INFORMAL RECORDS AND THE AUTOCHTHONOUS PRESERVATION OF THE FIESTA OF OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE IN RURAL MEXICO

by

Janet Ceja

BA, UC, Santa Barbara, 2004

MA, University of Rochester, 2006

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SCHOOL OF INFORMATION SCIENCES

This dissertation was presented

by

Janet Ceja

It was defended on

October 28, 2013

and approved by

Richard J. Cox, PhD, Professor

Leanne Bowler, PhD, Assistant Professor

James Currier, PhD, Assistant Professor

Kelvin White, PhD, Assistant Professor

Dissertation Advisor: Richard J. Cox, PhD, Professor

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This dissertation studies how a yearly religious fiesta dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe in the rural community of La Plaza del Limón, Michoacán, Mexico is preserved without the support of an archive. The study addresses discussions in archival studies concerning the need for investigations in the archival preservation of intangible cultural heritage by way of theory-building. I conducted ethnographic fieldwork by observing and interviewing the townspeople, the fiesta's organizers, and local videographers. I analyzed the data using grounded theory and the approach known as "dimensional analysis" developed by Leonard Schatzman in the tradition of Anselm L. Strauss. By way of this approach I arrived at the theory that the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe is preserved through *informal records.* The principal dimensions in support of this theory include: the "living identity" of the community that is evolving and embedded in the lives of inhabitants of La Plaza; the "memory infrastructures" embodied in the memory of the town's inhabitants' recollection of the past and transmitted through oral history; "devotional labor" enacted every year by the Catholic Church members who organize the fiesta, and the local and visiting attendants who participate in festive activities such as praying, dancing, and socializing; and finally, "material production," specifically the works of local videographers who produce digital video discs that are distributed to the Mexican diaspora in the U.S.

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PREFACE

I am thankful to the people of La Plaza del Limón and my family for being the sources of this project's inspiration. To my advisor and committee members, I am honored to have had your words of wisdom guiding my work. Finally, this project would not have been possible without the ongoing transmission of the story of Our Lady of Guadalupe otherwise known as *Tonantzin*, and for that I am grateful.

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Heritage experts, to use the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) term for archivists, librarians, and museum specialists, are being called upon to lend their stewardship expertise to help safeguard intangible cultural heritage threatened by measures disrupting the transmission of cultural knowledge and skills amongst minority and mainstream populations. Intangible cultural heritage, according to UNESCO, encompasses living expressions such as oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge, and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts.[1] Intangible cultural heritage is also said to be community based, inclusive, representative, and traditional, contemporary and living all at once. UNESCO has taken on the leadership to promote knowledge and safeguard cultural heritage in its many manifestations by way of international conventions that bring together national representatives to

[1] UNESCO defines intangible cultural heritage as "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage." It is important to note that religion and languages are not fully endorsed by the intangible cultural heritage domains of the Convention; for instance, only social practices inspired by religions may be acceptable as well as oral traditions, but not a whole language. Scientific United Nations Educational, and Cultural Organization, "Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage," UNESCO, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00022#art2, accessed January 12, 2012. Intangible cultural heritage can be likened to the World Intellectual Property Organization's use of "traditional cultural expressions" and "traditional knowledge." The former is specified as "expressions of folklore, such as songs, chants, narratives, motifs and designs" while the latter encompasses "the use of knowledge such as traditional technical know-how, or traditional ecological, scientific or medical knowledge," including innovations, information, practices, skills and learning of traditional knowledge. It is noted that traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions are oftentimes interrelated and inseparable. World Intellectual Property Organization, "Intellectual Property and Traditional Knowledge," no. 2 (2005), http://www.wipo.int/freepublications/en/tk/920/wipo_pub_920.pdf, accessed January 12, 2012.

discuss policies and frameworks addressing "culture and development." The kind of threats that could affect the transmission of intangible cultural heritage, such as oral traditions and expressions, for instance, are contemporary phenomena that include urbanization, large-scale migration, industrialization, environmental change, and even books, magazines, newspapers, radio, television, and the internet.[2] While it is true that these phenomena may alter the intangible cultural heritage of populations, the statement also assumes that human cultures persist as unchanged, or that they are static. Oral traditions, for instance, are not expressed in the same manner every time they are told because their telling depends on a variety of factors such as the contexts from which they arise and the audiences to whom they are told. The shared social practices that create intangible cultural heritage evolve and are dynamic; humans adapt to changes in their environments as well as resist the threat of harmful and impinging phenomena. Further, media that may otherwise be considered a threat to intangible cultural heritage may support the safeguarding and development of social practices surrounding oral traditions.

To protect intangible cultural heritage UNESCO promotes the creation of inventories in accordance with various stakeholders, including the participating nation-state in which the endangered or highly respected intangible cultural heritage has been identified, but most importantly, the specific community whose heritage is being recorded within the specific geography. Criteria for the creation of inventories will vary, in some cases it is developed to protect intangible cultural heritage that is said to be on the verge of being lost.

[2] UNESCO, "Intangible Cultural Heritage Domains," UNESCO, accessed 12 November 2012, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/doc/src/01856-EN.pdf.

Some scholars distrust the intervention of global organizations in preserving the intangible cultural heritage produced by "traditional" and "popular" sectors of society.[3] Performance theorist Diana Taylor observes that as far as UNESCO is concerned "this move repeats the salvage ethnography of the first half of the twentieth century, implying that these forms would disappear without official intervention and preservation."[4] Such critiques are important because as she reads a "deep colonial nostalgia" in the measures adopted by UNESCO and as practiced by heritage experts we have the opportunity, if not obligation to address such statements and engage with the politics at hand through research that speaks to the concerns of such untrusting views. After all, it is not just global organizations such as UNESCO that promote the inventory of intangible cultural heritage, but marginalized communities as well are finding it increasingly important to both document and control their own intangible cultural heritage and traditions.[5]

I use the term preservation based on Michèle Valerie Cloonan's definition, which states that along with conservation and restoration preservation is "the care of all heritage—movable, immovable, natural, man-made, and socially constructed," adding that "they [preservation, conservation, and restoration] refer to efforts to assure the longevity of monuments, habitats, artifacts, ideas, beliefs, and oral and written human communication."[6] The use of the term preservation in this project adheres not only to Cloonan's definition, but also to her belief that preservation is a part of the archival mission because archivists must select records that warrant

[3] See, Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire : Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003); Michael F. Brown, "Can Culture Be Copyrighted?," *Current Anthropology* 39, no. 2 (1998).
[4] Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire : Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*, 23.
[5] See, for instance, Charles Kamau Maina, "Traditional Knowledge Management and Preservation: Intersections with Library and Information Science," *International Information and Library Review* 44, no. 1 (2012).
[6] Cloonan Michèle Valerie, "Conservation and Preservation of Library and Archival Materials," in *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Sciences, Third Edition* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 09 Dec 2009), 1250.

such careful attention.[7] The very act of keeping records implies that they have been carefully selected for preservation; the same can be said for maintaining intangible cultural traditions in the face of changing social conditions. Further, as noted by UNESCO the archival mission is being increasingly called upon to assist communities to archive and help preserve intangible cultural heritage. But what exactly does it entail to archive intangible cultural heritage?

Jeannette A. Bastian has coined the term "cultural archive" to conceptualize the role intangible cultural heritage plays in archives. In her work on Carnival in the U.S. Virgin Islands, she argues that "if an annual celebration can be considered as a longitudinal and complex cultural community expression, then it also can be seen dynamically as a living archive where the many events within the celebration constitute the numerous records comprising this expression."[8] She associates a cultural archive to the growing trend of community archives that would be open to archiving festive expressions as a part of their mission. Bastian's cultural archive concept is important because it articulates that archives can also be flexible and fluid; through this concept she generates an understanding of archives as ever-evolving living organisms even if they are historically entrenched in a past focused on fixity and physical permanence. Bastian's vision parallels that of UNESCO's definition of intangible cultural heritage in its inclusive vision.

> The cultural archive is not a different physical space—a new archive—but rather part of the archival continuum that archivists work within already…Our cultural archive weaves seamlessly between past and present, locates cultural records between narrative and counter-narrative, and mediates within local and national

[7] Michèle Valerie Cloonan, "The Boundaries of Preservation and Conservation Research," *Libraries and the Cultural Record* 46, no. 2 (2011): 225.
[8] Jeannette A. Bastian, "The Records of Memory, the Archives of Identity : Celebrations, Texts and Archival Sensibilities," *Archival Science* 13, no. 2-3 (2013): 123.

> creators. It supports collective memory and communal identity as it embraces an inclusive societal provenance that considers all the elements that are essential for the full societal record.[9]

Her statement speaks to current discussions proposing archivists be aware of and open to different worldviews in archiving matters.[10] It also assumes that there are archives in place somewhere in the world that would have to commit to inventorying intangible cultural heritage that might not be considered "archival" by some heritage experts. In fact, most of the archival literature concerning intangible cultural heritage is understandably focused on how archivists can make sense of its forms in the context of professional practice. Less research has been devoted to understanding the role of the social practices and cultural conditions surrounding intangible cultural heritage on its own terms and without an institutional or community archive to help preserve such heritage. Additionally, much of the discussions about the archiving of intangible cultural heritage focus on indigenous communities that are considered minorities as opposed to addressing the intangible cultural heritage of mainstream populations. These discussions also do not take into account the global and complex identities of migrant and transnational communities. For instance, migrant communities living in the U.S. may have been mainstream and marginalized in their country of origin only to become a minority and privileged in their host country, that is, in comparison to the overall quality of life they would otherwise have in their homeland. What role, if any, do these factors play in the preservation of intangible cultural heritage?

[9] Ibid., 130.
[10] See, Pluralizing the Archival Curriculum Group (PACG) The Archival Education and Research Institute (AERI), "Educating for the Archival Multiverse," *The American Archivist* 74, no. 1 (2011).

1.1 PURPOSE

This project addresses the need to examine the social practices that keep intangible cultural heritage active without inventories approved by nation-states or formal or community archives. The intangible cultural heritage studied here concerns a Roman Catholic religious fiesta in honor of the Marian figure, Our Lady of Guadalupe in a small Mexican rancho[11] called La Plaza del Limón[12] in the state of Michoacán. The population of La Plaza is a mainstream *mestizo*[13] community with high levels of economic marginalization in the rural countryside. Much of the population receives remittances from family members living in the U.S. Moreover, prior to this study there was no indication that the community had a desire to archive their intangible cultural heritage. Some may question the counterintuitive nature of this "archival" study to focus on a community that lacks a proper archive or even a desire for one. What could a study in a locale without "archive fever" possibly afford the field of archival studies?

As noted, it has been argued that the intangible cultural heritage of minority and mainstream populations would benefit from being safeguarded in recorded form by archivists especially when threatened by external contemporary phenomena. In La Plaza, the external contemporary phenomenon affecting the livelihood of its intangible cultural heritage is geopolitical. As such, this study speaks to the cultural and political complexities surrounding one dominant and disadvantaged population's intangible cultural heritage and the autochthonous mechanisms that have been established to maintain it. I approach the research from a suggestion performance scholar Diana Taylor posits when she states that we shift our methodologies from

[11] The term "rancho" is used to refer to a locality with a small population.
[12] Hereinafter "La Plaza del Limón" will be referred to as "La Plaza."
[13] In Mexico, a person of mixed racial and/or ethnic heritage is referred to as mestizo; oftentimes, the term is associated with the fusion of indigenous and Spanish bloodlines.

focusing on the written word to embodied culture, from texts and narratives to scenarios and gestures as a way to extend disciplinary boundaries to include practices we had not previously noticed.[14] While the absence of an archive in La Plaza could easily be configured into a deficit-based research approach that focuses on what the community is lacking, that is not my intention. My intention is to demonstrate that should the people of La Plaza one day seek to form an archive documenting their cultural traditions, that they have significant knowledge to bear upon archival practice through the celebration of their fiesta.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTION

The question that guides this research project is then: How is a religious fiesta preserved; what do the social practices surrounding the celebration reveal about archiving intangible cultural heritage?

1.3 METHODOLOGY

To answer this question I used ethnography and grounded theory, a mixed qualitative research methodology I refer to throughout this project as grounded theory ethnography. This research approach was selected to examine the social practices enacted by the community of La Plaza in celebrating the religious fiesta in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe, as well as, to develop a theory about its preservation. The theory development sought here should not be confused with

[14] Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire : Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas*, 16-17.

formulating "grand theory," but a more modest kind of theory borne out of this unique experience. The development of theory in this sociocultural context is important because it helps to ensure that populations that might otherwise be invisible in the field of archival studies are made visible and firmly placed in the theoretical conversations surrounding the practical archiving of intangible cultural heritage.

In designing this research project, I approached the preservation of La Plaza's fiesta based on the community's intangible cultural wealth.[15] In doing so I also sought to put in question approaches in archival studies that too often focus on a community's under-documentation in society. Archival methods focusing on under-documentation in marginalized communities as a catalyst to build archival collections *do* merit attention, and in the U.S. such efforts are sometimes situated within important political movements that should not be underestimated (e.g. civil rights movements, social history). Nevertheless, the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe in La Plaza has its own historical and sociocultural context, and I do not position it as an intangible cultural heritage tradition lacking documentation in urgent need of being recorded for its potential loss or even for history's sake. Although, I do believe that the creation of archives to arouse historical consciousness can be valuable. Instead the project focuses on the fiesta's social practices and the unique circumstances surrounding it, and that at the same time help to preserve it without a formal recordkeeping system or community archive dedicated to strengthening the celebration's endurance or even memory. Moreover, the archival lens used in

[15] Chicano studies scholar Tara J. Yosso defines community cultural wealth as "an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro-forms of oppression." She includes at least six forms of capital in her equation: aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial, and resistant capital. While the community under study is not a community of color in the U.S. historical context, the knowledge, skills, abilities, and contacts utilized to survive are befitting elements in understanding the wealth of knowledge that emanates from the lived experiences of economically disadvantaged communities in any location. Tara J. Yosso, "Whose Culture Has Capital? A Critical Race Theory Discussion of Community Cultural Wealth," *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 8, no. 1 (2005): 77.

this investigation consists of analyzing the data gathered in the field in relation to recent discussions in archiving and theorizing intangible cultural phenomenon in archival studies.

1.4 ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION

In chapter two, the literature review draws on areas that motivated this study to completion. I review the literature surrounding the archiving and preservation of intangible cultural heritage from the perspective of marginalized communities, specifically indigenous populations; new conceptions of the record in archives; and the role of the amateur in cinematic practice and archiving. These areas are characterized as falling under pluralism in archival studies for seeking to extend and engage with archival issues in other research domains and worldviews. Furthermore, they are all related to the topic being addressed here.

Chapter three begins with a disclosure emphasizing my subjectivity in this project based on how I arrived to the research topic. Further, I reveal my background as a researcher as well as my person interests in the project. The research strategy is introduced and described as an exploratory, naturalistic, and interpretative approach that uses grounded theory. I address the research process and identify the data and methods used to collect it. Additionally, a brief discussion on data translation procedures is presented and is immediately followed by a section on the limitations of the project.

Chapter four tells the story that was constructed based on the theory built by using grounded theory ethnography. The theory revealed that Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta is anchored in the living identity of the community and maintained according to the social practices

surrounding the memory infrastructure embodied by community members, devotional labor enacted by them to celebrate the fiesta, and the material productions that emerge from the celebration.

Chapter five begins with a second disclosure emphasizing my subjectivity in this project through a detailed account of how I used grounded theory ethnography to develop a theory. I present the background of each methodology individually in order to identify where my work fits within these philosophically contested terrains. This section also reveals how other scholars in archival studies have used ethnography and grounded theory methodologies. Finally, I provide an illustrative example of how I used dimensional analysis as a grounded theory approach to arrive at a substantive theory.

Chapter six concludes the dissertation by summarizing its findings and discussing its implications for the archives profession. I then offer commentary on future research arenas prompted by this project.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

Literature reviews have been a contentious area in grounded theory studies since Barney Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, co-developers of the methodology, wrote that practitioners of grounded theory not review the literature before writing the analysis so as to not make theoretical assumptions based on the literature reviewed. As sociologist Kathy Charmaz notes, however, this is problematic given that academic departments tend to require students to incorporate a review of the literature to demonstrate their knowledge of the area of study. On the other hand, reviewing the literature also means that preconceived ideas will find their way into the study sometimes at the cost of researchers not developing their own.[16] The review of the literature here was conducted before and during the analysis.

There are two areas specific to archival studies that helped guide this project's inquiry and goal of building theory. The first area encompasses the notion of *Pluralism* in archival studies, particularly from the experiences of First Peoples to protect their cultures (material and non-material) from exploitation; and as a sub-category *Film and media preservation practice,* especially amateur cinema projects for their focus and valuation of production practices in the lives of everyday people. The first area also encompasses the second as it has historically been separated from the traditional archival profession. Terry Cook and Frank Boles have both

[16] Kathy Charmaz, "Constructionism and the Grounded Theory Method," in *Handbook of Constructionist Research*, ed. James A. and Jaber F. Gubrium Holstein (New York: Guilford Publications, Inc., 2007), 165.

pointed out the privileging of textual (paper-based) records in the archival profession and the problems this has posed especially with the advent of new technologies.[17] As a result of this history there has been some disconnect between traditional archival practice and audiovisual archiving. I bring these communities of practice together in this project by examining the production of video records by amateur videographers within the larger ritual of the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe.

Pluralism and Archival Studies

One area that has inspired this project is the growing body of scholarship that seeks to expand the concept of archives to communities whose practices, experiences, and perspectives have been marginalized by what Anne Gilliland and Kelvin White call "the dominant archival paradigm." In their work on pluralizing archival research, Gilliland and White point out how "archives and the archival paradigm are highly contingent upon their legal, administrative, and cultural contexts, and upon political and historical and events"[18] that to date, have centered on European thought and experience. They cite diplomatics, paleography, and history as ancillary fields that have afforded archivists the tools to address recordkeeping environments within institutional and governmental settings. Their criticism focuses on how the overall body of archival knowledge, referred to as "archival science" never intended to deal with the current multiverse of recordkeeping practices that exist outside of non-governmental and non-institutional settings, or even as digital formats. Thus, they position themselves as advocates of archival studies as a

[17] Terry Cook, "Electronic Records, Paper Minds : The Revolution in Information Management in Archives in the Post-Custodial and Post-Modernist Era," *Archives and Manuscripts* 22, no. 2 (1994); Frank Boles, *Selecting & Appraising Archives & Manuscripts* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2005).
[18] Anne Gilliland and Kelvin White, "Perpetuating and Extending the Archival Paradigm : The Historical and Contemporary Roles of Professional Education and Pedagogy," *InterActions : UCLA Journal of Education and Information Studies* 5, no. 1 (2009): 14.

disciplinary area with multidisciplinary potential that can lead to a more expansive domain inclusive of varied methodologies, topics, and individuals interested in archives.

Archival studies also lends itself to being interdisciplinary as is demonstrated by its current status as a specialization, or concentration in library and information science programs even though its birthplace was in the historical discipline. Luke Gilliland-Swetland, among others, has written about this history in a U.S. context as well as its early cross-fertilization between librarianship and archival work from the historical manuscripts tradition.[19] Thus, it can be argued that archival studies has from the very beginning been interdisciplinary in the U.S. through the integration of historical and library methods and thus spawning a unique archival practice. Recently, Francis X. Blouin and William Gordon Rosenberg have used the phrase "the archival divide" to dramatically describe the conceptual break between archivists and historians over time. They state:

> "The distance that has emerged between the historian and archivist is thus much more than a separation of professional interaction and activity. It is, instead, symptomatic of a much deeper divide: between divergent conceptual frameworks for understanding and using contemporary and historical documentation; between the evolving conceptual frameworks for historical understanding and those related to the efficient and practical retention of records; between the ways archivists and historians now and in the future will process the past."[20]

[19] Luke Gilliland-Swetland, "The Provenance of a Profession : The Permanence of the Public Archives and Historical Manuscripts Traditions in American Archival History," *The American Archivist* 54, no. 2 (1991). Also see, Richard J. Cox, "Archivists and Historians : A View from the United States," *Archivaria* 19(1984); James M. O'Toole and Richard J. Cox, *Understanding Archives & Manuscripts* (Chicago, IL: Society of American Archivists, 2006); Elizabeth Yakel, "Archival Representation," *Archival Science* 3, no. 1 (2003).

[20] Francis X. Blouin and William Gordon Rosenberg , *Processing the Past : Contesting Authority in History and the Archives* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 92.

While Blouin and Rosenberg point to the divergent conceptual frameworks between historians and archivists as a major inhibitor to their professional relationships, and more importantly, the manner in which the past will be processed in the future, they also acknowledge other "categories of knowledge" such as organizational theory, complex systems, information science, communications, and computer technology as areas archivists are now being trained to understand in the context of archives. Their observation that archivists are being exposed to concepts that do not solely cater to historical scholarship is well-taken, but the fact remains that these other conceptual frameworks are also ideological forces to be reckoned with. Their integration into the archival curriculum means archivists need to forge relationships and mediate their own principles with people who have ideas not always aligned with their own. Such theoretical integration inevitably and necessarily changes the nature of archival research and practice by way of the concepts afforded by other domains. Yet depending on how one interprets such forms of convergence it could be read as a blessing or a threat. For instance, the Society of American Archivists (SAA) recently interpreted the integration of the Protocols for Native American Archival Materials[21] into their professional practice as a threat because its core tenets were challenged to operate, if not fully, integrate different cultural paradigms into its archival traditions. The Protocols asked that U.S. archivists consider the philosophical orientation of Native American worldviews into their archival practice by asking them to modify their approach to archival collections to the extent of restricting access; a proposition that initially was not very successful. The irony is that the U.S. archival profession is itself based on principles that hail from varied European traditions: France, the Netherlands, Germany, and England. While it is easy to lump Europeans and European Americans into one homogenous

[21] The Protocols for Native American Archival Materials are hereinafter referred to as "Protocols."

