with Televisa, which was possible because of federal de-regulations that now allowed foreign ownership over media companies in the United States. (Steve Nidetz, "WCIU-CH. 26 Declares Its Independence," *Chicago Tribune*, January 1, 1995. Peter Zomaya, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, IL, January 22, 2014.)

Conclusion

In this chapter, I demonstrated that WCIU was the most Chicago of television stations because it adhered to a community-oriented commercial mandate that allowed it to promote itself as a local broadcaster with the unique ability to represent the city's ethnic and racial diversity. WCIU accomplished this by filling its schedule with ethnic, but most notably Latinx programming. WCIU's Latinx broadcasts represented a sense of Latinidad that was comprised of multiple mediated Latinities, which embodied WCIU's representational strategies and suggested a multimodal understanding of Latinx identity with various ways to signify Latinidad and, likewise, to identify as Latinx. These Latinities included an association with the south west, a hybridization of cultural productions, a development of a translocal geography, and the promotion of extranational forms of community development, which circumvented federal restrictions in order to foster Latinx cultural citizenship among the city's sanctioned and undocumented Latinx community.

This chapter also described the first two periods of the city's Latinx media industry, the dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-1986) and the decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996). I argue that during the first phase of Chicago's Latinx media history, which included what I call the golden age of the Chicago school of Latinx television (1964-1986), WCIU exemplified the early period of Latinx broadcasting in the city by oscillating between promoting the city's local Latinx community and developing a more general, international understanding of Latinidad. Doing so also demonstrated the idea that Latin American nationality superseded identification with a more general Latinx community, operating in one sense at a narrower scale of Latinx identity by privileging national identities while still being broad in demonstrating the diversity of Chicago's

Latinx population. By the second half of the station's history (1986-1996), WCIU exemplified the changes that accompanied the onset of the decade of the "Hispanic" as it swapped affiliations with both Univision and Telemundo. This historical shift was marked by increased investment in Latinx television production, which resulted in a widespread proliferation of Latinx representation in popular media. At the local level, this historical shift was represented by the Spanish TV wars, in which Univision and Telemundo vied for dominance in the nascent but lucrative market of Latinx television. As the program *Ayuda* demonstrated, this decade also saw a shift in conceptions of Latinidad, where a more generalized sense of Latinx identity gained prominence in U.S. political discourse.

In the following chapter, I will continue my exploration of Chicago's Latinx mediascape by detailing the history of the micro-broadcasting radio stations WCYC and WRTE, which spans the entirety of the city's Latinx media industry history. I will show that each station had a restricted transmission range that narrowed the scope of their address to the neighborhood level, offering a unique perspective from which to gauge the city's Latinx mediascape and the relationship between scale and the representation of Latinidad.

CHAPTER TWO

With Concern for Youth and Community:
Representing Little Village and Pilsen on WCYC and WRTE

On November 11, 1921, the renowned Scottish opera singer and then-general director of

the Chicago Grand Opera Company, Mary Garden, delivered the city's first radio broadcast from

the station KYW.[1] As one writer from the *Chicago Tribune* put it, the broadcast had "extended

the scope of the Chicago Grand Opera Company 1,500 miles north, east, south, and west."[2] The

language used here demonstrates that even in the early years of radio broadcasting in Chicago,

radio provided local listeners with a way to imagine the city. One of the city's earliest and most

popular radio programs, *Amos 'n' Andy,* contributed to that imagination by conveying ideas about

the ethnic and racial makeup of certain sections of the city, which in turn informed how people

were to perceive the urban populations residing within them.

Amos 'n' Andy featured two African-American characters and detailed their adventures as

newcomers to Chicago. The program reflected the racial segregation of Chicago's neighborhoods

in the 1920s by situating the characters in the city's Black Belt (located along State between 22nd

and 31st street), which Jacqueline Najuma Stewart calls "a segregated 'Black Metropolis' where

African-American entrepreneurship, entertainment culture, and political activity thrived in the

face of hostile 'native' and ethnic white resistance to Black insurgence and racial integration."[3]

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[1] "Special Feature: Radio at 40," *Broadcasting*, May 14, 1962, 82. Rich Samuels, "It All Began with An Oath and an Opera," *Chicago Tribune*, November 8, 1993. "Opera Carries 1,500 Miles by Radio Phones," *Chicago Tribune*, November 12, 1921, 13.

[2] The following day, *Chicago Tribune* reported that Garden instead announced, "This is station K.Y.W., Chicago." "Opera Carries 1,500 Miles by Radio Phones," *Chicago Tribune*, November 12, 1921, 13.

[3] *Amos 'N' Andy* was first known as *Sam 'N' Henry.* I will refer to the show as *Amos 'N' Andy* to create continuity between the show's initial broadcasts and later popularity as *Amos 'N' Andy,* Jacqueline Najuma Stewart, *Migrating to the Movies: Cinema and Black Urban Modernity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California

According to one of the program's critics, *Amos 'n' Andy* continued the work of a "movement of segregation and aversion to the black man [that was] shrewdly and sinisterly carried out by…the powerful communicating annals of radio."[4] In other words, *Amos 'n' Andy* fostered a local understanding of the Black Belt as a racialized space, which reinforced Chicago's history of ethnic and racial segregation and likewise promoted a particular understanding of African-American identity.[5] These early examples of local broadcasting demonstrate an intricate relationship between radio, space, and ethnic and race identity, raising the question, to what extent was this also the case among Chicago's Latinx radio stations?

As part of a larger media ecology of Chicago's Latinx mediascape, this chapter details the history of the low-power FM station WCYC, which later became WRTE, in order to describe the station's historical representation of Latinidad. This chapter focuses on the scalar level of the neighborhood, shifting from the citywide and international views that were used in the previous chapter to offer insight into Chicago's Latinx media industry from another perspective. As I did with WCIU, I will describe the history of Chicago's Latinx media industry by tracing the changes that took place at WCYC and WRTE and their surrounding communities between 1960 and 2012. I argue that the stations' representational strategies allowed their broadcasts to reflect the social changes taking place in their surrounding neighborhoods, Little Village and Pilsen, because the stations both had a restricted transmission range that narrowed the scope of its address to its neighborhood community, becoming a platform for at first Little Village's and later Pilsen's Latinx youths to express their own understanding of Latinidad and establish a sense of

Press, 2005), 9.

[4] Bishop W. J. Walls, "What about Amos 'n' Andy?" *Abbott's Monthly* 1, no. 3 (1930): 40-72.

[5] Derek W. Vaillant, "Sounds of Whiteness: Local Radio, Racial Formation, and Public Culture in Chicago, 1921-1935," *American Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2002): 25.

space.

Spanning between 1960 and 2012, this chapter traces the station's history across the entirety of the city's Latinx media history, focusing specifically on the dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-1986), the decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996), and the intermedial turn, (1996-2006). As I will show, each historical shift resulted in major changes in how the station related to its surrounding neighborhood, offering insight into the changing character of the city's Latinx mediascape. Likewise, the stations' histories are representative of the changing scales of Latinx community in the United States, moving from a fractured Latin American population to one articulated as a generalized Latinx community, which eventually matured into a hybrid cultural formation that was predicated upon a shared structure of feeling.

As a radio history, this chapter engages with Michele Hilmes, Susan J. Douglas, Alexander Russo, Melvin Patrick Ely, Kathy M. Newman, and Jonathan Sterne, all of whom have approached the history of radio through a cultural studies lens.[6] For these scholars, U.S. radio history has consisted of a negotiation between competing economic, political, and social imperatives, which ultimately have given shape to a radio landscape that prioritizes commercial stations while marginalizing local, more community-based broadcasters, but nevertheless stills gives insight into U.S. society and culture. Scholars such as Norman W. Spaulding, Lizabeth Cohen, Derek W. Vaillant, and Jennifer Searcy have adapted this cultural studies approach to their study of radio production in Chicago to raise more specific questions about the historical

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[6] Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination: From Amos 'N' Andy and Edward R. Murrow to Wolfman Jack and Howard Stern* (New York: Times Books, 1999). Kathy Newman, "The Forgotten Fifteen Million," in *Communities of the Air: Radio Century, Radio Culture*, ed. Susan Merrill Squier (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003). Susan Merrill Squier, *Communities of the Air: Radio Century, Radio Culture* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003). Alexander Russo, *Points on the Dial: Golden Age Radio Beyond the Networks* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010). Melvin Patrick Ely, *The Adventures of Amos 'n' Andy: A Social History of an American Phenomenon* (Free Press, 1992). Michele Hilmes, *Radio Voices: American Broadcasting, 1922 – 1952* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997). Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003),

representation of race and ethnicity.[7] This chapter builds on such histories of radio to explain

how WCYC and WRTE reflected the cultural shifts that were taking place both in their

surrounding neighborhoods and among Chicago's Latinx youths during the second half of the

20th century. However, this chapter differs from these previous histories of radio in Chicago in

that it (1) highlights low-power broadcasting, and (2) it investigates the relationship between

radio and space.

As scholars like Robert W. McChesney, Douglas B. Craig, Bruce Campbell, Jonathan

Streeter, Patricia Aufderheide, and Susan Smulyn have shown, radio has been a heavily

contested medium, both in terms of its commercial uses and its federal regulation and oversight,

which has resulted in major restrictions on independent radio production.[8] Such limitations, in

turn, have obscured the contributions of independent and regional broadcasters to radio history,

particularly in the case of low-power stations, which according to Zachary Joseph Stiegler, are

the only broadcasters with "the potential to [deliver] locally oriented, noncommercial radio

service."[9]

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[7] Norman W. Spaulding, "History of Black Oriented Radio in Chicago 1929 – 1963" (PhD, diss. University of Illinois, 1981). Lizabeth Cohen, "Encountering Mass Culture at the Grassroots: The Experience of Chicago Workers in the 1920s," *American Quarterly* 41, no. 1 (1989). Derek W. Vaillant, "Sounds of Whiteness: Local Radio, Racial Formation, and Public Culture in Chicago, 1921-1935," *American Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2002). Jennifer Searcy, "The Voice of the Negro: African American Radio, WVON, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Chicago" (PhD diss., Loyola University Chicago, 2013).

[8] Robert W. McChesney, *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928-1935* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993). Douglas B. Craig, *Fireside Politics: Radio and Political Culture in the United States, 1920 – 1940* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000). Bruce Campbell, "Compromising Technologies: Government, the Radio Hobby, and the Discourse of Catastrophe in the Twentieth Century," in *Communities of the Air: Radio Century, Radio Culture*, ed. Susan Merrill Squier (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003). Jonathan Streeter, *Selling the Air: A Critique of the Policy of Commercial Broadcasting in the United States* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1996). Susan Smulyan, *Selling Radio: The Commercialization of American Broadcasting* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994). Patricia Aufderheide, *Communications Policy and the Public Interest*: *The Telecommunications Act of 1996* (New York and London: The Guilford Press, 1999).

[9] Zachary Joseph Stiegler, "The Policy and Practice of Community Radio – Localism Versus Nationalism in US Broadcasting" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2009), 35.

Intending to remedy this issue, radio scholars such as Kevin Howley, Christina Dunbar-

Hester, and Keith Brand turn their attention to low-power, community stations.[10] Their

scholarship sheds light on the work of independent broadcasters and their engagement with local

communities, creating a general understanding of low-power broadcasting as a tool for

engendering group solidarity and distributing political power. This chapter continues in this vein,

but instead of focusing on local politics, it instead analyses how the station's historical shifts

exemplified Little Village's changing social demographics and signaled a growth in the area's

Latinx population, which historically has been one of the city's most marginalized groups. In

other words, this chapter is most interested in WCYC's social rather than its political history.

As such, this chapter analyses the social/spatial dynamics of radio and thus incorporates

insights from scholars like Kristie A. Dorr, Emily Thompson, Susan J. Smith, and R. Murray

Schafer, who all explore the cultural dimensions of radio broadcasting but from a spatial

perspective.[11] Lucas Bessire and Daniel Fisher's idea of "radio fields" typifies this scholarship

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[10] Kevin Howley, *Community Media: People, Places, and Communication Technologies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005). Christina Dunbar-Hester, "What's Local? Localism as a Discursive Boundary Object in Low-Power Radio Policymaking," *Communication, Culture & Critique* 6, no. 4 (2013). Keith Brand, "The Rebirth of Lowerpower FM Broadcasting in the US," *Journal of Radio Studies* 11, no. 2 (2004). Paul Riismandel ,"Radio by and for the public: the death and resurrection of low-power radio," in *Radio Reader: Essay in the Cultural History of Radio,* eds. Michele Hilmes and Jason Loviglio (New York and London: Routledge, 2002). Zachary Joseph Stiegler, "The Policy and Practice of Community Radio – Localism Versus Nationalism in US Broadcasting" (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2009). Alan G. Statvitskey, Robert K. Avery, and Helena Vanhala, "From Class D to LPFM – The High-Powered Politics of Low-Power Radio," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 78, no. 2 (2001). Kevin Howley, "Radiocracy Rulz! Microradio as Electronic Activism," *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 3, no. 2 (2000). Peter Brinson, "Liberation Frequency: The Free Radio Movement and Alternative Strategies of Media Relations," *Sociological Quarterly* 47, no. 4 (2006). William Barlow, "Community Radio in the US: The Struggle for a Democratic Medium," *Media, Culture & Society* 10, no. 1 (1988). James Hamilton, "Rationalizing Dissent? Challenging Conditions of Low-power FM radio," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 21, no. 1 (2004). Nina Huntemann, "Corporate Interference: The Commercialization and Concentration of Radio Post the 1996 Telecommunications Act," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 23, no. 4 (1999).

[11] R. Murray Schafer, *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1977). Barry Traux, *Acoustic Communication* (Westport, CT: Ablex, 1984). Emily Thompson, *The Soundscape of Modernity: Architectural Acoustics and the Culture of Listening in America, 1900-1933* (Cambridge and London: The MIT Press, 2002). Susan J. Smith, "Performing the (Sound)World," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18 (2000). Lucas Bessire and Daniel Fisher, "Introduction: Radio Fields," in *Radio Fields: Anthropology and Wireless Sound in the 21st Century,* ed. Lucas Bessire and Daniel Fisher (New York and London:

by describing a "complex intersection of radio technology and social relations" that organizes "social life and knowledge of it."[12] Brandon LaBelle's notion of "acoustic territories" likewise explores the "topography of auditory life through a spatial structure," in turn engaging with sound studies scholarship in order to investigate how sound contributes to identity formation.[13] For Kate Lacey, this understanding of sound creates what she calls "listening publics," where audiences both "listen in," as described by Susan J. Douglas, while also being attentive and "listening out" for calls to action.[14] As Lacey suggests, this act of mutual listening allows for the constitution of communities and social publics, which are linked not only through a shared consumption of radio programming but also by way of access to broadcasts that are located within a specific geographic location. Lacey's interest in sound represents a branch of media research, exemplified by scholarship from Michel Chion, Jacob Smith, Mary Ann Doane, and Rick Altman, which not only questions the centrality of vision in media research but also analyzes sonic spaces in terms of both their physical geographies as well as the imagined/psychological spaces that they produce.[15] Such work is similar to that of scholarship by

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New York University Press, 2012). Kate Lacey, *Listening Publics: The Politics and Experience of Listening in the Media Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013). Brandon LaBelle, *Acoustic Territories – Sound Culture and Everyday Life* (New York and London: Continuum, 2010). Brandon LaBelle, *Background Noise: Perspectives on Sound Art* (London: Continuum, 2006). Kirstie A. Dorr, *On Site, in Sound: Performance Geographies in América Latina* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018).

[12] Lucas Bessire and Daniel Fisher, "Introduction: Radio Fields," in *Radio Fields: Anthropology and Wireless Sound in the 21st Century,* eds. Lucas Bessire and Daniel Fisher (New York and London: New York University Press, 2012), 4.

[13] Brandon LaBelle, *Acoustic Territories – Sound Culture and Everyday Life* (New York and London: Continuum, 2010), XX.

[14] Kate Lacey, *Listening Publics: The Politics and Experience of Listening in the Media Age* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013). Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination* (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

[15] Steven Connor, "Edison's Teeth: Touching Hearing," in *Hearing Cultures: Essays on Sound, Listening, and Modernity*, ed. Viet Erlmann (Oxford: Berg, 2004). Kaja Silverman, *The Acoustic Mirror: The Female Voice in Psychoanalysis and Cinema* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988). Mary Ann Doane, "The Voice in the Cinema: The Articulation of Body and Space," *Yale French Studies* 60 (1980). Michel Chion, *The Voice in Cinema* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999). Jacob Smith, *Vocal Tracks: Performance and Sound Media*

Dick Hebdige, George Lipsitz, and Josh Kun, who question the ways in which a convergence of

sound and space engender identity formation.[16]

According to Kun, "audiospatiality involves the production of identities in sound."[17] In

other words, identities emerge at the intersection of space and sound. Kun explores this idea by

describing the U.S.-Mexico border as sonic space serves to reinforce nationalist ideals through

"sonic practices."[18] According to Kun, U.S.-Mexico border is an "aural border," existing as a

"bi-national territory of sonic performance and listening" where "the production of space is

likewise contingent upon the production of cultural texts."[19] Likewise, Lacey describes such sites

as "spaces of listening," where publics form and a sense of community is engendered out of a

shared "responsibility to listen" between those producing sounds and those listening to them.[20] I

incorporate these views of sound, space, and the formation of group identity in my discussion of

WCYC's Latinx broadcasts, which signified the changing demographics of Little Village during

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(Berkeley Los Angeles London: University of California Press, 2008). Rick Altman, *Sound Theory, Sound Practice* (London: Routledge, 1992). Neil Verma, *Theater of the Mind: Imagination, Aesthetics and American Radio Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012),

[16] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Methuen, 1979), Simon Frith, *"*Music and Identity,*"* in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, eds. Stuart Hall and Paul du Gay (London and Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996), Martin Stokes, *Ethnicity, Identity, ad Music: The Musical Construction of Place* (Oxford and Providence: Berg, 1994). John Connell and Chris Gibson, *Sound Tracks: Popular Music, Identity, and Place* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003). George Lipsitz, "Cruising around the Historical Bloc: Postmodernism and Popular Music in East Los Angeles," *Cultural Critique* 5 (1986-1987). Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005). Anthony Macías, *Mexican American Mojo: Popular Music, Dance, and Urban Culture in Los Angeles, 1935 – 1968* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2008).

[17] Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005), 22.

[18] Josh Kun, "Playing the Fence, Listening to the Line: Sound, Sound Art, and Acoustic Politics at the US-Mexico Border," in *Performance in the Borderlands,* eds. Ramón H. Rivera-Servera and Harvey Young (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, GBR: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2011), 22.

[19] Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2005), 188. Josh Kun, "Playing the Fence, Listening to the Line: Sound, Sound Art, and Acoustic Politics at the US-Mexico Border," in *Performance in the Borderlands,* eds. Ramón H. Rivera-Servera and Harvey Young (Houndsmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, GBR: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2011), 34.

[20] Kate Lacey, *Listening Publics: The Politics and Experience of Listening in the Media Age* (Cambridge: Polity, 2013), 168.

the 1980s.

As a history of Latinx radio, this chapter builds on the work of scholars like Catherine J. K. Sandoval, Jorge Reina Schement, Mari Castañeda Paredes, and América Rodríguez, who focus their histories on large scale radio production.[21] In contrast to this scholarship, work by Tony DeMars, Monica de la Torre, Sonia de la Cruz, Dolores Inés Casillas, and Vicki Mayer focus on regional producers, often analyzing community radio stations in order to describe local expressions of Latinx culture.[22] Unlike those focused on major radio broadcasters, these histories of local radio often bring to light the lack of a complete historical record and the dearth of archival material about Latinx media production. For instance, De la Torre's study of 1970s Chicana broadcasters investigates a key moment in U.S. media history when there was greater push to democratize radio production and provide access to historically marginalized communities, but she notes that there was a lack of archival material, which motivated her to continue her work to recover an otherwise overlooked record of Latinx media production.[23] As a study of a micro-broadcasting station, this chapter on WCYC and WRTE engages with such research and likewise aims to fill a lacuna in the study of radio by contributing a history of a

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[21] Mari Castañeda Paredes, "The Transformation of Spanish-Language Radio in the U.S.," *Journal of Radio Studies* 10, no. 1 (2003). Dolores Inés Casillas, *Sounds of Belonging: U.S. Spanish-language Radio and Public Advocacy* (New York: New York University Press, 2014). Catherine J. K. Sandoval, "Antitrust Law on the Borderland of Language and Market Definition: Is there a Separate Spanish-language Radio Market? A Case Study of the Merger of Univision and Hispanic Broadcasting Corporation," *University of San Francisco Law Review* 40, no. 2 (2006). Jorge Reina Schement and Félix F. Gutiérrez, *Spanish-Language Radio in the Southwestern United States* (Austin: University of Texas, 1979). América Rodríguez, "Creating an Audience and Remapping a Nation: A Brief History of US Spanish Language Broadcasting 1930-1980," *Quarterly Review of Film and Video* 16, no. 3 (1999).

[22] Vicki Mayer, "From Segmented to Fragmented: Latino Media in San Antonio, Texas," *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly* 78, no. 2 (2001). Sonia de la Cruz, "Latino Airwaves: Radio Bilingüe and Spanish-Language Public Radio," *Journal of Radio & Audio Media* 24, no. 2 (2017). Monica de la Torre, "Programas Sin Vergüenza (Shameless Programs): Mapping Chicanas in Community Radio in the 1970s," *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (2015). Tony DeMars, "Buying Time to start Spanish-Language radio in San Antonio: Manuel Davila and the beginning of Tejano Programming," *Journal of Radio Studies* 12, no. 1 (2005).

[23] Monica de la Torre, "Programas Sin Vergüenza (Shameless Programs): Mapping Chicanas in Community Radio in the 1970s," *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (2015).

community broadcaster from Chicago, a city which has generally been underrepresented in Latinx radio scholarship despite the fact that its residents have had access to locally produced Spanish-language programming since the dawn of commercial broadcasting in the United States.

Early Spanish-Language Radio in Chicago, 1920-1957

Radio listeners in Chicago have had access to Spanish-language programming since the 1920s.[24] These early broadcasts mostly consisted of Spanish instruction and discussion on Latin American culture. For instance, audiences tuning into WGN in 1926 would have been privy to a weekly Spanish lesson from DePaul University Professor Angel A. Braschel.[25] Beyond language instruction, multiple programs, such as WHFC's "Rhumba rhythms," WAAF's "South American Way," and WMAQ's "Sweet and Spanish," regaled listeners with a Latin American soundscape that included music and international news. However, these broadcasts were rarely, if ever, produced by U.S.-American Latinxs.[26] Moreover, their focus on Latin America typified the scale of Latinx identity that was to characterize the dawn of Latinx broadcasting in Chicago, whose media producers were to privilege Latin America in their representations of Latinidad.

Despite Spanish-language radio broadcasts being available to Chicago audiences as early as the 1920s, it was not until the 1950s that independent Latinx broadcasters started purchasing blocks of air time, known as brokered programming, to produce their own shows. For example, one of the city's most notable Latinx radio pioneers, José E. Chapa, introduced Latinx

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[24] See Jorge Reina Schement and Ricardo Flores, "The Origins of Spanish-Language Radio: The Case of San Antonio, Texas," *Journalism History* 4:2 (1977): 56 – 61, and Dolores Ines Casillas, "Sounds of Belonging: A Cultural History of Spanish-Language Radio in the United States, 1992 – 2004" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2006), 20.

[25] "Radio Programs for Today," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 9, 1926, 39.

[26] "Today's Radio Broadcasts," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, November 25, 1940. It is unclear if any of these programs were produced by Latinxs living in Chicago, but their titles do not explicitly invoke a local Latinx audience.

broadcasting to Chicago with his daily program on WSBC, "Serenata Matutina," which first aired in September of 1953.[27] A former newspaper reporter from Mexico, Chapa adapted his skills as a journalist to radio, providing local listeners with news updates from Latin America, using "short-wave radio, foreign newspapers, and Spanish newswire services to put together reports."[28] By 1957, Chapa had acquired enough notoriety among listeners and advertisers that WSBC offered him a daily time slot at six o'clock in the morning, during which he would typically start his broadcast with the sound of a crowing rooster, earning him the nickname "El Gallito."[29]

Chapa's broadcasts were among the first Latinx media productions in Chicago, and like WCIU's broadcasts during the 1960s and 1970s, Latin America took center stage as the primary source of Latinidad. WCYC's and WRTE's Latinx broadcasts after the 1980s would differ from both Chapa's and WCIU's in that they adopted a narrower scope of address and thus scale-shifted not only to a narrower scale of identity as they honed in on a Latinx audience but also to a neighborhood level by promoting the community mandate of the station's parent organization, the Chicago Boys' Club (CBC).

Radio and The Lawndale Boys Club, 1939 - 1968

As part of the Little Village Boys and Girls Club, WCYC's industry mandate was informed by the Chicago Boys' Club's (CBC) mission to support local youth.[30] As such, in order

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[27] Eric Zorn, "Radio's 'Rooster' still crowing after 30 years," *Chicago Tribune*, December 2, 1987, *A1.*

[28] Eric Zorn, "Radio's 'Rooster' still crowing after 30 years," *Chicago Tribune*, December 2, 1987, *A1.*

[29] "Acción Rápida," *Chicago Tribune*, June 21, 1973, N_A2. Eric Zorn, "Only One-Full Time Station: A Growing Need for Spanish Radio," *Chicago Tribune*, March 26, 1984, E1.

[30] The Little Village Boys and Girls Club origin originally went by the name the Lawndale Chicago Boys' Club (LBC).

to fully describe WCYC's history, it is necessary to first discuss the earlier radio activity of the CBC. In the following history of the CBC's early radio initiatives, I will describe how the organization expressed its mission through the use of radio, which established a foundation for WCYC's representational strategies.

The Chicago Boys' Club, the local charter of the Boys Club of America, opened its Lawndale branch in 1918.[31] The LBC was just one among many branches of the CBC, whose original mission was to provide "free baths, meals, and lodging to Loop newsboys."[32] Twenty years after having established the LBC, the CBC now offered local youths more than just the bare essentials, they also fostered the "interests of the boy," especially in the field of electronics, in order to introduce a potential career path for boys to later embark upon.[33] For example, the organization collaborated with the local broadcaster WBBM to host an annual "Boys Radio Guild Competition," the first of which took place in 1939.[34]

The competition was intended to stimulate interest in "dramatics and radio work" with the hope that youths would "discover within themselves avocational and vocational talents and abilities."[35] The competition proved to be a popular one the following year in 1940, with 1,400 boys joining the competition, representing fourteen Boys' clubs and twenty-seven elementary and high schools.[36] Through the competition, the CBC exemplified its mission to encourage

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[31] Frank S. Magallon, *Chicago's Little Village: Lawndale-Crawford* (Chicago: Arcadia Publishing, 2010), 105. The organization was renamed the Boys and Girls Club of America in 1990.

[32] Joan Pinkerton, "Doors Open to Girls," *Chicago Tribune,* April 20, 1967, F3.

[33] Letter from Mr. Hurdson, "Chicago Boys Clubs," August 4, 1941, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

[34] "Objectives" in "Radio Guild Competition Report," 1940, CBC 111-11, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

[35] "Objectives" in "Radio Guild Competition Report," 1940, CBC 111-11, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

[36] "Winners" in "Radio Guild Competition Report," 1940, CBC 111-11, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records

youths to pursue vocational training, but in the process, the organization also reinforced ideas about gender.

According to Susan J. Douglas, "tinkering with radio (like tinkering with cars) was one way for some boys and men to manage, and even master, the emerging contradictions about masculinity in America" during the inter-war period in the United States, and as Julia Grant notes, this was not just located to the realm of technology but rather was a broader cultural phenomenon, which the CBC represented by conveying a "message of muscular Christianity" to its club members.[37] The organization did this in two ways: it focused its attention on boys, and it promoted a particular kind of masculinity by using words like "sissy" in order to "negatively characterize boys who did not exhibit the masculine qualities" associated with a "real boy."[38] This understanding of masculinity was highlighted during the second year of the Radio Guild Competition, when an all-star team consisting of the competition's junior winners, including members of the LBC, was invited to perform a scripted radio drama titled "Who's a Sissy?," which was to be transmitted from WBBM on June 15, 1940.[39] Although this skit was performed nearly thirty years before WCYC first went on the air, its underlying beliefs about gender were still informing the station's policies about female club members up until the 1980s, which I will discuss in more detail later in this chapter.

Although it was less evident in the competition, the CBC's focus on youth typified a

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[manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

[37] Susan J. Douglas, *Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 68. Julia Grant, *The Boy Problem: Educating Boys in Urban America, 1870 – 1970* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 54.

[38] Julia Grant, *The Boy Problem: Educating Boys in Urban America, 1870 – 1970* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014), 54.

[39] "Objectives" in "Radio Guild Competition Report," 1940, CBC 111-11, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

more general concern among Chicago's residents over juvenile delinquency, specifically as it related to neighborhood communities. Just a few years earlier in 1937, interest in youth crime reached its pinnacle in the city when University of Chicago criminology professors Ernest Burgess, Joseph Lohnman, and Clifford Shaw initiated the "Chicago Area Project."[40] The program aimed to "discover by actual demonstration and measurement a procedure for the treatment of delinquents and the prevention of delinquency" with "the fullest possible neighborhood participation."[41] The project's most influential approach was that it scaled down to the level of the neighborhood in order to promote the "welfare of children and the social and physical improvement of the community as a whole" in order to reduce "delinquency and other related problems."[42] In other words, Burgess et al. initiated a scale-making project that scoped to the level of the neighborhood in order to place the responsibility of supporting local youths on individual communities.

The CBC expressed a similar concern over juvenile delinquency, especially in its fund-raising efforts, during which the organization attempted to "garner support by hinting that its clients were potential muggers and gangsters," which proved to be an effective strategy because its "neighborhood-centered projects" and "neighborhood approach to juvenile delinquency" helped it secure a Ford Foundation grant in 1957.[43] The CBC not only echoed the general

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[40] Ernest Burgess, Joseph Lohman, and Clifford Shaw, "The Chicago Area Project," in *Yearbook*, (New York: National Probation Association, 1937).

[41] Ernest Burgess, Joseph Lohman, and Clifford Shaw, "The Chicago Area Project," in *Yearbook*, (New York: National Probation Association, 1937), 8.

[42] Ernest Burgess, Joseph Lohman, and Clifford Shaw, "The Chicago Area Project," in *Yearbook*, (New York: National Probation Association, 1937), 8-10.

[43] Peter C. Baldwin, *In the Watches of the Night: Life in the Nocturnal City, 1820 – 1930* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 186. David R. Hunter, "A Neighborhood Approach to Juvenile Delinquency," 1957, pages 1-3, Near West Side Community Committee, Series I, Box 11, Folder 161, University of Illinois Archives, Chicago, Illinois.

philosophy of the Chicago Area Project, but it also adopted a similar scale of proximity by

declaring its intention of shaping boys not only for their "own good" but also "that of the

neighborhood," which the CBC's local branch in Lawndale aimed to

accomplish this by providing local youths with an opportunity to learn

about radio broadcasting.[44]

Figure 3.1

Harold Kopta, the LBC's long-time director, was the central

figure behind the branch's amateur radio program. A ham radio hobbyist in his own right, Kopta

decided to begin train LBC members in radio broadcasting in

part because the cost of equipment had fallen to "within financial

reach of the average hobbyist" after the end of World War II.[45]

Kopta's amateur radio program was so successful in attracting

members that the branch saw fit to acquire a license from the

Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to start its own

ham radio station, K9YHB ("Young Healthy Boys"), in 1960.[46]

Figure 3.2

During the program's "8 to 10-week course," LBC members learned about the multiple

aspects of radio production.[47] For one, they obtained a fundamental understanding of radio

engineering by handling the station's five international transmitters, wireless teletype,

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[44] "Special Programs," *The Chicago Boys Clubs Quarterly Review* 1, no.3 (1957): 11, Near West Side Community Committee, Series I, Box 11, Folder 161, University of Illinois Archives, Chicago, Illinois.