"Western" culture, these communities are quite different and together their differences have contributed to the complex evolution of archival theory and practice around the world. One problem, however, is that when archivists situate the legacy of archival principles in the U.S. the power relations behind these European cross-cultural encounters are made invisible. Considering how these histories are wide-ranging and different is important in helping shed light on the importance of what is currently at stake when populations of different creeds wish to have a voice in the evolution of archival theory and practice. It would behoove archival scholars to further deconstruct the intricacies of these genealogies and the politics that brought them into being; a task that can be done if we take what Richard J. Cox said in the late 1980s about the importance of studying archival history and the need to use it to address contemporary concerns and issues facing the profession.[22]

The Protocols for Native American Archival Materials

Gilliland and White place the Protocols in the context of archival education and pedagogy history based on European traditions in their article, "Perpetuating and Extending the Archival Paradigm: The Historical and Contemporary Roles of Professional Education and Pedagogy" in order to develop a paradigmatic archival vision. They begin by discussing a comment made by a Native American archivist at a Society of American Archivists meeting in 2008 who noted that aside from considering the physical and intellectual dimensions of archival ideas and practices, for tribal archivists, their emotional and spiritual aspects were just as significant. Similarly, Kim Lawson from the Heiltsuk Nation reiterates this message in the Protocols when she states that "Our knowledge systems don't make sense without spirituality. We are asking for respect for a

[22] Richard J. Cox, "On the Value of Archival History in the United States," *Libraries & Culture* 23(1988): 137.

system of knowledge."[23] In archival studies, the additional properties of spirituality and emotion could be guided in research by a range of methodological possibilities, including those afforded by Native American knowledge systems, and community-oriented action research among others. The point being that the ideas outside of a rationalist or scientific-oriented epistemology and ontology are valuable to archival studies, and can make a difference in promoting the well-being of aggrieved and underserved populations.

In the U.S., this is especially reasonable. For instance, Luciana Duranti has observed the radical spirit of U.S. archivists in defying scientific approaches to archives by failing to bring

> "…these ideas [of differing social values] into one element of the [archival science] system—a system already separated from parts of its original elements [i.e. over time the record concept was devoid from that of archives] and from the theory that ruled them [diplomatics[24]]—and make of them the fundamental purpose of the element in question, without attempting to make it consistent with any other idea in the system, or even aiming to change those ideas in light of the development of the specific element."[25]

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[23] First Archivists Circle, "Protocols for Native American Archival Materials," (Salamanca, N.Y.2007), 7.

[24] On diplomatics Duranti states: "The origin of diplomatics is strictly linked to the need to determine the authenticity of documents, for the ultimate purpose of ascertaining the reality of rights or truthfulness of facts represented in them." Luciana Duranti, "Diplomatics : New Uses for an Old Science," *Archivaria* 28(Summer 1989): 17.

[25] To be clear, the tenets of this archival system according to Duranti are: archives as "universitas rerum," or the totality of actions performed by records creators constitute archives as an interrelated whole; archival documents are impartial and authentic byproducts of a creator's activities; the archival bond is the master linkage between archival documents and the rendering of the functions, competences, and activities they represent; and archival work as practice pays homage to and fosters the preservation of the physical and intellectual integrity of the archival documents and their significations, particularly as evidence. Earlier, Terry Cook articulated archival theory at a more granular level based on five major principles: (1) impartiality, in the sense that archives are not purposely created for posterity purposes; (2) authenticity, or the designation of procedures related to the creation and maintenance of documents that can be attested to in archival custody; (3) naturalness, as in the fact that archives are not generated or arranged in a pre-conceived manner that defies their administrative origin; (4) interrelatedness, meaning that documents are interdependent and in such a manner form a body of meaningful evidence of what is holistically represented and (5) uniqueness, or that archives afford documents (even duplicates) a unique place

The approach Duranti would prefer is based on the science of archiving dating back to 1940, but with roots in seventeenth century diplomatics. As a science, the logical formula for understanding and approaching archival research is deductive; that is, hypotheses are tested with systematic observation to change the central ideas of a theory, or refute theories altogether. In order for the emotional and spiritual aspects of recordkeeping to have validity in archival science theory, one approach would be to use hypothetico-deductive logic so that they may be tested and then adapted into the archival science system. This scientific model is useful in settings and circumstances in which the explanations of universal law are sought or theories need to be proven. It is unclear how useful this approach would be to Native American communities seeking that their knowledge be respected on its own terms and as holding unique tenets.

The Protocols were drafted in Flagstaff, Arizona in 2006 at the Northern Arizona University Cline Library by fifteen first nation information professionals and scholars along with four non-Native archivists in order to develop best practices for the responsible care of Native American archival materials.[26] Arizona is home to one of the largest concentrations of Native American populations, as well as, geographical span of tribal lands in the U.S. This means archival issues faced by Arizonian archivists will speak to their encounters with culturally sensitive records that archivists in other parts of the U.S. may not be exposed to as readily. For example, a photograph of a sacred Native American ceremony not intended for anyone to see is a very real predicament non-tribal archivists must consider and be knowledgeable about in order to

within its structure. See, Luciana Duranti, "Archival Science," in *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science Vol. 59. Supplement. - 22*, ed. Allen Kent (New York; Basel: Dekker, 1997), 6, 8-9; Terry Eastwood, "What Is Archival Theory and Why Is It Important?," *Archivaria* 37(Spring 1994).

[26] Karen Jean Underhill, "Protocols for Native American Archival Materials," *RBM: A Journal of Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Cultural Heritage* 7, no. 2 (2006): 134.

ethically serve their patrons, as well as be respectful of the communities represented in the records as well as their Native American colleagues.

The Protocols are meant to help archivists address these ethical issues by tackling four main areas: 1.) "The recognition of the sovereign governments and associated rights of Native American communities"; 2.) "Issues in the collection, ownership, preservation, handling, access, and use of American Indian archival resources"; 3.) "The importance of building relationships, balancing different approaches to knowledge management, and mutual respect; and 4.) "The need to expand the nature of the information professions to include Native American perspectives and knowledge."[27] And more specifically, the guidelines cover how archivists can direct their practice toward: building relationships of mutual respect, striving for balance in content and perspectives, accessibility and use, culturally sensitive materials, providing context, Native American intellectual property issues, copying and repatriation of records to Native American communities, Native American research protocols, reciprocal education and training, and awareness of Native American communities and issues. Much effort was put into drafting the Protocols, but not everyone found them as useful or practical to implement.

When asked to comment on the Protocols, John Bolcer, University Archivist at the University of Washington, expressed his reservations by stating that they "…call for sweeping power to control what is studied and written about Native American communities, which I find incompatible with our basic professional tenets of open and equitable access to information, and the practice of free and open inquiry upon which my own institution depends."[28] What Bolcer was referring to is how the Protocols make clear that restrictions may need to be made for Native

[27] First Archivists Circle, "Protocols for Native American Archival Materials," 4.
[28] John Bolcer, "The Protocols for Native American Archival Materials : Considerations and Concerns from the Perspective of a Non-Native Archivist," *Easy Access* 34, no. 4 (2009).

American archival materials based on the philosophical orientation of the tribe implicated in the collection. The First Archivists Circle uses the SAA's, American Library Association's, and American Association for State and Local History's ethical codes to align their request for increased control over archival sources in which they are represented whether they are the creators or not. Yet in spite of such alignments, creating restrictions to materials would affect a non-tribal archive's mission to foster open access to its collections, which is a fundamental goal for so many libraries and archives. Most affected by the Protocols would be collections already processed as well as adjusting the complex entanglement of proprietary issues, such as locating and explaining the ethically and morally charged situation to the creators or owners of the materials' provenance that a Native American community would seek to restrict access to as their own. While the Protocols require extensive work in restricting access to such collections, for others a simple and clearly written explanation to users and information directing them to the community concerned in the handling of the materials would do. Elena Danielson reminds us that this sort of administrative and ethical delegation is not new for archivists, and in fact quite typical of the politics of archives. She states: "archivists are not only subject to ethical standards, but are also cast in the role of arbiters of ethical considerations. Archivists are to be put in the position of carefully mediating disputes in order to avoid the ultimate threat: the destruction of embarrassing but historically important documentation."[29] What Danielson does not mention here, though, is how this same threat to documentation could cause irreparable harm to *human beings*, which is what Native American communities may confront with the dissemination of documentation that contextualizes their life ways. Archivist Karen Underhill provides a range of the success and risk involved in this process when she says, "On a good day, the information

[29] Elena Danielson, "The Ethics of Access," *The American Archivist* 52, no. 1 (1989): 59.

resources allow a medicine man to recapture a lost song, a tribal member to study the evolution of language, or interested members of the public to gain new understanding. On a bad day, a culturally sensitive photograph of a private Hopi Snake Dance appears in the popular press or an entrepreneur misappropriates a sacred ceremony for commercial gain."[30] Addressing ethically-oriented archival issues, whether they concern Native American communities, or any other constituents, must be done on a case-by-case basis with research and forethought. This is what the Protocols call on archivists to continue to do by respecting not only the perspective of the institution for which an archivist is employed, but engaging in a holistic view of records that may require reaching out to Native American communities or learning about their cultures.

Krisztina Laszlo's discussion concerning the policies in place at the University of British Columbia's (UBC) Museum of Anthropology is a good example of how Canadian archivists have dealt with the complexities of sensitive encounters with the cultural property of First Nation Peoples.[31] She mentions how the ethnographic archives held at the museum were recorded during a period referred to as "salvage anthropology," or when anthropologists believed that indigenous cultures were dying off and had to be recorded in order to be preserved. Documentary evidence was seen as the most viable option to save their heritage as they underwent forced assimilation. The troubling remnants left behind of this by these anthropological archives grew into productive discussions between First Nation communities and museum archivists with a policy document adopted by the museum to express its commitment to "respecting the values and spiritual beliefs of the cultures represented in its collections."[32] In

[30] Underhill, "Protocols for Native American Archival Materials," 134-35.
[31] Cultural property is defined by Laszlo's in her article as "the material manifestations that relate to a civilization, especially that of a particular country at a particular period." Krisztina Laszlo, "Ethnographic Archival Records and Cultural Property," *Archivaria* 61(2006): 300.
[32] The document is titled "Management of Culturally Sensitive Material." Ibid., 304.

practice, this statement has meant consulting with First Nation populations to identify which culturally sensitive materials should be treated differently from the rest (e.g. sacred expressions); working closely with First Nations to resolve questions of access to materials that are restricted; creating protocols and informed consent forms for research conducted among First Nations at the museum (which may include the retention or disposition of their work); and in building partnerships by offering internship opportunities to members of First Nations in order to help create awareness of the museum's operations. At the heart of these relationships is a concerted effort to build mutual respect and trust. Such values also fall in line with the recent trend in community archiving in the archival literature.

For both tribal and non-tribal archivists and communities encountering questions of cultural property in archives, Bastian's work in the U.S. Virgin Islands is especially pertinent. Bastian discusses how the principle of provenance has the ability to cater to multiple forms of records custody. For instance, after the Danish West Indies were purchased by the U.S. in the 1930s a web of records creators was compounded in the identity of the colonial records. First, it was the Danish who officially created the records that documented their colonial control over the region and people; as such, the Danish government took the bulk of the records back to Denmark. Second, the U.S. inherited some of these records as the new colonizer of the territory in the 1930s and maintained them primarily in the U.S. Finally, the U.S. Virgin Islanders sought the right to *know* their history, but did not have equal access to the official records created by the Danish because they were in other geographical locations. Bastian came up with the concept of "a community of records" to recognize that "all layers of society are participants in the making of records, and the entire community becomes the larger provenance of the records" and adds

that "from this view, all segments of the society have equal value."[33] Similarly, Tom Nesmith argues that the social milieu of records creation ought to be designated a part of the principle of provenance. By being linked to society, the authenticity of archives is made complex rather than narrowly based on the systematic procedures used to generate the records by the original administrating body and those implemented while in archival custody. The case of the U.S. Virgin Islands speaks to the administration of physical records, but the "community of records" concept can also address the manner in which records are created presently in the digital age in multi-sited locations by more than one creator.

The differences between the uses of the concept of "community of records" or "societal provenance" in the U.S. Virgin Islands can be compared and contrasted with the situation of the Aboriginal Noongar people in Western Australia. Australian law recognizes that indigenous people have rights and interests of their lands based on a variety of factors including hunting, food gathering, ceremonial rituals, and to have exclusive possession of land among others.[34] More concretely these rights are supported by native title claims acquired through burden of proof, or the act of gathering "non-indigenous records" (e.g. military or police reports) and indigenous records (e.g. orality). In this manner, the Noongar have sought to "establish continuing physical connection to lands and a continuity of society."[35] Australian law's recognition of native title claims falls in line with Patricia Galloway's view concerning how the preservation of a community's cultural repertoire may be construed and adopted in diverse ways

[33] Jeannette Allis Bastian, *Owning Memory How a Caribbean Community Lost its Archives and Found Its History* (Westport, Conn.: Libraries Unlimited, 2003), 83.
[34] "Native Title Rights and Interests, Accessed May 10, 2012, Http://www.Nntt.Gov.Au/Information-About-Native-Title/Pages/Nativetitlerightsandinterests.Aspx."
[35] Glen Kelly, "The Single Noongar Claim : Native Title, Archival Records and Aboriginal Community in Western Australia," in *Community Archives : The Shaping of Memory* ed. Jeannette Allis and Alexander Bastian, Ben (London: Facet, 2009), 51.

relative to what is being preserved. The use of tangible and intangible cultural heritage in the preservation of Noongar culture demonstrates how records of multiple provenances are being used to preserve indigenous ways of life.

The growing conceptualization and use of records by indigenous communities and their allies, such as the Noongar as well as the case of the Protocols brings up the question of what a record actually constitutes and how archivists may distinguish an "indigenous" record from a "non-indigenous record" as referred to in the Australian example. As such it is necessary to thoroughly establish the meaning of the record concept.

Untangling the Record Concept

The SAA glossary promotes three different features by which inferences can be made about the form of a record. First, it is said to have *fixity*, or the character of the item in terms of its resistance to change and stability; *content*, which may include text, data, symbols, numerals, images, sound, graphics, and so forth; structure, such as the content's physical characteristics and internal organization, an example of which would be the sections of a document with headings; and *context*, that is, considerations of an organizational, functional, and operational nature encompassing a record's creation, receipt, storage, or use.[36] At the same time, the glossary also admits that "To the extent that records are defined in terms of their function rather than their characteristics, the definition is stretched to include many materials not normally understood to be a record; an artifact may function as a record, even though it falls outside the vernacular understanding of the definition."[37] In the last few years the library and archives literature has

[36] Richard Moses-Pearce, "A Glossary of Archival and Records Terminology," http://www.archivists.org/glossary/term_details.asp?DefinitionKey=293, accessed January 12, 2012.
[37] Ibid.

seen a growing body of literature addressing the role intangible cultural heritage. For instance, in the archival context, Kirsten Wright has argued that even tattoos are records for they evidence forms of cultural contact among different cultures as well as rituals such as storytelling and dances.[38] She goes on to say that tattoos "cannot be understood from mere recording of the designs; instead, an extensive knowledge of a society's belief structure and cultural practices must be known."[39] Thus, if archivists process material representations of intangible phenomena such as storytelling and dance it would be significant to understand the sociocultural practices from which such phenomena are derived, that is to say, the overall context and not just the material aspects of it. To be able to gather a holistic view of such phenomena a more robust definition of records is required to account for the properties of intangible cultural heritage forms.

Geoffrey Yeo has rigorously researched the many perspectives and intricacies of records within the archives and records management literature in a two-article series published in *The American Archivist*.[40] In his first article, "Concepts of Record (1): Evidence, Information, and Persistent Representations" he begins by interrogating the record concept's primitive relationship to evidence, and how it is substantiated through notions of reliability, accuracy, and authenticity

[38] Kirsten Wright, "Recording 'a Very Particular Custom' : Tattoos and the Archive," *Archival Science* 9(2009): 105.
[39] Ibid., 101.
[40] In his second article, "Concepts of Record (2): Prototypes and Boundary Objects," which I do not address in this section but do acknowledge here, Yeo adds the term *occurents* to his definition to clearly account for the possible steps, processes, and functions taken within activities to help constitute records at the item level, but perhaps more importantly as aggregates. Additionally, Yeo states that occurents may be punctual, take place at a specific point in time, or be nonpunctual by extending over a certain period of time. He uses the example of an organization that manages its own records to explain that in order for it to be successful at fulfilling its mission, recorded activities that occur at lower levels (e.g. meeting minutes, drafts of letters, white papers, policies, etc.) must be acknowledged as a part of a larger shared activity that will manifest at the aggregate level through punctual or nonpunctual means. Thus, Yeo redefines his records definition as: "persistent representations of activities or other occurrents, created by participants or observers of those occurrents or by their proxies; or sets of such representations representing particular occurrents." Geoffrey Yeo, "Concepts of Record (2) : Prototypes and Boundary Objects," *The American Archivist* 71, no. 1 (2008): 136.

all of which are necessary for accountability, especially in legal contexts. He also addresses the relationship between records and information, in which the latter may be understood as content residing in both intangible and tangible forms, a process of communication, and a thing onto which encoding procedures can be materialized. The diversity of meanings that a record may constitute in the context of information leads Yeo to propose that "Those who perceive information as messages or processes and records as physical objects are unlikely to argue that records are a kind of information. Archivists and records managers who see information as intangible content may prefer to take the view that records provide information, or that information can be derived from using them."[41] Besides evidence and information, a record holds other important characteristics. For instance, if a record is perceived as an object or artifact, Yeo notes that it may be valued for its aesthetic qualities, tangibility, or symbolism associated to individuals, organizations, places, or events. Additional record affordances include "memory, accountability, legitimization of power, a sense of personal or social identity and continuity, and the communication of such benefits across space and time."[42] Finally, the relationship between records and documents, by-products, or activities is discussed as emerging from the format of the record, or as linked to an activity. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that the term *document* may have limitations in the context of different cultures in which records may be three-dimensional objects, audiovisual, or data. It is important to invoke the work of Deborah Turner here to elaborate on how the concept of a document is just as multifaceted as that of a record. Turner has written extensively on the idea of "oral documents" using a document studies, information behavior, and social constructionism approach. She defines oral document

[41] Geoffrey Yeo, "Concepts of Record (1) : Evidence, Information, and Persistent Representations," *The American Archivist* 70, no. 2 (2007): 329.
[42] Ibid., 330.

as "a type of document conveying evidence or information furnished orally and incorporating one or more properties of a document."[43] The properties she refers to are attributed to Bernd Frohmann who suggests that notions of materiality, institutions, social discipline, and history are central to understanding how documents gain informing characteristics according to the practices employed in their creation, or as Turner put it, "identifying a document by noting practices used to create it means considering how it can be informative."[44] Turner's work also takes inspiration from Michael Buckland who provocatively stretched the concept of document to an antelope based on the work of French librarian and documentalist Suzanne Briets' definition of a document as evidence in support of a fact. These document-oriented examples add to the expansion of the record concepts as a document. Unfortunately, Turner nor Frohmann address the meaning of a record in relation to their concept of document. Still their work intersects with that of Yeo in that the activities (as social practices) employed in the context of the creation of a record as document determine the information that can be derived from it. Finally, as by-products of an activity, records are often associated with the circumstances of their creation as either unintentional or accidental. The association between an activity and document or by-product then suggests that a record is not synonymous to an activity, but instead indicates the transmission of the activity while a record encodes its receipt in some form (e.g. text).[45]

To tie together all of these record concepts Yeo uses the term *representations* (as things that stand for something else and to which they correspond) to lay claim to a definition that differentiates a record from other meanings of representations. As such he is able to

[43] Deborah Turner, "Can a Document Be Oral?," in *Proceedings of the 2010 43rd Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences* (IEEE Computer Society, 2010), 4-5.
[44] Bernd Frohmann, "Documentation Redux : Prolegomenon to (Another) Philosophy of Information," *Library Trends* 52, no. 3 (2004): 396-7; Turner, "Can a Document Be Oral?," 4-5.
[45] Yeo, "Concepts of Record (1) : Evidence, Information, and Persistent Representations," 333.

satisfactorily envelop the many complex meanings he covers in his article to ultimately define records as "persistent representations of activities, created by participants or observers of those activities or by their authorized proxies."[46]

Recently, Kimberly Anderson pointed out some of the shortfalls in Yeo's definition based on its inability to regard other ways of knowing the past in terms of how a culture may understand time.[47] Sociologist Ashis Nandy makes a poignant commentary in this respect by acknowledging that some people have different ways of accessing the past and how those ways do not always manifest themselves as encompassing a historical consciousness.

> …millions of people still live outside "history." They do have theories of the past; they do believe that the past is important and shapes the present and the future, but they also recognize, confront, and live with a past different from that constructed by historians and historical consciousness. They even have a different way of arriving at that past. Some historians and societies have a term and a theory for such people. To them, those who live outside history are ahistorical…It will not be perhaps a gross simplification to say that the historians' history of the ahistorical-when grounded in a "proper" historical consciousness, as defined by the European Enlightenment – is usually a history of the prehistorical, the primitive, and the pre-scientific. By way of transformative politics or cultural

[46] A proxy can be considered a third party in the creation or observation of activities that result in the making of records. For instance, a clerk, lawyer, or someone who is acting on behalf of the participant or observer can be considered a proxy. Ibid., 337-38.
[47] Kimberly Anderson, "The Footprint and the Stepping Foot : Archival Records, Evidence, and Time," *Archival Science* 12, no. 3 (2012): 16.

> intervention, that history basically keeps open only one option – that of bringing the ahistoricals into history.[48]

Nandy's comment is analogous to the idea of minority cultural groups being under-documented and lacking historical visibility in society, a trend in thought in the U.S. aroused by the social history movement. Social history set the stage for historians to turn "their attention from studying prominent political leaders and organizations to focusing on understanding society through the experiences of groups underdocumented by "mainstream" repositories, such as women, minorities, civil rights and peace activists, and laborers."[49] This movement in turn motivated archivists to fill in what they called archival gaps by creating and acquiring records about such populations in their repositories. At the time, these acts were important in order to account for human lives under the context of governmental and bureaucratic recordkeeping systems as well as in the creation and location of records representing the ethnic and racial populations that had been historically disenfranchised in society. It is interesting to ponder how these acts may have also missed out on other options for understanding the past among aggrieved ethnic and racial groups.

Anderson's remedy to Yeo's reasoning about records, and archival thought in general, is to account for variations in human temporalities. Thus she defines a record as "an intentional, stable, semantic structure that moves in time."[50] Through this definition Anderson addresses the implications of fixity and externalization that limit Yeo's definition in terms of understanding the progression of time beyond linear models that have a present and past, and by claiming that

[48] Ashis Nandy, "History's Forgotten Doubles," *History and Theory* 34, no. 2 (1995): 44.
[49] Most notably, Gerald Ham called for the making of what historian Howard Zinn called an "active archivist" in contrast to a neutral observer of the record. Ellen D. Swain, "Oral History in the Archives : Its Documentary Role in the Twenty-First Century," *The American Archivist* 66(2003): 145-46.
[50] Anderson, "The Footprint and the Stepping Foot : Archival Records, Evidence, and Time," 14.

fixity in physical form is not possible, but instead "a set of relationships between sign and meaning that can be processed, accessed, and interpreted at times in the future."[51] To make her definition more concrete she promotes two types of records: object-oriented records and event-oriented records. She maintains that event-oriented records cannot be separated from their creators as they may encompass the kinetic (e.g. dance, polysensory) and oral (e.g. traditions) in their ability to capture embodiment, and must be remade each time they are performed, and as such transcend time; moreover, the creator and receiver share space-time in the transmission process. There is a communal orientation with the dissemination of event-oriented records. Moreover, her definition can be associated with the multidimensional provenance of the records mentioned earlier with the Noongar. For example, an event-oriented record based on oral tradition would be equivalent to what Glenn Kelley called an "indigenous record." Additionally, the structural component of an event-oriented record is composed of the "relationships between [its] parts."[52] Continuing with oral tradition as an example, an oral narrative's order may change according to a specific storyteller, but the relationships between the story, storyteller, and original context or reason for which the story is told remain interconnected and as such give it a structure. The story may change through the rearrangement of its parts, but the parts of the story that constitute its structure do not necessarily. As such orality as a cultural practice is performed and remade using the structure afforded through a specific storytelling narrative and a storyteller who communicates its meaning to an audience. Yet according to Anderson, it is possible for the audience or receiver to not be able to decode the meaning if it is lost over time. In other words, the event-oriented record is read in a new context or from a different perspective that changes its

[51] Ibid., 14.
[52] Ibid., 14.

meaning. She does not express what the consequence of this loss can create for the provenance of the record or the history of its meanings or how it may create misinformation. If the record is likely to lose its "readability" then it is likely to undergo a semantic transformation on the receiving end as it becomes endowed with new additional context.

An object-oriented record, on the other hand, is a textual or visual record that can be separated from its creator as an external object that may act as the translations of an activity, or in Yeo's terms as "representations." The consequence of identifying records as event-oriented and object-oriented, in the words of Anderson, means "Expanding the notions of record to incorporate that which is lived, embodied, and actively present will enable archivists to recognize the recordkeeping structures already in place in the world. Recognition of these systems and incorporation of these records, primarily through collaboration with community record-carriers, will enable the archive to support evidence that has resonance in multiple worldviews."[53] Anderson's expansive definition of the record provides another option for the archival inclusion of non-textual ways of knowing and producing knowledge.

This project, too, speaks to concerns about the integration of event-oriented records into archival discourse, but from the perspective of a mainstream and marginal community in a setting with a new kind of memory keeper: amateur videographers. This is not unique to the locality studied in this project. In an article published by the New York Times, reporter Sara Maslim Nir describes a phenomenon taking place in Jamaica with DVD recordings of house parties produced by videographers that are exported to the diaspora in the U.S.[54] Nostalgic for home, the Jamaican diaspora purchases these videos in the U.S. to remember their homeland, and

[53] Ibid., 20.
[54] Sara Maslim Nir, "Jamaicans Get Party to Come to Them, Via DVD," *The New York Times*, accessed April 13, 2013, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/01/nyregion/direct-to-dvd-house-partie.

if they are lucky, find a family member or friend dancing in the videos. Their homesickness feeds the desire of the Jamaican diaspora to relive their homeland in communion with their family and friends through videos. Amateur videos of festive events, then, are a trend in the genre of amateur videography produced in "homeland" settings that then make their way through an ever expanding technoscape. Such works act as evidentiary "object-oriented" records that are increasingly gaining attention in scholarship concerning the theorization and collecting of amateur film and video productions.[55]

Film and Media Preservation

In the last few years moving image archivists and film and media studies scholars along with filmmakers (sometimes they inhabit more than one of these categories) have been in dialogue concerning the meaning of amateur cinema and its value in being archived. Referring to home movies in particular, a sub-genre of amateur films, Karen L. Ishizuka's and Patricia R. Zimmerman's *Mining the Home Movie: Excavations in Histories and Memories* focuses on these documents as socially and historically valuable forms of cinematic production to be mined for their once understudied context and content. French scholar Roger Odin argues that home movies are characterized by the private mode, that is, domains that reflect the domestic lives of individuals and often in relation to family.[56] Nevertheless, as Julia Noordegraaf and Elvira Pouw found in the home movies of one Dutch family, the Sanders, a colonial couple living alone in the Dutch East Indies in the 1920s-30s, without any blood relatives, their servants often took on that familial role. Home movies also complicate the notion of "home" as for example, the filming of

[55] Ryan Shand, "Theorizing Amateur Cinema: Limitations and Possibilities," *The Moving Image* 8, no. 2 (2008); Dan Streible, "The State of Orphan Films : Editor's Introduction," *The Moving Image* 9, no. 1 (2009).
[56] Roger Odin, "La Question De L'amateur," *Communications* 68, no. 1 (1999): 49-50.

Mr. Sanders' work place at the Mining Company Redjang Lebong blurs both his private and public life on film. Avoiding the one-fits-all approach to categorizing home movies, Noordegraaf and Pouw suggest examining the home movies as film texts (or understanding their formal elements, e.g. genre) and applying a framework that contextualizes and gives them meaning as objects.[57] This is a departure from Roger Odin's and Zimmerman's pioneering work in the area of amateur cinema. Zimmerman differentiated amateur works from other genres based on their "unintentionality, lack of deliberate formal and textual codes, circulation within the leisure and affective systems of participants, and social distance from commercial forms of media production."[58] Her study focused on the discourse of amateur film journals from 1897-1962. Ryan Shand points out how the industrial and socioeconomic angle Zimmerman uses to examine amateur cinema as an oppositional practice in regard to mainstream film aesthetics limits the perspective of amateur filmmakers who moved between domestic, professional, and non-professional mode (e.g. those who members of cinema societies). He believes the term *community mode* is more befitting in categorizing those who lie somewhere in between the home and mass modes of amateur cinema production. Community mode resonates with Bastian's use of the term "community of records" mentioned earlier by way of its inclusion of those populations otherwise taken-for-granted in the record creation process.

The recent scholarship of Frances Guerin on the amateur films and photographs created by Nazis during World War II avoids defining amateur works altogether. She opts for a methodology that focuses on "the image itself and the journey it traveled in the wake of its

[57] Julia J. Noordegraaf and Elvira Pouw, "Extended Family Films, Home Movies in the State Sponsored Archive," *The Moving Image* 9, no. 1 (Spring, 2009): 100.
[58] Patricia Rodden Zimmermann, *Reel Families: A Social History of Amateur Film* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995), x.

production, not the one who took the image."[59] Although she does acknowledge that the aesthetic of amateur films tends to be marked by hesitance, produced on a whim, holding visual flaws, and existing outside of commercially oriented circuits. For Guerin, using the image as the starting point and deemphasizing the creator enables the agency of the image and its social life to be examined in a manner that does not necessarily avoid the ideological tensions behind the creator's absence, but that instead further complicates the subject matter by the difficulties such records pose in being defined through their form, content, and context.

These new considerations for amateur works have simultaneously been in dialogue with the outreach efforts of moving image archivists. For instance, the Center for Home Movies, a non-profit organization, promotes the preservation of amateur films through a yearly event called Home Movie Day. The event began in 2002 as a small scale grass roots effort to promote the preservation of amateur film gauges at a local level by bring together the creators of these films. The event is an educational opportunity for archivists to promote preservation practices, which includes its exhibition. On-site archivists provide those in attendance information on the care of their films and the opportunity to watch them on old hardware run by professionals. Such advocacy events can have another purpose: to help archivists identify the films of their local communities for selection into archives. In that sense, the "fissures" Ishizuka and Zimmerman refer to as significant sites in which home movies materialize are also being creatively expanded by archivists who are developing new methodological approaches for selecting and preserving amateur film and video.

[59] Frances Guerin, *Through Amateur Eyes : Film and Photography in Nazi Germany* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 20.

3.0 SUBJECTIVE DISCLOSURE: HOW I ARRIVED TO A RESEARCH TOPIC

I attribute this investigation partly as the result of my interest in moving image preservation, and for straddling cultural and geographical borders as a first generation Mexican-American. Having been born in the U.S. as a "Mexican" it was only when I left my home state of California that I began to fully internalize the different experiences people of Mexican heritage hold. Until then, I had functioned under the notion of a doubly imagined nationhood, or the idea that I was a citizen of both U.S. and Mexican nations even though I was not. Venturing outside of my notions of home both geographically and culturally my consciousness expanded with the new environments I inhabited. For one, the geographical boundaries of both nations became more relevant in defining who I was and what I knew about the world. I can say that I am privileged to travel almost anywhere in the world with a U.S. passport while many of my family members in Mexico cannot. Secondly, my parents' nostalgia for their homeland manifested itself in my identity through their inculcation of a strong Mexican ethos. My parents immigrated to the U.S. in the 1970s in search of opportunities that would enable them to have a better quality of life. Yet ever since they left their homeland they have been traveling to and from the U.S. and Mexico to satisfy their desires to return "home" until the day they can do so for good. They migrated North out of financial necessity and not because they really wanted to leave their homeland. This type of forced migration left within them a strong attachment and memory of

their past that was subsequently transmitted to me and my siblings. My siblings and I retained social, cultural, and transnational ties to their past through language, identity, and our parents' financial ability to travel to Mexico while growing up in the U.S. The transmission of these values and relationships is a naturally occurring phenomena in some immigrant contexts, and they can emerge as a survival mechanism,[60] if not, as the purposeful selection of cultural elements that are believed to be important in maintaining cultural identity and a family structure, of which the latter is heavily valued in Mexican culture.

The concept of borders for me, then, is understood but not readily experienced as it was by the over four hundred lives that perished in 2012[61] along the southwestern border as the collateral damage of the U.S. war against terror. Their deaths are a reminder that borders are very real structures and purposely conceived to divide and affect the meaning and livelihood of human beings and the natural environment, whether negatively, positively, or at all depends on the position a person holds in relation to the border. Anthropologist Renato Rosaldo's concept of *border zones* in conjunction with his description of culture as a "…porous array of intersections where distinct processes crisscross from within and beyond its borders"[62] is reminiscent of the cultural dimension I bring to this study through my lived experience of growing up in the

[60] Shernaz B. Garcia and Patricia L. Guerra, "Conceptualizing Culture in Education : Implications for Schooling in a Culturally Diverse Society," in *Redefining Culture : Perspectives across the Disciplines*, ed. John R. Baldwin, et al. (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006), 105-06.

[61] In 2012, there were 463 deaths *accounted* for by the U.S. Border Patrol along the southwest borders. It is likely that many others go unaccounted as the existence of programs such as the Missing Migrant Project at the Pima County Office of the Medical Examiner attest. U.S. Border Patrol, "United States Border Patrol Southwest Border Deaths by Fiscal Year," accessed May 12, 2013, http://www.cbp.gov/linkhandler/cgov/border_security/border_patrol/usbp_statistics/usbp_fy12_stats/border_patrol_fy.ctt/border_patrol_fy.pdf.

[62] Border zones are similar to anthropologist Mary Louise Pratt's concept of *contact zones*, or those "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today." Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* (1991): 34. Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth the Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston MA: Beacon, 1993), 20.

borderlands and traveling through them as though they were invisible. The work that went into creating this sense of invisibility, if not indivisibility of the border broke down when I left home and gathered new perspectives about the world.

The selection of La Plaza as the source location for this study, then, did not occur randomly. In fact, I hold a very close linkage to it through my parents who were born there. Growing up, I visited La Plaza during the summers and attended the fiesta in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe; it is a celebration my parents were adamant me and my siblings be exposed to and participate in. I still have relatives who live in La Plaza as well as childhood friends who I interact with when I visit. Yet I cannot easily identify community members or even know who most of them are because I do not reside there or have strong social ties with them. In that sense, I am quite dislocated from the community of La Plaza and how they know and understand the world. This project has been a journey aimed at learning about the preservation of the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe in La Plaza, but also, in understanding how aspects of the cultural identity I embody stem from this location. In cases like my own, archives can have a significant role to play in creating linkages amongst immigrants and their children to their parent's "homeland" by bringing together cultural and social bonds collapsed due to globalization.

Prior to this investigation the extent of my knowledge of La Plaza included occasional visits, watching home video footage of it and later, when I could not attend, amateur digital video discs (DVDs) produced by local videographers that were purchased by my parents. As was the case for me, these amateur video productions end up in the homes of immigrant families who for legal reasons, financial difficulties, or other constraints are unable to attend. These same constraints have created a gateway and market for the videos to travel in what anthropologist Arjun Appadurai calls a technoscape, or "the global configuration, also ever fluid, of technology,

and of the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries."[63] For instance, in the early 2000s in the greater Los Angeles area I witnessed the proliferation of a similar documentary style of amateur videos produced for the Mexican diaspora. These DVDs were sold in stores in a Mexican enclave with titles such as, "Ameca, Jalisco," a town in the state of Jalisco, Mexico. The pueblos and cities taking center stage in the videos corresponded to and were targeting the identities of the major Mexican immigrant communities living in the area. These videos provided a glimpse of their homeland's contemporary status by showing the landscape and capturing prominent architectural markers such as the town's center squares known as "plazas." Aside from this type of documentation, the videographers also captured people leisurely sitting around and waving at the camera or sending brief messages to their family members in the U.S. The videographers were documenting the communities Mexican migrants leave behind sometimes for good, not to mention seeking to financially capitalize on the nostalgia created through migration. Yet for the members of the communities living in the U.S. who cannot return due to their legal or financial status, the videos prove to be popular resources that evidence changes their hometowns have undergone.

Returning a year later to look for more of these DVDs, they were no longer in sight and perhaps a passing trend. I bring up the documentary style found in the videos on the streets of Los Angeles because it is reminiscent of the work produced by the videographers of La Plaza. These documents fulfill a desire for immigrant families to see how their "homeland" has grown and changed since their absence, and for their children, to begin to imagine places some may

[63] Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Theory, Culture & Society* 7, no. 2 (1990): 297.

only know through oral tradition. My insider knowledge and relationship to these amateur videos played an important role in the design of this study because it is through the format's portability and ability to capture the time and space of the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe into my own home in the U.S. that the idea for this dissertation was borne.

3.1 RESEARCH STRATEGY

The research strategy selected blends together ethnography and grounded theory and it entails an exploratory, naturalistic, and interpretative approach, all of which are configured in the tradition of social constructionism.[64] The knowledge claims of social constructionism emphasize a relational co-construction of knowledge between the researcher and subject(s) of the research with the aim of benefiting the communities of practice it involves.[65] The communities implicated in this project include the archival community and the community of La Plaza. As such, the merit and validity of this research project will stem from the impact and resonance it has within these communities. Sociologists Kathy Charmaz and Richard G. Mitchell point out an important difference between a social constructionist approach to grounded theory with that of their positivist counterparts more interested in reliability, validity, and verification "…these

[64] The social constructionism movement that I align my work with is in the tradition of sociology as based on Peter Berger's and Thomas Luckmann's work in the sociology of knowledge and how, in their words, this research "must concern itself with whatever passes for 'knowledge' in a society, regardless of the ultimate validity or invalidity (by whatever criteria of) such 'knowledge.'" Thus, I do not disagree that western methods of knowing and producing knowledge are useful or important (for, after all, I am using such methods in this study), but, for example, because archives are not universally valued as the western derived concept purports what, then, is comparable to archives in societies where they do not formally exist? The knowledge claims of social constructionism can help scholars in archival studies sharpen their approaches to such questions. Peter L. Luckmann Thomas Berger, *The Social Construction of Reality; a Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), 3.

[65] See, Kenneth J. Gergen and Mary M. Gergen, "Social Constructionism.," in *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, ed. Lisa M. Given (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2008).

concerns [reliability, validitiy, and verification] may amount to search for reproducible forms and thus subvert discovering the depth of fullness of the studied reality… We aim to construct to a full account, to tell a meaningful story – not to reduce our craft to the canons of 'normal' science."[66] This project is in agreement with Charmaz's and Mitchell's assessment in finding the richness of the social practices enacted by the community in preserving the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The systematic nature of grounded theory, however, lends itself to being used as a prescriptive formula for problem solving, and I have combined it with ethnography to tell a deeper story than grounded theory alone can do on its own. For instance, some scholars use *auto-ethnography*, which involves the telling of their experiences in conjunction with the culture or subject being studied in order to tell a greater story about the cultural phenomenon being studied. This genre, or approach to ethnography also lends itself to the belief mentioned earlier concerning how both the researcher and subject(s) of the study co-construct knowledge. Because of this project's knowledge claims, and my positioning within it, auto-ethnography can be found embedded in its process and as a product. Additionally, *ethnohistory* was used, which involves the use of historical and/or ethnographic data representing the culture being studied. More concretely, ethnohistory is a method reflecting the coming together of two disciplinary methods in cultural anthropology and history: ethnography and historical research.

The exploratory nature of this project is the result of there being few investigations about the preservation of intangible cultural heritage in archival studies. Nor has significant research been dedicated to conducting an investigation concerning the implications of a community's autochthonous preservation of it. For this reason, ethnography was used as it fosters an emic

[66] Kathy Charmaz and Richard G. Mitchell, "Grounded Theory Ethnography," in *Handbook of Ethnography*, ed. Paul Atkinson, et al. (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE, 2001), 161.

approach to studying cultural and social phenomena through fieldwork and participant observation. In this case, as an extended member of the community of La Plaza, my perspective unravels an emic and intimate interpretation of the fiesta from the position of an external member living outside of the physical geography of the "traditional" community.

Ethnography has also proven to be a resilient indigenous tool of western scholarship that since the early part of the twentieth century has lived through vast changes and rigorous testing to withstand shifts in philosophical thought, and criticisms from scholars and more importantly the "human subjects" who have been studied under its lens. The changes in the methodology throughout the twentieth century, moreover, have helped social scientists to have a better understanding of the social worlds they study in the field and of themselves in relation to them. These efforts have more recently been expressed through self-reflexive measures, but also in feminist scholarship by what Donna J. Haraway's calls *diffraction*.

If an analogy can be made to translate the role of self-reflexivity to that of positivism, it can be understood as a form of validity stemming directly from the power wielded by the main instrument: the researcher carrying out the investigation. In this sense, the researcher is exposing his/her subjectivity openly to the community being studied and the researcher's peers who will judge the veracity of the representation based on how the experiences are presented as well as the usefulness of the findings. Haraway agrees with the value of reflexivity, but she also does not think it is enough and adds that "a practice of diffraction" should make "a difference in the world, to cast our lot for some ways of life and not others."[67] Diffraction is a way of seeing new patterns in the world from a location that according to Haraway is partial, finite, and politically

[67] Donna Jeanne Haraway, *Modest Witness at Second Millennium : Female Man Meets Oncomouse : Feminism and Technoscience* (London: Routledge, 1997), 16, 268.

necessary. My partial vision in this project is hinged upon my upbringing as someone of Mexican heritage born in the U.S. Over time, my bicultural background has changed and developed into seeing the world through a split perspective manifested in reasoning that here takes into account the value archives have in U.S. society as well as the potential they can have in La Plaza. At the same time, I am also weary of archives in locations where the economic conditions may be incompatible with the archiving and preservation efforts that occur in what might be called overdeveloped countries, but that are inevitably measured against these standards of practice. In previous work, I have used the term "imperfect archives" to discuss how the material conditions in which archivists in developing countries practice first need to be evaluated and considered before generalizing standards of archival practice that may simply be unrealistic, and therefore always already "imperfect."[68]

The vision I bring to this project also resonates with Gloria Anzaldúa's theory of the "borderlands." She broadens it to describe her lived experience as a Mexican-American, lesbian, *Tejana*, and Chicana who grew up along the physical U.S.-Mexico border. In a metaphorical sense, the term can represent anyone who learns to straddle and navigate different social worlds, and, in doing so, learns to transform the contradictions and ambivalence they face within them with curiosity and creativity, and to develop something more and something new from such experiences.[69] My diffracted vision seeks to transform archives into something more than what they currently are by arguing that it is politically necessary to develop archival theory that speaks to the realities of environments outside of archival science. As such, in this case, the voices embedded in this project and my own are incorporated into the archival conversation on

[68] Janet Ceja Alcalá, "Imperfect Archives and the Principle of Social Praxis in the History of Film Preservation in Latin America," *The Moving Image* 13, no. 1 (2013).
[69] Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands : The New Mestiza = La Frontera*, 2nd Edition ed. (San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1999), 101.

intangible cultural heritage by way of a theory building process that takes into account the complex social practices and living conditions inhabited from the very start and not the other way around. In other words, I begin with the particularities of the social and cultural context of the celebration of the fiesta as opposed to using the already-made propositions of archival science stemming from historical and sociocultural contexts unlike those of La Plaza. While I see value in the canon of archival theory and believe it is important, immigrant and transnational communities such as my own would also benefit from the development of theories that speak to our views and lived experiences. This project is an attempt at conveying what those views and experiences are through their witnessing and as testimony.