[45] "Radios Link Soldiers with Home" *Chicago Tribune* February 4, 1968, W2. For more on Ham radio history, see Kristen Haring, *Ham Radio's Technical Culture* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2007), 25.

[46] "Amateur Radio," Lawndale Chicago Boys Club, CBC 164-17, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

[47] "Club has Class for Radio Hams," *Chicago Tribune*, January 26, 1969, W8.

transmission receiver, and antenna.[48] Secondly, students practiced the art of radio broadcasting by reading commercials, acting as disk jockeys, conducting interviews, and sending and receiving Morse code, all of which helped over one hundred and fifty members, "and some fathers," to acquire licenses as Radio Operators from the FCC.[49]

By broadcasting on K9YHB, club members adhered to what Douglas describes as "another model for how radio might be used," namely as the residual media practice of DXing, "trying to tune in as many faraway stations as possible."[50] For example, club members would send and receive QSL cards to either question or confirm the reception of one of their ham radio transmissions.[51] By distributing and receiving these cards, which at one point were printed by the well-known local DXer George Vesely, who went by the call-sign W9SKR, club members were using radio as a long-distance communications medium rather than as strictly a commercial platform, which had become the more dominant model of U.S. radio broadcasting after the Communications Act of
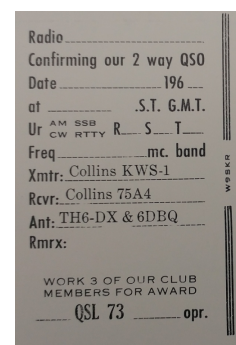

Figure 3.3

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[48] The station's equipment information was acquired from a K9YHB QSL Card, which was used to document sent and received radio transmissions. (K9YHB, QSL Card, Chicago History Museum, CBC 164-17). "Amateur Radio," Lawndale Chicago Boys Club, CBC 164-17, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois. "Lawndale Boy's Club to Operate Own FM Station," *Chicago Tribune,* September 25, 1969, W3. "WCYC Boasts of 250, 000 Listeners," *Little Village Community Reporter*, October 30, 1977, 23.

[49] "Amateur Radio," Lawndale Chicago Boys Club, CBC 164-17, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois. "Club has Class for Radio Hams," *Chicago Tribune*, January 26, 1969, W8.

[50] Susan J. Douglas*, Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 328. Susan J. Douglas*, Listening In: Radio and the American Imagination* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 57.

[51] For more on QSL cards, see Timothy D. Taylor, "Radio," in *Music, Sound, and Technology in American: A Documentary History of Early Phonograph, Cinema, and Radio,* eds. Timothy D. Taylor, Mark Katz, and Tony Grajeda (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2012), 240.

1934 ended any "opportunity for legitimate opposition to commercial broadcasting."[52] Despite this interest in DXing, the LBC's amateur radio program also embraced commercial broadcasting, which was in line with the CBC's greater mission of offering local youths access to vocational training.

In the mid-1960s, the LBC re-designed its curriculum to include lessons on commercial broadcasting because a number of students had expressed an interest in learning more about that form of radio production. To provide club members with "an orderly and progressive opportunity" to gain experience in commercial broadcasting, the LBC approached the CBC in 1967 to ask that an "Educational FM station be built and operated by youth."[53] The CBC agreed, and just two years later in October 1969, the LBC received a class D educational license from the FCC to broadcast on the radio frequency FM 88.7.[54] The station had 10 watts of power, which limited its transmission range to a theoretical five-mile radius, which in practice was far less because of outside sources of interference.[55] Having acquired an FM license, the LBC renamed K9YHB to WCYC, which stood for "With Concern for Youth and Community" and summed up

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[52] K9YHB, QSL Card, CBC 164-17, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.George Veseley is listed as a local QSL printer in *SB*. The S9 Reader Service Staff, "The S9 Guide to QSL Printers," *S9: The Citizens Band Journal* 3, no. 4 (1963): 13. Robert W. McChesney, *Telecommunications, Mass Media, and Democracy: The Battle for the Control of U.S. Broadcasting, 1928 – 1935* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993),3.

[53] "Amateur Radio," Lawndale Chicago Boys Club, CBC 164-17, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois. Letter to Amos J. Coffman, Jr, June 13, 1967, CBC 164-18, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

[54] "Lawndale Boys' Club Ready for Broadcasting," *Chicago Tribune,* June 26, 1969, W2. "Club has Class for Radio Hams," *Chicago Tribune*, January 26, 1969, W8. "Radio Link Soldiers with Home," *Chicago Tribune*, February 4, 1968, W2.

[55] "Lawndale Boys' Club Ready for Broadcasting," *Chicago Tribune,* June 26, 1969, W2. "Club has Class for Radio Hams," *Chicago Tribune*, January 26, 1969, W8. "Radio Link Soldiers with Home," *Chicago Tribune*, February 4, 1968, W2.

the CBC's overall mandate.[56]

More than just denoting the station's switch to FM broadcasting, WCYC's call-letters not only represented the scale at which it oriented its outreach initiatives but also the CBC's overall mission. By helping to get "kids off the street" and giving them opportunities to succeed, the station echoed the sentiments of the Chicago Area Project in its production practices; a goal that was also expressed in its programming, which included "positive mental attitude segments for youth."[57] Although the station's broadcasts also included musical broadcasts, such as *Happy Harold's Polka Hour*, such programming was more adult-centered and stands in contrast the station's later promotion of youth-oriented dance music, which I will discuss in greater detail later. From its very beginning, the station established a community mandate that configured its representational strategies: WCYC operated at a neighborhood level, had a restricted transmission range, and narrowed the scope of its address to a particular age-range and gender. That configuration would remain in place even as Little Village's demographics shifted during the 1970s, when its Latinx community became the dominant ethnic group in the area.

Changing South Lawndale: WCYC's Broadcasts between 1968 and 1984

Located at 2801 S. Ridgeway, WCYC reflected the demographic changes that were happening to the surrounding neighborhood in southern Lawndale between 1968 and 1980. Until 1968, Lawndale had been a working-class neighborhood with a large number of immigrant residents. Originally settled by Czech and Polish nationals who migrated to the area after the

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[56] "Lawndale Boys' Club to Operate Own FM Station," *Chicago Tribune*, September 25, 1969, W3.

[57] Debra Schwartz, "Radio: The Heart and Soul of Chicago," *Chicago Radio Guide*, May, 1985, 101. "Lawndale Boys' Club Ready for Broadcasting." *Chicago Tribune*, June 26, 1969, W2. "Lawndale Boys' Club to Operate Own FM Station," *Chicago Tribune*, September 25, 1969, W3. Maria Donato, "Hanging On: Teens are Making Waves—Radio Waves—at WCYC in the Heart of Gangland," *Chicago Tribune*, May 18, 1988, F4.

Great Chicago Fire of 1871, Lawndale's population had risen to 60,940 by 1960, with 94% of community members identifying as white Europeans.[58] Lawndale's demographics supported the CBC's claim that its boys' clubs were "located in areas which receive families moving into Chicago for the first time" (i.e., immigrant families).[59] However, just as WCYC was ready to go on the air, Lawndale's residents began to contest the area's geopolitical borders.

During the late 1960s, denizens of the southern portion of Lawndale began dissociating from the neighborhood's largely African-American northern half. One way they did this was by referring to their area as Little Village and South Lawndale, which Lillia Fernandez argues was in part a reaction to a *Life* magazine article that described northern Lawndale as "the worst ghetto in the country."[60] Although the South Lawndale Community Council (SLCC) claimed to have adopted Little Village as a way of highlighting the area's ethnic diversity, Fernandez argues that adopting the name was less "romantic" than they made it seem; changing the name allowed residents to distinguish the predominantly white, eastern European southern Lawndale from its northern half without citing race as the motivating factor.[61]

Likewise, the LBC also petitioned the CBC to change its name, but unlike the SLCC, it was more overt in citing race as its motivating factor. For example, in a memorandum to Fred C. Lickerman, the associate executive director of the Chicago Boys' Clubs, Kopta requested that the

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[58] Arthur Siddon, "South Lawndale Ponders Name Change: 'Little Village' Offered to Give 'Old World' Atmosphere to Area," *Chicago Tribune*, June 14, 1964, W1. Evelyn M. Kitagawa and Karl E. Taeuber, *Local Community Fact Book: Chicago Metropolitan Area* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1963), 75.

[59] "President's Message," *The Chicago Boys Clubs Quarterly Review* 1, no.3 (1957): 2, Near West Side Community Committee, Series I, Box 11, Folder 161, University of Illinois Archives, Chicago, Illinois.

[60] Lilia Fernandez, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012), 219.

[61] Arthur Siddon, "South Lawndale Ponders Name Change: 'Little Village' Offered to Give 'Old World' Atmosphere to Area," *Chicago Tribune*, June 14, 1964, W1. Lilia Fernandez, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2012), 219.

LBC change its name to the "Little Village Chicago Boys' Club" because "two sub-Lawndales" had emerged at the time of his writing in February 1965: North Lawndale, which Kopta described as "predominantly Negro," and Little Village, which he called "predominantly White."[62] In the memo, Kopta draws a relationship between race and social class by claiming that southern Lawndale had officially changed its name to Little Village in order to "avoid the constant association with North Lawndale in the matter of city-wide, and nation-wide notoriety...[for being] the worst slum area in the land."[63] From this memo, we can see a narrowing of the LBC's scope of address to white youths, which was a direct reflection of Lawndale's social demographics at the time. However, as Little Village's local population began to shift in the 1970s, WCYC's adherence to its community mandate motivated a re-consideration of the station's sense of identity.

Between the 1970s and 1980s, Little Village experienced what Eric Avila might describe as the great "white flight" of Little Village's white, Eastern European residents, who left the neighborhood when large numbers of Latinxs relocated there after the University of Illinois in Chicago extended its campus into the Near West Side and displaced many of the area's residents.[64] Little Village had undergone such a dramatic shift in demographics that the *Chicago Tribune* mistakenly attributed the name change to an "influx of Spanish-Speaking residents,"

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[62] Harold R. Kopta, "Memorandum to Fred C. Lickerman," February 5, 1965, CBC 153-6, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

[63] Harold R. Kopta, "Memorandum to Fred C. Lickerman," February 5, 1965, CBC 153-6, Chicago Boys and Girls Club records [manuscript], 1901-1969, bulk 1940-1967, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

[64] Eric Avila, "*Popular Culture in the Age of White Flight: Fear and Fantasy in Suburban Los Angeles* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2004). For more on Latinxs in Chicago, see Lilia Fernández, *Brown in the Windy City: Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in Postwar Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014); Gabriela F. Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago: Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916-39* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2008).

instead of serving to dissociate Little Village's white residents from northern Lawndale's

African-American community.[65] Nevertheless, WCYC's staff, now increasingly Latinx, reflected

"the changing nature" of the neighborhood it served.[66]

Just as Latinxs had begun to gain greater representation in popular culture, Little Village

likewise underwent a change in its demographics, which is reflected in the decreasing numbers

of "Slavic and German names" and rising numbers of "Latin[sic] names" among LBC

members.[67] As a community-based station, WCYC was inherently linked to its surrounding

neighborhood, so when Little Village's demographics changed, so too did the station's

broadcasts. In doing so, the station's broadcasts demonstrated a relationship between

representational scales, where the station's scale of transmission informed its scale of identity,

namely its representation of Latinidad.

One of the major shifts to occur at WCYC during the transition between the dawn of

Latinx broadcasting in the city, characterized by Chapa's internationally scoped broadcasts, and

the decade of the "Hispanic" was that the station started to include more youth-oriented, U.S.-

produced dance music in its broadcasts, specifically house and freestyle.[68] As Clarke et. al note,

music subcultures often facilitate a way to "win space for the young," serving to "mark out and

appropriate territory in the localities."[69] In their broadcast of dance music, WCYC's youth radio

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[65] Frank Zahour, "2 Recall 'Growing Up' In Lawndale Boys Club," *Chicago Tribune,* January 17, 1971, S11.

[66] Frank Zahour, "2 Recall 'Growing Up' In Lawndale Boys Club," *Chicago Tribune,* January 17, 1971, S11.

[67] Frank Zahour, "2 Recall 'Growing Up' In Lawndale Boys Club," *Chicago Tribune,* January 17, 1971, S11.

[68] I refer to Rupa Huq's narrowed definition of dance music: "DJ- centered club-context sounds that are derived from various roots including 1970s disco and 1980s electronica, using technology such as sampling and scratching." Rupa Huq, *Beyond Subculture*: *Pop, Youth, and Identity in a Postcolonial World* (London: Routledge, 2006), 90.

[69] Like Clarke et. Al, Susan Ruddick argues, I conceive of space as a "container where sub-culture 'takes place' as a by-product of acts of resistance." (Susan Ruddick, "Modernism and Resistance: How 'Homeless' Youth Sub-Cultures Make a Difference," in *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures*, eds. Tracy Skelton and Gill Valentine (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 345) John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson, and Brian Roberts, "Subcultures, Cultures and Class: A Theoretical Overview," in *Resistance Through Rituals* Resistance *Through*

producers represented the changing demographics of Little Village during the 1980s and

exemplified what Sarah Thornton argues is "one of the main ways in which youth carve out

virtual and claim actual space," which is by "filling it with their music."[70] Like the station's

earlier DXers, this new generation of youth radio producers demonstrated that there was a

relationship between radio production and one's sense of space; but, whereas the station's earlier

DXers likely approached radio as a way to "assert new forms of masculine mastery," during the

1980s the station's youths were most interest in using radio to forge their cultural identities. By

doing so, they also reflected the changing scale of Latinx identity taking place in the United

States, where instead of privileging Latin American nationalities in their representations of

Latinidad, they began to promote U.S.-American cultural productions that scale-shifted to a more

general Latinx community.

Dance Music and Latinx Youth Subculture during the decade of the "Hispanic," 1986 - 1996

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the LBC continued to teach courses on radio

broadcasting to Little Village youths. As the "first station in the world operated totally by kids,"

WCYC was truly the "only station of its kind in Chicago."[71] Given the station's focus on local

youth, it is not surprising that one the station's own club members, Kenny Jason, would step in

and take over as station manager when Kopta retired in 1984.[72]

Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-war Britain, eds. John Clarke, Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson, and Brian Roberts (London: Hutchinson, 1976), 46.

[70] Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), 19.

[71] Debra Schwartz, "Radio: The Heart and Soul of Chicago," *Chicago Radio Guide*, May, 1985, 101. "Lawndale Boys' Club Ready for Broadcasting," *Chicago Tribune*, June 26, 1969, W2.

[72] "Obituary 1," *Chicago Tribune*, October 21, 1986, A11.

Jason was one of WCYC's most renown alums, often cited in the *Chicago Tribune* for his success as a house music disc jockey (DJ).[73] Known as "magic fingers," Jason grew up on the South Side of Chicago and became interested in radio at the age of nine, when, as he quips, "the area 10-watt Boys' Club station needed someone small enough to crawl into little spaces and pull wires" to connect the station's radio equipment.[74] By 1984, Jason had risen from "pint-sized technician" to station manager, doing so after having hosted his own radio show, working as a club deejay, and acquiring prestige by winning "DJ of the Year" at the Chicago Music Awards in 1979 and 1980.[75] As WCYC's manager, Jason and his fellow staff transformed the station into a bastion of dance music.

Of the different types of programming that WCYC offered, dance music was most important in re-orienting the station's broadcasts towards a youth audience. Prior to Jason becoming station manager, club members did not create their own programming because they acted primarily as apprentices; only "pushing buttons" to play NPR-supplied programming or Kopta's own musical selections for his program, *Happy Harold's Polka Hour*.[76] However, upon Jason's promotion to manager, the station's "sounds [and] voices became younger" because club members could now program their own broadcasts.[77] With Jason at the helm, the station amassed a stable of dedicated house DJs, whose programs linked local youths to "an underground society

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[73] Scott Michaelsen, "Chicago's Hot Mixers: DJ Wizards Keep the Dance Beat Going On and On and..." *Chicago Tribune*, May 27, 1983, D8.

[74] Eric Zorn, "Disc Jockeys? Only the Hot Mixers Still Spin the Wax: On the Radio," Chicago *Tribune*, May 7, 1984, G1.

[75] Eric Zorn, "Disc Jockeys? Only the Hot Mixers Still Spin the Wax: On the Radio," *Chicago Tribune*, May 7, 1984, G1. "Second Annual Chicago Music Awards Show," *Billboard*, August 16, 1980, 42.

[76] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

[77] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

of greet-the-dawn party people whose drag was dance music."[78]

House was a "street-feel, tech-dominated brand of EDM (electronic dance music)," created with drum machines, digital samplers, and sequencers by a few key DJs in Chicago.[79] Driven by heavy drums and bass, with "very few keyboards," house introduced a technique known as "hot mixing," which according to Jason's DJ collective, The Chicago Hot Mixers, created of an endless array of music by aligning the rhythm and pacing of two songs as the DJ transitioned between them on two record turntables.[80]

House music's fans were, in part, carryovers from the disco club culture that began in the 1970s, when disco music and films like John Badham's *Saturday Night Fever* (1977) introduced a particular brand of night club culture into the mainstream.[81] Labeled by the *Chicago Tribune* as "The New Saturday Night Fever," house music's connection to disco was popularly lauded, allowing a club culture that emerged with the popular 1970s genre to reemerge in the 1980s, after disco's decline.[82] According to one of the progenitors of the genre, Frankie Knuckles, house was "disco's revenge," which was somewhat ironic given that it grew popular in Chicago only a few years after legions of disco detractors gathered in what was Comiskey Park (home of the Chicago White Sox baseball team) for "Disco Demolition Night," which consisted of the "ritual burning of disco records in center field" on July 12, 1979.[83]

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[78] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014. Greg Kot, "House: What it is. How it began. And why it's an orphan here at home," *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1990, J4.

[79] Tom Popson, "Disco's dead—Let's All Dance: The Beat Goes on in a late-'80s way," *Chicago Tribune*, July 7th, 1989, CNA1.

[80] Mickey Oliver, "Local Heroes," *Chicago Tribune*, August 17, 1990, R.

[81] Scott Michaelson, "Chicago's Hot Mixers: DJ Wizards Keep the Dance Beat Going On and On and…" *Chicago Tribune*, March 27, 1983, D8.

[82] Hugh Boulware, "The New Saturday Night Fever," *Chicago Tribune, April 13, 1990, N_B1.*

[83] Greg Kot, "House: What it is. How it began. And why it's an orphan here at home," *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1990, J4. Richard Dozer, "Sox Promotion Ends in Mob Scene," *Chicago Tribune,* July 13, 1979, 1.

Although local newspapers had drawn similarities between disco and house, the disco music that burned at Comiskey Park that night was not the same disco music that was embraced by its legions of fans in African-American, Latinx, and gender and sexual minority (GSM) communities in the sense that those disco detractors were likely expressing outrage over the commodification of mainstream music and capitalism, which, according to Richard Dyer, the genre had come to represent.[84] House music, however, did not carry that same connotation, as it was consumed by fewer audiences and had a narrower scope of address because it mostly appealed to "certain age groups and social categories," solidifying into a recognizable sound in "clubs and warehouses on the West and South Sides of Chicago, where gays [sic] and blacks [sic] found its gritty, bump-and-grind rhythms the ideal soundtrack for all-night parties."[85] Hosting events in more places than just warehouses, house music DJs catered to "an army of black, white, and Latino[sic] fans, ages 10 to 50, at juice bars, gay discos, suburban nightclubs, and anywhere else where there's room for two turntables and a stack of current dance records," becoming a cultural phenomenon in Chicago during the mid-1980s, which was in part a result of the relationship between the DJ and the music.[86]

For many house music producers, DJing was a form of expression with a legacy to the disco-era, when DJs learned how to "program the music, not just play it," making the act of DJing an active cultural production and community performance.[87] DJing on WCYC typified this idea, becoming a way for local youths to develop a sense of identity, again reinforcing

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[84] Richard Dyer, "In Defense of Disco," *Gay Left* 8 (1979).

[85] Greg Kot, "House: What it is. How it began. And why it's an orphan here at home." *Chicago Tribune*, August 19, 1990, J4.

[86] Scott Michaelson, "Chicago's Hot Mixers: DJ Wizards Keep the Dance Beat Going On and On and…" *Chicago Tribune*, March 27, 1983, D8.

[87] Clarence Petersen, "Keep 'em Dancing: Deejays Spin out a World of Sound," *Chicago Tribune*, September 16, 1979, Section 6, 3.

Thornton's argument that youth subcultures tend to be music subcultures.[88] WCYC fully came into its own as a youth radio station after its stable of youth radio producers began filling its afternoon and late evening schedule, especially Friday nights, with house music. However, despite notable Latinx house DJs, such as Tony "Boom Boom" Badea, house music was not exclusively a Latinx phenomenon. It was not until a self-identified Puerto Rican from Humboldt Park, Harv Roman, added freestyle to WCYC's schedule that the station entered a new epoch, where the station's promotion of youth culture scale-shifted to a narrower scale of identity, focusing on Latinxs and developing a Little Village-inflected sense of Latinidad.

Freestyle Programming on WCYC

Freestyle became a mainstay of WCYC's broadcasting schedule when Roman joined the station in 1985.[89] As Roman recalls, he started playing freestyle music on his radio show purely out of circumstance after being locked out of the room that stored the house music records during one broadcast, leaving him to resort to a stack of easily available freestyle albums.[90] WCYC's Latinx listeners took to the broadcasts, which is not surprising given that the discourse surrounding freestyle described it as a specifically Latinx genre.

Prior to it being played on WCYC, freestyle had grown popular among young audiences just as hip-hop culture spread from New York City outwards to the rest of the world in the 1980s.[91] However, as hip-hop music spread around the globe, popular media engaged in what

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[88] Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), 19.

[89] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

[90] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

[91] See Juan Flores, *From Bomba to Hip Hop: Puerto Rican Culture and Latino Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000) and Tricia Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1994).

Raquel Z. Rivera calls the "African Americanization of hip hop," which obscured the ways in which Latinx youths had contributed to the early foundation of hip-hop culture.[92] According to Rivera, this in turn led Latinx youths to embrace freestyle as a response to their "media marginalization."[93] I agree with Rivera's reasoning because freestyle music is reminiscent of both hip hop and house in that it consists of a repetitive drum pattern, incorporates synthesized instruments, and features a lead vocalist, so it makes sense that young Latinxs who were interested in hip-hop's sonic qualities would have also enjoyed the genre.

Due to these similarities, freestyle was often referred to as "Latin hip hop," and what was most telling about the title was that it inflected the genre with a sense of Latinidad. According to Alexandra T. Vazques, freestyle had a "ghosted 'Latin'" adjective (e.g., "Latin" freestyle), which connoted Latinx identity due in no small part to the relatively large number of popular Latinx freestyle artists.[94] According to Rivera, freestyle was also significant to Latinx youths because it represented an alternative "lifestyle" and "system of living" that signified "an artistic liberation from culturally stifling parameters of conformity," which had come to define Latinidad by the 1980s.[95] According to Vasquez, freestyle represented a generational shift in its representation of Latinidad, functioning as a "second-generation genre" that young listeners associated with "public spaces outside of the home: on the dance floors of middle schools, at the mall, in youth centers, in headphones, [and] in parents' cars probably hijacked for the evening."[96] Freestyle's

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[92] Raquel Z. Rivera, *New York Ricans from the Hip Hop Zone* (Gordonsville, VA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 89.

[93] Raquel Z. Rivera, *New York Ricans from the Hip Hop Zone* (Gordonsville, VA: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 89.

[94] Alexandra T. Vazques, "Can You Feel the Beat? Freestyle's Systems of Living, Loving, and Recording," *Social Text 102*, 28(1) (2010): 111.

[95] Alexandra Vazquez, "Instrumental Migrations: The Transnational Movements of Cuban Music" (PhD diss., New York University, 2005), 187. Raquel Z. Rivera, *New York Ricans from the Hip Hop Zone* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 88-93.

[96] Alexandra T. Vazques, "Can You Feel the Beat? Freestyle's Systems of Living, Loving, and Recording," *Social

representation of a new generation of Latinxs aligned with the greater historical shift between the dawn of Latinx broadcasting in Chicago and the onset of the decade of the "Hispanic," when a scale-shift occurred that articulated a more general Latinx community rather than a fractured group of Latin American nationals, which WCYC likewise represented in its programming.

Prior to the 1980s, Spanish-language programming could be found on WCYC.[97] However, those broadcasts were primarily delivered by adults during the evening hours, who played "whatever [music] was popular at the time."[98] As such, there was a division between the station's English and Spanish-language programming, which was not only cultural but also generational. Although the station's Spanish-language programming maintained a community mandate in its focus on Little Village's Latinx community, it was not aimed at the area's Latinx youth. In contrast, Roman's selection of freestyle music on his radio program, *The Young Sounds*, reflected the increasing presence of Latinx youths, both at the station and in Little Village, and marked a significant departure from WCYC's historically gendered production practices.[99]

Between the late 1970s and early 1980s, *The Young Sounds* was produced by Jason, fellow house DJs, and other LBC members. The show ran on weekdays from 3pm – 6pm, allowing its core audience of youths to listen to the program after school. Initially, *The Young Sounds* was primarily a musical show that played disco and house, but when Roman joined the station in 1985, its scheduled largely consisted of freestyle music.[100] According to Roman,

Text 102, 28(1) (2010): 113.

[97] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

[98] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[99] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

[100] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

freestyle music "clicked" with the show's listeners because they could relate to the genre's musicians, many of which were Latinx and offered an alternative to what Sarah Thornton calls "the cultural worlds of the white majority."[101] However, it is important to note that many popular freestyle artists were Latinas, whose popularity among listeners aligned with changing perceptions about gender at the station.

According to Caroline Mitchell, women have historically been "at the heart of radio" while nevertheless "marginalized in the official histories," and WCYC's production practices between 1968 and 1986 lend credence to that claim.[102] As mentioned earlier, the CBC initially focused its mission on male youths, and girls were not officially recognized as club members until 1967.[103] Despite now being able to participate in the club, young women continued to be treated differently from their male counterparts. For example, Kopta instituted a rule that women could not work at the station after six o'clock.[104] According to Roman, this rule was practical given that "the neighborhood wasn't real great."[105] However, the rule also limited how young women could contribute to the station, which was the case until Roman lifted the evening restrictions, albeit with the caveat that all female hosts had to have a guaranteed ride home after their broadcasts.[106] Nevertheless, the station still provided an opportunity for local Latinas to gain experience in broadcasting, and one of its most notable alums was Melana Gonzales, who thrived as an announcer through her broadcast of freestyle, both on and off the station.

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[101] Sarah Thornton, *Club Cultures* (Cambridge: Polity, 1995), i.

[102] Caroline Mitchell, *Women and Radio: Airing Differences* (London: Routledge, 2000), i.

[103] Joan Pinkerton, "Doors Open to Girls," *Chicago Tribune,* April 20, 1967, F3.

[104] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

[105] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

[106] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

Gonzales was born in Pilsen and raised in Little Village.[107] According to Gonzales, she first read about WCYC's training program in the local Latinx daily newspaper, *Lawndale News,* in 1982. [108] She joined the station as an apprentice and worked her way up to announcing on Kopta's radio program, eventually putting together her own news segments by 1989.[109] Like other WCYC alums, Gonzalez eventually left WCYC to join Chicago's WCRX, one of the city's most renown broadcasters of freestyle music. As Roman notes, Gonzales was instrumental in spreading freestyle music from WCYC to WCRX, and her popularity only grew after she became the manager of the well-known local freestyle group, Legacy. [110] Gonzalez' stint at the station demonstrates that WCYC was no longer beholden to its historically gendered production practices. However, the station's history still informed how its young producers defined their sense of self.

According to Mary Celeste Kearney, sites of production like WCYC allow for the "creation, reproduction, exhibition, promotion, and distribution of media texts, [which] operate as important training grounds for young people."[111] For WCYC's young radio producers, this meant developing a sense of identity by producing radio broadcasts. However, the station's young staff was guided by Kopta and other program directors, who encouraged a particular decorum that recalled the Chicago Area Project's anxieties about juvenile delinquency.

For example, weary that local youths would turn to neighborhood gangs to acquire

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[107] Antonio Zavala, "On the Air: Melana and Dolores two of Kopta's media kids," *Lawndale News*, January 25, 1989, 14.

[108] Antonio Zavala, "On the Air: Melana and Dolores two of Kopta's media kids," *Lawndale News*, January 25, 1989, 14.

[109] Antonio Zavala, "On the Air: Melana and Dolores two of Kopta's media kids," *Lawndale News*, January 25, 1989, 14.

[110] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

[111] Mary Celeste Kearney, *Girls Make Media* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 54.

notoriety and a sense of self-respect, Roman attempted to teach club members "how to communicate and present themselves in a different way than a lot of the kids were doing at the time."[112] As one apprentice makes clear, this was a worthwhile pursuit because many local youths "would rather cut school and hang out on corners dealing drugs" than get jobs.[113] As this WCYC staff member suggests, Little Village had acquired a negative reputation, which was reinforced in local media outlets, such as the *Chicago Tribune* and the local ABC affiliate, WLC-TV, which described the area as the "heart of gangland."[114] However, it was precisely this combination of radio production, youth participation, and an alternative representation of the neighborhood that inspired the ABC *Eyewitness News* reporter and former host of WCIU's *Ayuda,* Theresa Gutierrez, to devote a segment to the station in 1988, in which she interviewed Roman, Jason, and some of the station's young Latinx staff.

Roman acknowledges that there were some active gang members doing "positive things" at the station, but stresses that WCYC created a safe space for teens to explore and develop a local identity that countered the "gangland" representations of Little Village. In becoming a safe space for local youths, WCYC's commitment to community radio was not only bolstered by its limited transmission range but also by its physical presence in the neighborhood it served, demonstrating that micro-broadcasters not only represent but also engender communities. According to Monica de la Torre, this is true in part because micro-broadcasters, by their very design, grant individual producers large amounts of control over their institutional practices, which was the case for KDNA in Granger, Washington, where a traditionally marginalized

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[112] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

[113] Maria Donato, "Hanging Out: Teens are Making Waves—Radio Waves—at WCYC in the Heart of Gangland," *Chicago Tribune*, May 18, 1988, F4.

[114] Maria Donato, "Hanging Out: Teens are Making Waves—Radio Waves—at WCYC in the Heart of Gangland," *Chicago Tribune*, May 18, 1988, F4.

group, in this case Latinas, was able to diversify its staff and promote Latinx programming, serving as an important case study of Latina media production during the 1970s.[115] As de la Torre's study suggests, community radio allows individuals to circumvent certain institutional barriers, and as Gonzales demonstrated, WCYC had the flexibility to change its production practices in response to social and historical shifts, which for WCYC not only meant altering its notions about gender but also reflecting the shifting demographics of its surrounding neighborhood.

Although in the previous chapter I described Chicago's Latinx community as diverse, Little Village's residents were largely Mexican during the 1980s. Although WRTE would later promote a more generalized understanding of Latinidad, WCYC's location in Little Village's suggested a greater focus on the area's Mexican community. For example, Roman recalls that while broadcasting "during one Puerto Rican event," he "admitted that [he] was "Puerto Rican," and the following Monday, someone had graffitied "Harv Sucks" along the station's front entrance.[116] Although it is not possible to definitively link the building's defacement with this broadcast, Roman still felt that his particular Latinx identity was different from the general Latinidad present at the station and in the neighborhood more broadly. As such, even if WCYC's programming was increasingly directed towards a more Latinx audience during the decade of the "Hispanic," there was still a residual trend to fracture Latinx communities along Latin American nationality, which would become even clearer as the station began to struggle financially.

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[115] Monica de la Torre, "Programas Sin Vergüenza (Shameless Programs): Mapping Chicanas in Community Radio in the 1970s," *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 3 (2015)

[116] Harv Roman, "Farewell to WCYC Intro with Harv Roman and Tony Boom Boom Badea from 1994," *YouTube,* accessed August 31, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BcDpyqiyk98.

Becoming Radio Arte

By the early 1990s, WCYC funds could no longer support its operating costs, which placed the station in a precarious position. To address this issue, the LBC hired Javier Patiño to act as director of programming with the hopes that he would acquire new sponsors and reduce the station's financial difficulties.[117] Some of the major changes that Patiño introduced to the station were a greater focus on Spanish-language programming and an increase in the WCYC's broadcasting of popular music.[118]

Patiño's decision to increase WCYC's Spanish-language content appears reasonable, given that a significant portion of the station's listeners were likely Spanish-speaking. However, the station's English-dominant radio hosts grew uneasy with the station's new direction.[119] Likewise, many DJ's did not agree with Patiño's focus on more commercial, top 40 music.[120] Ultimately, despite Patiño's efforts, the LBC was not able to acquire enough funding to keep the station running and decided to sell its broadcasting license in 1996. However, although the LBC was forced to close the station, it still hoped to preserve WCYC's mission of supporting Little Village's youths, and so it approached the institution that it believed was best suited to the task, the National Museum of Mexican Art (NMMA).[121]

The NMMA debuted in 1987, five years after Carlos Tortolero "organized a group of

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[117] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

[118] Roger Almendarez, "Harv Roman Interview," October, 2014.

[119] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[120] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[121] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

fellow educators" to open an art center at 1852 W. 19th Street in Pilsen.[122] The group chose to build the museum at that location because it had planned to "establish an arts and cultural organization committed to accessibility." [123] Once established, the museum provided local artists with a "forum to demonstrate their unique talents," which in turn created a space for community members to "appreciate those skills." [124] Like WCYC, the museum adopted a community mandate and reflected the character of its surrounding community, operating at a similar local scale of proximity.

Aware of the museum's relationship to Pilsen, the LBC's advisory board offered to sell the NMMA its broadcasting license in 1996. Unfortunately for the LBC, the NMMA did not have the infrastructure to support such an operation, and so its board members opted against the purchase. However, the museum changed its position when an "outside group interested in purchasing the station and doing away with the youth training component" contacted Carlos Tortolero, the museum's president, to discourage him from acquiring the station, claiming that the NMMA had "no business" in radio.[125] Although the callers intended to keep the NMMA from acquiring WCYC's license, they instead motivated Tortolero to reconsider the board's decision, after which the NMMA agreed to purchase the station.[126]

As part of the sale, there were a number of changes to the station: WCYC was renamed Radio Arte, WRTE-FM, and it was relocated to Pilsen. Initially, the NMMA had planned to

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[122] Jay Pridemore, "Mexican Fine Arts Center Debuts with a Saintly Show," *Chicago Tribune*, April 10, 1987. "About the National Museum of Mexican Art," The National Museum of Mexican Art, accessed July 15, 2014, http://www.nationalmuseumofmexicanart.org/content/about-national-museum-mexican-art.

[123] "About the National Museum of Mexican Art," The National Museum of Mexican Art, accessed July 15, 2014, http://www.nationalmuseumofmexicanart.org/content/about-national-museum-mexican-art.

[124] "Fine Arts Museum Gets State Grant from State." *Lawndale News*, February 9, 1989.

[125] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[126] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

honor the station's history and maintain its connection to Little Village by keeping WCYC in

Little Village, despite the museum being located in Pilsen. However, the NMMA relied on

"empowerment zone grants" that distributed municipal funds to institutions working in specific

regions of the city, which could not be used to support a station outside of Pilsen.[127] As a result,

the NMMA decided to move the station to Pilsen.[128]

The NMMA relocated WCYC to the corner of 18th and Loomis, directly across the street

from the Rudy Lozano Library, which was dedicated to the local community leader and political

activist, Rudy Lozano, after his assassination in 1983.[129] Although there were numerous potential

sites for the move, the NMMA chose that location because it lay at a major intersection in Pilsen,

and many community members frequented the library, which would help bring visibility to the

station. By relocating, WRTE became a prominent staple of the Pilsen community, not only

because it was now in a more active part of the city but also because it changed the

neighborhood's sonic space. [130]

With windows that stretched across the two walls that faced 18th and Loomis and an

outside speaker that projected the station's broadcasts, Pilsen residents had access to WRTE in

multiple ways: they could hear its broadcasts, see its staff at work on live productions, and create

their own programming as volunteer DJs or as part of the Museum's Yollocalli educational

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[127] Monica Eng, "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 1999.

[128] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[129] Antonio Zavala, "Pilsen Library is Named!" *Lawndale News*, September, 8, 1988, pg. 1. Rudy Lozano was a Pilsen-based political activist and community organizer that become known for forming coalitions between African-American and Latinx laborers in the early 1980s. One of Lozano's greatest achievements was helping secure a mayoral victory for Harold Washington, Chicago's first and, to this date, only African-American mayor. Lozano was murdered by an unknown assailant in front of his home in Pilsen on June 8, 1983. Lozano's case remains unsolved.

[130] Henceforth, I will refer to WCYC as WRTE when speaking about the station after 1996, and I will refer to the station as WCYC when speaking about the station prior to its purchase by the National Museum of Mexican Art.

program. The museum designed the station's studio in a way that allowed onlookers to "see young Latinx faces from the neighborhood doing something positive."[131] As Valdivia explains, "for people who [were] walking by, especially the kids from Little Village and Pilsen, these faces [told] them that this [was] something they [could] do and join too."[132] With a similar sentiment, Rodriguez de Wood states that the museum intentionally used glass walls at the corner of the building so that the community could see "young people doing something positive."[133] WRTE added a visual dimension to its micro-broadcasting practices that reinforced a community mandate on the neighborhood level, enacting the idea that the station was meant to support local youths. The spectacle of WRTE's production practices at 18th and Loomis afforded the station a new mode through which radio could engage with the local community, and should onlookers tap on the glass, be loud enough, or catch the eye of one of the producers, they could not just affect but rather be active in producing the station's broadcasts.

This union between the radio station and the museum presented a moment of intermedial exchange, where radio amplified the museum's objectives, and the museum made visible the primarily sonic dimension of radio broadcasting. Moreover, the station's speaker inundated the corner with a new aural quality, which established the station's radio field with a local scale of proximity. More importantly, in becoming WRTE, the station narrowed its scope of address, promoting the idea that WRTE was now a Pilsen-based, Latinx community micro-broadcaster, ultimately continuing WCYC's community mandate. This change in the station's history also marked a moment of transition in Chicago's overall history of Latinx media production, which I

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[131] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[132] Monica Eng, "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 1999.

[133] Monica Eng, "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 1999.

call the intermedial turn because of how it began representing Latinidad across multiple media despite having historically dedicated themselves to a single medium. This transition also represented a shift in the country's Latinx community, whereas the decade of the "Hispanic" bore witness to a transition from privileging Latin American nationality to the development of a more general Latinx community, the period between 1996 and 2006 saw not only an embrace of a generalizable Latinx identity but also its construction as a hybrid cultural formation.

What WBEZ Might Be Like if a Bunch of Latinx Kids Took Over, 1996-2002[134]

Despite a change in ownership, WRTE retained its mission of promoting local, community radio by providing training programs and career opportunities for neighborhood youths. In doing so, WRTE provided a space for Pilsen and Little Village youths to develop a sense of Latinidad that emerged from the community. However, the station's community mandates stood in contrast to the commercial imperatives of WCYC's final broadcasts, which became clear when the NMMA tasked three administrators with ensuring that the station's broadcasts were focused on community rather than commercial interests.

The NMMA looked both within the museum and among WCYC's former staff to find an ideal team to represent the station's new focus on a Latinx listening public. The NMMA selected Yolanda Rodriguez de Wood, a member of the museum's education department, as the station's general manager; Monica Posada, a senior producer at WCYC, as the new program director; and Jorge Valdivia, a former WCYC radio host, as WRTE's community outreach coordinator.[135]

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[134] This is a quote from Monica Eng, and the original citation uses "Latino" instead of Latinx. WBEZ is Chicago's local National Public Radio (NPR) station. (Monica Eng "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 1999.)

[135] Eventually, Valdivia rose through the ranks at the station, taking on the role of assistant general manager in 1997 and becoming the station's general manager in 2002.

Valdivia's role was to promote the station by marketing both on the station and on the local Spanish-language television broadcaster, WCIU. Valdivia's primary directive was to promote community interests and "prioritize community radio," which presented the station as less "commercial" in style (e.g., relying heavily on entertainment programming, specifically mainstream music) than had been the case during the late 1980s and early 1990s.[136] In line with this focus, the NMMA incorporated WRTE into the museum's new educational program, the Yollocalli Youth Museum.[137]

Similar to the LBC, Yollocalli supplied resources to increase the economic and social opportunities for its local youths, also providing educational material and artistic training. The NMMA envisioned that Yollocalli's partnership with WRTE would "represent the diversity of [the local] community," making the program for "everyone" and not just the "straight A students" that Tortolero had seen compose the many successful "art projects for youth[sic] around the country."[138] Just as a micro-scale of broadcasting led to an increase in freestyle and Latinx programming on WCYC because of the station's engagement with the local community, WRTE also continued to represent Latinxs according to the conditions of the surrounding neighborhood by "essentially [taking] a radio station and [giving] it to young people to run," demonstrating a community mandate through its continued support of youth culture.[139] The station's focus on local youth was especially noticeable in the station's broadcasts, which ran

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[136] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[137] Yollocalli is an "Aztec term meaning 'the house of creativity that stems from the hearth of youth'." (Jeff Economy, "Lights? Cameras! Acting!" *Chicago Tribune*, August 14, 1998, 3.)

[138] Monica Eng, "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 1999.

[139] Monica Eng, "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 1999.

"commercial-free progressive programming" for "18 hours a day" between 1996 and 2012.[140]

As WRTE program directors have stated, one of the station's most powerful contributions to the community was that it provided a way for Pilsen's youths to discover and craft personal identities by mediating them through their radio broadcasts. Just as Luis Valdez had envisioned that El Teatro Campesino actors would develop a Chicanx identity by performing Chicanx-themed plays, WRTE became a platform for Pilsen residents to both create and consume representations of Latinidad, which in turn served to fashion a Latinx identity that the station's producers enacted through their radio broadcasts.[141] As Valdivia mentions, WRTE became a place where Latinx community members could embrace the many facets of their identities on "one dial," which expressed a hybrid mediated Latinity, akin to that found on WCIU.[142] WRTE accomplished this by representing a multifaceted Latinidad that did not segment its audience "according to English or Spanish" speakers but instead embraced the character of the area's Latinx youth at the time.[143] The station's producers also taught a number of production classes as part of the Museum's Yollocalli education program, which the museum created to support artists that were working in many different forms of media. Its relationship with Yollocalli further demonstrates how the station's hybrid mediated Latinity was a result of merging multiple cultural sensibilities, which typified Latinx media production during the intermedial turn.

Although its dedication to local youths had carried over from WCYC, WRTE's focus was bolstered by Yollocalli's own interest in encouraging younger members of the Latinx community

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[140] Monica Eng, "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 1999.

[141] Harry J. Elam, *Taking It to the Streets: The Social Protest Theater of Luis Valdez and Amiri Baraka* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997).

[142] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[143] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

to develop a sense of self, working to "train, motivate, and provide a forum for youths to express themselves through media and radio broadcasting."[144] As a result, Monica Eng claims that the station sounded "like what WBEZ might be like if a bunch of Latino[sic] kids took over."[145] Eng's comparison contains a tacit understanding that English-language radio broadcasts marginalized Latinx youths because even though NPR's mission has been to "create a single, national identity while giving voice to those excluded from the marketplace," according to Tom McCourt, NPR abides by a somewhat mixed industry mandate that privileges programming that is identifiable as NPR-esque, profitable, and yet popular among the majority of NPR listeners.[146] If we agree with McCourt that NPR represents a national identity, Eng's comparison between NPR and WRTE suggests a disconnect between being a Latinx youth and being U.S.-American. Despite the implications of Eng's phrasing, her observation that the station offered a "fresh take on potentially preachy and starchy issues" reveals the extent to which WRTE provided local Latinx youth with a means for using cultural production to acquire political agency, which likewise asserted a positive representation of Latinx identity (unlike the "heart of gangland" connotations associated with WCYC) and represented Pilsen as a Latinx space. WRTE's social justice programming, such as *Sin Papeles,* which I described in this dissertation's introductory chapter, exemplified how the station served as a "powerful source for empowerment, especially for disenfranchised and marginalized groups in society," precisely because of the station's low-power broadcasts.[147] While evident in such informational programming, WRTE's micro-

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[144] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[145] Monica Eng, "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 1999.

[146] Tom McCourt, *Conflicting Communication Interests in America: The Case of National Public Radio* (Westport: Praeger, 1999), 1.

[147] Center for International Media Assistance, *Community Radio: Its Impact and Challenges to Its Development*

broadcasting practices also informed the station's musical broadcasts.

More than any other content, music dominated WRTE's schedule, which consisted of roughly thirty percent talk and seventy percent music."[148] The station played a variety of music, including "retro (...80's and early '90s music), techno, drum and bass, alternative network and even Mexican children's music shows," and, most importantly, "Rock en Español." As Kun notes, Rock en Español "operates as a youth culture of sound in which music—its performance, its consumption, its recording, its distribution—is at the heart of the formation of community and is the soundtrack to the scripting of emergent identities."[149] As was the case with freestyle and house music at WCYC, WRTE's broadcast of Rock en Español allowed listeners to define their cultural identity and assert a sense of self by demonstrating "pride" in their musical tastes.[150] Due to the genre's relationship to youths and the Latinx community, WRTE's Rock en Español represented a generational difference between itself and other stations in the city.

As was the case with mainstream radio and house music and freestyle during the 1980s, "commercial rock stations barely [recognized]" the existence of Rock en Español.[151] The genre's lack of availability on popular radio was compounded by the fact that there were few venues in Chicago that regularly presented any kind of "youth-oriented Latin music."[152] Although Latin

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(Working Group Report, 2007), 4. Lucas Bessire and Daniel Fisher, "Introduction: Radio Fields," in *Radio Fields: Anthropology and Wireless Sound in the 21st Century,* eds. Lucas Bessire and Daniel Fisher (New York and London: New York University Press, 2012), 14.

[148] Monica Eng, "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 1999.

[149] Monica Eng, "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 1999. Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 187.

[150] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[151] Greg Kot and Achy Obejas, "Latin Invasion: Rock en Espanol Has Become the Voice of a New and Rapidly Expanding Underground, but not Everyone is Thrilled," *Chicago Tribune*, November 1, 1998, 1.

[152] Aaron Cohen, "Rock en espanol in Chicago: More Venues are Starting to open Its Doors," *Chicago Tribune*, August 22, 2004, 7.6.

American music could be heard on other stations in the city, such as Univision's WOJO, "La Que Buena," WRTE's broadcast of Rock en Español differed in that it framed Latin American music as supplementary but not definitive of U.S.-American Latinx youth culture; it was one way to express Latinidad but not the only one. Moreover, Kun argues that Rock en Español resists "a rigid space/place, local/global split" because, stylistically, it incorporates aspects of various genres from diverse regions of the world, such as Jamaican Ska, British New Wave, and U.S. rock 'n' roll, converging multiple geographies within a single sonic space to depict a translocal Latinity while also expressing a hybrid Latinity.[153] Such a convergence of multiple nationalities also points to the station's representation of Latinx hybridity.

One of WRTE's distinctive qualities was that it represented Latinidad differently than the city's other, more commercial Spanish-language stations by positioning U.S.-American Latinxs as the primary actors in the formation of Latinx identity. Doing so rejected the idea of promoting a general, pan-Latinx imaginary that privileged Latin American cultural productions, which, as I described in the last chapter, had been the case for Univision's television broadcasts since the late 1980s. However, despite being a community broadcaster with an explicit mission to reach a broad Latinx community, WCYC and WRTE still promoted a Latinidad that was greatly influenced by both the makeup of the local community and, in the case of WRTE, by the NMMA's privileging of Mexicanidad: a sense of being Mexican. [154]

For example, The corner windows at 18th and Loomis made it so that the station was highly visible, which Tortolero described as "perfect" and "in your face."[155] However, what

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[153] Josh Kun, *Audiotopia: Music, Race, and America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 188.

[154] See Lilia Fernandez, "From the Near West Side to 18th Street: Mexican Community Formation and Activism in Mid-Twentieth Century Chicago," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* 98, no. 3 (2005).

[155] Monica Eng, "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4,

Tortolero goes on to describe as "totally in-your-face" about the station's hosts was that they

were specifically "young...Mexican, and proud and responsible."[156] In this instance, Tortolero

suggests that WRTE privileged one particular segment of the larger Latinx community, and in so

doing he emphasized the relationship between the station and its location in Pilsen. However,

this did not mean that the station narrowed its scope of address to only Mexican Latinxs.

According to Federico Subervi-Velez, one of the defining features of micro-broadcasters

is that they can highlight the "geographic" and "interethnic group differences" within the broader

U.S.-American Latinx population in a way that network and national radio broadcasts

cannot.[157]According to Valdivia, this was true for WRTE because even if the station had a large

number of Mexican staff members and the station's audience likely consisted of mostly Mexican

listeners, WRTE still scale-shifted to account for a more inclusive sense of Latinidad. In

Valdivia's own words:

> We [WRTE] were very reflective of a very diverse community. Latinxs can't be this or that. We were a
> Latinx radio station that represented new immigrants from Mexico and Latin America. We were a Latinx
> station that represented first generation Mexican Americans, second generation Mexican Americans. We
> were a frequencia (frequency) that represented all these different sounds that was Radio Arte. We were a
> sound that emerged from the community. It was a radio station that was built by the voices of the
> community. We were a community broadcasting station. We weren't a public broadcasting station. I mean,
> we were [a public broadcasting station], but we were a community broadcasting station.[158]

As Valdivia explains, WRTE attempted to diversify its sense of Latinidad, which distinguished

its broadcasts from the more homogenous representation of Latinidad that could be found on the

city's other Spanish-language stations, which often privileged a Mexican audience. Even if the

station's producers approached Latinidad through a Mexican lens, there was still an effort to

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[156] Monica Eng, "Radio WRTE Broadcasting a Positive Image to Young Latinos," *Chicago Tribune*, January 4, 1999.

[157] Federico Subervi-Velez, "The Mass Media and Ethnic Assimilation and Pluralism: A Review and Research Proposal with Special Focus on Hispanics," *Communication Research* 13, no. 1 (1986): 88.

[158] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

embrace a larger Latinx community, which was evident in the station's panoply of "Latin American accents" that could be found on WRTE's musical broadcasts, which included musicians from the United States, Latin America, and Spain.[159] In selecting music from various locations, the station demonstrated that its sense of Latinidad was informed by various nationalities, making it a hybrid cultural production. Beyond music, WRTE also featured interviews with the area's Latinx residents, in turn creating a sense of a shared history across Latinx subgroups.

For example, WRTE encouraged its students to tell their stories because they were "historias personales (personal stories)."[160] According to the host of *Primera Voz* (First Voice) and *La Caverna* (The Cavern), Dulce Mora, those stories came from first generation born and/or migrant Latinxs and included tales about how they and/or their families "llegaron a los Estados Unidos (came to the United States)," their "problemas que tenian en el trabajo (problems at work)," and the "luchas que hacian para poder financiar su educacion (efforts they made to finance their education)."[161] These broadcasts provided local community members with an opportunity to identify with a shared sense of everyday life that represented Latinidad in terms of a post-colonial subjectivity, which bespeaks a globalized economy that encourages transmigration because it is dominated by the interests of first world countries like the United States. According to Frances Aparicio, because Latinxs across all Latin American nationalities occupy this subject position, there exists an "analogous structure of feeling" that provides a foundation for a generalizable Latinidad, which might otherwise be unsubstantiated because of

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[159] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[160] Irene Tostado, "Radio Arte Sale Del Aire Pero Vivira en Internet," *La Raza*, January 4, 2013, accessed September 3, 2015 http://www.laraza.com/2013/01/04/radio-arte-sale-del-aire-pero-vivira-en-internet-video/.

[161] Irene Tostado, "Radio Arte Sale Del Aire Pero Vivira en Internet," *La Raza*, January 4, 2013, accessed September 3, 2015, http://www.laraza.com/2013/01/04/radio-arte-sale-del-aire-pero-vivira-en-internet-video/.

the vast cultural and historical differences among Latinx subgroups.[162] It was the development of

a structure of feeling through such personal stories that WRTE represented the scale-shifting that

occurred during the intermedial turn (1996-2006), which was built on the sense of Latinx

community that had emerged from the decade of the "Hispanic," which then matured into a

hybrid cultural formation that drew influence from various Latin American countries, and even

Spain, without privileging them in the construction of a U.S.-American Latinx identity.

According to Lawrence Grossberg, "the organization of space and place is a geography of

belonging and identification," and in the station's programming, we can see that WRTE

developed a sense of place that continuously affirmed a sense of Latinidad that reinforced the

station's community mandate because it targeted the listeners in the Pilsen neighborhood. [163]

However, as the station's promotion of Rock en Español suggests, WRTE was not merely

reflecting a sense of Latinidad but consciously creating it, which it likewise demonstrated in its

production of its radio program *Homofrequencia.*

On August 12th, 2002, Valdivia, Nancy Hernández, Alix Weisfeld, and the Immigrant

Youth Justice League's Tania Unzueta (the focus of chapter four) broadcast the nation's first

youth-run radio show to focus on gender and sexual minorities, *Homofrequencia*, opening the

program with the slogan, "We are a cry of liberty, strength and willpower—just and

necessary."[164] As Valdivia recalls, WRTE directors initially rejected the idea of a show that

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[162] Frances R. Aparicio, "Jennifer as Selena: Rethinking Latinidad in Media and Popular Culture," *Latino Studies*, 1, (2003): 93. See also Frances Aparicio, "Reading the 'Latino' in Latino Studies: Toward Reimagining our Academic Location." *Discourse*: *Studies in Media and Culture,* 21(3) (1999): 3-18.

[163] Lawrence Grossberg, "The Space of Culture, The Power of Space," in The *Post-Colonial Question: Common Skies, Divided Horizons,* ed. Iain Chambers and Lidia Curti (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 175.

[164] Luz Chavez, "Revolutionizing the Air Waves Chicago's own 'Homofrequencia' Makes History," *Windycitymediagroup*, accessed September 1, 2015, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Revolutionizing-the-Air-Waves-Chicagos-own-Homofrequencia-makes-history/486.html. "'Homofrecuencia' on Radio Arte," *Chicago Tribune*, October 29, 2002, 29.

centered on "issues affecting the Latino [sic] LGBT community," telling him that he could

discuss such issues on any of the station's other programs but that he could devote an entire

program to the community.[165] Unwilling to be discouraged, Valdivia waited a month and a half

and "did it anyway."[166] Despite its contentious beginning, *Homofrequencia* became a regularly

scheduled program on WRTE and broadcast "live every Monday night from 9-10 pm."[167]

     Homofrequencia's broadcasts had a varied format, which included discussion on a

number of issues, interviews with GSM artists, and music by GSM musicians.[168] For example,

the show included music by GSM artists and icons, such as Marta Sanchez and La Prohibida, a

female illusionist from Spain, and discussed health-related issues, such as the prevention and

treatment of AIDS.[169] *Homofrequencia* also represented the diversity of the GSM community by

hosting a segment called *Lesbofrequencia*, which was produced every "second Monday of the

month."[170] *Lesbofrequencia*'s hosts specifically focused on the lesbian community, often

showcasing lesbian icons, especially Latin American and Latina icons.

     Homofrequencia's broadcasts offered an alternative representation of Latinidad by

expanding the scope of the Latinx community's traditional notions of sexuality. For example,

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[165] Luz Chavez, "Revolutionizing the Air Waves Chicago's own 'Homofrequencia' Makes History," *Windycitymediagroup*, accessed September 1, 2015, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Revolutionizing-the-Air-Waves-Chicagos-own-Homofrequencia-makes-history/486.html. Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[166] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[167] Luz Chavez, "Revolutionizing the Air Waves Chicago's own 'Homofrequencia' Makes History," *Windycitymediagroup*, accessed September 1, 2015, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Revolutionizing-the-Air-Waves-Chicagos-own-Homofrequencia-makes-history/486.html.

[168] Luz Chavez, "Revolutionizing the Air Waves Chicago's own 'Homofrequencia' Makes History," *Windycitymediagroup*, accessed September 1, 2015, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Revolutionizing-the-Air-Waves-Chicagos-own-Homofrequencia-makes-history/486.html.

[169] Luz Chavez, "Revolutionizing the Air Waves Chicago's own 'Homofrequencia' Makes History," *Windycitymediagroup*, accessed September 1, 2015, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Revolutionizing-the-Air-Waves-Chicagos-own-Homofrequencia-makes-history/486.html.

[170] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

some listeners and radio hosts recorded segments from the show and shared them with their

families when revealing their GSM status.[171] Others who felt less comfortable publicly

disclosing their GSM identities partook in alternative listening practices, such as was the case

with a Pilsen resident named "Juan," who listened to the program through headphones, which at

once provided him with a sense of community while shielding him from his parents'

objections.[172]

As was the case with Gonzales at WCYC, *Homofrequencia* broadcasts demonstrates a

relationship between representational scales, allowing traditionally marginalized individuals, in

this case Pilsen's GSM community, to overcome both institutional and social barriers because of

community-radio's narrow scale of transmission. More than just granting Pilsen's GSM

community access to radio production, the station engendered a sense of community among its

listeners by facilitating encounters between members of the area's GSM community. According

to Ramon Rivera-Servera, such encounters can alter normalized ideologies and encourage

community formation, which in turn transforms an area's social landscape.[173]

When heard over the station's outdoor speakers, *Homofrequencia*'s broadcasts highlighted

the intersection of Latinx identity, gender, and sexual orientation. Doing so challenged the idea

that, according to Unzueta, "There's[sic] no gay people in Pilsen."[174] Not only did the

broadcasts introduce a wider scope of Latinx identity within Pilsen but it also spread the idea that

Homofrequencia was a "gay mecca in Pilsen and Little Village," which coincided with the

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[171] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[172] Roger Almendarez, "Jorge Valdivia Interview," June 14, 2015.

[173] Ramón Rivera Servera, *Performing Queer Latinidad: Dance, Sexuality, Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012).

[174] Luz Chavez, "Revolutionizing the Air Waves Chicago's own 'Homofrequencia' Makes History," *Windycitymediagroup*, accessed September 1, 2015, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Revolutionizing-the-Air-Waves-Chicagos-own-Homofrequencia-makes-history/486.html.

station's now wider scale of transmission that made WRTE's broadcasts available to listeners as "far south as 79th Street, as far west as Oak Park, as far north as Fullerton, and as far east as Canal Street" because the station had increased the strength of its signal from its original 10 watts to 73 watts in 2000.[175] *Homofrequencia*'s construction of an intersectional Latinx identity represented another form of Latinidad, one that took into consideration the various Latinities that went into its development and expressed a more nuanced understanding of Pilsen's Latinx community, exemplifying the hybridity that typified Latinidad during the intermedial turn. The program also revealed how intricate the relationship between a neighborhood and a community radio station could become, especially when producers adhere to a community mandate, because not only did WRTE reflect its surrounding community but it also set out to make it more inclusive of the GSM community.

Between 1996 and 2006, WRTE's representations of Latinidad stood in contrast to those offered by the city's other Spanish-language radio stations because they were informed by the station's youth broadcasters and presented an intersectional understanding of Latinidad. WRTE's transparent production practices, location within the neighborhood, and its mix of English and Spanish-language programming established WRTE as not merely a bilingual radio station but an explicitly Pilsen-based Latinx radio station. By promoting its youth programing, WRTE catered to a local Latinx community without exclusively privileging Latin America in its representations of Latinidad. In so doing, WRTE expressed a shift in the scope of its address and the wider scale-shift among the country's Latinx communities that not only demonstrated the outcome of the

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[175] Luz Chavez, "Revolutionizing the Air Waves Chicago's own 'Homofrequencia' Makes History," *Windycitymediagroup*, accessed September 1, 2015, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Revolutionizing-the-Air-Waves-Chicagos-own-Homofrequencia-makes-history/486.html. Peter Margasak, "WRTE Pumps Up the Volume," *The Chicago Reader*, December 28, 2000, accessed August 25, 2015, http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/wrte-pumps-up-the-volume/Content?oid=904253.

decade of the "Hispanic" but also its maturity as Rock en Español, personal stories, and programs like *Homofrequencia* exemplified the multimodal qualities of Latinidad during the intermedial turn. Although its low-power transmissions limited its radio field, it also provided a productive boundary with which to represent its local community, allowing the station to become a unique but important source of Latinx media, whose history reveals how regional contexts inform the nature of radio broadcasting and how radio stations impact their surrounding communities. However, like WCYC, operating the station required more revenue than the WRTE could produce, which eventually led the NMMA to sell its broadcasting license.

The End of WRTE

In 2009, the NMMA reported a total "deficit of $677,121."[176] According to Tortolero, running the station involved "More than just the cost of maintaining the [station's broadcasting] license," it also required paying for its 11,000 square foot building that was located at the corner of 18th and Loomis.[177] Originally purchased for $420,000 in 1997, the building's maintenance and repair costs were a major contributor to the end of WRTE, especially because Tortolero felt that the "radio dial thing [was] not what it used to be."[178] Hoping to acquire more funding, the NMMA approached banks for a loan, but when its requests were unsuccessful, the NMMA officially listed Radio Arte, "Chicago's only noncommercial Latino[sic] radio station," for sale in

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[176] Leticia Espinosa, "Incertidumbre Por Futuro de Radio Arte y Otros Programas de Museo Mexicano en Chicago," *Vivelo Hoy*, May 17, 2011, accessed 9/23/2015, http://www.vivelohoy.com/chicago/8001678/incertidumbre-por-futuro-de-radio-arte-y-otros-programas-de-museo-mexicano-en-chicago.

[177] Chip Mitchell, "Museum to Sell Radio Arte License, Building", *WBEZ91.5,* May 18, 2011, accessed September 9, 2015, *http://www.wbez.org/story/museum-sell-radio-arte-license-building-86735.*

[178] Deanna Isaacs, "Adios, Radio Arte?", *Chicago Reader*, May 26, 2011, accessed September 9, 2015, http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/radio-arte-national-museum-of-mexican-art/Content?oid=3905398.

2011.[179] According to Tortolero, selling the station was a difficult decision, but "tight finances" in a "tough economy" prevented the NMMA from continuing to operate the station, which accounted for about sixteen percent of the museum's overall budget.[180] However, former WCYC and WRTE staff and students hoped to intervene in the sale and purchase it themselves.

United under the name "The Latino Media Cooperative" (LMC), "a collective of journalists, students, volunteers, broadcasters, and media-makers" attempted to buy the station's license.[181] According to LMC members Adriana Velazques and Edy Dominguez, both of which were former hosts of WRTE's *Primera Voz* program, the LMC came together because its members were concerned that selling WRTE to a non-local party would result in losing "the opportunity to have a station that transmits in English and in Spanish" and addresses the local community, which would make the resulting station no different from other "Spanish commercial stations that only offer entertainment but don't leave anything positive for the community."[182] Despite the LMC's efforts, the NMMA officially sold the license to Chicago Public Media for $450,000 on June 22, 2012.[183]

Chicago Public Media was originally an "extension service of the Chicago Board of Education," officially signing on as WBEZ in 1943.[184] The station became one of the first charter

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[179] Chip Mitchell, "Museum to Sell Radio Arte License, Building", *WBEZ91.5,* May 18, 2011, accessed September 9, 2015, *http://www.wbez.org/story/museum-sell-radio-arte-license-building-86735.*

[180] Deanna Isaacs, "Adios, Radio Arte?", *Chicago Reader*, May 26, 2011, accessed September 9, 2015, http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/radio-arte-national-museum-of-mexican-art/Content?oid=3905398.

[181] Latino Media Cooperative, "About Us", *Latino Media Cooperative*, May 22, 2011, accessed September 9, 2015, https://latinomediachicago.wordpress.com/about-us/.

[182] Lucia Anaya, "Community Youth Organize to Save Local Radio Station," *The Gate News*, June 3, 2011, accessed September 9, 2015, http://www.thegatenewspaper.com/2011/06/community-youth-organize-to-save-local-radio-station/.