At its most basic level the naturalistic aspect of this project pertains to the fact that the fiesta and the processes and social interactions that surround it have been observed and initiated in their natural setting. Sociologists Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson point out that the roots of naturalistic inquiry appeal to the natural sciences in search of understanding social phenomena and objects independent of the researcher.[70] Yet with the growing adoption of ethnography by populations who were once studied by western anthropologists and sociologists, social constructionism has also impacted major assumptions about ethnography's ability to produce objective truth as opposed to many interpretations of the truth. Additionally, the philosophy of social constructionism puts in question the ability of researchers to truly capture reality and objectify it. Even when, for instance, value judgments have already been made when researchers make choices concerning the substantive area they investigate as well as the

[70] Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography : Principles in Practice* (London; New York: Routledge, 1995), 10.

implementation of the research strategies and protocols selected to collect, categorize, and analyze their data.

The route taken here honors the researcher archetypes who choose to honestly and subjectively position their research as interpretative, as well as the "naturalistically-oriented humanists" whom sociologists Leonard Schatzman and Anselm L. Strauss describe as choosing to focus on social process as opposed to solely structural conditions to study social phenomena. For instance, sociology's incorporation of process into its disciplinary lens especially after the mid-twentieth century allowed for an understanding of society that took seriously the role of human interaction, as opposed to just the functional effects power structures can have on societies. This adjustment in disciplinary vision is similar to anthropologist Renato Rosaldo's work in anthropology and his concept of border zones. Inspired by Anzaldúa he describes border zones as the unstudied spaces within and between homogenous communities once made invisible by classic anthropological norms that focused on studying cultures as neat and unified entities as opposed to incoherent and complex sites of intercultural interaction.[71] Schatzman's and Strauss's weariness of solely studying social structures to make sense of societies and Rosaldo's observation of anthropologists studying cultures as unified and static entities shifted their discipline's research, on the one hand, to concentrate on process and social interaction, and on the other hand, to argue that culture is permeable and transformative. This project begins from these transformative disciplinary origins. Before going any further it is important to delineate the meaning of culture. I align my definition of culture with communication scholars John R. Baldwin et al who take the concept of culture to be existent within social processes that shape how it functions, as well as how it is structured and upon which other forms such as products and

[71] Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth the Remaking of Social Analysis*, 207-08.

ideology are interwoven.[72] Therefore we can conceive of products, for instance, videos, created as a result of La Plaza's fiesta as cultural products, as well as the religious ideology enacted by the community through different social practices a part of the community's culture.

The use of grounded theory in this project helped focus the analysis of the ethnographic data through systematic procedures aimed at developing theory. The systemization of this process was borne from the fusion of two sociological research traditions that unfolded in the book *Awareness of Dying* by Barney G. Glaser and Strauss in 1965. The success of their approach in the book led to the writing of *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* two years later, which helped frame grounded theory. Since then, grounded theory has branched out into diverging philosophical positions concerning its analytic procedures. These differences reflect the working traditions of its creators and the researchers who now implement a "Glaserian" or "Straussian" approach to grounded theory. It is worth pointing out that prior to the methodology's deviation, if not evolution, Glaser and Strauss had developed it at the University of California, San Francisco (UCSF). According to Glaser, their work coalesced because of their views on the "need to stick to the data, be in the field, and generate theory that respects and reveals the perspectives of the subjects in the substantive area under study."[73] This still remains true of grounded theory almost fifty years later and it is another reason why it was selected to analyze the data collected. As such the emic perspective fostered by ethnography is also respected in grounded theory and garnered through the original analytical intent of its creators

[72] In their study of how the concept of culture is used across disciplines, communication scholars John R. Baldwin, Sandra L. Faulkner, and Michael L. Hecht found that there were seven overarching themes in how the concept of culture was used: structural/pattern, functional, process, product/artifactual, refinement/moral progress, power/ideology, and group membership. It is important to underline that these themes do not stand alone and can form a web of complex interrelationships. John R. Baldwin et al., *Redefining Culture : Perspectives across the Disciplines* (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2006), 62-63,72.

[73] Barney G. Glaser, *Emergence Vs Forcing : Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis* (Mill Valley, CA: Sociology Press, 1992), 17. For more, also see Strauss' Q*ualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*.

regardless of the present varied philosophical positions that define their work. Since the social practices enacted to preserve the fiesta are at the heart of this study, grounded theory provides a unique route developed by sociologists to analyze processes that lend themselves well to ethnography's method in studying its cultural components.

Additionally, it is significant to point out that there are two types of theories that can be generated with the grounded theory methodology: substantive and formal theories. A substantive theory is focused on one specific and limited area of study during a particular time and place which differs from formal theories in that the latter have a broader scope in the area studied, and that they also incorporate more data and often from a variety of substantive studies that range in time and location. As a result it is possible for different theories to be distinguished by their dimensional location concerning abstraction, scope, range, specificity, conceptual complexity, and applicability.[74] The type of theory development I set out to produce is substantive theory because I only focus on the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe in La Plaza. The scope, range, applicability, and specificity of this project were limited to one fiesta even though religious fiestas have the potential for more abstraction and formal theory development.

According to Strauss, "The methodological thrust of the grounded theory approach to qualitative data is toward the development of theory, without any particular commitment to specific kinds of data, lines of research, or theoretical interests;" [75] and making grounded theory suitable for use in archival studies. He adds that theory at various levels of generality is essential for having a deep understanding of social phenomena and that such theoretical development should occur "with researchers fully aware of themselves as instruments for developing that

[74] Anselm Strauss, "Notes on the Nature and Development of General Theories," *Qualitative Inquiry* 1, no. 7 (1995): 9-10.
[75] Anselm L. Strauss, *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 5.

grounded theory."[76] One of my goals in this project has been to make that self-awareness apparent throughout this project by way of interpretive self-reflexive measures that the reader is subjected to in the rendering of the study as an example of socially constructed knowledge.

3.1.1 Executing the Project

To carry out observations and interviews in La Plaza I requested permission from the University of Pittsburgh's Institutional Review Board (IRB) in November 2010. The request was filed under the basic exempt research category criteria for "Tests, Surveys, Interviews, Observations," which poses minimal risk to those under study; permission was granted in December. Minimal risk means that I did not record observations or ask interviewees questions that put members of the community at risk of being harmed. Additionally, because this project was conducted outside of the U.S, it was required by the IRB that permission be granted from a local authority. I wrote a formal letter with a detailed description of the project in English and Spanish, including the scripts and the initial interview instrument guide to satisfy this requisite (appendix A). Permission was granted from the municipality of Ixtlán de los Hervores (Ixtlán), which is the local government that oversees the smaller community of La Plaza in addition to many others.

A requirement of the IRB was that a research tool for interviewing be designed; an interview guide was developed for use during a preliminary fieldwork trip conducted January 2011. That year the fiesta took place from January 22-30 and I was in the field from January 16-February 1, 2011. During the trip I interviewed seventeen people. Two of them were videographers and the remaining fifteen were involved in heading the fiesta's programming.

[76] Ibid., 6.

Upon review of the data gathered during this trip it was apparent that it lacked the perspective of other community members who were not directly involved with the fiesta. I was advised by my dissertation committee to account for the participation of more individuals besides those directly involved in its programming and organization. This widened the study to account for not only other perspectives, but also different areas of social life. I went on a second fieldwork trip the summer of 2011 to collect more data, and I later made more trips during the 2012 fiesta and the summers of 2012 and 2013.

Because of the study's widening the IRB paperwork underwent a couple more iterations before and after the preliminary trip in 2011. Before visiting La Plaza again that summer I submitted modifications for conducting more interviews with community members who were above the age of eighteen; I was granted permission on June 28, 2011. The summer 2011 trip took place from July 16 through August 23 and was focused on questions that arose from the analysis of the initial data collected and which were based on the growth of my theoretical sensitivity on the subject. As a result, I not only interviewed elders but talked to a lot of other townspeople I met during the trip. During this trip, I also sought to use the Diocese of Zamora archives and speak to priests from the municipality. I further amended the IRB permissions toward the end of my trip in August to account for this new modification. During my trip to the fiesta in 2012 and that summer I continued to do research at the Diocese. The 2012 fiesta took place from January 21-29; I arrived on January 21 and departed on January 31. The research conducted at the diocese primarily consisted of using its archives and interviewing and having casual conversations with local priests. That summer from July 15 through September 1, 2012 I continued research at the Diocese. It should be noted that travel from the rural countryside to Zamora can take up to forty-five minutes by vehicle and over an hour using public

transportation. While trips to the municipality of Ixtlán are shorter there was much time spent traveling to and from different locations. I did not attend the 2013 fiesta but visited during the summer again from June 16 through July 8 to write. Although this trip's focus was to write I also interacted with some of the locals and took notes about conversations having to do with the history of La Plaza.

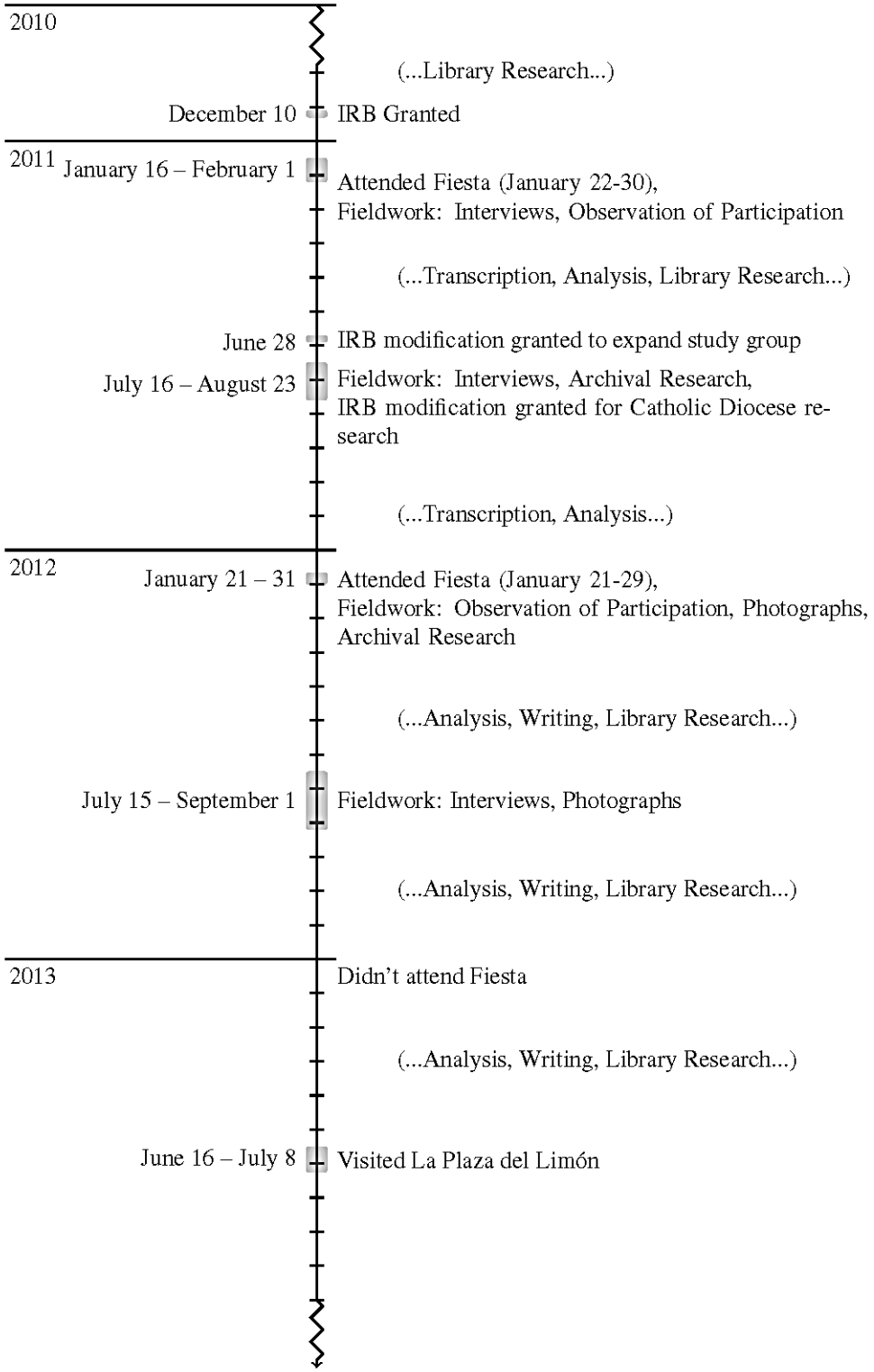

Figure 1 Timeline of the Project

The scope I began this project with was narrow because it only accounted for the preservation of the fiesta as a moving image record; thus, it was expanded to the actual intangible cultural heritage being recorded, or rather the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe itself. The second population I sought to interview during my first trip, the audiences of the videos, were cut from the interviewing process altogether because the fiesta gathered more significance as the living manifestation being preserved as opposed to the videos acting as the only mechanism for its preservation. Although the videos still remained a part of the project, it was the very act of being in the field and talking to people that made me see how the videos were only a small representation of the larger cultural activity being preserved. This was a kind of "surprise data" or what sociologist Howard Becker refers to as data you do not ask for but are told anyway. In my case, the surprise data arrived by experiencing the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe as a powerful ritual and listening to people speak to me about the celebration as being far more experientially interesting than the videos produced about it. This experience demonstrates how one must be ready to make sudden analytic changes and unexpected turns in qualitative research.

To summarize, the data represented in this study was gathered during the fiestas of Our Lady of Guadalupe's in La Plaza during the years 2011 and 2012 and the summers of 2011, 2012, and 2013. The period I spent in La Plaza for the fiestas ranged from ten to sixteen days and for the summers from seventeen days to over a month. The total numbers of days spent in the field amounted to 103, including traveling. It should be noted that the amount of time spent in the field is important for gaining accuracy of what is being witnessed and in identifying relationships that may otherwise not be understood if a researcher is using a method within a limited time frame. Similarly, it takes time to build relationships and trust that can allow the

researcher to gain insight from the community. What follows below is an outline and explication of the field methods used as well as the data gathered.

3.1.2 Methods and Data

Both ethnography and grounded theory support the integration of multiple methods for acquiring data. For example, using documents housed in archives are acceptable forms of data collection as much as gathering contemporary documents that are found in the field in situ. The primary methods used in the field included: observation of participation, unstructured and open-ended interviews, ethnohistory, and library research. The type of data gathered consisted of archival and contemporary records and secondary sources. The data I created included: field notes, photographs, and audio recordings (Table 1).

Table 1. Field Methods and Data Sources.

Field Methods	**Data Sources**
1. Observation of Participation	Field notes documenting experience, photographs, secondary sources
2. Unstructured Open-ended Interviews	Field notes documenting experience, audio recordings, videos, posters
3. Ethnohistory	Field notes documenting experience, archival documents
4. Library Research	Secondary sources

1. Observation of Participation

The fieldwork I conducted involved writing-up notes and gathering documentation by conducting what anthropologist Barbara Tedlock has called *observation of participation*. While the wording is a play on the participant observation technique, observation of participation has a serious connotation in that it implies a commitment by the ethnographer to take part in the observation as a co-participant; the ethnographer is the observer of the population, but also self-reflexive about the encounter through their writing of the ethnography.[77] Participant observation, on the other hand, purports to sustain objectivity in the encounter by creating a distance between the researcher and the population being studied. There is no announced commitment to the community on behalf of the researcher's use of the technique, it is purely technique.

A fear behind becoming too involved in the lives of the population studied is that a researcher will "go native" and take aspects of the social life for granted. Others argue that complete immersion and full status as a participant should be the aim of the ethnographer to truly capture "what is going on." Taking into account scholars Hortense Powdermaker's and Robert B. Everhart's work on the ethnographer as *stranger and friend*, Hammersley and Atkinson remark that "The ethnographer needs to be intellectually poised between familiarity and strangeness; and, in overt participant observation, socially he or she will usually be posed between stranger and friend" and embody a "marginal native."[78] The idea of keeping a distance from the population being studied implies that the researcher can have a broader vision and

[77] Barbara Tedlock, "From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation : The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography," *Journal of Anthropological Research* 47, no. 1 (Spring, 1991): 69.
[78] Hammersley and Atkinson, *Ethnography : Principles in Practice*, 112.

richer understanding of a culture and social phenomenon because there is little emotional bonding that could otherwise cloud the ethnographer's vision, and as a result, their findings. At the same time, for a researcher who knows or understands the population from a closer range fabricating such a distance could prove detrimental to the study. For instance, it could create a false distancing viewed as disrespectful by those being interviewed or "observed." One must tread lightly and wisely as both stranger and friend.

The identity of the marginal native mentioned by Hammersley and Atkinson evokes a familiar bicultural saying "no eres ni de aqui ni de alla" (you are neither from here nor there) because individuals from certain cultures may no longer fully belong to or perhaps never did belong to a single cultural identity due to the context of their circumstances, by choice, or based on the judgment of others. My participation in the fiesta while conducting this research was not of being comfortably at home, but in a completely different state-of-mind. It was one in which I was hyper-aware of my surroundings and sensitive to my habit of Othering my Mexican heritage equally with Othering my Western values. Therefore, the technique anthropologists developed to analytically denaturalize a familiar social setting by making it "strange" was quite comfortable for me to engage with, though my *strangeness button* was pushed to its limits through the continuous self-awareness of this naturalized state. To say more about this, it is not unlike me to move in-between my bicultural traditions to make sense of my position in situations in which there are striking cultural differences; at times it can be superficially disguised as distinctions between "us" and "them." In other cases, the differences are overpowered by learning something radically different while immersed in a contact zone that leads to greater understanding of the cultures involved. In this research project it meant grappling with the power I was wielding as a researcher of Mexican-American descent in another country where I was not a minority, but

could pass as dominantly "Mexican." Additionally, my parent's position in La Plaza as community members who frequently return to their homeland puts them in an upwardly mobile position even though in the U.S. this is anything but true. In spite of my status as a "marginal native" or "stranger and friend" I also found myself embodying *that* Western researcher identity of enacting studies about *Others* who in this case looked a lot like me. This self-awareness made me sensitive to and cognizant about how the community of La Plaza is also very different from me. Therefore, I used observation of participation as a way to make me reflect on the differences and similarities between me and the community members' status as marginalized groups in two different nations for different reasons so as to not conflate the findings I came across in this project with a U.S. oriented mindset.

- *Field Notes, Photographs, Secondary Sources*

The observation of participation method focused on the social practices surrounding the celebration of the fiesta specifically during rituals put on by the Catholic Church, including Mass and daily processions, and during the evening programming. I alternated my attendance and participation in these rituals between the morning and evening sessions and the secular events programmed in the evening. During these activities I took field notes. On my second trip and third trips in 2012 I took photographs to represent what I was witnessing. When I could not take notes, I wrote about and reflected on the day's activities the following day by writing memos. I focused my observations and participation on the ritualistic events mentioned above, but I also took notes about activities that stood out each day. During my summer visits I wrote notes about experiences I had in the town and conversations with people I met and interacted with. Throughout these activities I was sometimes in the company of people I knew and others times with people who I did not know. I also navigated this social world alone in order to reflect best

on my observations and during my second trip, to take photographs focused on documenting the event.

An unexpected encounter with data occurred when I spoke to some of the locals about my research efforts. In two different cases I was offered the use of theses the owners believed would help me with this project. One was the personal thesis of a local educator, and another of a medical doctor who conducted her practicum in La Plaza. Such documents are examples of the kinds of documentary resources held by community members that record how aspects of the town have changed over time through "modernizing" developments in education and health services. One of the locals who let me borrow one of the theses mentioned that he oftentimes gets visits from local secondary school students asking him to borrow books and reports he owns. He is known for having an important collection of documentation concerning La Plaza and some of the local teachers who know this tell their students to talk to him when they have school assignments regarding the town's history. Once a local politician, this person has assembled an important collection as a result of his previous participation in developing the town's social services in education and health. My experience in being surprised by this data demonstrates that local educators, medical personnel, and past and current politicians are individuals who have records that could piece together La Plaza's social, educational, and health histories.

2. Unstructured and Open-ended Interviews

As mentioned earlier, the interview was a prompt for discussing the fiesta with select and focused populations. The interview tool was altered a great deal in practice, and as a result, it led to changes in the study's initial focus. A point made by grounded theorist developers Juliet M.

Corbin and Anselm L. Strauss is significant to stress here: “Researchers frequently discover, after more data have been collected, that some other focus for the study might prove to be more profitable, more interesting.”[79] A characteristic of qualitative research, moreover, is being able to adapt to unexpected leads and data. Not surprisingly, by participating in and speaking to individuals about their experience with Our Lady of Guadalupe’s fiesta my decision to change the project’s focus to the social practices surrounding the celebration was driven by the precedence the fiesta had over the videos I was initially interested in learning more about.

I interviewed at least one member from each of the nine teams heading the programming of the fiesta each day and the videographers who recorded the event. By the end of the first trip in 2011, I had informally interviewed seventeen people, none of which were below the age of eighteen. Fifteen out of the seventeen people interviewed were involved in the programming of the fiesta. They were selected based on a poster produced by La Plaza’s parish, *El Sagrado Corazón de Jesús* (The Sacred Heart of Jesus). The poster detailed the fiesta’s program each day with the names of those in charge of organizing specific days of the celebration and the priest responsible for heading the event. It should be noted that the poster had additional dates due to changes made in the Bishop’s visiting schedule. Moreover, not all leaders of the fiesta were interested in being interviewed but I managed to talk to at least one group representative for each day.