[183] Irene Tostado, "Radio Arte Sale del Aire Pero Vivira en Internet," *La Raza*, January 4, 2013, accessed September 23, 2015, http://www.laraza.com/2013/01/04/radio-arte-sale-del-aire-pero-vivira-en-internet-video/.

[184] "History," *Chicago Public* Media, accessed September 23, 2015,

members of National Public Radio (NPR) in 1970.[185] In 2010, WBEZ's parent company

officially "adopted the name 'Chicago Public Media' in order to become a better recognized"

name among local residents.[186] Although Chicago Public Media agreed to partner with the

NMMA to "expand community programming" and claimed to be "pursuing options to purchase

key programs from the Radio Arte line-up," WRTE's history officially came to end with the sale,

after which 90.5FM became home to Vocalo.[187]

Vocalo's history pre-dates Chicago Public Media's purchase of WRTE, having begun as

an "initiative of Chicago Public Media to make public radio more open to the public at large" in

June, 2007.[188] Specifically, Vocalo aimed to foster "conversation between diverse constituents,"

bringing listener-generated content to not only radio but also to online streaming formats.[189]

Vocalo's programming consisted of "a continuous stream of user-submitted content and

music."[190] However, that approach was not as effective as its producers hoped it would be, which

eventually resulted in Vocalo shifting to a more "conventional format."[191]

More than just broadcasting under a new name, Chicago Public Media changed the

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https://www.chicagopublicmedia.org/about/history.

[185] "History," *Chicago Public* Media, accessed September 23, 2015, https://www.chicagopublicmedia.org/about/history.

[186] "History," *Chicago Public* Media, accessed September 23, 2015, https://www.chicagopublicmedia.org/about/history.

[187] "Chicago Public Media Partners with National Museum of Mexican Art", *Chicago Public Media,* June 22, 2012, accessed September 24, 2015, https://www.chicagopublicmedia.org/sites/default/files/Release_WRTE_FINAL.pdf.

[188] "Chicago Public Media Partners with National Museum of Mexican Art", *Chicago Public Media,* June 22, 2012, accessed September 24, 2015, https://www.chicagopublicmedia.org/sites/default/files/Release_WRTE_FINAL.pdf.

[189] "Chicago Public Media Partners with National Museum of Mexican Art", *Chicago Public Media,* June 22, 2012, accessed September 24, 2015, https://www.chicagopublicmedia.org/sites/default/files/Release_WRTE_FINAL.pdf.

[190] Paul Riismandel, "Chicago User-generated station Vocalo to re-launch with more conventional format," *Radio Survivor*, March 8, 2011, accessed September 24, 2015, http://www.radiosurvivor.com/2011/03/08/chicago-user-generated-station-vocalo-to-re-launch-with-more-convential-format/.

[191] Paul Riismandel, "Chicago User-generated station Vocalo to re-launch with more conventional format," *Radio Survivor*, March 8, 2011, accessed September 24, 2015, http://www.radiosurvivor.com/2011/03/08/chicago-user-generated-station-vocalo-to-re-launch-with-more-convential-format/.

station's frequency from 90.5FM to 90.7FM, a result of re-locating the station's antenna to above University Hall at the University of Illinois at Chicago—which likewise changed the station's field of transmission and further distanced Vocal from WCYC/WRTE's heritage as a local broadcaster.[192]

Conclusion

In this chapter, I explained how radio, space, and ethnic and racial identity were critical to the development of WCYC and WRTE's Latinx programming. As in the previous chapter, I engaged with this history from a scalar perspective but offered a view of the city's Latinx mediascape from the neighborhood level. By doing so, I was able to demonstrate how the stations' restricted transmission range narrowed the scope of its address to a single neighborhood, which in turn made it possible to see how WCYC and WRTE reflected the social changes taking place around them, namely a greater representation of Latinx youth identity as Little Village's Latinx population grew.

I further demonstrated the ways in which space affected the stations' production practices by describing how each station was an initiative of a larger parent organization, whose community mandate was directly related to its social and cultural contexts. In the case of WCYC, its concerns over juvenile delinquency and the ways in which it gendered its production practices bespoke its lineage to the Chicago Boys' Clubs, whose mission resonated with that of the Chicago Area Project. Likewise, WRTE's relationship with the National Museum of Mexican Art motivated the station to narrow the scope of its address to just the Latinx

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[192] "Chicago Public Media Moves WRTE-FM to 90.7, Simulcasts Vocalo", *Chicago Public Radio and Media*, February 11, 2013, accessed September 24, 2015, http://chicagoradioandmedia.com/news/3099-chicago-public-media-moves-wrte-fm-to-907-simulcasts-vocalo.

community. In so doing, the station represented Pilsen's Latinx youth in its broadcasts of Rock en Español, which depicted both translocal and hybrid Latinities in its convergence of various musical genres from diverse regions of the world.

As I did with WCIU, I situated the station's history within Chicago's larger Latinx media industry history. Although I did not focus on Latinx programming at the station during the dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-1986), I still made reference to other radio producers, such as José E. Chapa, whose brokered Spanish-language programming typified how the city's Latinx media producers privileged an international scale of proximity when representing Latinidad, as was the case with WCIU's Univision imports. My analysis of Latinx programming on WCYC began with the decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996), which coincided with a shift in Little Village's demographics that resulted in a larger population of Latinx residents. The station reflected this change by developing more focused representations of Latinx youth identity. By doing so, the station exemplified a greater scale-shift taking place in the United States, during which the scale of Latinx identity narrowed to a single, generalizable community as opposed to the more fractured sense of Latinx community that typified the dawn of Latinx broadcasting.

This chapter introduced discussion on the intermedial turn (1996-2006) of Latinx media production in Chicago, which bore witness to a more mature sense of generalizable Latinidad, which expressed itself as a hybrid cultural formation as it drew influence from but did not privilege Latin America in its representations of Latinidad. Likewise, the historical transition into the intermedial turn coincided with the station's sale to the National Museum of Mexican Art. In becoming Radio Arte, the station revealed a greater interconnectedness with other forms of media, which was most evident in its relationship with both the Yollocalli education program and the art museum.

In the following chapter on the Chicago Latino Film Festival, I continue my analysis of the city's Latinx media industry history by describing the ways in which the festival's relationship with Chicago not only informed its representation of Latinidad but also its exhibition strategies. However, rather than explore the festival's history from just one perspective, as was the case in this chapter, I analyze the festival from multiple scales, including at a neighborhood, city, and international levels.

CHAPTER THREE

Mapping the Chicago Latino Film Festival

On Wednesday, June 24th, 1987, the Chicago Latino Film Festival premiered Paul

Leduc's Mexican biopic, *Frida Still Life,* at the 3 Penny Theater, a two-screen, independent

movie house in Lincoln Park. According to the festival's director, Francisco "Pepe" Vargas, and

the chair of its board of directors, Lilia T. Delgado, the festival intended to "share" Latinx

culture "through the eyes" of some of the community's "greatest artists," which is why it is not

surprising that a film about Frida Kahlo was included in that year's lineup, especially given that

the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago had held a Frida Kahlo exhibition just a few years

earlier on January 13, 1978. [1] What is surprising about the screening is that it was hosted in

Lincoln Park, an affluent and predominantly white area of the city.[2] Given that the festival

focused on Latinx film, what does this screening of *Frida Still Life* tell us about the relationship

between the city's social landscape and the festival's exhibition strategies?

Beginning in 1985 and ending in 2012, the following chapter describes the history of the

Chicago Latino Film Festival. Unlike my focus on a neighborhood scale of proximity in the

previous chapter, I will explore the festival's representational strategies across multiple scales,

doing so at neighborhood, citywide, and international levels. I will also demonstrate the

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[1] Lilia T. Delgado and Pepe Vargas, "Dear Friends of the Festival," Chicago Latino Film Festival Brochure, 1989, The Chicago Latino Cultural Center, Chicago, Illinois. Alan G. Artner, "'77-'78 museum forecast is sunny, bright with promise," *Chicago Tribune*, September 11, 1977, E9. Janis Bergman-Carton, "Strike a Pose: The Framing of Madonna and Frida Kahlo," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 35, no. 4 (1993). Irma Dosamantes-Beaudry, "Frida Kahlo: The Creation of a Cultural Icon," *The Arts in Psychology* 29, no. 1 (2002). Isabel Molina Guzmàn, "Mediating *Frida*: Negotiating Discourses of Latina/o Authenticity in Global Media Representations of Ethnic Identity," *Critical Studies in Media Communication* 23, no. 3 (2006).

[2] Since the 1970s, the 3 Penny theater had been owned by June and Jim Burrows, local movie theater moguls that once ran Skokie Theater and also owned the independent movie theaters The 400, The Adelphi, and Devon Theater. The 3 Penny was located at the same site of what was originally a nickelodeon called Fullerton Theatre, which opened in 1912.

interconnectedness of these various scales of proximity by describing how the city's historical legacy of ethnic and racial segregation informed the festival's selection of screenings in multiple, yet highly determined neighborhoods in Chicago.

Such a relationship between scales of proximity was also evident in the festival's selection of films. For example, the festival's schedule was primarily comprised of Latin American films but also included films from Chicago and other parts of the United States. I contend that the festival enacted a translocal Latinity by shifting the scale of its address across multiple levels, which at once highlighted Chicago's Latinx community while also representing Latinidad within a broader, international context. Having begun during the decade of the "Hispanic," the festival exemplified both the emergence of the more generalized Latinx community taking shape at the national level and the residual traces of the dawn of Latinx broadcasting in Chicago, which was characterized by the privileging of Latin American nationality in the representation of Latinidad.

This chapter advances our understanding of the Chicago's Latin media industry history by outlining the festival's representational strategies across two historical periods: the decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996) and the intermedial turn (1996-2006). As was the case with both WCIU and WCYC, the film festival's activities during the decade of the "Hispanic" reinforced the idea that a single Latinx community could be articulated through media representations. Likewise, the festival typified the intermedial turn of the city's Latinx media industry by adding the Chicago Latino Music Festival to its list of events, just as WRTE's relationship to the National Museum of Mexican Art suggested a greater awareness of intermediality. This in turn meant that there was an understanding that Latinidad could be composed of various Latin American elements, revealing a hybrid sense of Latinidad, which was best exemplified in its

promotional material.

By conducting a history of the Chicago Latino Film Festival, this chapter engages with

scholars such as Marijke De Valck, Lydia Papadimitriou, and Jeffrey Ruoff, who discuss film

festivals in relation to the nation state, most notably the "first wave" festivals of the 1930s, which

have largely been understood to have served as apparatuses for the extension of the nation state's

political power.[3] As Francesco Di Chiara and Valentina Re point out, since these early

experiments in film exhibition, our understanding of film festivals has not only changed in terms

of how we view their role in cinema history but also with regards to how we approach their

study.[4] Whereas earlier scholarship on film festivals, specifically international film festivals,

demonstrated an interest in the nation state, more contemporary research focuses on the spatiality

of film festivals and the ways that they engender group identities.

Scholars such as Thomas Elsaesser, Bill Nichols, and Dina Iordanova note that film

festivals reflect the "politics of place," which can "provide/transform public spaces," in turn

altering what Ros Derrett calls a "sense of place" by providing a "common ground" for

communities to "create or enhance a perception of place" and "establish what is significant and

valued in the environment or heritage of a particular community."[5] In other words, film festivals

inform our understanding of their sites of exhibition. Scholars such as Julian Stringer and

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[3] Marijke De Valck, "Introduction: What Is a Film Festival? How to Study Festivals and Why You Should," in *Film Festivals: History, Theory, Method, Practice* eds. Marijke de Valck, Brendan Kredell, and Skadi Loist (London, New York: Routledge, 2016). Lydia Papadimitriou and Jeffrey Ruoff, "Film Festivals: Origins and Trajectories," *New Review of Film and Television Studies* 14, no. 1 (2016).

[4] Francesco Di Chiara and Valentina Re, "Film Festival/Film History: The Impact of Film Festivals on Cinema Historiography. *Il cinema ritrovato* and Beyond," *Cinémas* 21, no. 2/3 (2011).

[5] Dina Iordanova, *Film Festival Yearbook 1: The Festival Circuit,* eds. Dina Iordanova and Ragan Rhyne (St. Andrews: St. Andrews Film Studies, 2009), 182. Cindy Hing-Yuk Wong, *Film Festival: Culture, People, and Power on the Global Screen* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2011), 163. Ros Derrett, "Festivals and Regional Destinations: How Festivals Demonstrate a Sense of Community and Place," *Rural Society* 13, no. 1 (2003): 38.

Brendan Kredell have pursued this line of research to explore how film festivals have contributed

to the development of "global cities," along the way demonstrating that film festivals, as Nichols

notes, are "never only or purely local," since they circulate "a cachet of locally inscribed

difference and globally ascribed commonality."[6] As I will show, the Chicago Latino Film

Festival exemplified this idea by both developing a relationship with the city to reinforce its

sense of the local while also serving as a way for the city to generate a persona as a "world city."

Described by Julian Stringer as "a new kind of counter public sphere," one that emerges at the

nexus of film exhibition and cultural geography to provide insight into social dynamics, film

festivals have provided ample material to explore how spaces of exhibition inform the creation of

group identities, which typifies the primary focus of scholarship on film festivals by Cindy Hing-

Yuk Wong, Andy Bennett, Ian Woodward, and Skadi Loist.[7]

According to Wong, all festivals have "the advancement of cinema as a primary goal,"

but certain festivals have "additional, even dominant goals that entail furthering other agendas

beyond cinematic arts," which are evident in what Loist calls "specialized festivals," the

community and/or identity-based festivals that "provide exhibition of a different kind of film for

audiences, with either a political or representational agenda."[8] Loist differentiates such

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[6] Bill Nichols, "Global Image Consumption in the Age of Late Capitalism," *East-West Film Journal* 8, no. 1 (1994): 68. Julian Stringer, "Global Cities and the International Film Festival Economy," in *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context,* eds. Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers: 2001). Brendan Kredell, "T.O. Live with Film: The Toronto International Film Festival and Municipal Cultural Policy in Contemporary Toronto," *Canadian Journal of Film Studies | Revue Canadienne d'Études Cinématographiques* 21, no. 1 (2012).

[7] Julian Stringer, "Global Cities and the International Film Festival Economy," in *Cinema and the City: Film and Urban Societies in a Global Context,* ed. Mark Shiel and Tony Fitzmaurice (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers: 2001), 136. Cindy Hing-Yuk Wong, *Film Festival: Culture, People, and Power on the Global Screen* (New Brunswick, New Jersey, and London : Rutgers University Press, 2011), Andy Bennett and Ian Woodward, "Festival Spaces, Identity, Experience and Belonging," in *The Festivalization of Culture,* eds. Andy Bennett, Jodie Taylor, and Ian Woodward (Farnham, Surrey, Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2014), Skadi Loist, "Precarious Cultural Work: About the Organization of (Queer) Film Festivals," *Screen* 52, no. 2 (2011).

[8] Cindy Hing-Yuk Wong, *Film Festival: Culture, People, and Power on the Global Screen* (New Brunswick, New

specialized festivals from "international film festivals" by noting that the former highlights local communities in their exhibition practices. However, the Chicago Latino Film Festival's translocal representation of Latinidad is best understood as a mixture of multiple categories in Loist's taxonomy, being both a specialized and an international film festival because it not only themed its selections around a specific ethnic community but also screened films from all over of the world. Even among other studies of Latinx film festivals, the Chicago Latino Film Festival is unique precisely because of its shifting geopolitical scales.

Scholars such as Tamara Falcov, Miriam Ross, Laura Rodriguez Isaza, and Mar Diestro-Dópido typify the bulk of the literature on Latinx film festivals in that their focus is largely on Latin American film festivals.[9] Although some scholars, such as Chon Noriega and Y.J. Broyles have discussed the role of film festivals and their relationship to U.S.-American Latinx media production more broadly, their work does not interrogate the relationship between a film festivals' representation of Latinidad and its place within a specific geopolitical and social context.[10] In studying how the Chicago Latino Film Festival's exhibition strategies reflected the city's place-based understanding of race, this chapter expands our understanding of how the act of viewing of film is necessarily informed by the context of its reception.

Jersey, and London: Rutgers University Press, 2011). 160. Skadi Loist, "Precarious Cultural Work: About the Organization of (Queer) Film Festivals," *Screen* 52, no. 2 (2011): 269.

[9] Laura Rodríguez Isaza, "De 'gira' por los festivales: Patrones migratorios del cine Latinoamericano," *Secuencias: Revista de Historia del Cine* 39 (2014). Mar Diestro-Dópido, "The Film Festival Circuit: Identity Transactions in a Translational Economy," in *A Companion to Latin American Cinema*, eds. Maria M. Delgado, Stephen M. Hart, and Randal Johnson (Chichester, W. Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2017). Miriam Ross, "The Film Festival as Producer: Latin American films and Rotterdam's Hubert Bals Fund," *Screen* 52, no. 2 (2011). Tamara L. Falicov, "'Cine en Construcción'/'Films in Progress': How Spanish and Latin American Film-Makers Negotiate the Construction of a Globalized Art-House Aesthetic," *Transnational Cinemas* 4, no. 2 (2013). Tamara L. Falicov, "Migrating from South to North: The Role of Film Festivals in Funding and Shaping Global South Film and Video," in *Locating Migrating Media*, eds. Greg Elmer, Charles H. Davis, Janine Marchessault, and John McCullough (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2010).

[10] Chon A. Noriega, *Shot in America: Television, the State, and the Rise of Chicano Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 147. Y.J. Broyles, "Chicano film festivals: An examination," in *Chicano Cinema: Research, Reviews and Resources*, ed. Gary Keller (Tempe, AZ: Bilingual Review Press, 1993).

This history of the Chicago Latino Film Festival is proceeded by the work of Ilene S. Goldman, who was the first to perform an academic study of the festival, both in commissioned works for the festival's programs and in more critical, academic pieces.[11] This chapter builds on her work to conceive of the festival in terms of its overall relationship to the city's Latinx mediascape, offering a greater discussion on the festival's representation of Latinidad, its relationship to space, and its intermediality. In charting the festival's history during the development of the city's Latinx media industry, I will describe the ways in which the festival's industry mandates and its relationship to the city not only informed its representation of Latinidad but also its exhibition strategies throughout the course of its history. The festival's history will also serve to demonstrate the shifting scales of Latinx identity that took place between the decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996) and the intermedial turn (1996-2006), transitioning between a more generalized understanding of Latinx identity to one differentiated according to nationality yet still unified under a larger sense of Latinidad.

Early Latin American Film Exhibition in Chicago

Chicago has a rich film history, and there have been several organizations that promoted Latinx film before the Chicago Latino Film Festival. Of such organizations, the Pan American Council of Chicago is the most notable for having promoted Latin American cultural productions for over 50 years. The Council's activities took place before and during the dawn of Latinx broadcasting in Chicago, exemplifying the trend of privileging Latin America in representations

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[11] Ilene S. Goldman, "Chicago Latino Cinema: The Bridge to a Crossover Audience," presented at the Latin American Studies Association Conference, Guadalajara, Mexico, April, 1997. Ilene S. Goldman, "Seeing Latin American Cinema into the Twenty-First Century: The Chicago Latino Film Festival," presented at the conference for the Society for Cinema Studies, held in San Diego, CA, 1998. Ilene S. Goldman, "Celebrating 25 Years of the Chicago Latino Film Festival," *24ᵗʰ Chicago Latino Film Festival Program,* 2008, The International Latino Cultural Center library, Chicago, Illinois.

of Latinidad. However, the Council also promoted the idea that there was a common bond among various Latin American countries, which was to foreshadow the Chicago Latino Film Festival's representational strategies during decade of the "Hispanic."

Founded by the geographer Harriet Platt while a research associate in the University of Chicago's geography department in 1939, the council was a "clearing house for Chicago organizations interested in Latin America," with a board of directors and committee members composed of representatives from various groups, whose interest in Latin America indicated a more general growth in an awareness of "neighbor countries to the south" by U.S. organizations during and shortly after World War II.[12] Exemplifying what became known as the "good neighbor" policy, the Pan American council espoused a rhetoric of "good will," intending to engender mutual understanding between the U.S. and Latin America, which was evident in the council's promotional materials and official records.[13] For example, the council quoted President Franklin Delano Roosevelt in one of their programs for an event held in 1942, which read "good neighbors make a good community."[14] The council also declared a mission to develop "friendly understanding, appreciation, and cooperation among the peoples of the Republics of the Americans" in its by-laws, which announced a mandate to scale the council's activities to an

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[12] "Pan-American Group to Hear Senora James," *Chicago Tribune,* February 25, 1940, G5.

[13] Betty Browning, "Pan-American Good Will is Council Goal," *Chicago Tribune*, June 29, 1941, H3. This increase in Latin American-themed programming reflects the U.S.' Good Neighbor Policy, where the government took steps to prevent the spread of fascism, communism, and the influence from Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union. See Bryce Wood, The Dismantling of the Good Neighbor Policy (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1985), ix; J.B. Kaufman, *South of the Border with Disney: Walt Disney and the Good Neighbor Program, 1941 – 1948* (New York: Disney Editions, 2009); Julianna Burton, "Don (Juanito) duck and the Imperial-Patriarchal Unconscious: Disney Studios, the Good Neighbor Policy, and the Packing of Latin America," in *Nationalisms and Sexualities*, ed. Andrew Parker (New York: Routledge, 1992), and the movie, *The Three Caballeros* (Ferguson, 1944).

[14] Program for Pan American Council of Chicago event, "Pan American Day Dinner," April 14, 1942, R.R. Donnelley & Sons Company Archive 1844 – 2005, Series VIII: Personal Papers, Subseries 1: C. F. Beezeley Jr., Box 347, Folder 9, Pan American Council, Program, 1942, The University of Chicago Special Collections Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

international level.[15]

Representing Latinidad at this scale was akin to the Chicago Latino Film Festival's own international scale of proximity but differed in that the council's activities largely remained at a global level. For example, the council showcased musical performances by Latin American visitors, produced a radio program called "Spotlight on Pan America" on NBC's WMAQ that broadcast every Friday morning in 1943, and screened Latin American films that were often ethnographic in nature.[16] According to the anthropologist Jay Ruby, ethnographic film "systematically avoids the economic and political conditions of the people studied and filmed," going so far as to even romanticize and even support "political and economic neocolonialism and other forms of oppression."[17] Ruby's reading of ethnographic film suggests that the council created spaces for non-Latinxs to consume Latin American culture rather than serve to generate community among the city's Latinxs, which is likewise suggested with the council describing U.S.-American Latinxs as "nationals of other Americas living within our borders."[18] From this example we can see that the Council operated at a scale of identity that typified that of the dawn of Latinx broadcasting, where by privileging of Latin American nationality they promoted a more fractured sense of Latinx community. Despite positioning U.S.-American Latinxs and Latin Americans outside of a perceived U.S.-American national imaginary, the council nevertheless

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[15] "By-Laws of Pan American Council," July 1, 1968, F548.9. H5P2, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

[16] Betty Browning, "Pan-American Good Will is Council Goal," *Chicago Tribune,* June 29, 1941, H3. "Pan-American Group to Hear Senora James," *Chicago Tribune,* February 25, 1940, G5. "Pan-American Council Ends Notable Year," *Chicago Tribune*, August 11, 1940, E8. "Radio Program Hits Nail on the Head," *Pan American Council Bulletin*, 4, no. 14 (August, 1943), 1, Bulletin, Pan American Council, Chicago, F548.9.L2P2, The Chicago History Museum Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

[17] Jay Ruby, *Picturing Culture* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 206.

[18] Robert C. Jones, "Committee on Social Service and Cooperation of the Pan American Council," 1942, Robert Redfield papers 1917-1958, Series II: General Files, Box 25, Folder 1, Pan American Council, The University of Chicago Special Collections Research Center, Chicago, Illinois.

was prolific in its representation of Latinidad, especially in its support of Latin American film, which was most evident in its sponsorship of Northwestern University's Pan American Film Festival.

Beginning in 1952, Northwestern University's Spanish Club culminated the council's annual Pan American Week by hosting a film festival, which was held every April until the early 1970s.[19] Every festival would take place over a weekend and showcase films from Latin America, Portugal, and Spain. Under the direction of Northwestern's romance languages professor Phares R. Hershey, the festival intended to make Chicago "Pan American conscious," which bespoke the Spanish Club's mission of promoting "inter-American understanding and friendship," a mission that was quite similar to the council's own.[20] Throughout its history, the festival represented Latinidad through cultural productions that not only included film but also musical performances, such as the one from Pedro Krause, a "Latin-American Baritone," who sang "several Spanish and Latin-American folk songs" during the festival in 1953.[21]

The Pan American Film Festival exemplified the council's representational strategies in key ways. For one, the event took place in only one location, Thorne Hall at the university's downtown campus, just like the council's other events, which were mostly held at the Chicago Cultural Center in downtown. Secondly, the festival adopted an international focus by representing Latinidad through a Latin American lens rather than from the point of view of Latinxs residing within the United States. Lastly, the festival included musical performances,

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[19] The Spanish Club was housed within Northwestern University's Evening Division, which was an adult education program.

[20] "UC to Show Spanish Films," *Northwestern News*, October 6, 1952, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, Illinois. "Pan Am Shows Spanish Films," *Northwestern News*, April 21, 1958, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, Illinois.

[21] "Pan-American Film Festival Held at Thorne Hall," *Northwestern News,* April 13, 1953, 1, Northwestern University Archives, Evanston, Illinois.

which likewise typified the council's own transmedia representations of Latin America.

As I will show, Chicago Latino Film Festival's representational strategies both overlapped with and diverged from the historical practices of the Pan American Council of Chicago. Among the most important differences is that the Chicago Latino Film Festival's understanding of Latinidad scale-shifted beyond the council's international focus to neighborhood, city, and national levels, which created a dialectic between the festival's exhibition practices, its representations of Latinidad, and the city's social landscape. The festival also presented a shift in its scale of identity, exemplifying the decade of the "Hispanic" by envisioning a more unified Latinx community, albeit one still differentiated according to Latin American nationality.

The Hispanic Film Festival, 1985-1986

The Pan American Council's exhibition strategies demonstrated an early way in which Chicagoans used media to reveal the meaning of Latinx cultural practices. The Chicago Latino Film Festival intended to achieve a similar goal by drawing a relationship between its representations of Latinidad and the neighborhoods where it screened its films, just like WCYC would do during the decade of the "Hispanic" in the 1980s. Beginning in 1985, the festival demonstrated this tendency in its exhibitions strategies, providing insight into how local Latinx media producers represented Latinidad through the use of film during the decade of the "Hispanic."[22]

Initially called "The Hispanic Film Festival," the first iteration of the Chicago Latino

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[22] Sid Smith, "Jeffrey Sweet Stages the Pullman Strikes," *Chicago Tribune*, May 22, 1986, 13E.

Film festival was held at Saint Augustine College in Uptown.[23] A once booming commercial and entertainment district, Uptown was no longer an affluent neighborhood in 1985, but what it lacked in economic prosperity it made up for in social diversity with significant numbers of Chinese, Vietnamese, Latinx, African-American, and white U.S.-American residents.[24] The neighborhood's downturn belied the fact that it was once home to one of the most important production companies in film history, Essanay Studios, whose former buildings now comprise Saint Augustine's campus.

Essanay Studios first formed as a company on April 30th, 1907.[25] Initially, the company's headquarters were situated right off of Lake Michigan in downtown Chicago, but after a series of successful productions, Essanay relocated to Uptown in 1908.[26] Essanay's success was due in large part to the popularity of its founder, Gilbert M. Anderson (born Max Aronson), the "A" in "S and A" (Essanay), who at the time was better known as "Broncho Billy" but is now most notable for his role in Edwin S. Porter's *The Great Train Robbery* (1903).[27] The company's other founder, George K. Spoor, was a native of Illinois and primarily handled the company's business affairs, while also occasionally directing films. Essanay is primarily remembered for producing what James L. Neibaur refers to as Charlie Chaplin's "most

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[23] Judy Hevrdejs, "A Passion for Moving Pictures," *Chicago Tribune*, September 27, 1990, N_B1. Saint Augustine College was founded by the Spanish Episcopal Services "under the auspices of the Episcopal Diocese of Chicago" and was granted "operating authority" on October 7, 1980, by the Illinois State Board of Higher Education, providing bilingual instruction in English and Spanish to Latinxs inform throughout Chicago ever since.

[24] Patrick Butler, *The Hidden History of Uptown and Edgewater* (Charleston: The History Press, 2013).

[25] "New Incorporations," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 1, 1907, 14. For a more in-depth history of Essanay, see Michael Glover Smith and Adam Selzer, *Flickering Empire: How Chicago Invented the U.S. Film Industry* (London and New York: Wallflower Press, 2015), and David Kiehn, *Broncho Billy and the Essanay Film Company* (Berkeley: Farwell Books, 2003).

[26] "New Incorporations," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 1, 1907, 14.

[27] Robert Loerzel, "Reel Chicago," *Chicago Magazine*, May 19, 2007.

important" work, *The Tramp,* after the actor joined the company in 1915.[28] Now occupying

Essanay studios, Saint Augustine College's campus has become an unassuming landmark in

cinema history with an intact film vault that still remains tucked away underneath the college's

Chaplin Auditorium, which as it so happened serendipitously became the site of the first iteration

of the Chicago Latino Film Festival.

Although it lauded its relationship to the commercial

company Essanay, the college adhered to a mixed mandate that

was both commercial and community oriented, which was most

evident in its commitment to developing a strong sense of ethnic

identity in its Latinx student population.[29] The college

demonstrated this mixed mandate when it partnered with a local

"community developer," Armando Afanador, to create "The

Hispanic Film Festival" in April 1985.[30] Taking place over one

Figure 4.1

weekend, the festival screened 14 films in the college's Chaplin

auditorium and drew an audience of over 500 people, adopting an

international scale and representing a general "Hispanic" identity by

screening films from throughout Latin America and Spain.[31] Although it

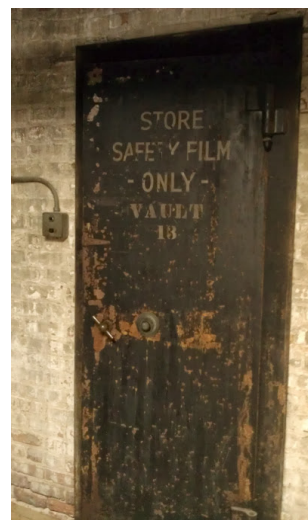focused on Latinx cultural productions, the festival is best understood
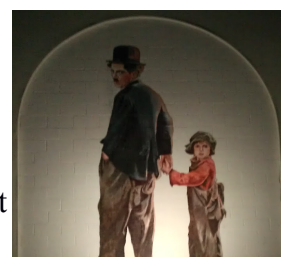

Figure 4.2

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[28] James L. Neibaur, "Chaplin at Essanay: Artist in Transition," *Film Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2000): 23. "Chas. Chaplin, (The Greatest Motion Picture Comedian the World Has Ever Seen), is now producing his famous comedies for Essanay," Essanay *Film Manufacturing Company, The Photoplay Review*, January 28, 1915. For more information on Chaplin at Essanay, see Ted Okuda and David Maska, *Charlie Chaplin at Keystone and Essanay: Dawn of the Tramp* (Lincoln: iUniverse, 2005).

[29] "Mission and History," St. Augustine, last modified June 15, 2016, accessed September 9, 2017, http://www.staugustine.edu/index.php?src=gendocs&ref=ABOUT_missionstatement.

[30] Judy Hevrdejs, "A Passion for Moving Pictures," *Chicago Tribune*, September 27, 1990, N_B1.