Contact with the leadership was made during the first morning Mass or in the middle of the day when the organizers were preparing the day’s activities. When I had doubts about who the leadership was I simply asked someone in my vicinity or my parents. My parents were

[79] Juliet M. Corbin and Anselm L. Strauss, "Analytic Ordering for Theoretical Purposes," *Qualitative Inquiry* 2, no. 2 (1996): 142.

instrumental in helping me enter the field. Introducing myself as the daughter of Arcadio Ceja and Gloria Alcalá helped me make these initial connections; in other cases, I would bring my parents along in order for there to be a clear indication that I was not a complete stranger. The interviews took place on either the day the leadership was responsible for organizing, or the following day when they had more time to spare.

The two videographers were selected based on my experience in watching some of the videos they had produced, as well as, by witnessing them in action at social events held prior to the fiesta during my first trip in 2011. Out of three local videographers only two were willing to grant me interviews. Although I had different levels of interaction with each of the videographers, my contact with all of them led me to purchase videos they produced on the fiesta in 2011 and 2012.

The six elders selected to interview were based on referrals provided by different community members, one of which passed away before I could conduct a proper interview. Further, since I was already acquainted with the town's religious rituals I was aware that older people were more prone to attending the earliest morning Mass celebrated at five-thirty. Community members representing different age groups have patterns in attending Sunday Mass. Just as some senior citizens prefer to attend the earliest morning Mass, the youth has preferences for Masses that take place in the late morning or early evening. Mass is celebrated three times a day every Sunday, with additional services taking place Monday through Saturday at five-thirty in the morning. At the time, two interviewees, ages 83 and 74, could still attend the first morning Mass; two, ages 86 and 87, could attend the second Mass, and the final two, 93 and 103 were too fragile to attend Mass at all (the person who was 103 passed away).

Figure 2 Fiesta en Honor a la Virgen de Guadalupe, 2011. Poster advertising the fiesta, parish of El Sagrado Corazón de Jesús, La Plaza del Limón, Michoacán, México. Photo by Janet Ceja.

As mentioned earlier, not all individuals I approached for an interview felt comfortable speaking to me about their experiences so the population selected represents individuals who were willing to speak to me. Other knowledge I assembled about the social practices surrounding La Plaza's fiesta came from interacting with numerous other people in the field through casual and focused conversations about their memories and thoughts about the fiesta and La Plaza. While I made contact with many individuals, only twenty-two unique people were formally interviewed during my time in the field. This population included the organizers of the fiesta (fifteen),

videographers who recorded the event (two), and elders (five) who shared their memories about the fiesta with me. In terms of gender, there were two females out of the fifteen leaders interviewed; the rest were men. One videographer was a male and the other was a female (though she worked in conjunction with her father). The elders included three females and two males. The range of representativeness varied among the three focused populations interviewed based on their gender as well as the number interviewed from each group, which spanned from one-to-three people at once. Overall, the approach I took in selecting participants is comparable to what in survey research is referred to as non-probability sampling. Yet as noted earlier this project is qualitative and not quantitative, meaning that the translation of the methods for data collection used here may be comparable but not necessarily equivalent due to the different epistemologies these methods are based upon. For example, I encountered documentation, got referrals, and followed the advice and leads provided by community members who shared information with me in the field during a time period that amounted to 103 days. This, moreover, helps satisfy the use of participant observation in helping provide accuracy to the research presented.

Finally, all participants were asked if they wished to remain anonymous or have their names revealed. I received a mixed reaction to this question so in order to ensure the utmost privacy of all the participants I made their identities anonymous and for the most part have used pseudonyms in this project. For the sake of consistency, however, the identities and names of individuals found in secondary sources were not changed and left as they were originally documented.

- *Field Notes, Audio Recordings, DVDs*

Most of the interviews were audio recorded using an mp3 digital recorder; notes on the interview were taken alongside. Exceptions to this approach occurred with a couple of interviews in which I decided to not use a recorder. One of these interview sessions was with the local priest and the other was an interview with an elder. In both cases, I simply took notes on what was being said during the discussion. Follow-up interviews that were audio recorded took place with the two videographers during the summer in 2011. The transcription and translation of these audio recordings occurred during 2011 and 2012.

Other records gathered during interviewing were the DVDs produced by the videographers of Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta. To acquire these videos, moreover, I purchased them directly when they were being sold after the conclusion of the fiesta. Additionally, and after modifying my project's permissions with the IRB, I visited their homes and workplaces at which times was the same place.

3. Ethnohistory

Ethnohistory brings together anthropological and historical methods. In the U.S., it originated in anthropology under specific circumstances surrounding the documentation of American Indians and the usage of archival sources for studying these populations and litigating their land claims.[80] The method encompasses the use historical documents in describing the subject matter being studied, which may also comprise the use of oral traditions and oral histories. Additionally, there is an element of political activism inherent in the method for its

[80] See, Michael E. Harkin, "Ethnohistory's Ethnohistory : Creating a Discipline from the Ground Up," *Social Science History* 34, no. 2 (2010).

history in advocating for the land rights of Native Americans by its early anthropological practitioners.[81]

The use of this method for this project unknowingly occurred in the field while following leads from people who I was interviewing and by reviewing secondary sources. In fact, it was initially unclear to me that this was an ethnographic method as I was following grounded theory's approach to gathering data, which is open to the collection of a variety of sources. What makes ethnohistory unique is that it occurs in the field as you are conducting the ethnography. In this project, it occurred through a series of leads I received from community members. For instance, comments made by the priest who oversaw the municipality of Ixtlán's parish archives actually led me to visit the archive of the Diocese of Zamora in order to investigate if there was any documentation about La Plaza's fiesta. My initial visit to the parish in Ixtlán was to find out if its archives had any documentation about La Plaza's parish and people based on two other leads. First, in conducting research on the locality I became aware of a possibility that a very old archive existed in the parish based on a passage in a book written by an inhabitant of Ixtlán. In this book, he claimed some of the parish's old archival documents had been stolen. Second, one of the interviewees who had visited Ixtlán's parish archive in search of her baptismal record prompted me to visit it and find out if it the parish had any more records documenting the people of La Plaza.

Being in the field oftentimes took me to institutional archives where I did not find records directly related to Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta in La Plaza, but that indirectly told me a lot about La Plaza's social history. As such, this method was used based on historical sources, both

[81] The method also constitutes the analytic work conducted in archaeological reconstructions documenting peoples and places over periods of time. Michael W. Hesson, "Ethnohistory.," in *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, ed. James H Birx (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc., 2007).

primary and secondary, that I came across in the field through my participation in the local culture.

- *Field Notes and Archival Documents*

During my time in the field I visited three Catholic archives in the region. The first archive I visited was held at the parish of *San Francisco de Asís* (St. Francis of Assisi) in Ixtlán, the second was the parish archive of *El Sagrado Corazon de Jesus* in La Plaza, and finally the archive at the Catholic Diocese of Zamora. At first, my research at the small parish archives had more to do with witnessing that there was documentation about the community in La Plaza. This inevitably turned into writing about La Plaza's history in setting up the fiesta Our Lady of Guadalupe. At the Diocese archive, documentation ranged from sacramental records (e.g. baptism, marriage, etc.) to financial records to correspondence and newspaper articles all related specifically to the people of La Plaza. This documentation dated as far back as the late 1800s when the locality was a part of the San Simón hacienda. This hacienda was intricately associated with Ixtlán's parish, which oversaw its religious health until the dismantling of the hacienda system. The records I encountered in Ixtlán went as far back as the 16th century to the present; the parish itself has existed since the late 1500s.

I also visited the municipal offices of the local government to ask if they had any historical documentation about the community; I was told there were none. Instead it was suggested that I contact a local community member in La Plaza who had assembled a sleuth of material about the town. This person was the aforementioned politician who let me borrow a thesis written by a doctor conducting her medical practicum in La Plaza. As such, this web of interconnections, in which I was literally caught up, is what the ethnohistorical method affords

researchers; the possibility of documenting a system of relationships witnessed in the present by accounting for and using the records produced about it in the past.

4. Library

The library was used from the very beginning to investigate intangible cultural heritage as well as the region in which it took place through the use of electronic and physical sources that included, book, journal articles, and reports. Literature related to archives and other disciplines were reviewed and are discussed in the literature review. Finally, books and articles written from sociological, anthropological, and archival perspectives were used for orientation in research methods.

- *Secondary Sources*

Some of the most useful secondary sources I used ranged from local to regional historical publications such as *Historia illustrada de Ixtlán de los Hervores* (*An Illustrated History of Ixtlán de los Hervores*) written by a teacher from Ixtlán to works such as *Haciendas de tierra y agua en la antigua ciénaga de Chapala* (Haciendas of Earth and Water in the Former Chapala Wetlands) published by the *Colegio de Michoacán*, a private college located in the city of Zamora. These Spanish language sources were important because they provided historical context for the locality and provided perspectives from local and regional scholars.

I accessed the University of Pittsburgh's library as a physical and remote user, but it was not this library alone through which I accessed all the secondary sources I used. I purchased secondary sources from bookstores and a small shop run by the Church parish in Ixtlán. I also used the Internet to access institutional websites with data about the community of La Plaza. For instance, I located useful reports produced by the Mexican Instituto Nacional de Estadística y

Geografía (The National Institute of Statistics and Geography), Consejo Nacional de Población (National Council of Population), and the Secretaria de Desarrollo Social (Department of Social Development, SEDESOL) among many others to get statistics on La Plaza's and Ixtlán's demographics.

3.1.3 Data Translation

Studies in cross-cultural translation emphasize having translators familiar with the cultures being studied, as well as an understanding of the research being conducted.[82] Since childhood I have conducted translations from Spanish to English and vice versa, and because of my bicultural status and bilingual competency, I conducted this study in the Spanish language. I also translated and transcribed all of the data collected. My first language is Spanish, but I have gone through an English-only educational system in the U.S. Additionally, I studied Spanish formally in secondary school and abroad in college.

A technique known as back translation, or translation from the first language (Spanish) to the target language (English) translated back to the first language by another person is not used as a method here because I satisfy linguistic equivalence through my ability to directly translate the language. The translation of instruments and permission forms required by the IRB to conduct research abroad was done through translation methods that satisfy linguistic equivalence. Linguistic equivalence ensures that content translated in the interview instruments

[82] Griselda I. Lopez et al., "Translation Barriers in Conducting Qualitative Research with Spanish Speakers," *Qualitative Health Research* 18, no. 12 (2008): 1732,36.

and instructions remain the same in both language versions.[83] Some scholars caution the use of linguistic equivalence to make judgments on the developmental status of individuals (e.g. education) without considering cultural, functional and metric equivalence.[84] These additional factors are not an issue in this project because of the nature of the research. Still to avoid getting "lost in translation" when conducting the analysis I transcribed content used in the interviews to the source language first (Spanish), and then translated into the target language (English) as suggested by some scholars.[85] Taking this approach provides richer data and is one manner to circumvent misinterpretation. This approach is recommended for researchers conducting investigations in a language other than their own, but I have used it to buffer against the possibility of leaving out important details that may otherwise affect interpretation. Although possibly distracting I sought to stay true to the expressions of the original conversations leaving in grammatical errors that may have been made in Spanish. Another step taken to ensure accuracy was to have another native-speaker of Spanish to oversee my translations in both the instruments and data collected. Finally, all the translation work I provide in this project is contextualized to the extent that I can detect language nuances, colloquialisms, regional variations, and idiomatic phrases in Spanish as spoken in Mexico.

3.1.4 Limitations

A drawback minority researchers conducting investigations in their own ethnic or racial communities have historically faced is of being accused of bias in data gathering and

[83] Elizabeth D. Peña, "Lost in Translation : Methodological Considerations in Cross-Cultural Research," *Child Development* 78, no. 4 (2007): 1257.
[84] Ibid., 1257.
[85] Lopez et al., "Translation Barriers in Conducting Qualitative Research with Spanish Speakers," 1731, 35.

interpretation; thus, their work is prone to being equated to "subjective distortion."[86] Yet as with any researcher, sociologist Maxine Baca Zinn argues, there are methodological procedures to guard against such activities, including the use of more than one method and for the researcher to explicitly render their values in the investigation. Another important point Baca Zinn makes concerns the reciprocity minority researchers enact within the communities they research. Their relationships may take on a unique ethical and political meaning based on their identities as minorities. An example of this is when researchers are asked to intervene on behalf of informants by speaking for them in a confrontational situation because the informants identify with the researcher as being a member of a subordinate group.[87] A benefit of conducting a research investigation in a researcher's own community is this "insider status" for it creates opportunity to tap into knowledge that may otherwise go undisclosed for reasons that vary from social world to social world.

In anthropology, ethnographers from non-Western cultures who share a history of subordination with those being studied have been called "native" ethnographers.[88] Ironically, and as mentioned earlier, the phrase "going native" is often cautioned against and readily invoked in the literature on ethnography. The term "native" seems to be one that holds a status of ongoing ambivalence for anthropologists in their desires to redefine and reposition their relationships with the cultures being studied. In the interdisciplinary area of ethnic studies to be "native" to the culture being studied was never viewed as a limitation, but quite the opposite. Being native to the culture is its strength. Ethnic studies scholar Timothy P. Fong notes that one

[86] Maxine Baca Zinn, "Field Research in Minority Communities : Ethical, Methodological and Political Observations by an Insider," *Social Problems* 27, no. 2 (1979): 213.
[87] Ibid., 216.
[88] Tedlock, "From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation : The Emergence of Narrative Ethnography," 80.

of the founding concepts of ethnic studies in general had a focus on social change by challenging the academic power structure and dominant approaches to knowledge from such native perspectives.[89] These examples are brought up to show how different the status of a researcher studying his or her own culture may be depending on the area of study that views these associations as a limitation, analytically beneficial, or politically necessary. What the disciplines of anthropology and ethnic studies both demonstrate is that providing new perspectives within a discipline can help enrich the research of a discipline's creative potential and mark it with a level of maturity through the adoption of multiple perspectives be they cultural or analytical in nature.

As a scholar and distant member of the community I studied I am well aware that the knowledge claims made here (as they would in any other) are partial and incomplete; further, this project does not seek to find a universal truth, but offer at best an objective vision of a truth.[90] In other words, adopting the ideas of Haraway I bring a diffracted vision of the lives of the community my parents left behind when they decided to migrate northward and make a new life for themselves. As a result, my interpretation of the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe in La Plaza may be deemed "biased" based on my perspective as a "marginal native," if not "native ethnographer," or what in ethnic studies may be understood as "politically necessary." Perhaps the greatest limitation in this study is that I am in agreement with Rosaldo when he states that "All interpretations are provisional; they are made by positioned subjects who are prepared to know certain things and not others. Even when knowledgeable, sensitive, fluent in the language, and able to move easily in an alien cultural world, good ethnographers still have their limits, and

89 Timothy P. Fong, ed. *Ethnic Studies Research : Approaches and Perspectives* (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press,2008), 4.

[90] I borrow this vision from Donna Haraway who contends that "only partial perspectives promises objective vision…Feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, not about transcendence and splitting of subject and object." Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges : The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (1988): 583.

their analyses are always incomplete."[91] By using grounded theory ethnography as this project's methodology I sought to remain true to the data that focused on how the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe is preserved from an emic perspective, but as Rosaldo notes there is no guarantee that I have achieved a "complete" picture. This study is just one piece of larger sets of relationships that must continue to be explored.

Additionally, the methods employed are from a novice researcher that would have benefited from more time in the field. For instance, the ethnographic field work combined was less than a year. This was due to constraints that are encountered by many doctoral students: financing and the course of study taken. A more sustained engagement with the fiesta was beyond the financial means available as well as the time allocated for the project's completion.

Finally, although theory development was achieved in this project it was limited to one specific area in one particular place. A formal theory, with a broader scope incorporating more substantive analyses within different environments during different points in time would make the findings here stronger by addressing more complex relationships. For instance, these could focus on religious fiestas in Latin America or even go beyond this geographical constraint with the goal of specifying the role archival studies can play in archiving such intangible cultural heritage. Nevertheless, such efforts will also create generalizations that may be viewed by some as problematic.

[91]Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth the Remaking of Social Analysis*, 8.

4.0 INFORMAL RECORDS

> The [G]ospel through Our Lady of Guadalupe has been kept alive, interiorized, assimilated, and transmitted by the Spirit through song and dance.
>
> –Virgil Elizondo

In the Mexican rancho of La Plaza del Limón the Roman Catholic figure of indigenous inheritance, Our Lady of Guadalupe, is celebrated annually in late January. A nine-day fiesta (referred to as a *novena*) is held to honor her apparition in 1531 on mount Tepeyac to a Christianized Aztec-Náhua peasant known as Juan Diego. Some scholars claim that Our Lady of Guadalupe is actually the Christian manifestation of the Aztec deity Tonantzin, meaning "our mother" or "Our Lady Mother."[92] Historian Robert Ricard has written that Our Lady of Guadalupe's creation story was used by Spanish friars in the sixteenth century in the "spiritual conquest" of the indigenous populations who prior to the introduction of Our Lady of Guadalupe journeyed to the Tepeyac to worship Tonantzin.[93]

[92] Eric R. Wolf, "The Virgin of Guadalupe : A Mexican National Symbol," *The Journal of American Folklore* 17, no. 279 (Jan-Mar 1958).
[93] Robert Ricard, *The Spiritual Conquest of Mexico an Essay on the Apostolate and the Evangelizing Methods of the Mendicant Orders in New Spain, 1523-1572* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 188-91.

Figure 3 Manuel de Arellano, Virgin of Guadalupe and the Apparitions to Juan Diego, 1691. Oil on canvas (canvas), 71 7/16 x 48 9/16 in., Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Image courtesy of www.lacma.org

The story goes that upon Our Lady of Guadalupe's apparition to Juan Diego he contacted the archbishop Don Juan de Zumárraga to tell him the miraculous news about Our Lady of Guadalupe and to give him a message: that a church be built on Mount Tepeyac in her name.

For the bishop this encounter was far too out of the ordinary and he instructed Juan Diego to return another day. After this failed attempt Our Lady of Guadalupe appeared to Juan Diego again and once more she requested that he transmit her message to the archbishop; Juan Diego committedly returned to give the archbishop the message. During his second visit Juan Diego was told by the archbishop that his word alone was not enough and that he needed a sign and evidence of Our Lady of Guadalupe's existence. Thus, it was not until Our Lady of Guadalupe's third apparition to Juan Diego that she provided evidence of her existence–fresh flowers blooming in an environment in which they were not native. After picking and placing some of the flowers in his *tilma*, or cloak, Juan Diego took them to archbishop Don Juan de Zumárraga as the sign and proof of her apparition. Upon unfolding his *tilma* to show him the flowers, they fell to the ground and a greater manifestation of evidence was revealed–the imprinted image of Our Lady of Guadalupe on Juan Diego's *tilma*. Soon thereafter Mount Tepeyac became the chosen location for a Catholic Church to be erected in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe. To this day the story of Our Lady of Guadalupe's miracle is a source of popular piety for people all over Mexico, and La Plaza is no exception.

I was introduced to Our Lady of Guadalupe's religious celebration in Los Angeles, California where I grew up. As far as I can remember my parents have been members of the cult of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Through them I learned firsthand that she was to be reckoned with when every December 12 our local Catholic parish exploded with mariachi music and overflowed with pilgrims on her holy day, thus putting to an end nine days of communal devotion. Not all Catholics buy into Our Lady of Guadalupe's miracle story, though. The feast of Our Lady of Guadalupe is also a source of contention among Catholics and scholars around

the world who believe she never existed and that her miracle story is just that, a story.[94] Her miracle, according to some scholars is the unreliable manifestation of oral testimony that to date lacks "proper" historical evidence. According to historian Stafford Poole, there is said to be a gap in documentation on Our Lady of Guadalupe during the years 1531 to 1648.[95] This lack of evidence also puts in question Juan Diego's existence; although, it did not prevent Pope John Paul II to beatify him to sainthood in 1990. In response to some of the criticisms against the validity of Our Lady of Guadalupe's miracle story, theologian Virgil Elizondo has noted that the same lack of valid evidence confronting Our Lady of Guadalupe's story can be said for the origins of the Gospels.[96] He and others believe the proof of her existence is this miracle story that, in turn, mobilizes acts of devotion (the *real* evidence) conducted in her name by her pilgrims. Another theological interpretation by historian David A. Brading pushes her existence forward through a proposition he associates with the Orthodox Church in that the image is equivalent to the gospel. He states: "Like the great, primordial icons of the Orthodox Church, the Guadalupe was thus the inspired work of the Holy Spirit, and so powerful was that inspiration that for three centuries Mexican painters sedulously reproduced the image, not daring to modify even the slightest detail of its figure, their originality confined to the margins and corners of the canvas."[97] While uncovering the truth (or many truths) surrounding Our Lady of Guadalupe's existence has been the source of a lot of studies and fervent opinions, it is not the intended goal of this project to add to this conversation in particular. I do not seek to prove or

[94] See, for instance, Stafford Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe : The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995); Leoncio A. Garza-Valdes, *Tepeyac : Cinco Siglos De Engaño* (México, D.F.: Plaza & Janés, 2002); David A. Brading, *Mexican Phoenix : Our Lady of Guadalupe : Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[95] Poole, *Our Lady of Guadalupe : The Origins and Sources of a Mexican National Symbol, 1531-1797*, 1.
[96] Virgilio P. Elizondo, *Guadalupe, Mother of the New Creation* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1997), 3.
[97] Brading, *Mexican Phoenix : Our Lady of Guadalupe : Image and Tradition across Five Centuries*, 362.

disprove whether or not Our Lady of Guadalupe's story is historically sound, but instead to understand how her story figures into the preservation of La Plaza's fiesta.

Religious fiestas in Mexico are a legacy from Europe which were introduced to the region in the sixteenth century by way of Spanish colonization. According to historian Ángel López Cantos, in Spanish America, fiestas were major events celebrated to uphold the highly stratified order that had existed in Spain. The exuberant pleasures generated from fiestas kept the rich at the center of social life and peasant populations benefited, if only temporarily, from the alleviation of their miserable conditions.[98] La Plaza's fiesta in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe is also linked to this distant transatlantic history yet there is no local institution dedicated to preserving records about it. It would be naive to believe that because there is no formal assemblage of records available to chart the fiesta's provenance in La Plaza, the feast is not preserved by other means. But how is this cultural tradition preserved? Is it through the song and dance performed by her pilgrims to honor Our Lady of Guadalupe as Virgil Elizondo alludes to in the opening quotation? This research project explores the social practices surrounding the preservation of the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe in La Plaza.

4.1 *MESTIZAJE* AND OUR LADY OF GUADALUPE

In the 1530s, when the term *mestizo* was first adopted in "New Spain," it designated a status of illegitimacy in the Spanish caste system, representing people who were of indigenous and Spanish ancestry. As such, the caste system was a way to create linkages through symbolic

[98] Angel López Cantos, *Juegos, fiestas y diversiones en la América española*, Colección Relaciones entre España y América, 10 (Madrid: Editorial MAPFRE, 1992), 19.

kinship.[99] One manner in which kinship was imagined was through caste paintings representing the various biological fusions of different races and ethnicities. For instance, if a Spanish man and an indigenous woman reproduced they would give birth to what was classified as a *mestizo* (mixed race person). Some castes went as far as classifying the offspring of mixed couples by way of biological temporalities; for instance, the child of a Spaniard and albino[100] woman would result in a racial mix identified as "return backwards," or as returning back to their African heritage (Figure 4).

[99] María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions : Limpieza De Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2008), 32.
[100] An albino was said to have African and Spanish ancestry.

Figure 4 Juan Patricio Morlete Ruiz, IX. From Spaniard and Albino, Return Backwards (De español y albina, torna atrás), circa 1760. Oil on canvas Framed: 41 5/16 x 49 5/8 x 1 1/2 in. (104.9 x 125.98 x 3.81 cm); Unframed: 39 1/4 x 47 1/2 in., Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Image courtesy of www.lacma.org

By the twentieth century the category *mestizo* was reclaimed and became a vehicle for re-building Mexico's national identity in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution. Mexican philosopher José Vasconcelos coined the term *raza cósmica* (cosmic race) in 1925 to render a fortified and spiritual identity for *mestizos.* During this same period the eugenics movement was successfully promoting racism against Mexicans who were considered inferior people for their hybrid racial and ethnic lineages. Even though the biological bloodlines of Mexicans does not constitute a race, the term *raza cósmica* was conceived as a way to legitimize the identity of

mestizos whose numbers had grown to become the nation's dominant and mainstream identity. It should be noted that even though people of Asian and African heritage were included in the idea of *mestizaje,* these groups were assimilated into the idea of the cosmic race whereas the two popularly exalted Spanish and indigenous bloodlines were featured as normative. To this day, the Spanish and indigenous heritages continue to exemplify the essence of *mestizaje*.

The status of *mestizos* from illegitimate to legitimate has through the centuries changed and will certainly continue to do so. Currently, however, *mestizo* remains the dominant identity of the people of Mexico. More recently, the term "hybridity" has been used by anthropologist Néstor García Canclini to expand the classic notions of *mestizaje* and syncretism in Mexico with traditional, modern, educated, popular, and mass phenomena in Mexico.[101] The importance of *mestizaje* in La Plaza is that the fiesta in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe is organized by a population of *mestizos* who through their devotion symbolically reify a national Mexican identity.[102]

Anthropologist Eric R. Wolf states that *mestizos* were a marginal population in the seventeenth century, a time frame that saw both the rise of the hacienda system and cult of Guadalupe.[103] Others claim the cult of Guadalupe began in the latter half of the eighteenth century with the "concerted efforts by curates in rural Indian parishes of central Mexico to establish or increase popular veneration of the image of the Mexican Guadalupe appear."[104]

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[101] Néstor García Canclini, "Hybrid Cultures and Communicative Strategies,"(2005), http://archive.waccglobal.org/wacc/content/pdf/1359.

[102] In an article published in 2010, Jesus Gil Mendez found that three people he interviewed from La Plaza spoke an indigenous language (his sample consisted of forty interviews and sixty-five returned surveys from two different localities, one of which was La Plaza). Jesús Gil Méndez, "Actividad agrícola y migración internacional en localidades rurales del valle de Ixtlán, Michoacán," *Análisis del medio rural latinoamericano* (2010): 34.

[103] Wolf, "The Virgin of Guadalupe : A Mexican National Symbol," 35.

[104] William B. Taylor, "The Virgin of Guadalupe in New Spain : an Inquiry into the Social History of Marian Devotion," *American Ethnologist* 14, no. 1 (1987): 14.

Prior to this Our Lady of Guadalupe was to fulfill the special interests of the *criollo*, or creole caste's devotion and not of marginalized indigenous groups as is often believed.

Today, in the popular imaginary of Mexico, however, Our Lady of Guadalupe's image has been memorialized in Mexico through significant events such as the Mexican War of Independence from Spanish colonial rule in 1810. The famous Catholic cleric named Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla led his followers toward independence with the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe on their battle flags and his famous cry "Long live religion! Long live our most holy Mother of Guadalupe! Long live Ferdinand VII! Long live America and death to bad government!"[105] A cry that *mestizos* and indigenous groups who were a part of the insurrection are said to have modified into: "Long live Guadalupe and death to the *gachupínes* (Spanish colonial settlers)."[106] Needless to say Hidalgo y Costilla was excommunicated by the Catholic Church and later killed by the Spanish colonial government. Our Lady of Guadalupe was also present on the banners carried by the peasant followers of Emiliano Zapata, a hero of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. It is said that upon the victory of the Revolution, the peasants holding flags with her image visited Mount Tepeyac in Mexico City to honor her on the hillside.[107] Another war in which Our Lady of Guadalupe's image was popularized was during the *Cristero* war, which ensued between the Mexican State and Catholic Church from 1926-1929. The power struggles between the Church and State after the Mexican Revolution led to this bloody civil war, which primarily took place in Western Mexico including the state of Michoacán. As such the story of Our Lady of Guadalupe also abounds in war chronicles and in the popular imaginary of Mexicans.

[105] Brading, *Mexican Phoenix : Our Lady of Guadalupe : Image and Tradition across Five Centuries*, 228.
[106] Ibid., 228.
[107] Ibid., 313.

Our Lady of Guadalupe's image has gained new significations from having first miraculously appeared on Juan Diego's *tilma* to allowing *criollos* to identify with their own Marian figure in New Spain to being propagated in the rural indigenous countryside and becoming a symbol invoked in popular struggles by marginalized groups among many others. Yet as remarkable of a symbol as she is for the national identity of Mexicans and Catholics, Our Lady of Guadalupe's story remains *informally* evidenced through oral history accounts. Even though the Roman Catholic Church accepted her miracle based on secondary sources it still lacks the proper primary records that would validate it as historical truth, and as a result, remains an informal record in the history of Mexico.

The evidence that perpetuates her existence is the devotion of her pilgrims whether it is through the telling of stories about her interventions in their lives, the materiality and conversation she affords as a symbol, or by honoring her through simple prayer or lavish celebrations. That is the living evidence of her past; in other words, people's devotion, their testifying, and communal remembering are the components of the *informal records* that surround Our Lady of Guadalupe's miracle story and its preservation. As such, the continuity of the fiesta in La Plaza stems from 1.) a *living identity*, or the life that binds people together based on cultural identity; 2.) *memory infrastructures*, or shared patterns and experiences recollected in the memory of individuals, such as the memorialization of Our Lady of Guadalupe's miracle within Mexican society along with the more personal memories retained by community members about the fiesta, 3.) *devotional labor*, or the community's commitment to enacting devotional activities for Our Lady of Guadalupe and 3.) *material production*, or the materiality that emerges from the activities that relate to the event and are produced as a result of the fiesta.

4.1.1 Setting the Scene

Legend (clockwise from top left):

1. Mexico
   with the state of Michoacán emphasized
2. The state of Michoacán
   with the municipality Ixtlán de los Hervores emphasized
3. The muncipality of Ixtlán de los Hervores
   with the rancho of La Plaza del Limón emphasized

Figure 5 Locality of La Plaza del Limón, the municipality of Ixtlán de los Hervores, and the state of Michoacán, Mexico. Adapted from INEGI and http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Michoaccán_en_México.svg.

La Plaza is located in the state of Michoacán with a community of approximately 1,905 people living in conditions the Mexican Secretaria de Desarrollo Social (Department of Social Development, SEDESOL) has categorized as highly "marginalized"[108] or impoverished even as

[108] This figure is based on the 2010 Mexican census conducted by the Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía (The National Institute of Statistics and Geography). Indicators of marginalization are based on the Mexican Consejo Nacional de Población (National Council of Population) and include access to electricity, refrigerators, running water, toilets, occupancy of persons per bedroom, whether or not a home has a dirt floor, and finally, levels

the land the community inhabits is incredibly rich and fertile. The rancho sits on the foothills of a valley along the Ciénega de Chapala (Chapala Marshes) surrounding the Lago de Chapala, the largest natural freshwater lake in Mexico that over the last century has been tamed and drained of its water supply to allow humans to subsist in the region.

In 2010, approximately fourteen percent of the population in La Plaza above the age of fifteen were illiterate and almost fifty percent had not completed primary school.[109] This is one indication as to why a culture of collecting and preserving documentation concerning Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta in La Plaza does not yet dominate the preoccupations of locals involved with this celebration. Instead the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe *is* the record and source of their spiritual life. Celebrating the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe is an opportunity and outlet for the community to display their devotion especially as she is said to mediate requests to her son, Jesus Christ. As two of the fiesta's organizers said to me when I asked why they were inclined to organize the fiesta and what it meant to them:

> Benjamin Castañeda Rodriguez: "To give thanks to the Virgin for what we receive."
>
> Joaquin Ruiz Vega: …for the things we receive each year."
>
> Benjamin Castañeda Rodriguez: "Yes, that's the first [reason], though we always thank God, and make requests. Many do it out of faith. The day Joaquin [townsperson] was not able to give us money, he gave us corn. His daughter said to him, 'Give them more [corn] Dad, the Virgin helps you.'"

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of literacy and primary education. Secretaría de Desarrollo Social de México, "Catálogo de localidades," http://www.microrregiones.gob.mx/catloc/contenido.aspx?refnac=160420006, accessed January 12, 2012.

[109] These figures break down as follow: out of a total of 1,905 people above the age of fifteen 14.04% are illiterate and 49.03% did not finish primary school. Another indicator that scored high was the number of people without refrigerators at 15.62% ibid.

The fiesta, then, is a special time to request favors, and perhaps even miracles.

4.1.2 Living Identity

The term *living identity* is used to refer to the ongoing life that binds people together by way of a cultural identity.[110] The manifestation of this life may occur in various ways, through the body via social practices, the enactment of rituals, by way of memory, or tangible records. The word *living* also denotes that in spite of the rancho's history in being marginalized, their identity as a community lives on and the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe is an opportunity for them to celebrate life in her name. Moreover, the performative aspect of the fiesta is "a *carrying through*, actualizing, making something happen (italics in original)"[111] continuously as the semantic structure of a record always in a state of becoming. Additionally, there is a connection between the lived experience of those celebrating the fiesta and the concept of the "living archive" used metaphorically by scholars. For instance, Eric Ketelaar uses Bastian's concept of a "community of records" to discuss the possibilities of how in the former Yugoslavia, the territory's contested records may actually become an archive that *lives* by way of a community of individuals who share a troubled history because of the former country's dissolution.[112] The process by which this "living archive" takes shape is based on the shared history of different

[110] Cultural theorist Stuart Hall describe two different ways of thinking about cultural identity: "…in terms of one shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self,' hiding inside the many other, more superficial or artificially imposed 'selves,' which people with a shared history hold in common" and as "a matter of 'becoming' as well as of 'being.' It belongs to the future as much as to the past…Far from being eternally fixed in some essentialised past, they [cultural identities] are subject to the continuous 'play' of history, culture and power." Stuart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory : A Reader*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 393,95.

[111] Diana Taylor, "Performing Gender : Las Madres De La Plaza De Mayo," in *Negotiating Performance : Gender, Sexuality, and Theatricality in Latin/o America*, ed. Diana Villegas Morales Juan Taylor (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 276.

[112] Eric Ketlaar, "A Living Archive," in *Community Archives : The Shaping of Memory*, ed. Jeannette Allis Bastian and Ben Alexander (London: Facet, 2009), 121.

communities who have to acknowledge each other through tense encounters concerning their violent history; thus, rendering the archive as continuously challenged, expanded, and therefore, *alive*.

A living archive, then, may also be used rhetorically as a way to frame the perspectives of communities with competing ideas or experiences with archives than has been previously acknowledge in the literature. I do not frame a living archive, or use living identity rhetorically; it is used to represent the actual living identity of La Plaza. In a more abstract manner it can be understood as a concept to describe how a cultural community lives on to tell, interpret, and share their past. Moreover, the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe in La Plaza is one way the community shares its past through a physical and spiritual enactment, which could be argued, constitutes a part of their history accessed through a ritual and enacted through performance.

For the members of La Plaza who live in the U.S., their Mexican identity is retained through their ongoing communal bonds with the people living in the rancho. The fiesta is one such mechanism through which these bonds are preserved. Added to this is the endurance of Catholicism's practice in the U.S. In 2006, sixty-eight percent of the Hispanic population in the U.S. were Catholic.[113] These communal bonds, moreover, are maintained through acts of devotion and communication with family as well as by creating and keeping records of it. The maintenance of these cultural bonds, moreover, are a testament of the diaspora's desire to not let go of their cultural traditions even as they are bombarded with new cultures and ways of life in the U.S. For immigrants, there is a greater chance to sustain such connections than for the following generation. La Plaza's U.S. community's dislocation from their traditional society

[113] Pew Hispanic Center Pew Research Center, Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, "Changing Faiths Latinos and the Transformation of American Religion," The Pew Hispanic Center : Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life, http://pewforum.org/surveys/hispanic/.

makes the memory of their homeland more desirable especially when faced with racism and marginalization in the U.S. Under these conditions, some members of La Plaza will turn to Our Lady of Guadalupe for spiritual assistance whether they are struggling locally or abroad in the U.S. The offering of a visit to Mount Tepeyac is not an unlikely act of devotion by Our Lady of Guadalupe's pilgrims.

Some might argue that the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe is part of a larger "invented tradition." Or rather, that the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe would fall under "Traditions which appear or claim to be old and often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented….Invented tradition' [means] a set of practices,…of a ritual or symbolic nature which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviours by repetition which automatically implies continuity with a suitable historical past."[114] Certainly the lack of historical evidence supporting the apparition of Our Lady of Guadalupe, including the existence of Juan Diego would categorize this narrative as an "invented tradition." As noted earlier, there are numerous studies that posit how Our Lady of Guadalupe's story stems from early Spanish friars seeking to convert indigenous populations to Christianity through the creation of a divine figure that would be visually representative of their heritage. Further, when Pope John Paul II canonized Juan Diego into sainthood in 2002 he stated: "The Guadalupe Event", as the Mexican Episcopate has pointed out, 'meant the beginning of evangelization with a vitality that surpassed all expectations. Christ's message, through his Mother, took up the central elements of the indigenous culture, purified them and gave them the definitive sense of salvation' (14 May 2002, No. 8). Consequently Guadalupe and Juan Diego have a deep ecclesial and missionary meaning

[114] Stuart Hall, David Held, and Anthony G. McGrew, *Modernity and its Futures* (Cambridge: Polity Press in association with the Open University, 1992), 614.

and are a model of perfectly inculturated evangelization."[115] Yet the inculturated evangelization Pope John Paul II refers to is represented by the flexibility of religious practice in Catholicism in Mexico and increasingly, in the U.S. For instance, the approach to Our Lady of Guadalupe's celebration is not limited to being celebrated on her official feast day: December 12. La Plaza celebrates her fiesta in late January and is not alone in this respect as there are other communities that celebrate her during other times of the year. Introducing such flexibility in the celebration of Our Lady of Guadalupe's novena makes it possible for the community of La Plaza, as well as others in Mexico, to honor her during different times of the year. Furthermore, the repetition and constant invocation of her feast helps maintain the continuity of her story as a popular religious practice.

At the same time, the violent imposition of one culture upon another demonstrates that such inculturated evangelization has also caused people to undergo cultural amnesia by forgetting and suppressing indigenous traditions through colonization. To say traditions are merely "invented" displaces the violence and menacing behavior that would have taken place in fabricating such traditions in the first place. The term "invented tradition" also does not take into account the identity of the community of La Plaza that stems from the local environment. Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta is one major moment in the year when the community of La Plaza demonstrates their gratitude to Our Lady of Guadalupe through the re-enactment of their ordinary lives into an extraordinary celebration in her honor.

The nine days celebrated during the novena are representative of the local workforce, including construction workers, farmers, and mercantile vendors along with other groups that

[115] The Vatican, "Canonization of Juan Diego Cuauhtlatoatzin, Homily of the Holy Father John Paul II " accessed, August 01 2013, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/john_paul_ii/homilies/2002/documents/hf_jp-ii_hom_20020731_canonization-mexico_en.html.

focus on gender, age, and geographical status, such as women, youth, men and the town's *Hijos ausentes* or "absent children" made up of community members in the U.S. These groups each hold special knowledge that is significant in the local community; for instance, farmers continue to develop agricultural skills to grow food for regional markets, international export, and locally at home for their families. This community's identity, moreover, is supported by and depends upon other life forms such as those that are part of the natural environment. The identities of these subcultures or "micro populations" representing the fiesta's internal organization are a reflection of the town's social hierarchies and reveals which groups have power or cachet in the community. They demonstrate whom and what populations' dominate and are popular whether based on their size, employment, social status, or because they simply desire to viewed as valuable players in the rancho's religious celebration. At the same time, these populations also reveal the limits of the town's social norms as well as the employment and educational opportunities they have in the rancho, which ultimately perpetuates their economic marginalization.

4.1.3 Memory Infrastructures

When speaking to elders from La Plaza about Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta, I found myself listening to a myriad of personal tangential reminiscences so often, that I had to politely redirect them back to the topic of inquiry. Their comments led to domains that encompassed gender, identity, and socio-economic status, all of which were quite interesting, but that at the time appeared to skirt around my questions. The moment I decided to stop re-directing the conversations and began to follow these tangential memories more closely, I encountered a series

of shared patterns and experiences I refer to as *memory infrastructures*. In this section, I explore the history of fiestas in colonial Mexico, the history of the land surrounding La Plaza and its legal owners, and elders' memories of priests as markers of time periods that attempt to date Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta in La Plaza; and the collective memory of the *Cristero* war, a Church-government violent struggle for power in the 1930's. What follows is the unexpected journey I took through the nooks and crannies of the memory infrastructures of seven peoples' lived experiences born between the late 1910s and the mid-1940s with trades stratified into two camps—farmworkers and homemakers. They are Juan Ochoa Henares and Alejandro Prado Fernandez, former farmworkers, and Maritza Díaz Vargas, a homemaker, who recalled the *rancho*'s past poverty in an *hacienda* estate; Ramiro Vargas López, a farmer, who along with Maritza related their poverty to food; Rosa Ayala Méndez, a homemaker, whose personal poverty limited her participation in the *fiesta;* Mathilde Miramonte Pérez, another homemaker, who along with Juan remembered the history of the fiesta in relation to the Church and its priests; and Ramón Rodríguez Barrera, a farmer who recalls his relationship with the hacienda and his hard labor in the surrounding farm fields.

4.1.3.1 Where Memory and History are Hard to Pin Down

The fiesta as a memory was difficult to pinpoint in my conversation with most of the elders I interviewed because was said to not have been celebrated every year. The fiesta used to be celebrated every two or three years, and sometimes it did not last the complete nine days as it does now. Additionally, a permanent priest did not reside in La Plaza until sometime between the late 1930s and 1940s, and without a spiritual leader, the custom's ongoing practice would

inevitably be affected. There is a long-standing tradition in Mexico for priests to initiate and guide religious activities such as fiestas in order to arouse and ferment popular faith.

During Mexico's colonization in the 1500s Franciscan and Augustinian monks arrived in Michoacán immediately following the conquistadores with their own fervid interest in conquering the spirituality and religious faith of the original inhabitants. After the violence brought about by the conquistador Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán in Michoacán these orders began,

> "an utmost intense catechization, daily or weekly, helping their intelligence at times with pictures or paintings, and their memory with song. Then came the gradual introduction of sacraments and worship, that are assured be they fiestas … with precious ornaments and sumptuous music, and when possible in large, imposing temples … The orders achieved the sincere (and very fast) Christianization of the Indians, manifested by their surrender of secret idolatry which they still conducted, and in their adaptation, albeit difficult, to monogamy as required by Christianity.[116]

Fiestas were a method used by early Catholic religious orders to convert the original inhabitants of the Americas to Christianity. The success of their method is evidenced by the "fiesta de Judas" in the nearby municipality of Pajacuarán, approximately 18 kilometers west of La Plaza. In 1800, this religious feast was brought to the pueblo by the priest Secundino Bautista who upon arriving to the parish found that the indigenous peoples were still stuck in their old ways with polytheism (e.g. dances in honor of their gods).[117] He figured that by melding the Catholic tradition with the locals' customs he would be able to shepherd them toward the Church's

[116] Luis González y González, *Zamora* (Zamora, Mich.: El Colegio de Michoacán, 2009), 36.
[117] Héctor Múgica, "Judas, reviven fe en Pajacuarán," *La Voz de Michoacán*(2013), http://www.vozdemichoacan.com.mx/judas-reviven-fe-en-pajacuaran/.

teachings. He did this through the materiality afforded to them by their traditional vestments, for instance the priest's robe and bonnet in combination with locally made masks and huarache sandals. Together these articles formed the costume of "Judas."[118] At times, the locals dressed up as Judas would appear at night and frighten people to inspire them to go to church and participate in its fiestas (e.g. giving money, offering goods, etc.). Thus, the committed presence and creativity of priests to animate the locals by, in this case, using hybrid traditions has helped arouse and impose the Christian doctrine upon the native populations. As such, fiestas are techniques that have developed over time in localities such as La Plaza for purposes of religious conversion and the strengthening of the Catholic faith by means of a symbolic, cross-cultural, and, for some populations, a spiritually violent exchange that has enforced forgetfulness of their pasts.