[31] Judy Hevrdejs, "A Passion for Moving Pictures," *Chicago Tribune*, September 27, 1990, N_B1.

as having served the college's commercial interests because it was ultimately intended to recruit more students. However, the event also showed that film could be used to foster a better understanding of Chicago's Latinx community. One way in which the festival did this was by ensuring that all of its screenings were "subtitled in English," which in turn invited non-Spanish speakers to participate in the festival.[32] In so doing, the festival extended the scope of its address beyond just Latinx Spanish-speakers. As such, from its very inception, the Chicago Latino Film Festival used film to enrich the social relationships between Chicago's ethnically and racially diverse residents but with a marked difference from the Pan American council's earlier history in that it centered the city's Latinx community in its site of exhibition rather than position them outside of its intended audience, demonstrating a shift in scale of identity that conceived of Latinxs as a single community rather than as separate Latin American nationals.

Having proven to be a popular event, Saint Augustine College approached Afanador to host the festival again the following year. However, Afanador had become too busy with other projects and enlisted the help of his friend, Francisco "Pepe" Vargas, a Colombian-émigré completing a degree at Columbia College, who thereafter took over as festival director.[33] Vargas grew interested in working with the festival after attending its screening of Carlos Saura's *Sweet Hours* (1982) the previous year.[34] As director, Vargas helped grow the festival into a greater enterprise, increasing its attendance from 500 to 3,500 visitors and screening a total of 19 films from Spain, the U.S. And ten Central and South American countries, including Luis Buñuel's *Viridiana* (1961), Pedro Almodovar's *What Have I Done to Deserve This?* (1984), and Newton

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[32] Sid Smith, "Jeffrey Sweet Stages the Pullman Strikes," *Chicago Tribune*, May 22, 1986, 13E.

[33] Rodrigo Carramiñana, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, August 8, 2012. Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.

[34] Judy Hevrdejs, "A Passion for Moving Pictures," *Chicago Tribune*, September 27, 1990, N_B1.

Thomas Sigel and Pamela Yates's *When the Mountains Tremble* (1983), "a documentary on

Guatemalan peasant life."[35] Although the film festival did well in its first year, Vargas'

participation helped the second festival to far exceed the success of the "The Hispanic Film

Festival" of 1985, leading some to argue that the festival as we know it really started when

Vargas became director.[36] Regardless of when exactly the Chicago Latino Film Festival came

into being, Vargas' participation in and later directorship of the festival brought about a coherent

vision of how the festival was to function and, most importantly, what its overall mission should

be, which Vargas would refine in subsequent years—without Saint Augustine College as its

primary sponsor.

Despite the festival's success in its second year, Saint Augustine College withdrew as the

festival's primary sponsor at the end of 1986. As mentioned earlier, Saint Augustine College

intended to use the festival to increase enrollment, but when the festival failed to attract more

students, the college rescinded its support and, according to Vargas, "let the festival die."[37] This

created a moment of crisis for Vargas, who was convinced of the festival's potential for both

success and for changing the way that Chicagoans understood Latinx culture. Not to be detered,

Vargas approached the head of Columbia College's Film and Video department for support, who

agreed to provide "production" and "technical" assistance to host what Vargas now called the

Chicago Latino Film Festival.[38] The most important outcome of this support was that the festival

relocated from Uptown to Columbia College's Getz Theater in downtown Chicago.[39] This

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[35] Sid Smith, "Jeffrey Sweet Stages the Pullman Strikes," *Chicago Tribune*, May 22, 1986, 13E. Judy Hevrdejs, "A Passion for Moving Pictures," *Chicago Tribune*, September 27, 1990, N_B1.

[36] Rodrigo Carramiñana, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, August 8, 2012.

[37] Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.

[38] John Teets, "Philanthropy Starts Early," *Chicago Tribune*, March 11, 1987, 3.

[39] John Teets, "Philanthropy Starts Early," *Chicago Tribune*, March 11, 1987, 3.

relocation proved to be significant, as it foreshadowed the festival's future exhibition strategies of screening films in affluent parts of the city, requiring a negotiation between its community and commercial mandates, which I will discuss in greater detail later on in this chapter.

During the festival's early history, we can see that it developed a mission to foster a better understanding of the city's Latinx community by increasing the scope of its address to Chicago's non-Latinx residents. This early history also suggests that there was a mutual relationship between the festival's industry mandates and its exhibition sites. In subsequent years, the film festival's exhibition practices not only reinforced that relationship but also revealed the ways in which the festival used film to develop an alternative understanding of Latinidad during the decade of the "Hispanic," which promoted a more unified sense of Latinx community and reflected the development of a more generalized U.S.-American Latinx taking place in the United States at the time.

Mapping Chicago during the decade of the Hispanic, 1986 - 1996

Although Saint Augustine College was the original founder of the Chicago Latino Film Festival, under its auspices the festival expressed a mandate that was more commercially oriented because it was intended to serve as a recruitment tool. Upon ending its affiliation with Saint Augustine College, the festival was no longer wedded to the college's commercial mandate, leaving it free to privilege a more community-oriented mandate. However, this is not to say that the festival did not also develop its own commercial mandate, which it made evident by hosting 905 screenings in commercial theaters between 1987 and 1994, 685 of which took place in Lincoln Park and 70 in the Loop, two affluent areas that are located on the North Side of the

city.[40] During these years, the festival began articulating its mandate, which in turn were to inform its exhibition strategies as it reflected Chicago's social landscape.

From its start in 1985, the festival demonstrated that its surrounding community influenced its exhibition practices, which was evidenced by Saint Augustine's promotion of Latin American film as a way of recognizing Uptown's Latinx community. However, unlike in Uptown, Lincoln Park's residents were predominantly white U.S.-Americans, which was a stark contrast from how, for example, WCYC related to its neighborhood; in short, the festival did not reflect Lincoln Park's Latinx community. According to Vargas, the festival chose to screen its films in the neighborhood because U.S.-Americans like "big productions," by which he means that he believed that the festival had to take place in areas that Chicagoans would recognize as the most "prominent" parts of the city.[41] As one of Chicago's more wealthy neighborhoods, replete with "trendy restaurants, stylish boutiques and affluent young professionals," Lincoln Park was an ideal site to accomplish this goal. However, by choosing to screen in Lincoln Park, the festival succumbed to the city's historical legacy of racial segregation.

The festival's early distribution of exhibition sites demonstrates what Arnold R. Hirsch calls "the peculiar characteristics of Chicago's racial geography," which divided the city between the wealthier and predominantly white North Side and the less affluent and more African-American South Side. [42] In other words, Chicago's neighborhoods "suffered an 'extraordinary' degree of segregation."[43] As a result of that segregation, Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A.

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[40] These figures compiled by the author, using schedules located in the Chicago Reader, the Chicago Tribune, and the festival's public programs. See Table 1 in the Appendix.

[41] Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.

[42] Arnold R. Hirsh, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940 – 1960* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 3-10.

[43] Arnold R. Hirsh, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940 – 1960* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 3-10.

Denton argue that "the population of vast areas of Chicago's south and west sides became virtually all black," which in turn meant that when the South Side underwent an economic downturn because of what sociologist Ted Mouw calls "job decentralization" during the 1960s and 1970s, so too did many of its African-American residents.[44] The heightened poverty rates for those living on the South Side of the city, especially within historically African-American neighborhoods, reinforced what Douglas Vaillant calls the "barriers of power and privilege used to divide whites from blacks on the air and in the city-at-large."[45] When coupled with media depictions of the South Side as racially homogeneous in the city's popular media, perceptions of neighborhood affluence were directly tied to racial demographics.[46] As a result, the festival's preference for screening in Lincoln Park was related to perceptions about ethnicity and race— albeit indirectly—because the festival's primary motive for screening in the neighborhood was to advance its commercial mandate. That being said, the festival also held screenings in a few areas on the South Side, including 54 in Hyde Park, 14 in Little Village, and 16 in McKinley Park between 1987 and 1994, which appears to contradict the idea that the festival reflected the city's history of racial segregation. However, I content that these figures are explained by the festival's mixed mandate, which promoted a community element alongside its more commercial imperatives.

One way in which the festival promoted its community mandate was by hosting

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[44] Arnold R. Hirsh, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940 – 1960* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 10 and 3. Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1993), 46. Ted Mouw, "Job Relocation and the Racial Gap in Unemployment in Detroit and Chicago, 1980 to 1990," *American Sociological Review* 65, no. 5 (2000): 750.

[45] Douglas Vaillant, "Sounds of Whiteness: Local Radio, Racial Formation, and Public Culture in Chicago, 1921-1935," *American Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2002): 36.

[46] Douglas Vaillant, "Sounds of Whiteness: Local Radio, Racial Formation, and Public Culture in Chicago, 1921-1935," *American Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (2002): 36.

screenings in local colleges, universities, and community centers. Of its 905 screenings between

1987 and 1994, 676 were held in commercial theaters, but 174 were held in educational

institutions, mostly at universities, such as the University of Illinois, Northwestern University,

the University of Chicago, Northeastern University, and in some local high schools, such as

Roberto Clemente in Humboldt Park.[47] Aside from screening in educational spaces, the festival

also held 27 community-sponsored screenings in predominantly Latinx areas of the city, most

notably in Humboldt Park, Pilsen, and Little Village. By collaborating with Latinx organizations,

such as the Spanish Coalition for Jobs, Centro Cultural Guadalupano, and the Concilio Hispano,

the festival demonstrated its intention to address the city's Latinx community, which in turn

expressed a mixed mandate that combined both commercial and community interests.

The festival solidified this mixed mandate after Vargas and a newly formed board of

directors, with assistance from the Lawyers for the Creative Arts, drafted by-laws and gathered

all the legal and formal materials required to create Chicago Latino Cinema (CLC) in 1987. [48]

More than just a platform for advancing its community mandate by "promoting Latino[sic]

culture," the CLC also secured the festival's funding, and thereby represented the festival's

commercial interests.[49] As previously mentioned, the festival relied on funding from Saint

Augustine College and Columbia College, but Vargas believed that in order to become even

more successful, the festival required even greater sponsorship, which he could not acquire

without institutional support.[50] As a formal organization, the CLC provided Vargas with enough

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[47] These figures compiled by the author, using schedules located in the Chicago Reader, the Chicago Tribune, and the festival's public programs. See Table 2 in the Appendix.

[48] Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.

[49] "Our History," International Latino Cultural Center, accessed September 8, 2016, http://latinoculturalcenter.org/about/.

[50] Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.

credibility to then solicit corporate sponsorship, and among the earliest to back the festival were

the local NBC affiliate, WMAQ-TV, and American Airlines.[51]

Although the CLC maintained a community mandate, its commercial mandate allowed it

expand its exhibition practices. For example, thanks to the sponsorship of American Airlines, the

festival was able to invite filmmakers and actresses/actors to present their films in-person, such

as when Cordelia Gonzales and Daniel Lugo were invited for the screening of their Puerto Rican

film, *La Gran Fiesta,* in 1988.[52] As Vargas muses, that screening was so popular that "a news

truck came by to observe what was happening and even went so far as to unpack their cameras,

until they realized that it was a peaceful gathering, which lessened their interest in broadcasting

the scene."[53] This event exemplified the ways in which the festival's mixed mandate combined

its commercial and community imperatives, in turn linking various scales of proximity that

converged local and transnational frames of reference. Although the CLC acquired extra

resources because of its commercial mandate, its community mandate played an important role

in determining its exhibition strategies and advancing a scale-making project to promote itself as

a Chicago film festival. This became evident when it partnered with the city, allowing the

festival to develop a local scale-making project while also contributing to Chicago's reputation

as a "world city."

Chicago's Latinx Film Festival

Beyond just hosting screenings in specific neighborhoods throughout the city, the festival

also partnered with municipal authorities to both support the festival and contribute to a new

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[51] Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.

[52] Judy Hevrdejs, "Latin Cinema off the Wall," *Chicago Tribune*, March 16, 1988.

[53] Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.

discourse that represented Chicago as a world class city, replete with art and cultural diversity.

As Janet Harbord notes, this collaboration was not unique to the Chicago Latino Film Festival

but rather commonplace as film festivals "advertise cities, set them in competition, region

against region, global city against global city...[becoming] implicated in the structure, design and

use of cities, [also forming] part of the fabric of city life and its annual calendar."[54]

This partnership did not just benefit the city but also allowed the festival to engage with a local

level of scale, which advanced the festival's community mandate by increasing the value of the

city's Latinx community within Chicago's political economy of social space, which in turn

reflected the scale-shifting that took place during the decade of the "Hispanic" with regards to

articulating a single Latinx community rather than conceiving of a fractured population that was

divided according to Latin American nationality.

The festival's official relationship with Chicago was a result of the city's growing interest

in cultural and arts programs in 1987. As outlined by then-mayor Harold Washington's "Cultural

Plan," the city granted funding to local cultural and arts committees as a way of expressing the

idea that the arts were important to the "everyday life of the city."[55] As part of this initiative, the

city provided "grants from $500 to $10,000, depending on size and scope, to nonprofit

community fairs," including a $10,000 grant to the film festival in 1987, after Vargas approached

the city's Cultural Affairs Commissioner, Lois Weisberg, who was renown as an "influential and

energetic champion of the city's arts/cultural/entertainment scene."[56]

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[54] Janet Harbord, *Film Cultures* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), 61.

[55] Michael Dorf, "Cultural Plan Reflects Arts in Life," *Chicago Tribune*, May 14, 1987, 22.

[56] Rick Kogan, "Lois Weisberg Dead at 90: Tireless Champion of City's Cultural Life," Chicago Tribune, January 14, 2016, accessed September 22, 2016, http://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/ct-lois-weisberg-dead-was-chicago-arts-chief-for-daley-20160114-story.html. Tricia Drevets, "Our Birthday Party is Just Beginning: City Festivals Have Special Theme in '87," *Chicago Tribune*, May 22, 1987, 3. Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.

The festival's partnership with the city was mutually beneficial in numerous ways. For the city, the festival provided a means for promoting social diversity and developing its image as a center for culture and art. For the festival, becoming an official Chicago institution advanced its local scale-making project, which it could use to offer a positive representation of the city's Latinx community. Moreover, it popularized the idea of a single U.S.-American Latinx community that was united by way of cultural productions. The city's investment in the festival was thus crucial to the success of the festival, but the city also profited in seeing that "cultural elements can be used as a tool to achieve economic and social goals," which became even more important during the tenure of mayor Richard M. Daley.[57]

Daley entered office at the end of perhaps the most socially diverse era in the city's local politics, bearing witness to the city's first African-American mayor, Harold Washington, and its first woman mayor, Jane Byrne. Despite Daley representing a potential return to his father's politics, Richard J. Daley was mayor of Chicago from 1955 to 1976, he nevertheless continued Washington's push for greater investment in cultural initiatives by setting forth an agenda to transform Chicago into a world class city by revitalizing the downtown and its theater district, and by touting the city's cultural institutions.

Chicago's transformation constituted a re-framing of how the city could evolve, recalling the idea of a "world city" as first articulated by Manuel Castells and David Harvey, and summarized by John Friedmann "as a product of specifically social forces set in motion by capitalist relations of production.[58] As Friedmann suggests, the city was a "product" that local officials could design and sell to corporations, and Chicago likewise had the "single-minded

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[57] Michael Dorf, "Cultural Plan Reflects Arts in Life," *Chicago Tribune*, May 14, 1987, 22.

[58] Manuel Castells, *La Question Urbaine* (Paris: Maspero, 1972). David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (London: Edward Arnold, 1973). John Friedmann, "The World City Hypothesis," *Development and Change* 17 (1986): 69.

focus" of courting "business, residential, and leisure facilities" in its "strategy of redevelopment."[59] To this effect, the city promoted the arts in order to add to its world class reputation, and the festival contributed to this mission by heralding its relationship to the city in its promotional material, which became useful in advancing its community mandate and local scale-making project.[60]

This new dynamic was illustrated in the festival's promotional posters, which served as paratexts and acted as what Gerard Genette calls a "threshold" for audience members to better understand the festival through media other than film.[61] According to Thomas Stubblefield, paratextual media displace "the film experience onto visual artifacts of the surrounding spaces of the theater."[62] The festival's posters illustrated a set of representational strategies that link representations of Latinidad to iconic Chicago imagery, which in turn re-enforced the idea of a single Latinx community that was not only located in Chicago but also able to be articulated through film.

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[59] Fassil Demissie, "Globalization and the Remaking of Chicago," in *The New Chicago,* eds. John P. Koval, Larry Bennett, Michael I. J. Bennett, Roberta Garner, Kiljoong Kim (Philadelphia: Template University Press, 2006), 28.

[60] Alongside its schedules and pamphlets, the festival has commemorated each year's event with a unique poster, positioning them as the "face of the Festival." (International Latino Cultural Center, "Festival Information," in 31st Chicago Latino Film Festival Program, 2015, pg. 10, The International Latino Cultural Center library, Chicago, Illinois.) As of 2013, the festival prints 500,000 promotional booklets each year, which the festival distributes to organizations with a strong contingent of Latinxs (Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.).

[61] Gerard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds to Information* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 2.

[62] Thomas Stubblefield, "Disassembling the Cinema: The Poster, the Film and In-Between," *Thresholds* 34 (2008): 85.

Although not all of the festival's posters referenced Chicago in their designs, the posters

from 1987 (Appendix Fig. 1), 1988 (Appendix Fig. 2), and 1993 (Appendix Fig. 3), represented

the festival as a Chicago event. Beginning with Vargas' first year as director in 1987, that year's

poster consisted of a wireframe sketch of Chicago's downtown skyline, within which various

references to Latinx culture are shown.[63] The 1988 poster again

referenced Chicago by not only including some of the city's most

recognizable buildings but also Chicago Transit Authority (CTA) buses

and trains. The CTA's buses and trains are distinctive local icons, and the

city's trains and buses were particularly significant to the festival because

the CTA offered an "in-kind" sponsorship and advertised the festival on its

Figure 4.3

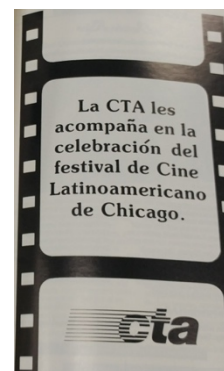buses, at bus stops, and on its trains.[64] The posters, then, keeping in mind

their mobility on various forms of public transportation, generated an understanding of Latinidad

that extended beyond its film screenings and spanned the city as, quite literally, floating

signifiers of Latinx culture that advanced the festival's local scale-making project. By including

Chicago imagery in its posters, the festival linked itself to the city, which also advanced its

community mandate by crafting a local mode of address. However, the festival's selection of

films during this time presented a different sense of scale, one that expressed a translocal

Latinity, much as could be found on WCIU's and WCYC's broadcasts.

Translocal Latinity and the Chicago Latino Film Festival

In her study of Indian film festivals, Pooja Rangan's asks, "what kinds of new

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[63] See Illustration 1 in Appendix.

[64] Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.

relationships to space and time are produced by the specific scale, seriality, and intensities of festival programming?"[65] For the Chicago Latino Film Festival, its programming produced a translocal Latinity that brought into contact films, filmmakers, and audiences that hailed not just from Latin America but from a variety of countries, including the United States, Canada, Spain, Portugal, and even Germany and Australia. In so doing, the festival converged local, national, and international scales of reference to produce what Vargas calls a "cultural sample" of Latinidad.[66] For example, the festival highlighted specific Latinx nationalities during special themed events, such as Spanish, Brazilian, and Chilean "nights," which adopted a specifically national scale of address. However, the festival's programming also scale-shifted to an international level by collecting various national cinemas within its schedule. In so doing, the festival offered a generalizable representation of Latinidad, which was not innovative nor unique but rather commonplace among international Latinx film festivals. For example, Miriam Ross claims that funding organizations, such as Rotterdam's Hubert Bals Fund, support Latin American film productions because they provide insight into their local cultural communities, but in so doing restrict their understanding of what Liz Shackleton calls "authentic" Latin American film to only those productions that conform to the conventions of "poverty porn," which depict "conditions of poverty" because of ineffective "social structures."[67] Although the festival did not contribute to this trend, it still adhered to the idea that there was a shared sense of Latinidad that transcended Latinx nationality, which could be represented through film, and in so doing, exemplified the generalized scale of Latinx identity that typified the decade of the

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[65] Pooja Rangan, "Some Annotations on the Film Festival as an Emerging Medium in India," *South Asian Popular Culture* 8, no. 2 (2010): 126.

[66] Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012. Rodrigo Carramiñana, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, August 8, 2012.

[67] Miriam Ross, "The Film Festival as Producer: Latin American Films and Rotterdam's Hubert Bals Fund," *Screen* 52, no. 2 (2011): 262. Liz Shackleton, "Indian Film's Tender Shoots," *Screen International* 1724 (2010): 8.

"Hispanic."

The festival's depiction of translocal Latinity can be seen in its poster art. For example, in its poster from 1987 (Appendix Fig. 1), the festival depicted a wireframe of the city's skyline, within which there was a collage of Latin American imagery that included Mexico City's Monumento a la Independencia (Monument of Independence), folkloric garments, indigenous dresses, and Rio de Janeiro's Christ the Redeemer statue. This poster juxtaposed many different Latin American countries into one collage to generate a transnational sense of Latinidad. This convergence of scale and transnational representation of Latinidad came together to form a translocal Latinity; however, the festival's selection of films reveals that its understanding of Latinidad was not informed by an equal representation of Latin American productions but rather largely based on the promotion of South American film.

Between 1987 and 1994, the festival screened 340 productions from South America, 241 from the United States, 93 from Europe, 73 from Mexico, 92 from Caribbean countries, 39 from Central America, 33 from Canada, and 23 from Australia (Appendix Fig. 4).[68] The quantity of South American films *vis a vis* the number of Central American films not only highlights the differences between the film industries in Central and South America but also correlates with Claudia Milian's observation that Central America and U.S.-American Latinxs of Central American descent are often represented as "guileless, rustic beings who supply the U.S. and normative Latin American world with strikingly unusual, underdeveloped, and disadvantaged 'things' that disorient U.S. Latino and Latin brown bodies."[69] For Milian, Central America

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[68] These figures compiled by the author, using schedules located in the Chicago Reader, the Chicago Tribune, and the festival's public programs. See Table 3 in the Appendix for a yearly breakdown of these figures. These categories represent the origin of production, and in cases where a Latin American or U.S. film was co-produced, Latin American or U.S. nationality was prioritized during categorization.

[69] Claudia Milian, *Latining America: Black-Brown Passages and the Coloring of Latinx Studies* (Athens: University

denotes otherness *within* a normative sense of Latinx and Latin American identity, where Central

America is aligned with the "global south" and serves as a base upon which to uplift Latinxs

from other regions, i.e., North Americans and South Americans. The festival's preference for

South American films likewise indicated that the festival had fewer screenings of U.S.

productions.

According to Chicago filmmakers Dalia Tapia and Esau Melendez, the "festival

emphasizes foreign films over local work." [70] In other words, Tapia and Melendez claim that the

festival marginalized U.S.-American Latinx filmmakers. Although the total number of U.S. films

included in the festivals appears to contradict their claim, with 214 screenings that nearly tripled

the 73 from Mexico and doubled the combined 92 from the Caribbean and 39 from Central

America, the festival's 544 Latin American screenings more than doubled its total number of

U.S. film screenings, which suggests that the festival privileged Latin America in its

representation of Latinidad.[71] Despite this preference for Latin American films, the festival's

programming reflected a translocal Latinity because it maintained a transnational understanding

of Latinidad that converged local, national, and international geopolitical scales. Moreover, by

conceiving of Latinidad as composed of various cultural staples from across Latin American, the

festival revealed the scale-shift that led to a more generalized representation of the U.S. Latinx

community that took place during the decade of the "Hispanic."

The Chicago Latino Film Festival's exhibition strategies during the decade of the

"Hispanic" demonstrates the importance of spatial relationships in its representation of

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of Georgia Press, 2013), 124.

[70] Deanna Isaacs, "Oldest, Biggest, Best? Local filmmakers and an ex-employee say Chicago's Latino Film Festival has fallen behind the Curve," Chicago Reader, April 3, 2008, accessed September 16, 2016, http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/oldest-biggest-and-best/Content?oid=1109943.

[71] See Table 3 in the Appendix.

Latinidad. In one sense, the festival's industry mandates reflected Chicago's historical legacy of ethnic and racial segregation. In another, the festival's preference for Latin American film added nuance to its use of the term "Latino," which included U.S.-American Latinxs but did not privilege them over their Latin American counterparts. Although such conceptions of space remained influential throughout the festival's history, from 1996 to 2006 the festival demonstrated an increased interest in displaying Latinx cultural productions across multiple media forms, which typified the intermedial turn for the city's Latinx media industry.

The Chicago Latino Cultural Center and the Intermedial Turn, 1996 - 2006

During a meeting with Mayor Daley concerning plans for how the city could help the film festival, Vargas recalls Daley asking him, "What do you want?"[72] Vargas answered that he wanted a "Kennedy center, a Lincoln Center, an arts institute, but that is Latino. Not just for Latinos, but for everyone."[73] In thinking broadly about art and culture, Vargas extended the film festival's focus, going so far as to state that "It would be such a waste to stick to film only...Films have such a power, but they're not the only thing. How about poetry? Plays? Dance?"[74] To demonstrate that such an institution would thrive in Chicago, the CLC partnered with the Guatemalan consul in Chicago to bring "the Ballet Moderno y Folklorico de Guatemala" to perform at Navy Pier in 1996.[75] Once the consulate guaranteed that the troupe could perform free of charge, Vargas was able to acquire funding and airfare from its sponsors, AT&T and

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[72] Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.

[73] Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012.

[74] Craig Keller, "Praising Pepe Vargas," Time Out, January 4, 2005, accessed September 28, 2016, https://www.timeout.com/chicago/things-to-do/praising-pepe-vargas.

[75] Craig Keller, "Praising Pepe Vargas," Time Out, January 4, 2005, https://www.timeout.com/chicago/things-to-do/praising-pepe-vargas, accessed September 28, 2016.

American Airlines, to bring the performers. The CLC then rented a room in Chicago's Navy Pier

to host what proved to be a well-attended two-night showcase. With this event as proof of the

potential success of his vision, Vargas had paved the way for what would become the

International Latino Cultural Center (ILCC), ushering in a new era for the festival.[76]

As Ilene S. Goldman notes, the name Chicago Latino Cinema "no longer accurately

reflected the organization's efforts" during the second half of the 1990s.[77] As a result, the CLC

officially changed its name to the International Latino Cultural Center in 1999. As Goldman

further explains, the ILCC re-branded the organization by adopting a new logo (Appendix Fig.

5), designed by the "Colombian artist Jaime Mejia," which incorporated "native and historical

pre-Columbian figures" to "represent a flow of energy and balance in order to illustrate the

balance of programming produced by the ILCC."[78]

The organization's change in name represented a shift to a more intermedial

representation of Latinidad while also proclaiming the organization's plans to create a central

location from which to host its activities. As stated in the program for the 1999 festival, the

"facility" would "serve as host to the annual Chicago Latino Film Festival, as well as year round

films screenings, theater productions, musical concerts, art exhibitions, and many other cultural

and artistic expressions, showcasing the art, food, literature, crafts and memorabilia from over 20

countries."[79] The center was to reflect the ILCC's mission to provide "positive images of Latino

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[76] Deanna Isaacs, "Oldest, Biggest, Best? Local filmmakers and an ex-employee say Chicago's Latino Film Festival has fallen behind the Curve," Chicago Reader, April 3, 2008, accessed September 16, 2016, http://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/oldest-biggest-and-best/Content?oid=1109943.

[77] Ilene S. Goldman, "Celebrating 25 Years of the Chicago Latino Film Festival," *24th Chicago Latino Film Festival Program,* 2008, page 5, The International Latino Cultural Center library, Chicago, Illinois.

[78] Ilene S. Goldman, "Celebrating 25 Years of the Chicago Latino Film Festival," *24th Chicago Latino Film Festival Program,* 2008, page 5, The International Latino Cultural Center library, Chicago, Illinois.

[79] International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, "International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago," 1999, in 15th Chicago Latino Film Festival Program, International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

cultures" while creating a "place for all Latinos to explore their heritage and recognize

opportunities for personal growth while encouraging everyone to increase their awareness of

Latino cultures, thereby creating a greater level of racial and ethnic acceptance."[80] It would also

allow people from throughout the city to gather as a community, "bringing the multinational and

diverse Latino communities together with non-Latinos to share common cultural experiences."[81]

In this statement, the ILCC proclaimed a broad scale of address that included more than just

Latinxs while also avoiding privileging any single Latin American nationality to instead

highlight the variety of nationalities that composed the city's Latinx community, what Vargas

calls "the Latino family."[82]

While maintaining this broad scale of address and diverse sense of Latinidad, the ILCC

expressed a wide scale of proximity that promoted "arts and culture" from a variety of countries,

including "Latin America, Spain, Portugal, and the United States," which depicted a more

general sense of Latinidad that did not highlight "the achievements of a single nation."[83]

Moreover, it even made reference to its translocality, its convergence of multiple spatial scales,

by stating that the "Center" would showcase "Latino[sic] cultural expressions conceived locally,

nationally and worldwide."[84] However, unlike WCYC, the Center was not intended to represent

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[80] International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, "International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago," 1999, in 15th Chicago Latino Film Festival Program, International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

[81] International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, "International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago," 1999, in 15th Chicago Latino Film Festival Program, International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

[82] Pepe Vargas, interview by Roger Almendarez, Chicago, Illinois, June 29, 2012. Craig Keller, "Praising Pepe Vargas," Time Out, January 4, 2005, accessed September 28, 2016, https://www.timeout.com/chicago/things-to-do/praising-pepe-vargas.

[83] International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, "International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago," 1999, in 15th Chicago Latino Film Festival Program, International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

[84] International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, "International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago," 1999, in 15th Chicago Latino Film Festival Program, International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

"one specific neighborhood." [85] Although the Center would, by necessity, actually be located in just one place and thus in one specific neighborhood, the ILCC espoused a rhetoric that conceived of the city's Latinx community as a whole and not just relegated to a single neighborhood, as was the case with WCYC and WRTE.

Just as the ILCC promoted a broad scale of identity in its representation of Latinidad, it also typified the intermedial turn of the city's Latinx media industry by including a wide range of media in its exhibition practices, doing so most notably by creating the Latinx Music Festival in 2006. In partnership with the Chicago composer Gustavo Leone, Vargas co-founded the festival in order to provide "another vehicle" with which to "engage the public and to introduce them to a unique aspect of our [Latinx] culture."[86] The following year in 2007, the composer and founder of the Chicago Latino Composer Series, Elbio Barilari, joined the festival's board of directors and helped transform the festival into a showcase of Latinx music that, according to Leone, represented "more than three hundred years of history in the Americas."[87] The Latino Music Festival represented the organization's formal expansion into other artistic media beyond film, all while still cohering under a community mandate that aimed to uplift the city's Latinx community by not only celebrating its own artistic achievements but also inviting Chicago's non-Latinxs to participate in Latinx cultural activities in order to gain a better appreciation and understanding of Latinidad.

The ILCC's activities between after 1996 represented a transition into the next stage of

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[85] International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, "International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago," 1999, in 15th Chicago Latino Film Festival Program, International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

[86] "Latino Music Festival Press Release," International Latino Cultural Center, accessed March 17, 2018, https://latinoculturalcenter.org/latino-music-festival-press-release/.

[87] "Latino Music Festival Press Release," International Latino Cultural Center, accessed March 17, 2018, https://latinoculturalcenter.org/latino-music-festival-press-release/. John von Rhein, "Chicago's moving to the myriad beats of Latino music," Chicago Tribune, September 9, 2014, accessed March 17, 2018, http://www.chicagotribune.com/entertainment/music/vonrhein/ct—latino-festival-preview-20140910-column.html.

the city's Latinx media history in that it expanded its mission beyond a single medium. While

doing so, the festival also demonstrated that representing Latinidad consisted of reproducing

common signs and cultural referents, which then contributed to a more hybrid understanding of

Latinidad. For example, the posters from 2008 (Appendix Fig. 6), and 2010 (Appendix Fig. 7),

included pre-Columbian, meso-American stone artefacts, the former of which arranged stone

texts into a film camera—as if declaring the possibility of using Latinx cultural history as a lens

through which to understand and capture the present moment in time. If film cameras once

signified the power to control and represent cultural memory, this poster suggests that Latinx

communities could use film to not only gain greater insight into their own communities but also

highlight their own role in shaping Chicago's social landscape, doing so through an appreciation

of Latinx film within a transnational context. Continuing in this trend, the poster from 2007

featured a Luchador (Mexican wrestling) mask, and the 2005 and 2011 posters each re-created

the design of the Mexican bingo game, Loteria. [88] Although Loteria had previously been

referenced in the poster from 1997 (Appendix Fig. 8), in this historical context, the game's

inclusion suggests that the festival strategically deployed Latinx symbols in order to craft a sense

of Latinidad, which demonstrated a conscious assembly of mediated Latinity.