Another reason why the fiesta was not at the forefront of the elders' memories, was that their physical conditions no longer allowed them to participate and fully celebrate in the community during this period of great fervor. For instance, Roberto Robles Aguayo was 93 years old (in 2011) and too frail to attend the fiesta. If he wished to attend, he would need to be taken in a wheel chair, by his daughter who is his primary caregiver or perhaps other relatives willing to take him out to the event. Given Roberto's age he no longer socializes actively with people outside of his family unless they visit him. Although not as frail, Mathilde Miramonte Pérez, 87, faces a similar conundrum. When I asked her if she still attended the fiesta she simply stated "when they [her children] take me." In spite of not being able to attend, Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta continues to be alive in Roberto's and Mathilde's lives as their children,

[118] The word Judas is a reference to Judas Iscariot, the apostle who betrayed Jesus Christ.

grandchildren, and relatives return from abroad or other parts of Mexico to visit them, if nothing else in the private quarters of their homes.

Initially, I believed the elders' evasion of my questions about the fiesta was mostly interesting because I was gaining context. Their derailing of the conversations at the very least, I thought, provided me with useful historical information. I came to realize that the memory lapses and leaps they made from the fiesta to stories about their lives were actually a branching out of their memory *in* developmental *situ*. Their topic tangents guided them through the terrain I was asking them to return to, and as such they revisited their past by relating some of the major moments they experienced in their lives in relation to the fiesta. I encountered a framework of their memories that I call *infrastructures* because they have a structure that needs to be meticulously unearthed from the location in which they have been buried. The depth of these memory infrastructures may also be externalized. In one instance, I became so enthralled with Mathilde's unknown birthdate as a result of the *Cristero* war that it led me in search of its external and concrete manifestation. It was a baffling find—an archive. The elder's memory had been magically transformed, as if purposely contrived for me to witness in documentary form. Indeed, records have a long history of *acting* as evidence of human transactions.

4.1.3.2 The Perimeters of the Fiesta

In the 1800s, La Plaza was a part of the Dávalos Jasso family hacienda known as San Simón.[119] Although by no means homogenous, haciendas have been defined as having similar attributes in their design as large private estates with permanent buildings and facilities dedicated to economic activities including agriculture, livestock, manufacturing, and extractive processes

[119] Martin Sánchez Rodríguez, "Los Dávalos, una familia oligárquica del bajio zamorano," in *Estudios Michoacanos VII*, ed. Francisco Javier Meyer Cosío (Zamora, Mich: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1997), 99.

(e.g. mining); they also had a complex administrative structure and maintained autonomous jurisdictional authority as well as debt peonage to carry out their operations.[120] Even though the people I spoke to in La Plaza were not old enough to remember the rancho as being a part of the San Simón hacienda, many remembered the Dávalos Jasso's presence as the *hacendados* (owners of the hacienda). Specifically, they remembered a couple of brothers by the name of Arcadio and Miguel Dávalos. Had La Plaza been a part of the San Simon hacienda?

One day while passing through the pueblo of San Simón, located about nine kilometers southeast of La Plaza by vehicle, I stopped to take a look at the pueblo's newly renovated public plaza as well as the hacienda's structural remnants across from the plaza and adjacent to the Catholic Church (Figure 6). The sharing of the space between the sacred grounds of the Catholic Church and open public space of the pueblo's plaza is typical of Mexican architecture and can be found in the neighboring ranchos, including La Plaza. These spaces remain visible signs of the ideological power and control, each harnessed in maintaining order in the social life of its inhabitants whether exercised by the Catholic Church, local government, or the administrators of the hacienda. In San Simón, these sites are all conveniently accessible from the main road that traverses the pueblo. San Simón's plaza restoration project came about through the Mexican government's "Programa 3X1 para Migrantes" (Three for One for Migrants Program). The program's aim is to socially impact Mexican communities by leveraging the economic capital of Mexican migrants in the U.S. by combining it with federal and state monies. The title of the program aims to give the impression that Mexican communities are getting a "deal" when their migrant community members contribute toward social projects as there are three additional

[120] Heriberto Moreno García, *Haciendas de tierra y agua en la antigua Cienaga de Chapala* (Zamora, Mich: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1989), 14.

streams of money all for the price of one. The first stream originates from the Mexican community members living in the U.S. who collectively raise large sums of money to help build the infrastructure of the hometowns they left behind, implying that the Mexican government has apparently been unable to do on its own. In San Simón's case, $175,000 pesos (approximately $15,000 U.S. dollars)[121] were contributed by community members residing in the U.S. With this generous contribution three additional sums of $175,000 pesos were matched by the federal government and the local state and municipal governments. Thus, a total sum of $700,000 pesos was allocated toward San Simón's public plaza renovation.

Figure 6 Restoration of the San Simón hacienda that is now a part of the town's public plaza. Photo by Janet Ceja.

[121] These figures are from the exchange rate in July of 2011 when I visited San Simón. The conversion rate is likely to have been different on the day the money was gifted. Hereinafter all the monetary conversions made from Mexican pesos to U.S. dollars are from the year 2011.

Below a sign advertising the collaborative bilateral renovation project a few men at the edge of the plaza gave the appearance of having a *tertulia* (social gathering) in the early afternoon. After walking around to admire the renovation, I decided to approach them and ask if the Dávalos surname sounded familiar. They replied affirmatively and immediately identified a relationship with the hacendados of San Simón. When I pried further about the size of the hacienda they told me that La Plaza and the neighboring rancho of El Limón *had* been a part of the San Simón hacienda. Since "la plaza" means "the center square" it is likely that what presently encompasses the town of La Plaza was at the center of the land territory known as rancho El Limón on the vast San Simón hacienda. There is a good reason to believe that La Plaza was of importance within the San Simón hacienda because there remains an old building known as *la tienda grande* (the big store). This store is where the Dávalos Jasso paid workers for their labor, charged them for renting their lands, and where they sold them various products and provided them with credit lines as they were not compensated enough to live off of their wages. By granting credit, the *patrones* (bosses) kept the workers entrenched in the local economy and labor force. Workers from many of the surrounding rancho communities known today as San Simón, Camucuato, El Valenciano, El Limón, and El Llano also received their employment wages at *la tienda grande* in La Plaza.[122] The term commonly used to refer to such stores within haciendas is "tienda de raya" (company store, literally "line store") because most of the workers were illiterate and had to mark a line (*raya*) beside their names on the store's credit registrar. A farmworker's *corrido,* or ballad called "El Barzón" (see Appendix 2) embodied the

[122] Rosa Elena López Hernández, "Informe narrativo y numerico UMR Plaza de Limon," (IMSS-SOLIDARIDAD PASANTE DE MEDICINA, 1996), 5.

state of the workers' lifestyles according to Isaac Gallegos a resident of the pueblo of San Simón: "the month of June would arrive and the boss would call on us to go over accounts: 'This much for housing, this much from the store, this much for the yoke,' and, well, they would end up saying, 'Gee, you don't have enough [money] for anything, but luckily you don't owe anything.'" With that [the latter] we would settle."[123]

Se me reventó el barzón	The ring of the yoke broke
Y sigue la yunta andando.	and the oxen keep going.
Cuando acabé de pizcar	After I finished picking the crop,
vino el rico y lo partió.	the rich man came and divided it,
todo mi maíz se llevó,	all my corn he took,
nipa' comer me dejó,	didn't leave me anything to eat,
me presenta aquí la cuenta:	he presents to me the bill: [from the company store]
-Aquí debes veinte pesos	-Here you owe twenty pesos
de la renta de unos bueyes,	for the rent of some oxen,
cinco pesos de magueyes,	five pesos for magueyes
una anega, tres cuartillas de frijol	one fangea, three-quarters of beans
que te prestamos,	that we loaned you
una anega, tres cuartillas	one fanega, three-quarters
de maíz que te habitamos,	of the corn that we rationed you.[124]

[123] See footnote 21. Miguel Jesús Hernández Madrid, *La comunidad autoritaria :eEstudio de las estrategias de vida en un ejido ee Ixtland de los Hervores, Michoacán* (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1990), 75.
[124] Select lyrics of "El Barzón." The lyrics' translation into English was modified from the version used in Mark A. Hernández, "Remaking the Corrido for the 1990s : Maldita Vecindad's 'El Barzón'," *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture* 20: 112.

One of La Plaza's first public school teachers, Jesús Ruíz Aguilar, commented that under the Dávalos Jasso family, La Plaza had been an important shopping center in the area. It carried a variety of products for sale including: lengths of cashmere, Dutch linen, percales of various colors, Chinese cups without handles, cigars and matches, and many other items.[125] Items were sold at specific stands called "plazas" (plaza also means job post in Spanish). According to Jesús, this is how the town got its name of La Plaza; and since rancho El Limón was older, and therefore better known than La Plaza, it was easier to direct people to *la tienda grande* by noting that it was in the vicinity of rancho El Limón.[126] Additionally, in the midst of *la tienda grande* one would also find livestock on the streets as at the time La Plaza was said to be constituted of corrals and a granary for seed storage.[127] This custom of finding livestock on the town streets did not cease until the 1970s.

The term "rancho" has been used to refer to provisional accommodations, appropriated plots of land for farming, the rustic and rural countryside, as housing located along the parameters of haciendas, the integration and disintegration of land in large *latifundios* (an estate with more than one hacienda and/or other landholdings), as well as localities that have small

[125] Besides López Hernández, Manuel Salvador González Villa also notes that lengths of cashmere, Dutch linen, percales of various colors, Chinese cups without handles, cigars and matches, as well as tailored or custom fit clothes were available in the San Simón *hacienda* (his citation is an archival document from 1894). González Villa does not specify the location as "La Plaza." López Hernández, "Informe narrativo y numerico UMR Plaza de Limon," 5; Manuel Salvador González Villa, "Ixtlán: hacienda y municipio en siglo xix," *Estudios Michoacanos* 1(1996): 59.

[126] According to a local named Ramón Rodríguez Barrera, La Plaza used to be a part of El Limón, which was at the head of the rancho thus indicating that the area known today as La Plaza would have been within rancho El Limón. Another comment concerning the name of La Plaza is documented by Rosa Elena López Hernández, who indicated that in 1899, the territory La Plaza currently populates was referred to as "FINCA." In Spanish, finca can mean, estate, country home, farm, and more broadly property thus indicating that this property was not yet formally called La Plaza. María Antonieta Delgado Tijerina, "Valgo por la tierra. Procesos agrarios y cultura campesina en una zona de la Cíenega de Chapala, Michoacán" (Tesis de Maestría en Antropología Social, El Colegio de Michoacán, 2001), 64; López Hernández, "Informe narrativo y numerico UMR Plaza de Limon," 5.

[127] López Hernández, "Informe narrativo y Numerico UMR Plaza de Limon," 5.

populations.[128] There is no doubt that La Plaza has fit into more than one of these categories at different points in its history, but the oral testimonies gathered from the locals begins with the last generation of the Dávalos Jasso's family ownership of La Plaza in the late nineteenth century. Previous to this lineage, however, two other powerful families commanded the territory La Plaza presently occupies.

Originally inhabited by the nomadic Chichimeca and Purépecha empire, the region was first colonized by Hernán Cortes and later Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, in the 1520s. Friar Pablo Beaumont from Madrid, Spain, arrived with Beltrán de Guzmán to Ixtlán, which became an hacienda with a powerful parish installed in it and that oversaw the religious health of the inhabitants of the San Simón hacienda as well as many others in the area. By the 1600s, the Salceda Andrade family had controlled San Simón and other surrounding haciendas.[129] The Salceda first arrived in Mexico from Spain in the late 1500s and settled in Valladolid, present-day Morelia (the capital of the state of Michoacán). Under the Salceda Andrade family San Simón was tended to by foremen who administered the labor of peasants. The owners of the hacienda, thus, were not permanent residents of San Simón but developed it for their economic investment by hiring others to do the labor.

Just over a century later, in the early 1700s, the Villar Villamil family from Mexico City purchased the Salceda Andrade family's *latifundio* consisting of eight haciendas that surrounded the Ciénega de Chapala: Buenavista, San Simón and San Nicolás, Sindio and San Antonio, El

[128] Esteban Barragán López, *Con un pie en el estribo : formación y deslizamientos de las sociedades rancheras en la construcción del México moderno* (Zamora, Mich.: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1997), 36.
[129] This and the following information has been gleaned from Moreno García, *Haciendas de tierra y agua en la antigua Cienaga de Chapala*, 120.

Platanal, Guaracha, La Palma, Cojumatlan, and El Monte.[130] After three generations of control, in the mid-1700s, the Villar Villamil family began to partition their huge estate among family members.[131] The story was to repeat itself with the next owners, the Dávalos Jasso family.

San Simón was acquired by Francisco Victorino Jasso Dávalos in 1790 when he purchased the hacienda Guaracha approximately 200 kilometers southeast of La Plaza; at the time, this estate extended to the San Simón hacienda and beyond.[132] Guaracha, however, was also partitioned before San Simón was eventually bequeathed to the three grandchildren, brothers Arcadio, Nicolás, and Francisco Dávalos Jasso, in 1853, when they were merely children. Prior to the brothers' ownership San Simón had been the property of their elder half-brother, a clergyman and bishop, who willed it to them upon his death in 1843. When Arcadio, Nicolás, and Francisco came of age, they took joint control of the hacienda. Arcadio, the eldest brother, was in charge of administering the hacienda's external relations whether it concerned leases or other contracts with workers. Nicolás was a lawyer and led the hacienda's legal representation. Francisco was in charge of the in-house production activities within the hacienda. Upon the death of Arcadio in 1893 and Nicolás in 1894, San Simón's status as hacienda reached its final era. It was not until 1897 that the heirs divided and took their inheritance.

Of the three brothers' surviving families, Arcadio's sought to keep La Plaza intact. The others sold off their shares of the land, and as a result further disintegrated the once large hacienda of San Simón. Arcadio's side of the family inherited La Plaza. His heirs included

[130] Along with these eight haciendas there were two others as well as additional landholdings in a different region of Michoacán. Ibid., 18.
[131] Ibid., 222-23.
[132] Until 1897 the San Simón hacienda consisted of the ranchos: El Limón, La Plaza, El Valenciano, La Higuera, La Mula and fractions of La Mulita, Cuesta Colorado, Cuestita, El Rincón del Mezquite, San Nicolás Colongo, Chiquirinda y La Canada. The potreros (paddocks) of San Pedro, La Cantera, La Chorrera, La Raya, Cebada, Pueblo Viejo, La Huizachera del Pueblo Viejo, el Comalito, El Guaco, La Mesa, Las Presas and the lands known as the Meseña, el Meseño, el Gangreno, Los Corrales, and el Charco. Sánchez Rodríguez, "Los Dávalos, una familia oligárquica del bajio Zamorano," 99.

fourteen children from two wives; half were acquired through his second marriage and not of his own blood. Arcadio's sons, José María, Miguel, and Arcadio Jr., took control of La Plaza and continued to use it for farming and raising livestock for their livelihood and economic profit. This is the generation of the Dávalos Jasso family that the people of La Plaza still remember as the *patrones* (bosses).

4.1.3.3 The Hacienda's Transformation

Juan Ochoa Henares, 83, never worked for the Dávalos Jasso, but remembered Miguel and especially Arcadio Jr., who he referred to by the nick name of "el huesito" (the little bone). Juan remembered Arcadio Jr. on walks near *la tienda grande*, what he referred to as the "hacienda" emphasizing the ownership of La Plaza during a period when it ceased to be the San Simón hacienda belonging to Arcadio, Nicolas, and Francisco at the end of the 19th century. During the sowing and harvesting seasons, Arcadio Jr. and Miguel lived within the quarters in which *la tienda grande* still stands. The property was much larger then and encompassed the area northwest of the current structure. Their second residence was in the major city of Zamora approximately thirty-five to forty kilometers southeast of La Plaza.[133] According to Juan, the *patrones* paid the workers approximately thirteen cents a day, and threatened them with throwing them out of the rancho if they did not work.

Maritza Díaz López knew of the *hacendados* because of what she had been told by her family: "we only remember them [the *hacendados*] because they say that where my uncle Felipe's property is [located] belonged to them." That property is *la tienda grande*, which her uncle Felipe Robles Santo purchased in the 1930s after the hacienda system was banished

[133] It should be noted that José Maria, the third brother, was never mentioned by the people I spoke to in La Plaza. López Hernández, "Informe narrativo y numerico UMR Plaza de Limon," 3.

throughout the country following the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920). The Mexican Constitution of 1917 specified in Article 27 that private property owners including the hacendados, the Catholic Church, and others would be divested of their lands, and that such properties would be put to use to for the public benefit of society. In La Plaza this took place in 1935, and, as elsewhere in Mexico, it involved the reorganization of society through the formation of land tenures intended for redistribution among the landless peasants who had been *peones acasillados* (residential workers), *trabajadores eventuales* (seasonal/contract workers), *medieros* (sharecroppers), and *arrendatarios* (tenants).[134] For this to take place, the new federal government formed agrarian communities known as *ejidos* and *comunidades* (communal farms and communities), and small private land holdings known as *pequeñas propiedades* (small landholdings).[135] Maritza's uncle was the *pequeño propietario* of the land upon which the *hacendados* once resided. Alejandro Prado Fernández was another *pequeño propietario* who purchased his small piece of land from the Dávalos Jasso, only after having returned from working in the state of Indiana in the U.S. with enough money to make such an investment.

[134] Friedrich Katz comments that there were variations of the categories presented here not only across the country, but even within haciendas themselves. For instance, some *hacendados* hired tenants and other sharecroppers' to do the same work, the differences were that the tenets rented land from the *hacendados* and the sharecroppers worked directly for the *hacendados.* As Katz states, their decisions would have been intricately linked to two factors: the expanding market and an increase in labor supply. Friedrich Katz, "Labor Conditions on Haciendas in Porfirian Mexico: Some Trends and Tendencies," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 54, no. 1 (1974): 4, 6.

[135] Land rights for usage as opposed to titles were granted to the *ejidatarios* who made up the *ejido* communities. Further, *ejidatarios* could not rent out their landholdings though they could inherit it to family thus helping them subsist over many generations. *Communidades*, on the other hand, allowed indigenous communities to reclaim their lands with the proper evidence—land titles. Monique Nuijten, "Family Property and the Limits of Intervention: The Article 27 Reforms and the Procede Programme in Mexico," *Development and Change* 34, no. 3 (2003): 477.

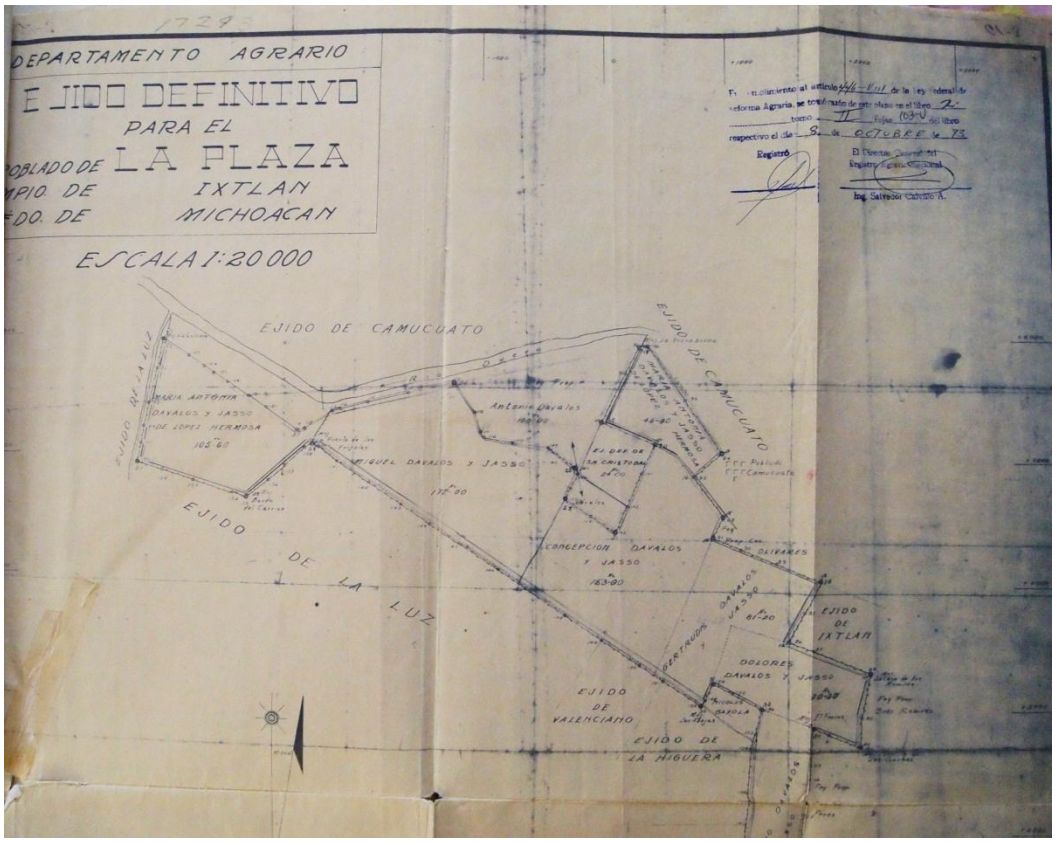

Figure 7 Map of the Ejido of La Plaza del Limón, 1935. Photo by Janet Ceja.