In 2008, the ILCC wrote that film had empowered the organization to "use every other

cultural expression (music, theater, dance, comedy, literature, visual arts and much more) to

simply say, "This is who we are." [89] The organization's representation of Latinidad across media

forms reflected the wider intermedial turn that took place in the city's Latinx media industry

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[88] Loteria was created by the "French entrepreneur Don Clemente Jacques" while living in Mexico in 1887, the game has become a strong signifier of Mexican culture, more recently adapted by artists—such as Lalo Alcaraz in his artwork, "Juego de Voteria"—to broadly signify Latinxs living in the United States. (Ilan Staans, "¡Lotería! Or, The Ritual of Chance," *AGNI* 58 (2003): 32. See Lalo Alcaraz' *Voteria* from 2004.)

[89] International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, "Mission Statement," 2008, in 24th Chicago Latino Film Festival Program, page 7, International Latino Cultural Center of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

after 1996, which implied the success of the decade of the "Hispanic," beginning in the 1980s and extending into the early 1990s, during which the city's Latinx media industry pushed for greater access to a means for self-representation and the articulation of a single Latinx community.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I described the ways in which the festival's relationship to the city not only informed its representation of Latinidad but also its exhibition strategies. As I did in the previous two chapters, I analyzed the festival's histories in terms of scale, but instead of limiting my analysis to one scale of proximity this chapter analyzed the festival's histories from multiple points of reference, including at the neighborhood, city, and international levels. In so doing, I showed that there are relationships between representational scales, which was evident in how the festival reflected the city's historical legacy of ethnic and racial segregation by primarily hosting its screenings on the Northside of Chicago and in both affluent, predominantly white neighborhoods and in largely Latinx areas.

I again demonstrated the interrelatedness of scales in a quantitative analysis of the festival's schedules. As I showed, the festival's selections were primarily composed of Latin American films. Nonetheless, the festival also screened films from Chicago and from other parts of the United States. The festival's selection of films demonstrates the presence of a translocal Latinity, which the festival enacted by converging its understanding of Chicago's local Latinx community with its transnational representation of Latinidad.

This chapter advanced our understanding of Chicago's Latinx media industry history by tracing the festival's representational strategies across two historical periods. As was the case

with both WCIU and WCYC, the festival's foundation during the 1980s exemplified a scale-shift

that articulated a more generalized Latinx community, which characterized the decade of the

"Hispanic." By 1996, the festival was not only representing a unified Latinx community but

demonstrating the sense of hybridity that typified Latinx identity during the intermedial turn,

further representing this historical shift in adding other media to it exhibition practices. Aside

from such activities as the Chicago Latino Music Festival, the film festival's promotional

materials, specifically its posters, represented a collage of Latinidad that made reference to

various Latin American cultural icons, further demonstrated the sense of hybridity that typified

the festival's understanding of Latinidad during the intermedial turn.

In the following chapter the Immigrant Youth Justice League (IYJL), I will describe how

the IYJL's representational strategies exemplified the ways in which the city's Latinx media

producers strategically constructed their media productions in order to articulate a sense of

identity and engender community during the rise of social media (2006-2012) in Chicago's

Latinx media industry. I will also explain how the IYJL shifted the scope of its address across

multiple scales to engender community formations at various levels, each serving their own

purpose.

CHAPTER FOUR

Intersectionality in the Internet Activism of the Immigrant Youth Justice League

On August 16, 2012, the Immigrant Youth Justice League (IYJL), an immigrant rights organization based in Chicago, distributed a digital newsletter that commented on the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program, which was instituted by President Barack Obama in June 2012. The newsletter stated "let's also not forget what inspired our public servants from both sides of the aisle to step forth into the spotlight and claim initiatives...the power of our community coming together and coming out of the shadows unafraid."[1] In this statement, the IYJL revealed that it adhered to a community mandate, had a sense of group identity, and adopted a representational strategy to frame its activities at a national scale. Given that the group was composed of undocumented, mostly Latinx youth that also identified as members of the gender and sexual minority (GSM) community, what do the representational strategies in the group's acts of political contention tell us about Chicago's Latinx mediascape during the rise of social media (2006-2012) in the city's Latinx media industry?

This chapter on the Immigrant Youth Justice League of Chicago examines how the group's Internet media and offline collective actions contributed to the formation of an undocumented identity within the larger cultural and social context of Chicago's Latinx media industry during a time when Latinx media producers became more strategic in their representation of Latinx identity. Supporting Sasha Constanza Chock's claim that "youth often innovate social movement media practices," I argue that the IYJL leveraged Internet technologies in their political contention to represent an intersectional understanding of identity

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[1] "Deferred Action Application: What's Next?" Immigrant Youth Justice League, August 16, 2012, accessed October 1, 2017, http://us2.campaign-archive1.com/?u=00dcbd39570969a013c8e903c&id=b0c055ccb1.

that incorporated a sense of Latinidad, accounted for gender and sexual minorities, and included

a broad range of ethnicities and nationalities in its depictions of the undocumented immigrant

community.[2] While representing this intersectionality, the group enacted a translocal Latinity

that converged various scales of proximity, shifting the scope of its address as it focused on the

city's Latinx community at the neighborhood level, included the broader undocumented

immigrant community when addressing the city, and engaged with the nation at large when

coordinating its offline collective actions. Such shifting also occurred between its offline and

Online acts of political collection as the group altered the scope of its address depending on the

context of its political contention, using the Internet to amass a geographically dispersed

undocumented community in order to challenge federal immigration laws while also scaling

down to the level of the city in order to mobilize local activists for collective action. This

demonstrates the ways in which not just Latin American nationality but also scale became

malleable frameworks for articulating a U.S.-American Latinx identity during the early 21st

century.

   Although this is the first study to investigate the role of scale in the IYJL's media

production, the IYJL's political activity has been well-documented across multiple disciplines,

particularly among scholarship in sociology and Latinx studies. Scholars, such as Arely M.

Zimmerman and Jillian M. Baez, note that social media was particularly important for

developing what Zimmerman calls "grassroots messaging campaigns" like those of the IYJL,

which amassed support for undocumented individuals in detention centers and under threat of

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[2] Sasha Costanza-Chock, "Youth and Social Movements: Key Lessons for Allies," Berkman Center Research Publication No. 2013-13, December 17, 2012, accessed October 1, 2017, https://ssrn.com/abstract=2199531.

deportation.[3] However, scholarship on the IYJL provides limited details and discussion on the nature of its Online activity and the representations of Latinidad engendered through it. In this chapter, I will address this gap by describing how the IYJL represented an intersectional understanding of Latinidad that incorporated undocumented and GSM identities.

Among studies of Online political contention by scholars, such as W. Lance Bennett, Shelly Boulianne, and Barry Wellman, the Internet is, according to Jeffrey M. Ayers, "one of the hottest tools in the burgeoning arsenal of protest."[4] However, there is disagreement in the field between those that limit the Internet to being just a tool for advancing offline activity and those that champion its potential for creating spaces for political contention in and of themselves. For example, Jennifer Earl et al. appear skeptical over whether Internet activism actually differs in its "fundamental driving processes" from offline activity.[5] Moreover, Lynn A. Staeheli et al. argue that the Internet is "far from the idealized public sphere" and that both its proponents and detractors have "over-estimated" its significance.[6] On the other hand, Masudul Biswas and Carrie Sipes stress that there must be a difference between online and offline protest because organizations have to "adapt the Internet to existing routines," suggesting that Online political

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[3] Arely M. Zimmerman, "A Dream Detained: Undocumented Latino Youth and the DREAM Movement," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 44, no. 6 (2011): 17.

[4] W. Lance Bennett, "Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and vulnerabilities of networked politics," *Information, Communication & Society* 6, no. 2 (2003): 164. Barry Wellman, "The Contentious Internet: An introduction to the special CITASA section on Contentious Politics on and off line," *Information, Communication & Society* 13, no. 2 (2010): 151. Shelley Boulianne, "Does Internet Use Affect Engagement? A Meta-Analysis of Research," *Political Communication* 26 no. 2 (2009). Jeffrey M. Ayers, "From the Streets to the Internet: The Cyber-Diffusion of Contention," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 566, no. 1 (1999): 133.

[5] Jennifer Earl, Katrina Kimport, Greg Prieto, Carly Rush, and Kimberly Reynoso, "Changing the World One Webpage at a Time: Conceptualizing and Explaining Internet Activism," *Mobilization: An International Journal* 15, no. 4 (2010): 425.

[6] Lynn A. Staeheli, Valerie Ledwith, Meghann Ormond, Katie Reed, Amy Sumpter, and Daniel Trudeau, "Immigration, the Internet, and Spaces of Politics," *Political Geography* 21 (2002): 1008.

contention requires its own protocols and forms of engagement.[7] To reconcile these two strands

of scholarship, I adopt Ganaele Langlois et al. notion of "assemblages," "where software

processes, patterns of information circulation, communicative practices, social practices, and

political contexts are articulated with and redefined by each other in complex ways."[8] In other

words, online and offline activity engage in a dialectical relationship, contributing to a group's

overall "repertoire of collective action," which Charles Tilly defines as the "set of means which

is effectively available to a given set of people."[9] However, how have scholars described the role

of Internt media in developing such a "set of people?"

Studies of Online political contention from scholars, such as Jessie Daniels and Zeena

Feldman, contend that the Internet engenders community formations by legitimizing what

Amalia Pallares and Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz call a "marginalized identity" as "both a goal and

protest strategy," demonstrating an influence from new social movement theorists, such as

Manuel Castells, Alberto Melluci, and Alain Touraine, who highlight "the importance of

collective and personal identity in movement building."[10] For Victoria Carty, "ICTs [information-

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[7] Masudul Biswas and Carrie Sipes, "Social Media in Syria's Uprising and Post-revolutionary Libya: An Analysis of Activists' and Bloggers' Online Engagement," *Arab Media & Society* 19 (2014): 145-149.

[8] Ganaele Langlois, Greg Elmer, Fenwick McKelvey, and Zachary Devereaux, "Networked Publics: The Double Articulation of Code and Politics on Facebook," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 34, no. 3 (2009): 416. Thomas Poell expands on this idea by describing "complex assemblages" as "deeply entangled in on- and offline techno-cultural and political economic configurations," which according to Jeroen Van Laer and Peter Van Aelst, allows groups "to act collectively in order to make claims on individuals and groups." (Thomas Poell, "Social Media and the Transformation of Activist Communication: Exploring the Social Media Ecology of the 2010 Toronto G20 Protests," *Information, Communication & Society* 16, no. 6 (2014): 728. Jeroen Van Laer and Peter Van Aelst, "Internet and Social Movement Action Repertoiresm," *Information, Communication & Society* 13, no. 8 (2010): 1147.)

[9] Charles Tilly, "Social Movements and National Politics" in *Statemaking and Social Movements: Essays in History and Theory*, ed. Charles Bright and Susan Friend Harding (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1984), 307. Jeroen Van Laer and Peter Van Aelst, "Internet and Social Movement Action Repertoiresm," *Information, Communication & Society* 13, no. 8 (2010): 1147.

[10] Jessie Daniels, "Rethnking Cyberfeminism(s): Race, Gender, and Embodiment," *WSQ: Women's Studies Quarterly* 37, no. 1/2, (2009): 101. Zeena Feldman, "Simmel in Cyberspace," *Information, Communication & Society* 15, no. 2 (2012): 311. Jeroen Van Laer and Peter Van Aelst, "Internet and Social Movement Action Repertoires," *Information, Communication & Society* 13, no. 8 (2010): 1147. Amalia Pallares and Ruth Gomberg-

and communication technologies] and novel repertoires of grassroots mobilization" not only

"decolonize public opinion by expanding public discourse" but also produce new "forms of

collective identity and solidarity."[11] As I will show, the IYJL created Online spaces in its Internet

media, where undocumented community members could articulate a sense of group identity

while also challenging traditional notions of U.S. national identity.

This chapter's interest in space engages with scholars, such as Bennet, Earl, and Staeheli,

who analyze the ways in which the Internet informs the scalar dynamics of political contention.

For example, Bennett introduces the idea of scale-shifting as way to describe the "degrees of

organization" that are engendered through Internet communications.[12] For Bennett, scale shift is

a process that interacts with social structures, relying "on the existence of several mechanisms of

human agency: brokerage (creating social links among disconnected sites of protest), diffusion

(transfer of information across those links), and attribution of similarity (mutual

identification)."[13] Although Earl et al. claim that studies of Online political contention largely

view "the Internet as a broadcast information channel and/or as a way to facilitate offline

activism," they nevertheless agree that "scale-related changes tend to predominate" among

activist groups.[14] When applied to immigration-focused Internet activism, scale-shifting provides

a framework for understanding what Staeheli et al. call the "multiscalar and

Muñoz, "Politics of Motion: Ethnography with Undocumented Activists and Undocumented Activism," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 8.

[11] Victoria Carty, "New Information Communication Technologies and Grassroots Mobilization," *Information, Communication & Society* 13, no. 2 (2010): 156-169.

[12] W. Lance Bennett, "Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and vulnerabilities of networked politics," *Information, Communication & Society* 6, no. 2 (2003): 150.

[13] W. Lance Bennett, "Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and vulnerabilities of networked politics," *Information, Communication & Society* 6, no. 2 (2003): 149.

[14] Jennifer Earl, Katrina Kimport, Greg Prieto, Carly Rush, and Kimberly Reynoso, "Changing the World one Webpage at a Time: Conceptualizing and Explaining Internet Activism," *Mobilization: An International Journal* 15, no. 4 (2010): 433.

multivalent...complex geography" that characterizes the experience of immigrant life, which is

multiscalar because "the rights and political process that migrants can expect to encounter" are

shaped by "connections with localities...nations...[and] international human rights regimes" and

multivalent because those relationships "may vary across familial, social, political, and economic

realms of life."[15] The idea of scale shift is also useful for gaining a sense of the relationship

between Latinidad and space, where shifts in scales of proximity allowed allowed the IYJL's

groups members to develop a varying sense of community that was at times specifically focused

on Latinxs and at other times on the wider undocumented population.

Seemingly aware of such complex geography, scholarship on immigration activism has

similarly explored the relationship between questions of scale and community formation.

Although not explicitly referring to scale-shifting in their study, Pallares and Gomberg-Muñoz

describe a "politics of motion" with a dynamic practice of community formation, which involves

a set of political strategies that includes "tangling," an "interconnectedness" undocumented

people with U.S. citizens;" "intersecting," contesting legislation that disenfranchises the

undocumented; and "crossing," "challenging mainstream conceptualizations of immigration

categories and immigrants themselves in order to push the boundaries of conventional frames."[16]

The concept of scale-shifting provides a way to describe how communities engage in such

"politics of motion," doing so through what Bennett calls "mediation by digital communication

networks."[17] As Hinda Seif suggests, scale-shifting is particularly helpful in understanding the

history of the IYJL because "as members of a generation that has spent more time texting than

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[15] Lynn A. Staeheli, Valerie Ledwith, Meghann Ormond, Katie Reed, Amy Sumpter, and Daniel Trudeau, "Immigration, the Internet, and Spaces of Politics," *Political Geography* 21 (2002): 996.

[16] Amalia Pallares, *Family Activism: Immigrant Struggle and the Politics of Noncitizenship* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2014), 7.

[17] W. Lance Bennett, "Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and vulnerabilities of networked politics," *Information, Communication & Society*, 6, no. 2 (2003): 149.

dialing and browsing the Internet than watching television," the IYJL engaged in a different

"form" of political contention, one that relied specifically on Online activity, which was directly

related to them being a youth-run organization.[18]

Just as WCYC's broadcasters demonstrated a generational difference in their Latinx

broadcast, the IYJL embraced the Internet as a medium for asserting "themselves and [fighting]

for inclusion" within the larger, more adult-centered immigrant rights movement.[19] Despite

becoming what Genevieve Negrón-Gonzales describes as the "new face of 'illegal' immigration"

in the early 2000s, undocumented youth have not always been at the forefront of the immigrant

rights debate.[20] Interest in undocumented youth first gained momentum around the time of the

decade of the "Hispanic," specifically in 1982, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Plyler v.*

Doe that undocumented youth had a legal right to government-funded public education.[21]

According to Michael A. Olivas, the court's ruling was particularly important to undocumented

youth because it "dealt with a larger, transcendent principle: how this society will treat its

immigrant children."[22]

Twenty years later, undocumented youth again became the focus of national debates on

immigration rights because of the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act, the

DREAM Act, which was introduced to the Senate by Republican Senator Orrin Hatch from Utah

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[18] Hinda Seif, "Mexican (im)migrant Students and Education: Constructions of and Resistance to "Illegality," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 185.

[19] Arely M. Zimmerman, "A Dream Detained: Undocumented Latino Youth and the DREAM Movement," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 44, no. 6, (2011): 16.

[20] Genevieve Negrón-Gonzales, "Undocumented Youth Activism as Counter-Spectacle: Civil Disobedience and Testimonio in the Battle around Immigration Reform," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 40, no. 1, (2015): 88-89. See also Laura E. Enriquez and Abigail C. Saguy, "Coming Out of the Shadows: Harnessing a Cultural Schema to Advance the Undocumented Immigrant Youth Movement," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 1 (2016): 111.

[21] Plyler v. Doe, 457 U.S. 202 (1982).

[22] Michael A. Olivas, *No Undocumented Child Left Behind: Plyler v. Doe and the Education of Undocumented Schoolchildren* (New York City: New York University Press, 2012), 8.

on August 1, 2001.[23] The DREAM Act aimed to do two things: provide undocumented residents

access to higher education benefits and grant "conditional permanent residence status...[to]

higher education students under the age of 21."[24] Although the DREAM Act failed to pass after

spending years being debated on Capitol Hill, undocumented youths still acquired what Hinda

Seif calls a "legislative victory" at the state level with the passage of California's AB 540 in

2001, which granted undocumented students the right to not only attend state colleges and

universities but also to pay in-state tuition.[25]

According to the Students Information Now (S.I.N.) collective from the University of

California at Santa Cruz, AB 540 did more than just ensure that immigrants would have the right

to acquire an education, it also presented an opportunity for undocumented students to "talk

openly about their experience and legal status with peers and each other."[26] As Seif notes, AB

540 inspired what she calls a "new identity group," namely undocumented youth, that identified

with a "political identity as AB 540 students."[27] Although AB 540 was specifically aimed at

undocumented students in California, the undocumented youth movement spread throughout the

rest of the country. For example, approximately 100,000 people rallied in Chicago to advocate

for pro-immigrant policies in 2006.[28]

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[23] S.1291 – DREAM Act, Congress.gov, accessed October 1, 2017, https://www.congress.gov/bill/107th-congress/senate-bill/1291/summary/00.

[24] S.1291 – DREAM Act, Congress.gov, accessed October 1, 2017, https://www.congress.gov/bill/107th-congress/senate-bill/1291/summary/00.

[25] Hinda Seif, "'We Define Ourselves:' 1.5-Generation Undocumented Immigrant Activist Identities and Insurgent Discourse," *North American Dialogue* 19, no.1 (2016): 27.

[26] The S.I.N. Collective, "Students Informing Now (S.I.N.) Challenge the Racial State in California without Shame…'Sin Vergüenza!'" *Educational Foundations* 21, no. 1/2 (2007): 78.

[27] Hinda Seif, "'We Define Ourselves:' 1.5-Generation Undocumented Immigrant Activist Identities and Insurgent Discourse," *North American Dialogue* 19, no.1 (2016): 27.

[28] Oscar Avila and Antonio Olivo, "A Show of Strength; Thousands March to Loop for Immigrants' Rights; Workers, Students Unite in Opposition to Toughening of Law," *Chicago Tribune*, March 11, 2006, 1.

By 2009, the movement had scale-shifted to the level of the individual, initiating the start of a new strategy in immigration protesting: anti-deportation campaigns. According to Gabriela Marquez-Benitsz and Amalia Pallares, the first of such campaigns was in support of Walter Lara, a community activist, organizer, and honor student from central Florida.[29] With a deportation date set just two weeks away, Lara used social media platforms, such as Twitter and Facebook, to mobilize people from throughout the country, eventually leading to a stay in his deportation. Lara's campaign demonstrated the effectiveness of the Internet in disseminating information "quickly" and at a reduced cost, while also enhancing "the ability of groups to create and represent broad Online coalitions."[30] Although Lara is cited as the first to garner large-scale support through an Internet-based, anti-deportation campaign, it was another undocumented youth in Chicago, Rigo Padilla, who inspired the IYJL to use the Internet to carry out its first campaign.

Padilla's campaign exemplified the strategies that were carried out by the IYJL and other similar organizations, which Genevieve Negrón-Gonzales argues created "space—discursively, legislatively, personally, and politically—for a new understanding of 'illegality,' citizenship, and what it means to belong" in the United States.[31] During this campaign, the IYJL demonstrated a conscious effort to articulate a sense of identity through its representational strategies and in so doing represented a sense of Latinidad that intersected with various other identities, most notably being undocumented and identifying as a GSM. Moreover, the group's shifting scales of

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[29] Gabriela Marquez-Benitez and Amalia Pallares, "Not One More: Civil Disobediences and Public Anti-Deportation Campaigns," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 18.

[30] Jennifer Earl, Katrina Kimport, Greg Prieto, Carly Rush, and Kimberly Reynoso, "Changing the World One Webpage at a Time: Conceptualizing and Explaining Internet Activism," *Mobilization: An International Journal* 15, no. 4 (2010): 428.

[31] Genevieve Negrón-Gonzales, "Undocumented Youth Activism as Counter-Spectacle: Civil Disobedience and Testimonio in the Battle around Immigration Reform," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 40, no. 1, (2015): 88-89.

proximity and varying scales of identity demonstrated a greater control over such scales, which

typified how U.S.-American Latinxs engaged with questions of scale as they related to the

representation of Latinidad in Chicago's Latinx mediascape during the rise of social media

(2006-2012).

The Origin of the Immigrant Youth Justice League

On January 18, 2009, Rigo Padilla, a 21 year old "Chicago student and activist," was

arrested after "watching football on TV and drinking a couple of beers with friends."[32] While

heading home, Padilla was pulled over by officers for "rolling through a stop sign" and accused

of driving under the influence, a serious charge but nonetheless a misdemeanor.[33] However, for

Padilla, the arrest resulted in unusually severe consequences when officers discovered that

Padilla "was not a citizen" and actually undocumented.[34]

After being taken to Cook County Jail, Padilla was "interviewed by an Immigration and

Customs Enforcement agent and shortly after transferred to a federal prison," disregarding Cook

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[32] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 287-288. Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 99. Yana Kunichoff, "Chicago Rallies Around Student Facing Deportation," Truthout, November 2, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017, http://truth-out.org/archive/component/k2/item/86639:chicago-rallies-around-student-facing-deportation. Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 99.

[33] Yana Kunichoff, "Chicago Rallies Around Student Facing Deportation," Truthout, November 2, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017, http://truth-out.org/archive/component/k2/item/86639:chicago-rallies-around-student-facing-deportation. Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 99. Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 287-288. Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 99.

[34] Yana Kunichoff, "Chicago Rallies Around Student Facing Deportation," Truthout, November 2, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017, http://truth-out.org/archive/component/k2/item/86639:chicago-rallies-around-student-facing-deportation.

County ordinance 07-R-240, "Fair and Equal County for Immigrants," and its local equivalent,

"Executive Order 85-1," which passed under Mayor Harold Washington and effectively made

Chicago a "sanctuary city" by prohibiting municipal authorities from requesting, disseminating,

or assisting in investigations to acquire "information regarding the citizenship or residency status

of any person."[35] While in custody, Padilla was given the choice to either pay bond or wear an

ankle bracelet as a condition of his release, choosing the latter and its accompanying

misdemeanor drunk-driving conviction and court date.[36] Despite the numerous reasons why

Padilla could have received leniency for his crime, such as having lived in the United States

since the age of six, being an honor student, previously leading the Organization of Latin

American Students at Harold Washington College, or nearly completing his degree at the

University of Illinois, Chicago, Padilla was given a deportation order that went into effect on

December 16, 2009.[37]

     After his hearing, Padilla sought support from local immigrant rights organizations just as

Lara had during his campaign, hoping that his academic success would help garner support.

However, although the framing of immigration in terms of its effects on school children had been

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[35] Yana Kunichoff, "Chicago Rallies Around Student Facing Deportation," Truthout, November 2, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017, http://truth-out.org/archive/component/k2/item/86639:chicago-rallies-around-student-facing-deportation. "Fair and Equal County for Immigrants," Cook County Ordinance 07-R-240, June 5, 2007, accessed October 1, 2017, https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/robertomaldonado/pages/35/attachments/original/1486663535/FAIR_AND_EQUAL_COUNTY_FOR_IMMIGRANTS.pdf?1486663535. Office of the Mayor, "Executive Order 85-1," City of Chicago, March 7, 1985, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.chicityclerk.com/file/5429/download?token=mVXLiua5.

[36] Yana Kunichoff, "Chicago Rallies Around Student Facing Deportation," Truthout, November 2, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017, http://truth-out.org/archive/component/k2/item/86639:chicago-rallies-around-student-facing-deportation. Antonio Olivo, "Rigo Padilla Deportation is Stayed: UIC Junior and Mexico Native who was Busted for Drinking and Driving Wins Right to stay in U.S. at Least Another Year," Chicago Tribune, December 11, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2009-12-11/news/0912100805_1_illegal-immigration-deportation-homeland-security.

[37] Yana Kunichoff, "Chicago Rallies Around Student Facing Deportation," Truthout, November 2, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017, http://truth-out.org/archive/component/k2/item/86639:chicago-rallies-around-student-facing-deportation. Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 99.

a "relatively effective means of advocating for pro-immigrant policy changes," Padilla

discovered that he was no longer a "model immigrant" because of his conviction, which made it

difficult to acquire assistance.[38] After realizing this, Padilla's friends, Reyna Wences and Tania

Unzueta Carrasco (Unzueta), took it upon themselves to start Padilla's anti-deportation campaign,

bringing notoriety to his case and beginning their work on what would become the Immigrant

Youth Justice League.

Padilla, Wences, and Unzueta became friends while working at WRTE, the Pilsen-based

radio station discussed in chapter two. The trio first met when Wences and Padilla joined one of

Unzueta's courses on broadcast journalism.[39] At the time, Unzueta was an instructor and

mentored journalism students while also working on a number of radio programs at the station,

including the aforementioned *Homofrequencia*.[40] According to Constance Ruholl, "as part of the

teaching program, Unzueta would discuss social issues that included immigration," and

eventually both Wences and Padilla confided in Unzueta that they were "undocumented

individuals, at which point Unzueta admitted that she was as well."[41] So when Padilla faced the

threat of deportation, the trio became "fueled by the need to keep a friend and fellow organizer

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[38] Laura E. Enriquez and Abigail C. Saguy, "Coming Out of the Shadows: Harnessing a Cultural Schema to Advance the Undocumented Immigrant Youth Movement," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 1 (2016): 111. Gabriela Marquez-Benitez and Amalia Pallares, "Not One More: Civil Disobediences and Public Anti-Deportation Campaigns," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 19.

[39] Constance Ruholl, "Undocumented Individuals Honored for Bravery," Windy City Times, July 13, 2011, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=32723.

[40] Constance Ruholl, "Undocumented Individuals Honored for Bravery," Windy City Times, July 13, 2011, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=32723.

[41] Constance Ruholl, "Undocumented Individuals Honored for Bravery," Windy City Times, July 13, 2011, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=32723.

home" and set forth on developing Padilla's campaign, in turn establishing the IYJL in October 2009.[42]

Similar to Lara's strategies during his campaign, the IYJL highlighted Padilla's "academic excellence, leadership in Latino[sic] student organizations and young arrival to the United States."[43] According to Unzueta, the group also "drew a connection to the DREAM Act" and reasoned that since Padilla would qualify for the DREAM Act, "he should not be in removal proceedings."[44] The group's strategy mirrored that of other youth-led anti-deportation campaigns from around the country, which became known as "Education Not Deportation" cases.[45] According to Seif, social media was critical to carrying out such campaigns, which was also the case in Padilla's campaign.[46]

Unzueta's use of social media exemplified the ways in which the IYJL scale-shifted in its Online political contention, akin to how WCIU enacted a translocal Latinity by engaging with the city's Latinx community at multiple levels during its partnership with the U.S. Census bureau in 1980. For example, on November 2, 2009, Unzueta tweeted "@ICIRR Chicago Rallies Around Student Facing Deportation. Great article on @Truthout about Rigo's case."[47] In a later post, Unzueta wrote, "Support immigrant undocumented youth and stop Rigo's deportation.

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[42] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 100.

[43] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 288.

[44] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 288.

[45] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 288.

[46] Yana Kunichoff, "Chicago Rallies Around Student Facing Deportation," Truthout, November 2, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017, http://truth-out.org/archive/component/k2/item/86639:chicago-rallies-around-student-facing-deportation. Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 99.

[47] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco (@_LaTania), "@ICIRR Chicago Rallies Around Student Facing Deportation. Great article on @Truthout about Rigo's case," Twitter, November 2, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017.

Friday Nov. 13th @ City Hall. Rally 10 am."[48] As in the previous tweet, Unzueta effectively

scale-shifted from a national level (immigration is a federal issue) to the level of the city, but

what is most telling about these posts is that neither directly addressed the city's Latinx

community. In contrast, a later post states, "city resolution in support[sic] of immigrant youth a

success. the work continues to stop Rigo's deportation. meeting thurs 5pm Casa michoacan,"

which is a community center located in the predominantly Latinx Pilsen neighborhood, which

was the area of Chicago described in the previous chapter on WRTE.[49] As was the case with

WCIU, Unzueta's tweets represented various levels of address, which focused on the nation by

discussing a federal issue, included the broader undocumented community when scaling to the

level of the city, and focused on a Latinx community when operating at the neighborhood level.

As I will discuss later, this kind of scale-shifting was apparent throughout the group's Internet

media.

Ultimately, the IYJL's campaign was a success, and on December 10, 2009, the Obama

administration "granted a one-year reprieve" to Padilla, bringing an end to the "months-long

quest" to stay his deportation that had "fueled street rallies, an Internet campaign and growing

congressional attention."[50] By the time of Padilla's deportation deferral, the IYJL had acquired

the support of a Senator, five Congressmen, the local City Council, and "thousands of

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[48] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco (@_LaTania), "Support immigrant undocumented youth and stop Rigo's deportation. Friday Nov. 13th @ City Hall. Rally 10 am," Twitter, November 10, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017.

[49] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco (@_LaTania), "city resolution in suport [sic] of immigrant youth a success. the work continues to stop Rigo's deportation. meeting thurs 5pm Casa michoacan," Twitter, November 18, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017.

[50] Antonio Olivo, "Rigo Padilla Deportation is Stayed: UIC Junior and Mexico Native who was Busted for Drinking and Driving Wins Right to stay in U.S. at Least Another Year," Chicago Tribune, December 11, 2009, accessed October 1, 2017, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2009-12-11/news/0912100805_1_illegal-immigration-deportation-homeland-security.

Chicagoans."[51] Due to this tremendous amount of support, the group realized that they could help other detained undocumented youths, and between 2010 and 2012, the IYJL organized collective actions both locally and throughout the country, positioning undocumented youth at the forefront of their campaigns so that they could speak publicly and "on their own terms," which gave shape to the IYJL's mission, sense of community, and representation of intersectionality.[52]

Scale-Shifting and the Space of Political Contention

According to Seif, the Internet, social media in particular, allows undocumented youth to "socialize, support each other, offer advice for those coming of age as undocumented, and organize," facilitating community development across space and throughout various scales of proximity. The IYJL supported this idea by highlighting "las voces de las personas sin documentos (the voices of undocumented people)" in its repertoire of collective action, which included its own website, IYJL.org, and a panoply of social media accounts, such as Twitter, Tumblr, Facebook, Youtube, SoundCloud, Ustream, and Instagram.[53] The IYJL's use of social media outlets stood in contrast to Staeheli et al.'s observation that if an organization created a

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[51] "Rigo Padilla, Reyna Wences & Tania Unzueta: Chicago, IL: Leaders of the Immigrant Youth Justice League and organizers of the 'National Coming Out of the Shadows Days'," Freedom From Fear Award, accessed August 31, 2017, http://www.freedomfromfearaward.com/celebrate/iyjl/.

[52] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 99-100.

[53] Adam Goodman, "#SomosAndiola, las Redes Actúan en Defensa de Inmigrantes," Homozapping, accessed August 8, 2017, http://homozapping.com.mx/2013/01/somosandiola-las-redes-actuan-contra-la-deportacion-de-inmigrantes/. My translation.

political space on the Internet, it was a political space "about" immigrants but not one created "by or for them."[54]

The IYJL created "more fluid and inclusive spaces" where "immigrants occupy sites of authority, decision-making and enforcement, the very spaces in which they are marginalized, silenced, and treated as subjects of policy."[55] As IYJL-member Ireri Unzueta Carrasco notes, the IYJL consciously used social media to maintain "a nuestros miembros conectados con otros jóvenes sin documentos e informados de lo que esta pasando en diferentes comunidades a través del país, y como nos podemos apoyar entre nosotros (our members connected to other undocumented youth and informed about what's happening in different communities throughout the country, and how we can help each other)."[56] According to Carrasco, the IYJL would not have had "tanto alcance ni coneccion con personas a través del país (as much a reach or developed a connection with people across the country)" without the Internet, suggesting that scale mattered when developing a sense of community.[57] Although Carrasco's statement focuses on how the IYJL engendered an undocumented community at a national scale, the group scale-shifted between various levels of address in its Internet media, each serving a particular purpose.

When operating at a neighborhood level, the IYJL reinforced the relationship between its address and its representation of Latindad. For instance, the group hosted its three-year anniversary celebration at the National Museum of Mexican Art in Pilsen. In so doing, the group

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[54] Lynn A. Staeheli, Valerie Ledwith, Meghann Ormond, Katie Reed, Amy Sumpter, and Daniel Trudeau, "Immigration, the Internet, and Spaces of Politics," *Political Geography* 21 (2002): 1005.

[55] Gabriela Marquez-Benitez and Amalia Pallares, "Not One More: Civil Disobediences and Public Anti-Deportation Campaigns," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 17.

[56] IYJL, "Las Redes Sociales y el Activismo Pro-inmigrante [Entrevista expandida]," Immigrant Youth Justice League, January 16, 2013, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/las-redes-sociales-y-el-activismo-pro-inmigrante-entrevista-expandida/. My translation.

[57] IYJL, "Las Redes Sociales y el Activismo Pro-inmigrante [Entrevista expandida]," Immigrant Youth Justice League, January 16, 2013, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/las-redes-sociales-y-el-activismo-pro-inmigrante-entrevista-expandida/. My translation.

drew a relationship between being undocumented and being Latinx, much as how WRTE

reflected Pilsen's Latinx community in its programming.[58] Likewise, the IYJL made efforts to

promote itself as a local organization in Chicago, which developed a sense of place within the

relatively boundless expanse of the Internet. For example, on IYJL.org, the IYJL describes itself

as "a Chicago-based organization led by undocumented organizers," also referring to the group

as a "Chicago-based network" on its Wordpress site and again as a "network based in Chicago"

on its Facebook page.[59] By situating the organization in Chicago, the IYJL crafted a local

persona, much like how WCIU emphasized its relationship to the city in order to distinguish its

locally produced content from the imported, and more internationally themed, Univision

programming.

What was particularly important about the IYJL's focus on the city was that it depicted a

broader representation of the undocumented immigrant community, which included more than

just Latinxs. For example, IYJL.org featured posts by people of various ethnicities, including one

by Yurly Tytla in support of his father, Mikola Tytla, an eastern European immigrant.[60] In one

such post, the IYJL scale-shifted to the level of the city by coordinating a "Free Mikola Rally" at

the "Chicago ICE office."[61] As those posts show, the IYJL scale-shifted to the level of the city in

order to broaden the scope of its address beyond just Latinxs. Likewise, as it scale-shifted to the

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[58] "Upcoming Events & Past Reflections: Deportations, Immigrant Workers, & Driver's Licenses," Immigrant Youth Justice League, December 27, 2012, http://us2.campaign-archive1.com/?u=00dcbd39570969a013c8e903c&id=c89fd38d23.

[59] "Who We Are," Immigrant Youth Justice League, accessed August 31, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/whoweare/. "Description," Facebook, accessed August 31, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/groups/197208688297/. Immigrant Youth Justice League, "Quienes Somos?/Who are we?" Wordpress, accessed March 28, 2018, https://iyjl.wordpress.com/about/.

[60] IYJL, "Tytla Family Photos Dad, You Are the Reason Why I Am Here Today," Immigrant Youth Justice League, May 8, 2012, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/dad-you-are-the-reason-why-i-am-here-today/.

[61] IYJL, "Tytla Family Photos Dad, You Are the Reason Why I Am Here Today," Immigrant Youth Justice League, May 8, 2012, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/dad-you-are-the-reason-why-i-am-here-today/.

level of the nation, the IYJL broadened the scope of its address in order to mobilize communities

across the country.[62]

     According to Rene Galindo, the IYJL was among a variety of organizations to create a

"national virtual presence through social media and blogs," creating "new sensory spaces where

the marginalized publicly claim rights."[63] The group's Internet platforms created such Online

spaces and were used to mobilize support for individuals in other states, adopting a national scale

of reference while doing so. For example, Unzueta posted on Twitter, "Help stop the deportation

of Andrea Huerfano," from Florida.[64] Likewise, the group's website advocated for people living

in various areas throughout the country, such as the Arizona DREAMer, Marlen Moreno; the

"Mathe Family" from Atlanta, Georgia; and Sandra, who was in an "Arizona detention."[65] While

the IYJL demonstrated scale-shifting in its Internet media, it also scale-shifted in its offline

political activity, and in so doing it avoided what Daran R. Fisher and Marije Boekkooi describe

as a potential pitfall of mobilizing people to "participate in social protest through the Internet,"

namely leaving participants feeling "less locally connected."[66]

     The IYJL avoided this trap and maintained a direct link with its local community in

Chicago by incorporating offline activities in its repertoire of collective action. For example, the

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[62] IYJL, "The Labor and Immigrant Movement," Immigrant Youth Justice League, May 2, 2011, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/the-labor-and-immigrant-movement/.

[63] René Galindo, "Undocumented & Unafraid: The DREAM Act 5 and the Public Disclosure of Undocumented Status as a Political Act," *Urban Rev* 44 (2012): 590-594.

[64] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco (@_LaTania), "Help stop the deportation of Andrea Huerfano," Twitter, December 12, 2009., accessed October 1, 2017.

[65] "IL DREAM Act & Mathe Family," Immigrant Youth Justice League, July 30, 2011, accessed October 1, 2017, http://us2.campaign-archive1.com/?u=00dcbd39570969a013c8e903c&id=0f27da3f7c. "Undocumented Party!! [Ok, really it's a fundraiser for the Chicago 6 & conversation about the civil disobedience]," Immigrant Youth Justice League, September 2, 2011, accessed October 1, 2017, http://us2.campaign-archive1.com/?u=00dcbd39570969a013c8e903c&id=5309b845f6.

[66] Dana R. Fisher and Marije Boekkooi, "Mobilizing Friends and Strangers," *Information, Communication & Society* 13, no. 2 (2010): 196.

IYJL held "educational workshops for students, school counselors, community organizations, legal practitioners, social workers, mental health specialists and educators on the rights of undocumented immigrants and a variety of state and federal policies affecting immigrant rights."[67] Enacting a translocal Latinity, the group expressed a sense of national community while also localizing its protests in Pilsen, such as when it asked locals to "Join IYJL and other organizations on Saturday May 29 at Pilsen, in solidarity with our brothers and sisters from Arizona against SB1070 and the culture of discriminatory policies."[68] This post not only converges two scales of proximity (the neighborhood and the nation), it also exemplifies the relationship between the IYJL's online and offline acts of political contention, where the former served to mobilize collective action that was to be carried out in the latter. However, the IYJL's most noted acts of offline political contention involved a series of civil disobediences in cities throughout the country, which revealed how the group engaged with the nation-at-large when coordinating its offline collective actions.

On May 17th, 2010, "Mohammad Abdollahi of Michigan, Yahaira Carrillo of Kansas, Tania Unzueta [founding member of Chicago's IYJL], Raul Alcaraz of Arizona, and Lizbeth Mateo of California, who popular news outlets called the "Dream Act 5," staged a sit-in at Senator John McCain's office in Arizona, calling on him and other members of the Senate to pass the DREAM Act and put an "end to the criminalization of immigrants."[69] After nearly eight hours, the group that popular news outlets were now calling the "Dream Act 5," was arrested by

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[67] "Who We Are," Immigrant Youth Justice League, accessed August 31, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/whoweare/.

[68] IYJL, "National Day of Action-Chicago," Immigrant Youth Justice League, May 22, 2010, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/national-day-of-action-phoenix/.

[69] IYJL, "ICE Releases Undocumented Youth Leaders Detained at McCain's Office Pushing for DREAM Act," Immigrant Youth Justice League, May 19, 2010, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/ice-releases-undocumented-youth-leaders-detained-at-mccains-office-pushing-for-dream-act/. Genevieve Negrón-Gonzales, "Undocumented Youth Activism as Counter-Spectacle: Civil Disobedience and Testimonio in the Battle around Immigration Reform," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 40, no. 1 (2015): 97.

the Tucson Police Department and forced to spend the night at the Pima County Jail.[70] According

to Galindo, this protest both "introduced a new political strategy in the struggle of undocumented

immigrant students and contributed a new chapter to the history of civil disobedience in this

country."[71]

Although this sit-in was the first to include students that risked being deported because of

their effort to prompt politicians to support a bill that would benefit undocumented youths, it was

not the first time that youths had engaged in acts of civil disobedience in the United States, with

one of the most notable being when African-American students staged a sit-in at a Woolworths

department store lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, on February 1, 1960.[72] Just as the

sit-in at Woolworths became a pivotal moment in the U.S. civil rights movement, Raul Alcaraz

Ochoa argues that "direct actions led by undocumented youth and youth of color" were

responsible for advancing the immigration rights movement and were the "only reasons" that

politicians had supported the DREAM Act.[73] According to Claudia Anguiano, such acts of civil

disobedience intended to "push legislators to help enact the DREAM Act," and the Dream Act 5

inspired other acts of "intentional nonviolent resistance in California, Georgia, New York, North

Carolina, Tennessee, and Washington, DC.[74]

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[70] Due to her being at greater risk of deportation, Unzueta avoided arrest because she was asked to represent the rest of the group and field questions from journalists outside. René Galindo, "Undocumented & Unafraid: The DREAM Act 5 and the Public Disclosure of Undocumented Status as a Political Act," *Urban Rev* 44 (2012): 590. IYJL, "ICE Releases Undocumented Youth Leaders Detained at McCain's Office Pushing for DREAM Act," Immigrant Youth Justice League, May 19, 2010, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/ice-releases-undocumented-youth-leaders-detained-at-mccains-office-pushing-for-dream-act/.

[71] René Galindo, "Undocumented & Unafraid: The DREAM Act 5 and the Public Disclosure of Undocumented Status as a Political Act," *Urban Rev* 44 (2012): 590.

[72] Aldon Morris, "Black Southern Student Sit-in Movement: An Analysis of Internal Organization," *American Sociological Review* 46, no. 6 (1981). Laura Corrunker, "'Coming out of the shadows:' Dream Act Activism in the Context of Global Anti-Deportation Activism," *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 19, no. 1 (2012): 149.

[73] Raúl Alcaraz Ochoa, "A Letter to the DREAM movement," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 44, no. 6 (2011): 18.

[74] IYJL, "IYJL Days with the Undocubus," Immigrant Youth Justice League, August 29, 2012, accessed October 1, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/days-with-the-unodcubus/. "Rigo Padilla, Reyna Wences & Tania Unzueta: Chicago, IL:

As Salgado notes, the acts of civil disobedience bridged the off and online practices of the IYJL, which was necessary to do because though the Internet is a valuable tool, they still need "physical interaction."[75] According to Salgado, "The civil disobediences happened because [youths] met on Facebook," but offline activities were a necessary part of the IYJL's political strategy because "an image on Facebook" was "not enough" to build community.[76] By engaging in both offline and online political contention and by shifting between various levels of address, the IYJL advanced its community mandate by ensuring that its constituents could engage with both the organization and each other in order to mobilize into collective actions and develop a sense of community. This drive to bring people together was also apparent in the ways that the IYJL represented a sense of undocumented identity, which demonstrated the greater command over scale-shifting that typified the rise of social media in Chicago between 2006 and 2012.

Coming out of the Shadows: Representing the Intersectionality of being Undocumented

Although the IYJL's acts of civil disobedience as part of the Dream Act 5 were documented locally in Arizona newspapers and in newspapers throughout the country, such as in the *New York Times*, the IYJL's Online discussion of its act of civil disobedience not only offered more information and greater insight into the sit-in but also expressed the organization's

Leaders of the Immigrant Youth Justice League and organizers of the 'National Coming Out of the Shadows Days'," Freedom From Fear Award, accessed August 31, 2017, http://www.freedomfromfearaward.com/celebrate/iyjl/. Hinda Seif, "'Unapologetic and Unafraid": Immigrant Youth Come Out from the Shadows," *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* 134 (2011): 72.

[75] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 307.

[76] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 307.

mission to provide a platform for undocumented immigrants to represent themselves.[77] For

example, on IYJL.org Unzueta stated that she was "one of the arrestees at the sit-in," further

describing it as "an act of civil disobedience in which four brave undocumented students risked

deportation and put the DREAM Movement back on the national political stage."[78] Not only did

Unzueta voice her intention behind the protest and scale-shift to the level of the nation, but by

calling the Dream Act 5 "brave" she also adopted a different tone in her description of IYJL

members than had been used by popular news outlets in Chicago. For example, the *Chicago*

Tribune often used the term "illegal immigrants" when referring to undocumented youths, and

during Padilla's anti-deportation campaign, it publicized his residency status as being "illegal"

and described him as having crossed "the border illegally."[79] Although one could argue that the

terms "undocumented" and "illegal immigrant" denote equivalent social positions, the reactions

that each term evoke suggests that there is a qualitative difference among the individuals that it

names. As Angelico Rubio notes:

> To some, the term 'illegal' is not a big deal. For many the use of the term 'undocumented' and other similar
> words is just a way of being politically correct, tip-toeing around the issue. But the use of the term 'illegal'
> in the U.S. media is biased and racist, preventing any progress in the discussion of immigration reform. It is
> a rallying cry of hate groups who see undocumented immigrants as parasites on the fabric of the country.[80]

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[77] James Jordan, "Students Take the Streets for Immigrant Rights and Against Racism," FightBack!News, May 18, 2010, accessed May 1, 2018, http://www.fightbacknews.org/2010/5/18/students-take-streets-immigrant-rights-and-against-racism

[78] Raúl Alcaraz Ochoa, "A Letter to the DREAM movement," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 44, no. 6 (2011): 18.

[79] Kristen Schorsch, "Deportation on Horizon for Student," *Chicago Tribune*, August 25, 2009, 9. Antonio Olivo, "More Join UIC Students's Battle," *Chicago Tribune*, December 6, 2009, 19. Antonio Olivo, "Student's Deportation is Stayed: UIC Junior Who Pleaded Guilty to Misdemeanor DUI Reprieved," Chicago Tribune, December 11, 2009, accessed October 17, 2017, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2009-12-11/business/chi-121109-immigration-rigo-padilla_1_rigo-padilla-illegal-immigration-homeland-security.

[80] Angelica Rubio, "Undocumented, Not Illegal: Beyond the Rhetoric of Immigration Coverage," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 44, no. 6 (2011): 52.

According to Rubio, even if the term itself is not racist, some certainly consider its use to be an act of racism, so by adopting a different tone, the IYJL demonstrated an alternative representational strategy, which bespoke its community mandate.

From its start, the IYJL maintained a community mandate that set forth a mission to amplify the voice of the undocumented community. The IYJL's mission was similar to that of other organizations that emerged during the undocumented youth movement, which according to the self-identified "undocuqueer" activist Julio Salgado, intended "to make sure that as undocumented people—that WE tell the stories. That WE own the narratives."[81] According to Pallares and Gomberg-Muñoz, "the youth movement that rallied around being 'undocumented and unafraid' mobilized young people from a variety of ethnoracial, class, and sexual categories," who in turn could "coalesce around an identity, 'undocumented.'"[82] As a continuation of the more hybrid representation of Latinidad that emerged during the intermedial turn, the IYJL's incorporation of various scales of identities revealed an evolution in the group's understanding of identity formation because they acknowledged that their sense of Latinidad was not only informed by other ethnic groups but also that the individual members of the Latinx community also identified with a variety of social groups.

According to Veronica Terriquez, social movements lend themselves to the development of "intersectional mobilization, meaning high levels of activism and commitment among a marginalized subgroup of an already marginalized population."[83] Such intersectional mobilizations, Terriquez claims, are possible because "movements as a whole can publicly

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[81] Hinda Seif, "'Layers of Humanity:' Interview with Undocuqueer Artivisit Julio Salgado," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 303.

[82] Amalia Pallares and Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz, "Politics of Motion: Ethnography with Undocumented Activists and Undocumented Activism," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 8.

[83] Veronica Terriquez, "Intersectional Mobilization, Social Movement Spillover, and Queer Youth Leadership in the Immigrant Rights Movement," *Social Problems* 62 (2015): 346.

recognize activists' multiple identities and raise awareness of the challenges experienced by disadvantaged subgroups within their broader constituencies."[84] In other words, not only is an awareness of intersectionality inherent to a marginalized subjectivity but also scalar because it allows for the "the recognition and activation of multiply marginalized identities at various levels of identity formation—at the broader movement, organizational, and individual levels."[85] Unzueta was especially aware of the intersectionality of being undocumented and felt that the IYJL "needed something different" because in her experience immigrant activism tended to involve "heterosexist, male dominant, adultist organizing."[86]

Acknowledging the intersection of being undocumented and identifying as GSM was not unique to the IYJL but common among undocumented youth during the early 2000s. According to Seif, "unlike previous Latino social movements that have marginalized LGBTQ persons and perspectives, young people who live and speak at the intersection of undocumented immigration status and sexual difference were central to establishing significant immigrant youth organizations and strategies," which was most evident by the popularity of the term "undocuqueer."[87] According to Alma, "a college student and IYJL activist," "after the term 'undocuqueer' came up, people started talking about being queer and undocumented and the similarities and issues that affect both communities."[88] For Alma, using the term as a hashtag,

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[84] Veronica Terriquez, "Intersectional Mobilization, Social Movement Spillover, and Queer Youth Leadership in the Immigrant Rights Movement," *Social Problems* 62 (2015): 346.

[85] Veronica Terriquez, "Intersectional Mobilization, Social Movement Spillover, and Queer Youth Leadership in the Immigrant Rights Movement," *Social Problems* 62 (2015): 345.

[86] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 96.

[87] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014):89.

[88] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 111.

("#undocuqueer") in social media helped to "locate others and build community."[89] According to

another IYJL member, Ana, the term also relayed information to undocumented communities

outside of the city about what the group's activities.[90] As Ana suggests, the IYJL's representation

of intersectionality had a spatial component, which was even more evident in its offline political

contention.

Supporting Seif's claim that youth activists have "appropriated digital media and

communication technologies to create new spaces for self-representation and mobilization," the

IYJL represented the intersectionality of being Latinx, being undocumented, and identifying as a

member of the GSM community within the space of its Internet media.[91] For example, the IYJL

acknowledged its sense of intersectionality in its "Who We Are" section on IYJL.org, which

states that the "IYJL has been at the forefront of highlighting the intersections between the

LGBTQ and immigrant communities."[92] The website again highlighted intersectionality in a blog

post by the user Viviana, who wrote that her "queer and undocumented identities are

intertwined."[93] Although this user later states that her various intersecting identities are

"consistently in conflict with each other," Unzueta claims that "coming out as queer" helped her

"come out as undocumented" because she found that they were similar experiences.[94]

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[89] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 111.

[90] Hinda Seif, "'We Define Ourselves:' 1.5-Generation Undocumented Immigrant Activist Identities and Insurgent Discourse," *North American Dialogue* 19, no.1 (2016): 32-33.

[91] Hinda Seif, "'Unapologetic and Unafraid": Immigrant Youth Come Out from the Shadows," *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development* 134 (2011): 71.

[92] "Who We Are," Immigrant Youth Justice League, accessed August 31, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/whoweare/.

[93] IYJL, "Viviana: I want my Queer and Undocumented to be friends," Immigrant Youth Justice League, June 24, 2011, http://www.iyjl.org/viviana-i-want-my-queer-and-undocumented-to-be-friends/.

[94] IYJL, "Viviana: I want my Queer and Undocumented to be friends," Immigrant Youth Justice League, June 24, 2011, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/viviana-i-want-my-queer-and-undocumented-to-be-friends/. Constance Ruholl, "Undocumented Individuals Honored for Bravery," Windy City Times, July 13, 2011, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=32723.

Even before establishing the IYJL, Unzueta was active in promoting a wider, more intersectional understanding of Latinidad by advocating to relocate the "Chicago Dyke March from its usual White, Northside locale to Pilsen," a largely Latinx neighborhood, in 2008 and 2009.[95] Unzueta's efforts in hosting Chicago's Dyke March in Pilsen reveals her understanding of the relationship between geography and culture, demonstrating the influence of her earlier broadcasting experience at WRTE as the "managing producer of *Homofrecuencia*, the first Spanish language radio show in the U.S. to focus on LGBTQ youth issues."[96] As mentioned in my earlier discussion on WRTE, the station's Latinx programming reflected its surrounding neighborhood, and *Homofrecuencia* directly aimed to represent the GSM community in Pilsen. As such, Unzueta had experience in using media to both generate a sense of identity and to establish a sense of space, which the IYJL reflected in its offline gatherings.

Among its offline acts of political contention, the IYJL's National Coming Out of the Shadows (NCOS) rallies best represents the ways in which the group drew a relationship between intersectionality and space. The NCOS was an offshoot of the IYJL's "Shout it Out" events, which operated at a neighborhood scale when they were first held at the Hull House in December 2009. The events were intended to provide a "safe space" for undocumented youth to tell their stories and receive support.[97] During the gatherings, youths shouted "undocumented and unafraid" "as a way to collectively confront and unlearn their fear about speaking of their legal

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[95] "Tania Unzueta, 30 Under 30 Honoree," Windy City Times, June 22, 2005, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.windycitymediagroup. com/lgbt/Tania-Unzueta-30-Under-30-Honoree/8650.html.

[96] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 88.

[97] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 101.

status," instilling a "feeling of empowerment into their daily lives."[98] According to Unzueta, the

most important aspect of the meetings is that they encouraged attendees to overcome their

feelings of being "endangered in the public sphere," which appears to have been so impacting for

those in attendance shared "tears, laughter, and togetherness over a conversation touching on

[their] experiences, fears, and hopes as undocumented youth."[99]

As Enriquez and Saguy argue, political activism generally requires two actions,

mobilizing a "collective identity" and "publicly sharing experiences of marginalization," and the

group made this mobilization possible by creating what Ananya Roy might describe as a

"securitized space" during their "Shout it Out" events, where "practices of enclosure, exclusion,

and quarantine" produced "sites of disruptive spatiality, where resistance is performed and

inhabitation is possible."[100] In other words, the "Shout it Out" events were both a form of

political contention and a way to publicly express an undocumented identity, doing so by sharing

"stories of personal identity" and "making the private, public."[101] However, these first gatherings

took place at a relatively small scale, and as IYJL members "felt really good" to be among other

undocumented people, they also realized that there was "power" in labeling themselves as

"undocumented."[102] Although it was not immediately clear how they could increase the scope of

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[98] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 101.

[99] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 97. "Shout it Out, Open Meeting & LGBT Video," Immigrant Youth Justice League, September 29, 2011, accessed October 17, 2017, http://us2.campaign-archive1.com/?u=00dcbd39570969a013c8e903c&id=0fdcd90737. IYJL, "IYJL At Three," Immigrant Youth Justice League, October 24, 2012, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/3-years-of-iyjl-more-to-come/.

[100] Ananya Roy, "Commentary: Placing Planning in the World—Transnationalism as Practice and Critique," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 20, no. 10 (2011): 4.

[101] IYJL, "I Define Myself: Undocumented & Unafraid Portrait Exhibit," Immigrant Youth Justice League, June 9, 2014, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/i-define-myself-undocumented-unafraid-portrait-exhibit/.

[102] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 100.

their address to other undocumented communities, IYJL members eventually drew similarities

between publicly disclosing their undocumented status and "coming out of the closet," the public

declaration of one's identification with the GSM community.[103]

Although these public declarations share similarities in that they bridge the private and

public spheres, according to Enriquez and Saguy, the closet metaphor "does not fully resonate

with the experiences of undocumented immigrants who collectively hide their status out of fear

of deportation."[104] Seemingly aware of this, the IYJL adapted the idea to the undocumented

community by using the more apt metaphor of coming out of "the shadows," which was a term

that popular media outlets had been using to refer to undocumented immigrants since the late

1980s.[105] With this more apt term now articulated, the group decided to host its first Coming Out

of the Shadows rally at Federal Plaza in downtown Chicago, and on March 20, 2010, Unzueta

stood in front of a group of protesters and exclaimed, "brothers and sisters, we must come out,"

quoting the well-known GSM activist and politician Harvey Milk. [106] With this rally, the group

had effectively scale-shifted from the neighborhood to the city, and it would continue to scale-

shift to the level of the nation as the group expanded the scope of its address.

After the rally proved to be a success, the IYJL partnered with United We Dream and

dreamactivist.org, "the only two national organizations bringing together undocumented youth

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[103] Hinda Seif, "'Coming out of the Shadows' and 'Undocuqueer:' Undocumented Immigrants Transforming Sexuality Discourse and Activism," *Journal of Language and Sexuality* 3, no. 1 (2014): 100.

[104] Laura E. Enriquez and Abigail C. Saguy, "Coming Out of the Shadows: Harnessing a Cultural Schema to Advance the Undocumented Immigrant Youth Movement," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 1 (2016): 120.

[105] Laura E. Enriquez and Abigail C. Saguy, "Coming Out of the Shadows: Harnessing a Cultural Schema to Advance the Undocumented Immigrant Youth Movement," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 1 (2016): 120.

[106] Laura E. Enriquez and Abigail C. Saguy, "Coming Out of the Shadows: Harnessing a Cultural Schema to Advance the Undocumented Immigrant Youth Movement," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 1 (2016): 120.

leaders to develop coordinated actions," to release a nationwide email via dreamactivist.org in

June 2010.[107] The newsletter encouraged organizations to celebrate "a month of coming out as

undocumented," and asked the country's undocumented youth to "finally come out of the

shadows and lay claim to their own futures.'"[108] This collaboration inspired the IYJL to join

other immigrant youth organizations in establishing the National Immigrant Youth Alliance

(NIYA) in April 2011, which scale-shifted the IYJL's community mandate to a national level by

creating "an undocumented youth-LED [sic] network of grassroots organizations, campus-based

student groups and individuals committed to achieving equality for all immigrant youth,

regardless of their legal status."[109] In these examples, we can see that the group scale-shifted as it

varied the scope of its address, and its strategies of representation likewise shifted in scope and

revealed the group's understanding of how scale related to the identity formation.

The IYJL's public declarations of their intersectional identities typified the ways in which

Latinx media producers in Chicago engaged with scale in the representation of Latinidad during

the rise of social media (2006-2012). For instance, during a "Coming Out: Queer and

Undocumented" event, Carrasco stated:

> One of my identities, being undocumented, has for a long time been about what I can't do. I can't study
> abroad, I can't see my baby cousins in Mexico, I can't get a license to practice medicine, and I can't stop
> crying after trying to figure out ways to get around these limitations. My queer identity, however, has been

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[107] Laura E. Enriquez and Abigail C. Saguy, "Coming Out of the Shadows: Harnessing a Cultural Schema to Advance the Undocumented Immigrant Youth Movement," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 1 (2016): 121. Dream Activist, New York State Youth Leadership Council, & United We Dream Network, "Coming out: A how to guide," Dream Activist, 2010, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/tag/new-york-state-youth-leadership-council/, 2010.

[108] Laura E. Enriquez and Abigail C. Saguy, "Coming Out of the Shadows: Harnessing a Cultural Schema to Advance the Undocumented Immigrant Youth Movement," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 1 (2016): 121. Dream Activist, New York State Youth Leadership Council, & United We Dream Network, "Coming out: A how to guide," Dream Activist, 2010, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.dreamactivist.org/blog/tag/new-york-state-youth-leadership-council/, 2010.

[109] Joaquina Weber-Shirk, "Deviant Citizenship: DREAMer Activism in the United States and Transnational Belonging," *Social Sciences* 4 (2015): 583. "IYJL At Three," Organized Communities, April 24, 2012, accessed October 17, 2017, http://organizedcommunities.org/3-years-of-iyjl-more-to-come/.

about construction. About figuring out how to tell that girl I'd [liked] for three years that I liked her, and not feel frustrated when I couldn't work up the courage to talk to her at my sister's party. About figuring out how I want to define who I am regardless of the weird looks I get because of my unshaved legs and armpits.[110]

In this statement, Carrasco not only acknowledges the presence of multiple identities but also an awareness of how she constructs her "queer identity." By pointing to the constructedness of that sense of identity, Carrasco suggested that she could apply that same understanding to her sense of being undocumented, foreshadowing the IYJL's future strategy of structuring personal stories to mobilize community under a collective, undocumented identity, which likewise typified the construction of Latinx identity among Chicago's media producers during the rise of social media.[111]

Contrary to Staeheli et al.'s claim that "the Internet is far more effective at providing information than it is in mobilization," the Internet similarly provided a space for IYJL members to declare themselves as undocumented and share their personal experiences of being an immigrant.[112] The IYJL's practice of making these stories available to the wider public was akin to what Clara Han calls the sharing of "testimonios."[113] According to Han, "as a practice of being with others, [testimonios] not only can inspire the possibility of political community but also can be understood as an ethical practice of the self."[114] As such, the IYJL was able to advance its community mandate and serve as "a resource for youth organizing and living in

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[110] Hinda Seif, "'We Define Ourselves:' 1.5-Generation Undocumented Immigrant Activist Identities and Insurgent Discourse," *North American Dialogue* 19, no.1 (2016): 32-33.

[111] Laura E. Enriquez and Abigail C. Saguy, "Coming Out of the Shadows: Harnessing a Cultural Schema to Advance the Undocumented Immigrant Youth Movement," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 1 (2016): 110.

[112] Lynn A. Staeheli, Valerie Ledwith, Meghann Ormond, Katie Reed, Amy Sumpter, and Daniel Trudeau, "Immigration, the Internet, and Spaces of Politics," *Political Geography* 21 (2002): 1005.

[113] Clara Han, *Life and Debt: Times of Care and Violence in Neoliberal Chile* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 113.

[114] Clara Han, *Life and Debt: Times of Care and Violence in Neoliberal Chile* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 113.

Chicago on immigration" by hosting testimonios on IYJL.org and on Soundcloud, providing "a place to collect stories as youth 'come out' and speak on their experiences surrounding immigration."[115] For example, the blog post entitled "Nathalia's Story" includes "a recording from an undocumented student in Chicago," who migrated to the U.S. from Brazil "when she was months old."[116]

Although the group posted other testimonios on IYJL.org, the bulk of them, a total of 26 testimonios, were hosted on SoundCloud and ranged in length from one minute and 48 seconds to five minutes and fifteen seconds.[117] The testimonies were mostly from anonymous sources, but did include recordings by the group's founding members, Wences and Unzueta.[118] Community members were invited to share their stories by leaving an anonymous "voice message at (312) 725-IYJL (4955)."[119] Through the use of voicemail, IYJL established a way for individuals to safely share their messages and connect with the rest of the undocumented community. This practice was similar to how WCIU's call-in show, *Ayuda,* was able to extend cultural citizenship to its callers by providing guidance on matters of immigration, without exposing them to any dangers. However, as the need for anonymity suggests, claiming a public undocumented identity and forming an organization to aid other undocumented youths were not without their own risks.

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[115] IYJL, "Our First Press Conference!" Immigrant Youth Justice League, January 9, 2010, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/our-first-press-conference/

[116] IYJL, "Nathalia's Story," Immigrant Youth Justice League, January 19, 2010, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/natalias-story/.

[117] @IYJL-1, Soundcloud, accessed August 31, 2017, https://soundcloud.com/iyjl-1.

[118] @IYJL-1, Soundcloud, accessed August 31, 2017, https://soundcloud.com/iyjl-1.

[119] Iyjl, "Nathalia's Story," Immigrant Youth Justice League, January 19, 2010, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/natalias-story/.

Early on in the organization's history, Unzueta signaled a sense of apprehension about disclosing her undocumented status by writing on Twitter, "to tie twitter to my blog i [sic] need to make my tweets public. i [sic] don't like that idea. make another twitter? or just forget about linking?"[120] Likewise, Internet user yallfallforanything expressed doubt about using testimonios on the IYJL's Tumblr page, writing, "I've heard countless times from Carla that 'the more public you are, the safer.' And maybe that's true, I don't know. but it doesn't change the fact that deportation is still on the table, and that scares the hell out of me."[121] As it turned out, these feelings of foreboding were justified as not only did the IYJL expose its members to policing by the nation state but also to disparaging rhetoric from U.S. nationalists who commented on the group's social media posts with statements such as "Attn illegal aliens; Go mooch off someone else! We owe you nothing!," "go back where you came from first!," and "I'm so sick of these illegals crying all the time about being separated from their families because of deportations. No one drug you across the border. Americans are tired of paying for your American Dream. Quit having 8 kids you can't take care of that the American people pay for while our children go without."[122] However, as Wences notes in her acceptance speech of the Freedom from Fear award, "I felt excited and happy knowing that the work that IYJL is doing is being recognized but at the same time I think we are all courageous. We are all fighting for the same thing and we are all standing up and challenging that fear that we have."[123] Overcoming this fear became a

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[120] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco (@_LaTania), "to tie twitter to my blog i [sic] need to make my tweets public. i [sic] don't like that idea. make another twitter? or just forget about linking?" Twitter, January 15, 2010, accessed October 17, 2017.

[121] @yallfallforanything, "[in]secure communities," Tumblr, August 18, 2011, accessed October 17, 2017, http://yallfallforanything.tumblr.com/post/9074165101/insecure-communities,

[122] IYJL, "BREAKING: 12 Chicagoans Form Human Chain Calling on President to Suspend Deportations," Immigrant Youth Justice League, May 29, 2013, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/nodeportations/.

[123] Constance Ruholl, "Undocumented Individuals Honored for Bravery," Windy City Times, July 13, 2011, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.windycitymediagroup.com/gay/lesbian/news/ARTICLE.php?AID=32723.

central motivation for the IYJL, as noted by another IYJL member, Roberto Garza: "we have to do something to get more undocumented students to break that fear, to talk about their status, to organize around their status."[124] According to René Galindo, the use of testimonios represented a political strategy that contributed to a "new political subjectivity" for undocumented immigrant students called "Undocumented & Unafraid." which that publicly rejected the "societal invisibility, silencing, and criminalization of undocumented immigrants" that succumb to a "regime of enforced invisibility."[125] By strategically structuring their stories, the IYJL demonstrated an awareness of how testimonios could be used to represent an undocumented identity.

According to IYJL member Reyes, one of the major responsibilities that community leaders have to undocumented youth is to "teach them to speak with the media and to share their stories [because] despite being undocumented, they have to be as visible as possible."[126] As such, the IYJL established guidelines that took into consideration their audience and the scope of their address, which determined how users would tell stories and the kinds of things they would highlight.[127] For example, Unzueta notes that giving a talk at a high school was a "completely different experience then [sic] talking to a bunch of people at a rally or a shout-it-out event," which is why she felt the need to "strategize all the time" about how she would express herself

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[124] Laura E. Enriquez and Abigail C. Saguy, "Coming Out of the Shadows: Harnessing a Cultural Schema to Advance the Undocumented Immigrant Youth Movement," *American Journal of Cultural Sociology* 4, no. 1 (2016): 119.

[125] René Galindo, "Undocumented & Unafraid: The DREAM Act 5 and the Public Disclosure of Undocumented Status as a Political Act," *Urban Rev* 44 (2012): 590.

[126] Thomas Swerts, "Gaining a Voice: Storytelling and Undocumented Youth Activism in Chicago," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (2015): 355-356.

[127] Thomas Swerts, "Gaining a Voice: Storytelling and Undocumented Youth Activism in Chicago," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (2015): 349.

publicly.[128] As a result, the group's testimonios are best understood as what Thomas Swertz calls

"model stories."[129] According to Swertz, "model stories" adhere to "institutionalized norms" that

govern their use, and by so explicitly strategizing the presentation of their testimonios, the IYJL

revealed a strategic representation of identity, which typified the representational strategies of

Chicago's Latinx mediascape during the early 2000s.[130]

Realizing that undocumented youth had "distinctive experiences of illegality and

deportability, as well as aspirations and expectations," the IYJL exemplified the broader goals

and tendencies of the immigrant youth movement, doing so by using both its off and Online

activity to advance the organization's community mandate, coordinate its immigration activism,

shape its sense of community, and represent an intersectional understanding of undocumented

youth identity.[131] As discussed earlier, this required establishing a sense of space and scale-

shifting in order to expand the scope of the group's address. More than anywhere else, the IYJL

demonstrated this in its acts of political contention, which directly addressed the nation's wider

undocumented community and contested the idea of national citizenship.

Challenging Citizenship and the Failed DREAM Act

According to Galindo, testimonios "reconfigured the field of experience of illegality by

rejecting life under the 'regime of enforced invisibility,'" making the undocumented more visible

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[128] Thomas Swerts, "Gaining a Voice: Storytelling and Undocumented Youth Activism in Chicago," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (2015): 349.

[129] Thomas Swerts, "Gaining a Voice: Storytelling and Undocumented Youth Activism in Chicago," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (2015): 355.

[130] Thomas Swerts, "Gaining a Voice: Storytelling and Undocumented Youth Activism in Chicago," *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 20, no. 3 (2015): 355.

[131] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 287.

in the public sphere.[132] The IYJL demonstrated this in its offline acts of political contention, such as its Coming Out of the Shadows rallies, while also doing so in its Internet media. For example, in its first blog post, a poem titled "Under the Radar" by H. Esparza, the IYJL expressed the idea that by publicly declaring their residency status, the undocumented could not only develop a sense of identity but also challenge their disenfranchisement. In the poem, the narrator states:

> Quickly we learned the language of the oppressor,
> I said, yo soy ilegal, ¿tú también? We laughed!
> We're all illegal!, we cried-out,
> Transforming our identity, resisting the oppression.[133]

By claiming to be "ilegal" and "illegal," the narrator challenges the idea that they are what Mae Ngai calls "an impossible subject." According to Ngai, immigration laws make it so that the undocumented are impossible subjects, people who "cannot be and a problem that cannot be solved," because they are "barred from citizenship and without rights" and thus a "legal impossibility" despite being a "social reality."[134] The narrator's challenge advocates for an alternative form of citizenship, similar to WCIU's promotion of cultural citizenship through its show *Ayuda* but different and best described as what Weber-Shirck and Deviant' refer to as "deviant citizenship," which the IYJL sought to acquire by engaging in acts of civil disobedience with the hope of securing political power.[135] However, after the "dramatic failure of the DREAM Act, the implementation of DACA, and the release of new prosecutorial discretion guidelines,"

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[132] René Galindo, "Undocumented & Unafraid: The DREAM Act 5 and the Public Disclosure of Undocumented Status as a Political Act," *Urban Rev* 44 (2012): 594.

[133] Iyjl, "Under the Radar by H. Esparza," Immigrant Youth Justice League, January 1, 2010, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/under-the-radar-by-h-esparza/.

[134] Mae Ngai, *Impossible Subjects* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004), 4-5.

[135] Joaquina Weber-Shirk, "Deviant Citizenship: DREAMer Activism in the United States and Transnational Belonging," *Social Sciences*, 4 (2015): 594.

the IYJL altered its mission: instead of seeking recognition as "illegal" subjects, the group now outright challenged the notion of national citizenship altogether.[136]

When the DREAM Act failed to pass in December 2010, it provided what Rey, Unzueta's co-organizer, describes as "a big reality check," leading members of the organization to reconsider the IYJL's overall approach to securing civil rights.[137] For example, in a post on IYJL.org, the group member Alaa Mukahhal states, "after the initial disappointment that came with the vote in December, I awoke from my stupor to realize that the act we were fighting for was an insult."[138] In response to Mukahhal's letter, the user José Herrera posted on the IYJL's Facebook page, criticizing the group for "promoting the bill" and "providing a 'face' to the politics of exclusion, militarization and class division" that underscored the DREAM Act.[139] In other words, the IYJL had made itself complicit in an "incredibly violent political trajectory" by working with politicians. [140] Although not directly responding to Herrera's comment, the IYJL addressed the issue in a follow-up post on IYJL.org:

> Undocumented youth, undocumented parents, and undocumented workers of different levels of education and specializations are being placed at different ends of the spectrum for 'qualifying' and receiving certain privileges under this bill and this has been the continued narrative. We need to rise beyond these divisive tactics and affirm our perspective of what reform and human rights looks like through our actions. [141]

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[136] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 288.

[137] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 288.

[138] IYJL, "Because we are human and we demand nothing less," Immigrant Youth Justice League, January 15, 2011, accessed October 17, 2017, http://www.iyjl.org/because-we-are-human-and-we-demand-nothing-less/.

[139] José Herrera, Facebook, July 19, 2013, accessed July 1, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/groups/197208688297/permalink/10152103927408298/. Unzueta replied to the post with, "lol," meaning "laugh out loud."

[140] José Herrera, Facebook, July 19, 2013, accessed July 1, 2017, https://www.facebook.com/groups/197208688297/permalink/10152103927408298.

[141] IYJL, "Because we are human and we demand nothing less," Immigrant Youth Justice League, January 15, 2011, accessed October 17, 2017. http://www.iyjl.org/because-we-are-human-and-we-demand-nothing-less/.

This post signaled a different perspective about the IYJL's political contention, revealing what

Unzueta calls a "drastic shift" in the IYJL's "1.5 generation organizing strategy."[142]

As Seif argues, because the DREAM Act had failed to pass, "many devastated and

frustrated activists rejected their close alignment with the legislative process," and their political

strategies broadened to become "less centered on appealing to White, older, citizen voters and

legislators."[143] The most significant way in which the IYJL demonstrated this shift was by

distancing themselves from "central elements" of the DREAMer narrative.[144] According to the

IYJL, the discourse surrounding the DREAM Act established the premise that undocumented

youth needed to "conform to model immigrant prototypes and distance themselves from their

parents" in order to justify receiving civil rights.[145] By claiming that undocumented youth were

deserving of such rights because of their supposed "innocence," Kathryn Abrams argues that this

discourse forced them to implicate "their parents in the decisions leading to their unauthorized

presence."[146] The immigration rights activist Raul Alcaraz Ochoa expresses the severity of this

narrative through a question, "if I support the DREAM Act…does this mean I am OK with

blaming my mother and my father for migrating 'illegally' to the United States?"[147] Alcaraz

Ocho's question suggests that, as Unzueta realized, "even as immigrant rights advocates

challenge the state to change its laws to incorporate the undocumented, they often do so by

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[142] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 288.

[143] Hinda Seif, "'We Define Ourselves:' 1.5-Generation Undocumented Immigrant Activist Identities and Insurgent Discourse," *North American Dialogue* 19, no.1 (2016): 29.

[144] Kathryn Abrams, "Contentious Citizenship: Undocumented Activism in the NOT1MORE Deportation Campaign," *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal* 26, no. 46 (2016): 50.

[145] Jorge Mena Robles and Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz, "Activism after DACA: Lessons from Chicago's Immigrant Youth Justice League," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 48.

[146] Kathryn Abrams, "Contentious Citizenship: Undocumented Activism in the NOT1MORE Deportation Campaign," *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal* 26, no. 46 (2016): 50.

[147] Raúl Alcaraz Ochoa, "A Letter to the DREAM movement," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 44, no. 6 (2011): 19.

reinforcing the nation-state's hegemonic and normative definitions of citizenship, and its

sovereign right to exclude people who fall outside of these categories."[148] This realization led the

IYJL to reject what Unzueta describes as the "label of criminality' as a qualifier for deportability"

and produce what Kathryn Abrams calls "perhaps the most significant shift in the [immigration

protest] narrative:...the shift from uncritical membership aspirations to a criticism of the

government for its treatment of immigrants."[149]

  During this shift, the IYJL disrupted "citizenship paradigms by calling into question

citizenship, as recognized by the state, as the determining factor for whether a person has a right

to live, work and participate in the nation-state."[150] As Unzueta states, the IYJL did so within the

context of a "social movement for immigrant rights," challenging what Gabriela Marquez-

Benitez and Amalia Pallares describe as the "existing notions of immigrants as deviants or

criminals."[151] Through the IYJL's political contention, the group highlighted the ways in which

the undocumented were being policed, rendering visible what Marquez-Benitez and Pallares call

the "violence of the state," and in so doing brought attention to the what Arely M. Zimmerman

describes as the "broader issues of immigrant, civil, and human rights," which in effect enacted

"a strategy for social and policy change."[152]

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[148] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 286.

[149] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 288.Kathryn Abrams, "Contentious Citizenship: Undocumented Activism in the NOT1MORE Deportation Campaign," *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal* 26, no. 46 (2016): 51.

[150] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 295-296.

[151] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 292. Gabriela Marquez-Benitez and Amalia Pallares, "Not One More: Civil Disobediences and Public Anti-Deportation Campaigns," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 17.

[152] Gabriela Marquez-Benitez and Amalia Pallares, "Not One More: Civil Disobediences and Public Anti-Deportation Campaigns," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 17. Arely M. Zimmerman, "A Dream

The IYJL was able to highlight these issues by creating what Genevieve Negrón-Gonzales describes as a "counter-spectacle" that challenged "dominant concepts of (il)legality and migrant labor by disrupting the link between 'criminality' and 'illegality.'"[153] Moreover, Webser-Shirk and Deviant argue that the undocumented youth movement more generally promoted the idea that one could "assert" feeling like a U.S.-American while also being undocumented.[154] In so doing, undocumented youth challenged national ideas of acceptable behavior and developed what Evelyn Nakano Glenn describes as "insurgent citizenship."[155]

According to Jorge Mena Robles and Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz, undocumented youth movement organizers engage in "insurgent citizenship" by invoking "their lack of status strategically as a tool of political activism — a mechanism to challenge the dehumanization of undocumented people in political rhetoric and to establish the authority of undocumented people as spokespersons for immigrant rights."[156] According to the IYJL member Lulú Martinez, the IYJL challenged "the contradictions that exist within politicians' and nonprofits' 'good immigrant'/'good DREAMer' narrative by including aged-out, under-aged, queer, and undocumented folks with misdemeanors," and also recognizing "the limitations existent within citizenship."[157] To accomplish this, the IYJL created "alternative political messages to the 'good

Detained: Undocumented Latino Youth and the DREAM Movement," *NACLA Report on the Americas* 44, no. 6 (2011): 14.

[153] Genevieve Negrón-Gonzales, "Undocumented Youth Activism as Counter-Spectacle: Civil Disobedience and Testimonio in the Battle around Immigration Reform," *Aztlán: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 40, no. 1 (2015): 89.

[154] Joaquina Weber-Shirk, "Deviant Citizenship: DREAMer Activism in the United States and Transnational Belonging," *Social Sciences*, 4 (2015): 593.

[155] Joaquina Weber-Shirk, "Deviant Citizenship: DREAMer Activism in the United States and Transnational Belonging," *Social Sciences*, 4 (2015): 593. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Constructing Citizenship: Exclusion, Subordination, and Resistance," *American Sociological Review* 76, no. 1 (2011): 16.

[156] Jorge Mena Robles and Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz, "Activism after DACA: Lessons from Chicago's Immigrant Youth Justice League," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 48.

[157] Hinda Seif, "'We Define Ourselves:' 1.5-Generation Undocumented Immigrant Activist Identities and Insurgent Discourse," *North American Dialogue* 19, no.1 (2016): 31.

immigrant' promoted by citizen advocates."[158] For example, Carrasco notes that the IYJL used

"redes para ayudar a movilizar a nuestros constituyentes y también a cambiar el diálogo que nos

pone en un marco de "buenos" y "malos" inmigrantes. (social media to help mobilize our

constituents and also to change the discourse that labels us as "good" and "bad" immigrants.)[159]

According to Carrasco, the IYJL believed that immigration laws should not determine whether

one is "good" or "bad" because "todas las personas tienen derecho a buscar una mejor vida para

sus familias y que a veces esto quiere decir estar un poco fuera de la ley, pues la ley no reconoce

nuestras necesidades (everyone has the right to find a better life for their families and sometimes

that means being somewhat outside the law, since the law doesn't recognize our needs)."[160]

Believing that "innocence or culpability" was what Abrams calls a "misleading frame," the IYJL

consciously represented the undocumented beyond any "good/bad immigrant archetypes,"

actualizing what Seif calls "new paradigms of belonging."[161] For Unzueta, this meant promoting

the idea of a "1.5 generation" that "lives and organizes by navigating a complex relationship with

the nation-state, which places us as both criminal and legitimate subjects."[162] Reflecting this idea,

the IYJL changed its slogan from "Undocumented and Unafraid" to "Undocumented, Unafraid,

and Unapologetic" in 2011.

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[158] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 289.

[159] Adam Goodman, "#SomosAndiola, las Redes Actúan en Defensa de Inmigrantes," Homozapping, accessed August 8, 2017, http://homozapping.com.mx/2013/01/somosandiola-las-redes-actuan-contra-la-deportacion-de-inmigrantes/. My translation.

[160] Adam Goodman, "#SomosAndiola, las Redes Actúan en Defensa de Inmigrantes," Homozapping, accessed August 8, 2017, http://homozapping.com.mx/2013/01/somosandiola-las-redes-actuan-contra-la-deportacion-de-inmigrantes/. My translation.

[161] Kathryn Abrams, "Contentious Citizenship: Undocumented Activism in the NOT1MORE Deportation Campaign," *Berkeley La Raza Law Journal* 26, no. 46 (2016): 50. Hinda Seif, "'We Define Ourselves:' 1.5-Generation Undocumented Immigrant Activist Identities and Insurgent Discourse," *North American Dialogue* 19, no.1 (2016): 23.

[162] Tania A. Unzueta Carrasco and Hinda Seif, "Disrupting the Dream: Undocumented Youth Reframe Citizenship and Deportability through Anti-Deportation Activism," *Latino Studies* 12 (2014): 287.

According to a blog post on IYJL's website, the organization added "Unapologetic" to slogan in order to "respond to how [they felt] about [their] parents bringing [them] to this country."[163] As the IYJL declared, they would not "apologize nor allow others to put [them or their] parents down as [they] continue to fight for a just immigration system."[164] This rejection of the DREAMer narrative after the DREAM Act's failure reflected the group's intention to "re-envision and redefine what comprehensive and what reform looks like," specifically as it related to the construction of a state-sanctioned, ideal undocumented identity, which demonstrated a scale-shift that positioned citizenship outside of the nation.[165] According to Seif, after the DREAM Act failed to pass, "many activists redefined their identities" which was visible in the IYJL's slogan for the Coming Out of the Shadows rally in 2012, "We define ourselves."[166] By rallying around this message, the IYJL emphasized "the diversity of stories and agentive voices of undocumented youth," which broadened the scope of its address to include the wider undocumented community and not just Latinxs.[167] In doing so, the IYJL also challenged popular conceptions of citizenship by asserting agency over the representation of their intersectional identities, demonstrating the more malleable use of scale that typified the rise of social media in Chicago Latinx mediascape during the early 2000s.

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[163] IYJL, "IYJL At Three," Immigrant Youth Justice League, October 24, 2012, accessed October 17, 2017. http://www.iyjl.org/3-years-of-iyjl-more-to-come/.

[164] IYJL, "IYJL At Three," Immigrant Youth Justice League, October 24, 2012, accessed October 17, 2017. http://www.iyjl.org/3-years-of-iyjl-more-to-come/.

[165] IYJL, "Declaration of Independence from "Comprehensive Immigration Reform," Immigrant Youth Justice League, July 17, 2013, accessed October 17, 2017. http://www.iyjl.org/immigrationstance/.

[166] Hinda Seif, "'We Define Ourselves:' 1.5-Generation Undocumented Immigrant Activist Identities and Insurgent Discourse," *North American Dialogue* 19, no.1 (2016): 29.

[167] Jorge Mena Robles and Ruth Gomberg-Muñoz, "Activism after DACA: Lessons from Chicago's Immigrant Youth Justice League," *North American Dialogue* 19, no. 1 (2016): 48.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I argued that the IYJL's representational strategies exemplified how the city's Latinx media producers demonstrated greater command over their use of scale during the rise of social media (2006-2012) in Chicago's Latinx media industry. In my discussion of the IYJL's Internet media, I showed that the group typified the era by expressing an intersectional understanding of identity that incorporated a sense of Latinidad, accounted for gender and sexual minorities (GSM), and included a broad range of ethnicities and nationalities in its depictions of the undocumented immigrant community. The IYJL likewise challenged popular conceptions of what it meant to be undocumented, especially as it regarded the question of criminality, by articulating its own sense of identity through testimonies and challenging conceptions of national belonging through deviant citizenship, much as WRTE's *Homofrequencia* attempted to forge an alternative sense of Latinidad among Pilsen's Latinx community.

This chapter advanced this dissertation's thesis concerning the importance of scale in Chicago's Latinx media industry by demonstrating that the IYJL shifted the scope of its address across multiple scales to engender community formations at various levels, each serving their own purpose. I described how the IYJL narrowed the scope of its address to the city's Latinx community by scale-shifting to the level of the neighborhood. Likewise, I explained how the group scale-shifted to the level of the city in order to broaden the scope of its address and include the larger undocumented immigrant community and not just Latinxs. Lastly, I detailed how the IYJL scale-shifted to the level of the nation in order to challenge federal immigration laws and oppose traditional notions of citizenship.

I continued this discussion on scale-shifting by describing how the group's offline and online acts of political contention altered the scope of their address depending on their social

context, using the Internet to amass a geographically dispersed, nationwide undocumented community while at the same time mobilizing local activists for collective action by scale-shifting to the level of the city. From this history, we can see that scale mattered in the formation of the IYJL's undocumented community and that scale-shifting was critical to securing political agency for their disenfranchized group members. The group's history, in turn, reflected the ways in which scale informed the development of Latinidad among the larger U.S.-American Latinx population at the start of the 21st century.

CONCLUSION

In this dissertation, I analyzed the role of scale in the historical representation of Latinidad in Chicago by constructing a media ecology of the city's Latinx mediascape between the years 1953 and 2012. I traced this history in four case studies: (1) Univision's former television affiliate, WCIU; (2) the Little Village/Pilsen neighborhood micro-broadcasting radio stations, WCYC and WRTE; (3) the longest running Latinx film festival in the country, the Chicago Latino Film Festival; and (4) the renowned activist group, the Immigrant Youth Justice League.

Over the course of four chapters, I explored the primary moments of change in the city's Latinx media industry, conducting a history across four periods, which I call the dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-1986); the decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996); the intermedial turn (1996-2006); and the rise of social media (2006-2012). I located these historical junctures at points where significant changes appeared simultaneously across my case studies. As I showed, each historical period had specific, distinguishable characteristics with regards to media production and the representation of Latinidad.

In chapter one, I introduced the dawn of Latinx broadcasting (1953-1986), which was marked by broadcasters privileging Latin America in their representations of Latinidad. In so doing, these broadcasters adhered to an international scale of proximity that obscured the regional specificity of Chicago's diverse Latinx community. However, WCIU's scale of transmission and mixed, community mandate encouraged a more local scope of address, which counterbalanced this international perspective and shed light on the particular makeup of Chicago's Latinx community.

In the subsequent decade of the "Hispanic" (1986-1996), a term first introduced by Maria Elena Toraño, Latinx media producers in the United States underwent a shift in their conception of community, developing a more generalized representation of Latinidad that obscured national difference, which was evident in popular Spanish-language programming by the newly re-formed Univision. However, as I showed in chapter two, this period was also marked by a more unified U.S.-American Latinx population, which had the capacity to produce its own cultural productions, as was the case with the proliferation of freestyle music by Latinx youth on WCYC.

The next stage in Chicago's Latinx media history, the intermedial turn (1996-2006), continued the representation of a singular Latinx community but accounted for the various identities that went into its formation. For example, the Chicago Latino Film Festival's posters demonstrated a myriad of Latinx iconography that drew from a variety of Latin American countries. In the case of WRTE, the program *Homofrequencia* represented a sense of Latinidad that accounted for gender and sexual minorities in their broadcasts, which expanded traditional notions of sexuality when compared to broadcasts on other Spanish-language stations in Chicago. This period of time also revealed a change in how producers conceived of media, engaging in media practices that spanned across platforms, as was the case with the Illinois Latino Cultural Center's addition of the Chicago Latino Music Festival.

I concluded this history of Chicago's Latinx media industry by describing the rise of social media (2006–2012) by way of a history of the Immigrant Youth Justice League (IYJL). In many ways, this era was a continuation of the intermedial turn but differed in that there was a quicker, more pronounced shifting of scales, which demonstrated a clear strategy for developing a sense of community and undocumented identity according to scale of proximity. For example, the IYJL represented a more Latinx take on undocumented identity when adopting a

neighborhood scale of address, which became more diverse as it scale-shifted to the level of the city and ultimately to the level of the nation. Each scale-shift not only addressed a different segment of the U.S. undocumented community but also reflected an alternative understanding of citizenship, where the U.S.-American Latinx population was not only made-up of U.S. citizens but also of undocumented Latinxs, who could engage with the nation through Latinx cultural citizenship and other forms of deviant citizenship. I described these shifts through an analysis of the IYJL's social media, which not only allowed traditionally disenfranchised groups to participate in media production but also provided a platform for the quick dissemination of information, which was critical in the IYJL's anti-deportation campaigns and offline political activism.

This study's primary question was, "what insights do we gain by focusing on the question of scale in the history of the city's Latinx media industry?" The most significant insights that I acquired from this study were that (1) communication establishes relationships and (2) shifting scales sets boundaries and establishes new relationships. In other words, by focusing on scale I was able to describe how people use media to relate to each other, to their surroundings, and to their technologies. This history also described the ways in Latinx media reflected the changing conceptions of U.S.-American Latinidad as it progressed from privileging Latin America to becoming a hybrid cultural formation that incorporated a variety of social identities.

Evaluation of Framework

In order to answer this question, I nuanced my understanding of scale by introducing the concept of representational scales, which I described as consisting of a triad of proximity,

transmission, and identity. After utilizing this framework in this dissertation, I see that it has both strengths and weaknesses. One of its strengths is that each representational scale provides specific terminology for different kinds of scales, offering greater precision in my discussion. One of the weaknesses of this framework is that its terminology can be awkward to use in a sentence, and its ideas can at times be expressed through different language. For example, "scale of identity" and "scope of address" represent very similar ideas, and I found that I often preferred to use the latter when talking about how media engage with specific communities. Another of the framework's strengths is that each scale can be used in many different contexts, resulting in a wealth of data to examine. However, this strength is accompanied by a weakness, in that each representational scale offers so much detail that some scales may be used more than others. For instance, I analyzed scale of proximity far more than any other and focused on scale of identity the least.

Key Contributions

This work contributes most to the fields of intermedia studies, Latinx media studies, and Latinx studies. As a media ecology, this dissertation offers a model for exploring the commonalities between various media while highlighting the communities that produce them. In other words, it offers a methodology for conducting intermedial research. As a study of Latinx media, this work not only fills a lacuna in the more general field of media studies by conducting original research of Latinx media in Chicago but also introduces the idea of mediated Latinities, offering a language for discussing the representation of Latinx identity in media. Likewise, this work contributes to the field of Latinx studies by promoting the idea of mediated Latinities,

building on the work of Claudia Milian to address some of the shortcomings of using Latinidad as an analytic for studying Latinx cultural productions.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study produced a number of questions that exceeded the scope of this project but could be useful for future lines of inquiry. For one, how would my conclusions about the city's media production history have differed if I had chosen other media institutions? My case studies each work in distinct media, but it is certainly possible that other case studies would have offered even greater insights or altogether altered my understanding of the four historical periods of Latinx media production in the city. Secondly, in what other media environments could I apply this framework? There are many cities in the U.S. with equally rich histories of Latinx media production, such as Los Angeles or Miami, opening up the possibility for creating a series of similar works but with alternative geographies and other kinds of Latinx communities. Third, how would this study have been different if I had conducted it in a rural area with a limited Latinx media history? This study is interested in media, Latinidad, and space, which means that this framework should still be useful as long as there is a Latinx community, regardless of research site. However, this dissertation is in many ways also a history of Chicago, which means that my conclusions are necessarily informed by the city's status as an urban metropolis, which begs the question if its conclusions would still hold true in a rural setting. Lastly, how would this study have been different if I had broadened its scope to include a variety of ethnic and racial communities? As it stands, this work focuses on a specific ethnic and racial community, raising the question would my conclusions about Chicago's Latinx media history have been different if I

had not focused exclusively on the city's Latinx community? There were times in this dissertation that I analyzed inter-ethnic and inter-racial relationships, such as in the case with Immigrant Youth Justice League, but there is much more to be said about both WCYC's and WCIU's non-Latinx programming and how it affected each institution's history.

Personal Reflection

The aim of this dissertation was to recover the histories of some of Chicago's most influential Latinx media institutions. For some of my case studies, such as the Chicago Latino Film Festival and the Immigrant Youth Justice League, this dissertation contributes to a body of literature that has already ensured each institution's historical legacy. However, WCYC, WRTE, and WCIU have not received the same amount of attention in academic scholarship, and it was my intention to acknowledge their work and ensure that their contributions be recognized. Although I cannot claim to have provided definitive histories of any of these case studies, I take solace in knowing that I attempted to preserve the memories of the institutions, places, programs, and people that I discussed in this work.

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APPENDIX

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Origin	Total Screenings	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011
South America	1467	8	19	18	38	40	72	68	77	103	100	91	68	82	119	79	96	119	77	76	87	30			16	13
USA	744	13	3	6	25	45	31	63	55	37	23	23	28	26	67	50	63	60	30	57	24	15			2	2
Europe	452	7	2	5	6	9	30	10	24	20	18	30	30	34	27	30	44	45	26	22	24	9			0	0
Mexico	403	2	4	3	4	9	15	10	26	35	38	10	17	30	21	28	23	41	25	19	32	11			5	3
Caribbean	351	5	6	10	16	11	8	15	21	32	32	27	29	21	7	12	15	13	24	23	18	6			0	3
Central America	132	1	5	0	13	5	13	1	1	6	6	0	5	5	7	2	25	11	7	14	3	2			4	2
Canada	50	0	0	10	0	2	15	3	3	3	0	0	6	2	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0			0	0
Australia	42	0	0	0	0	2	15	3	3	3	0	0	6	2	0	2	2	2	0	2	0	0				
Total Screenings	3641	36	39	52	102	121	184	170	207	236	217	181	183	200	248	203	268	291	189	211	188	73	0	0	27	23

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7