Since the Dávalos Jasso brothers maintained their livestock and granary in La Plaza, the type of workers that lived on the hacienda within La Plaza's perimeters included residential workers and sharecroppers, as the local Ramón Rodríguez Barrera attested to by stating the *hacendados* did not sow the land themselves, but worked with sharecroppers the most. He and his father were sharecroppers, farming the Dávalos Jasso land in addition to farming their own lands known as *ecuaros* (plots of land located in the hills). Additionally, workers in La Plaza would take up contract work in other nearby areas. Ramón commented:

> We also sowed; my dad liked to sow, so when there wasn't any work in the hacienda we'd work for ourselves [in the *ecuaro*]. But we'd always be in a hurry,

> we'd go work in the hacienda to have some money because we'd be penniless on a daily basis, and we'd be in a rush and work for a few days. With the hacienda we'd sow two, three, four areas of land, we wouldn't sow them all because the hacienda always left one area empty for the animals since they had a dairy farm. And that's how we'd do it. Yes, I did like to work in other areas, I mean, in order to have money, because *la raya* wouldn't pay us, it would only pay us one day, on Saturdays, and in that time the older peon earned cents, and the young peon 25 [cents]. But here we never had contract work, almost always [we worked] for ourselves, if we worked a week or two with the hacienda it was a lot. At the store they'd sell on credit until you could pay them back. No [I tell you], I grew up during that time, people were very poor![136]

By the end of the nineteenth century the population in La Plaza was said to number 1136 people, and by the early 1900s harvests consisted primarily of corn, but also included beans, garbanzo beans, wheat, sugar cane, and sweet potato.[137] In addition, there was local production of honey, sugar syrup, unrefined whole cane sugar, as well as various dairy products.

For Maritza, the memory of the *hacendados* was one generation old and rooted in the oral tradition that had been recounted over time by her family. Thus, this information was not accessed through books or articles; it was alive and well in her mind. *La tienda grande* is also a significant architectural marker concretizing and evidencing this memory in relation to her uncle's subsequent ownership of the building. The topic of the *hacendados* came up in our conversation because she and her husband Ramiro López Vargas, 66, who helped organize the

[136] Delgado Tijerina, "Valgo por la tierra. Procesos agrarios y cultura campesina en una zona de la Cíenega de Chapala, Michoacán", 65.
[137] López Hernández, "Informe narrativo y numerico UMR Plaza de Limon," 5; Hernández Madrid, *La comunidad autoritaria : estudio de las estrategias de vida en un ejido de Ixtlan de los Hervores, Michoacán*, 67, 69.

fiesta, began discussing how poor they used to be while growing up, much like Ramón did. They reminisced how only one cow was slaughtered every a week on the weekends. According to Maritza and Ramiro they ate mostly beans, *sopitas* (soup or broth), and *chilaquiles* (fried tortillas cut into small pieces, bathed in chili sauce, and garnished with fresh cheese). Their memories also conjured up the taste of food and differences in flavors from the past with those of the present. *Mantecadas*, another peasant food, consists of a tortilla with melted pork lard with salt and chili sauce for added flavor. Maritza exclaimed, "…but oh how delicious they were [mantecadas] with chili sauce, yes, so good" to which Ramiro added to emphasize the delightful flavor of food back then, "it doesn't taste the same [any more]." In the absence of meat, lard was an affordable alternative, though now meats of all sorts are available in La Plaza and diverse animals are slaughtered daily making it more readily accessible and common in the local diet. In the late twentieth century, children in La Plaza suffered more from intestinal parasites than from malnutrition.[138] Even so Ramiro's and Maritza's previous food deprivations as well as other material needs still haunt their memories, as well as that of older generations who grew up with few resources.

Ramiro's, Maritza's, and Juan's memories affirm a contrasting relationship between the the *hacendados* who had money with those who, like them, did not have much. The hacienda and *patrones* are remembered alongside memories of poverty and hardships, which significantly contrasts with what the modern-day fiesta most immediately represents: a highly expensive affair. Poverty is a property at the heart of the locals' memory infrastructures as it anchors their lived experiences and shapes their identities. This impoverished past, moreover, plays an

[138] López Hernández, "Informe narrativo y numerico UMR Plaza de Limon," 27.

important role in how some people in La Plaza now justify the present as having progressed considerably.

Below I discuss the branching out of their poverty's dimensions and demonstrate how some people navigated and remembered their pasts to emphasize their present fortunes.

4.1.3.4 Poverty at the Center of Lived Experience

Rosa Ayala Méndez's experience, 74, provides two specific examples of how she interpreted poverty: one as it concerns the fiesta, and another based on what she faced as a married woman who gave birth to ten children.

> When it started [the fiesta] well, when it started, well, it began very, how can I say this? Really poor. …more or less, and well, you see in the past there wasn't even anywhere to sit or anything. On the edge of [stone] walls on the small stones and like that, that's well how it started. Simple, huh?

Rosa also mentioned that people would listen to musicians and watch the *castillo* (firework display). There were a few food vendors and a carousel that visited, but not much else. A central plaza would have provided a space to sit, but at the time there was none. Instead people convened on the street's dirt road in front of the church. Rosa used the word *pobre* (poor) to characterize the scantiness of the fiesta as she most distantly remembered it, in comparison to the lavishness of the fiesta in the present. She could not properly date this memory of the fiesta, but mentioned that it went back to when her children were small. She married in 1960 at the age of twenty three. While Rosa vaguely remembered taking her children to the fiesta, she strongly recalled confronting hardships at home, including the death of five of her children. One died soon after birth and the remaining four passed away when they were a little over a year old

including a set of twins. Unlike her description of the fiesta she explained this experience in greater detail.

> One would go into labor in their house with a *señora* [midwife]…During labor, well, God was the only one who had compassion for one because in the past it was a *señora* [as opposed to a doctor] and, and she would give one medicine, remedies, cook up remedies, and no, no, it's not like today. In the past one suffered a lot…One is alive only because of God. Because oh, how I struggled, how I struggled. When the twins' incident happened, I was gone. I was gone and it was only because of a man who lived here by the name of Jorge Robles, may he rest in peace, he had some very good medicine sent to me because my placenta had not grown and all. Well, my mom didn't know, I never told my mom I'm going to go into labor on such and such day. I never told her and she found out. My mother was still alive and she found out I was very ill, incredibly ill, and well, I couldn't even see. Yes, people used to get very ill in the past. Now, and today what? Like I tell them [family] now from the start of a pregnancy it's all medication, they go to the clinic and well now they look after you more than in the past when we had our kids. And I tell you, it's because God helps us. God helped me, and then my husband got sick. He was sick. He had an illness I knew nothing about. And then, well, with small children, I had them one right after the other. You can't even imagine.

To help make ends meet she washed other people's clothes by hand and sold tortillas she made from scratch. These types of homemaking activities were what some women transformed into economic capital provided by the families who were financially better off, or visiting from the

U.S. and no longer accustomed to washing their clothes by hand. Where her description of the fiesta intersects with that of having children is in the conditions that surround them. Poverty was at the center of her world. Emphasized in her descriptions is the lack of material elements the fiesta rendered and not having access to modern health care although people helped her by giving her different forms of charity and informal employment. Instead her wealth emanates from her faith in God, a belief that has been central to her survival. Yet the fiesta, which is considered to be a manifestation of faith, does not stand out as a major spiritual event in her life. After all, with what money could a mother barely making ends meet celebrate the fiesta in the secular sense of the term? On the other hand, the act of inculcating in her children the rituals of the Catholic Church by taking them to the fiesta, if only to attend Mass, was a gesture of faith. Moreover, when these faithful gestures are compounded communally, the social practices surrounding the fiesta gain durability.

Presently, Rosa lives with her son and his family. She participates in the fiesta by taking part in the procession or watching it from afar; it is something she enjoys and has grown accustomed to doing throughout the years. She states: "I've always gone to the procession. I start to get ready upon hearing the first firework because I do like to go for that since you know my daughters are a part of it and all. I do like to go for that and then I go to Mass." Firecrackers are an important sign that the town is in a festive state and they are used to alert the community that certain rituals will soon commence or are taking place. Her eldest daughter participates in the local dance group called "las guaritas" where women and young girls of all ages dress up with the local indigenous dress. Her granddaughter dances with the youth folkloric group. Her other three daughters left for the U.S. and have not returned. They only get to see a glimpse of Rosa participating in the procession when they see videos of the fiesta others bring back to the

U.S. as mementos. This gesture has led her daughters living abroad to be able to see her alive and well as she continues to practice her faith.

Figure 8 "Las guaritas" performing in the Our Lady of Guadalupe's evening procession, 2012. Photo by Janet Ceja.

4.1.3.5 The Catholic Church at the Center of Social Life

Some of the elders I spoke to were able to find their way to their distant recollections of the fiesta through their faith; in particular, as it was inspired by the priests who guided their spirituality. Juan's and Mathilde's memories of the fiesta revolved around the priests who were in residence leading religious services as well as the relationships they fostered with the people of La Plaza. Mathilde used this technique in conjunction with her maturation from young child to adolescent to married woman as a way to measure time.

> "Because when Father Octaviano [was here], well, I was still a young girl [adolescent]. That saintly priest… That priest wouldn't let young girls enter the church without wearing their dresses at calf-length, [and] with long sleeves to present a child [a Catholic rite]. I had my dress and shawl for this purpose. And then, he would celebrate it [the presentation] really nicely; and it [the church] would fill up with people, there was no Mass in the evening, it was a Rosary, but he would put these prayer kneelers similar to the ones they use today for weddings just to present them [the children]."

Juan also remembered Father Octaviano and other priests, but noted that he could not readily place the years in which they were present in La Plaza. Ultimately, he offered the age of fifteen as being the period in his life in which he remembered Father Octaviano. It would have been the year 1943. Mathilde, who is three years older than Juan, also remembered Father Octaviano leading fiestas in La Plaza and similar to Mathilde, Juan reminisced about Father Octaviano's strict dress code:

> "Well, he was the one who brought this custom [the fiesta], yeah, he was the one who brought the custom, and he was very particular. This one [the current priest] is also

particular, but the other one [Father Octaviano] was so picky that if women did not wear long sleeve shirts like the one I have on he would not let them enter the Church. "The women or young girls who want to be ill-dressed here should go home because you indecent females will not enter [church]" he would say, you should've seen how comical he was!"

As early as 1864 the population of workers that resided in the Ixtlán valley was large enough that the local government requested in writing that the Catholic diocese of Zamora preoccupy itself with sending a priest to celebrate Mass in the hacienda of San Simón.[139] It was not until 1899 that a Chapel was built in La Plaza under Arcadio's and Miguel's ownership of La Plaza.[140] Thus, workers from the surrounding communities of El Valenciano, La Luz, Los Quiotes, La Higuera, El Limón, El Mellado, El Rincón, La Soledad, La Estanzuela and Camucuato among others visited La Plaza for religious services. In return, the Dávalos Jasso brothers deducted payments for the religious services celebrated from their worker's wages.[141] It was not until 1935 that negotiations took place between the Dávalos Jasso and the Catholic diocese in Zamora to permanently establish a chaplain in La Plaza.[142]

According to Juan, La Plaza's first church bell tower had bells that were purchased by the Dávalos Jasso (Figure 9). Curiously, the bell tower was a memory that also resonated with

[139] It should be noted that in the Obispado de Zamora archives there are also receipts from the 1880-82 noting that the Dávalos paid for Mass celebrations. The receipts, however, do not state where the Masses took place. "Letter to the Parish of Ixtlán.," (1867. DGP 416 Ixtlán Varios, de 1859 a 1867, Obispado de Zamora Archives).
[140] López Hernández, "Informe narrativo y numerico UMR Plaza de Limon," 5.
[141] The Dávalos also deducted money from workers' wages to pay for teachers' salaries when the first school was constructed beside the chapel in 1899. Teachers were brought in to educate the workers' children. Yet not many of the workers' children would have been able to attend school as children began working at a very young age in order to help bring in more money into the home, or to care for their brothers and sisters as families tended to be quite large. If they did attend school it may not have been for a short period of time. Ibid., 6.
[142] Specifically, it was Rafael Dávalos the son of Arcadio Dávalos Jasso who corresponded with the diocese. "Letter from Rafael Dávalos to the Parish of Ixtlán.," (1935. DGP 416 Ixtlán Varios, de 1859 a 1867, Obispado de Zamora Archives).

Mathilde and others who remembered a priest named Juan Mungica believed to have fought in the Mexican Revolution. Mathilde remembered Father Juan as the chaplain in La Plaza's parish when she was married at the age of seventeen. In conjunction, she recalled the construction of the bell tower and how on Sundays after Mass Father Juan would tell those who had attended that they should not leave and to wait for him outside the chapel. Then, together with the local men, women, and children would walk over to an area known as the "*camichín*" to gather stones and carry them back to the temple. Before the tower was built, however, the bells hung on an old mesquite tree.

Figure 9 Modernized Chapel Bell Tower in La Plaza. Photo by Janet Ceja.

After looking at records from the Catholic Church Diocese archive in Zamora I found that Father Juan had written letters to the Diocese of Zamora in 1946 and 1947. Mathilde would have been twenty-one and twenty-two years old as opposed to seventeen. It is possible that her memory is accurate if the Church did not keep any earlier documentation of their correspondence and Father Juan was installed at the Church parish years prior. That age gap, moreover, is not as wide as the one Juan and Mathilde recalled regarding Father Octaviano who was recorded in correspondence

from 1954 thru 1957. There was no correspondence or other documentation with the name of Father Genero. Here just as there were gaps in the memories of Juan and Mathilde, the documentation held by the Diocese of Zamora, too, had gaps. Perhaps, however, securing precise dates are not as important as the greater story being recollected, or rather that the elders' measuring of time was intricately associated with the Catholic Church (Table 2).

Table 2. Mathilde's Memory of Priests in La Plaza

Remembered Age	**Priest**	**Memory**	**Records Available**	**Actual Age**
As a very young girl	Father Genaro	No comment	Not available	Not applicable
As a young girl	Father Octaviano	Made women wear mid-calf length dresses and long sleeves to church.	Records from 1954-1957	29-30
As a married woman	Father Juan Mungica	Had the townspeople help him build the first church bell tower out of local stones.	Records from 1946-1947	21-22

The bells hanging on the mesquite tree near the church was a memory Juan said he clearly remembered as a child because people would climb it in order to harm the bells during the *Cristiada*, also known as the *Cristero* war and *Cristero* rebellion. The years 1926-1929 mark the period during which members of the Catholic Church and supporters of the new revolutionary Mexican government broke out into war as the aftermath of the Revolution had brought about many state-enforced secularist changes affecting the Catholic Church, and as a

result, to the people whose lives had revolved around it. During this period, *agrarismo*, the agrarian reform movement had also heavily penetrated Michoacán and shared the scene with a conflict that had already existed for some time between the Catholic Church and Mexican State. The changes confronted by the Catholic Church with the new government included closing down Catholic schools, convents, prohibiting public worship, and restricting the number of religious activities celebrated as well as the number of priests.[143] The new revolutionary government believed its citizens would be better off without the Catholic Church's wealth and power hindering the country's progress toward modernity. It so happens that in La Plaza, those who sympathized with the new government sought to destroy one of the church's most time controlling symbols: the sound of the Church bells. On the other end of the spectrum, were Juan's two aunts, whom he described as very Catholic. Along with other devout women, they would stand guard at the foot of the mesquite tree to prevent people from climbing it to damage the bells. The women also carried a sack of rocks with the intention of throwing them at those who got near the tree. Religious fervor which turned into violence in the name of Christ was not out of the ordinary for women during the *Crister*o war, some went as far as forming their own rebel brigades.[144] In the nearby city of Sahuayo, where major *Cristiada* activities were taking place, this act of violence could have gotten the women killed. But how did Juan so vividly remember his aunts protecting the church bells, if in 1929, the last year of the *Cristiada*, he was only a year old?

Michoacán, together with the neighboring state of Jalisco saw a great fury of *Cristiada* rebels are said to have numbered up to 25,000—of 50,000 in the whole country—in the year

[143] Jennie Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico : The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1999), 1.
[144] See, Jean A. Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion : The Mexican People between Church and State, 1926-1929* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976).

1928 alone according to the National League for the Defense of Religious Liberty.[145] Since 1910, anticlericalism and agrarian reform had been sources of deep conflict and were profoundly embedded in the rural countryside up until the 1940s.[146] The memory of Juan's aunts could have been from a later time period, or passed to him as oral history, if not a misplaced memory demonstrating how not all memories can be accurately remembered. Still today stories circulate in La Plaza about the upheavals brought about by the *Cristiada* period especially the witnessing of priests who were unable to celebrate the Church's sacraments, although some of them worked clandestinely.

Mathilde was baptized in secret when the Catholic Churches were closed during the *Cristiada* period; this was the reason she had only recently confirmed she was eighty-seven years old after believing most of her life that she was actually four or five years younger. As she recalled even her mother was unsure of the year Teresa was born. Her mother only remembered the actual day of her birth because it coincided with the day of the feast of the "Santo Cristo Milagroso of Tecomatan" (the patron saint of a nearby pueblo called Tecomatan) on the fourteenth of September. Because Mathilde had been baptized in secret, her baptismal record had been misplaced and unavailable in La Plaza. This is a good example of how records cannot always be faithfully preserved, much like our capacity to remember. Up to then, she had calculated her birth year based on her older sister's death whose year of birth she approximated from other sources. It was not until she ventured to the pueblo of Ixtlán with a friend who was in search of a sacramental certificate that Mathilde found out she was actually listed in the parish's records as having been baptized in the year 1924, the year of her birth. Ixtlán's parish was

[145] Purnell, *Popular Movements and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico : The Agraristas and Cristeros of Michoacán*, 127.
[146] Ibid., 197.

charged with keeping these records as it has historically been an important parish overseeing the religious activities of the region. The year on the church record, moreover, coincided with a note her mother had made in an old small notebook Mathilde had recently dug up. This Church record was what would later help her acquire an identification card. Her recent nudge to acquire an identification card was in the interest of SEDESOL's pension program called "70 y más" (70 and above). The program's aim is to assist unemployed populations ages seventy and up with a small pension. The caveat for Mathilde was that the program required that she verify her age with the proper documentation, one form of documentation was a birth certificate. Even though she had other forms she could have used to confirm her identity, locating a birth certificate had been of interest to her because of her uncertainty about her age. The irony is that through the Catholic Church's once clandestine records, suppressed by the government, would many years later authenticate her identity. But what did the *Cristiada* baptismal records look like? Were they covered in blood or war torn? I went in search of the clandestine records Mathilde spoke of at the nearby parish of *San Fancsico de Asís* in Ixtlán and learned that this story was not a tangent at all, but in fact a lead to the very identity of the local community.

When I successfully located the clandestine records, I was not really impressed. The records were mere lists of people's names and baptismal dates in a notebook dating back to the 1920s. No longer secret, the records resided in a storage closet in the *San Francisco de Asís* church rectory. The records embodied classification in a most uninspiring state and yet the anatomy of names and dates one after another after another and another was an itemization of humanity's interdependence. While these simple lists recorded by officials of the Catholic Church were not impressive, they were incredibly meaningful. Mathilde learned this when she saw her name in the record book and learned she was not eighty-two years old but eighty-seven!

Figure 10 Clandestine records, "Suplemento No 1, 1927, 1928, y1929, Registro de Baustizos." Image courtesy of the *San Francisco de Asís* Parish. Photo by Janet Ceja.

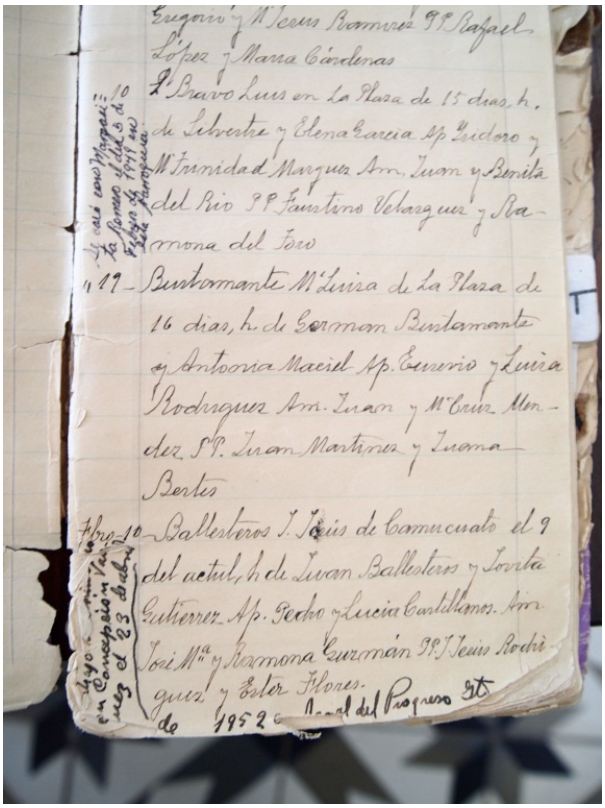

Figure 11 Close-up of "Suplemento No 1, 1927, 1928, 1929, Registro de Baustiso." Image courtesy of the *San Francisco de Asís* Parish. Photo by Janet Ceja.

Unanticipated on this same trip was another find. When I visited the *San Francisco de Asís* parish rectory I met with the priest to explain my research and why I was visiting; upon entering his office I saw numerous boxes along the walls with the Church's archives. Some of the boxes contained manuscripts dating back to the seventeenth and eighteenth century and revealed the region's population divided into a caste system through the sacrament of marriage. The manuscripts included the following racial and ethnic categories: Spanish and *mestizos*, a racial mix between Spanish and indigenous people; *mulatos*, a racial mix between African and Spanish people; and indigenous people. These populations coincide with the dominant racial and

ethnic make-up of the country during the 1600s. During this century indigenous populations had diminished from approximately 4,500,000 in 1600 to 1,200,000 in 1650 while it saw a rise in the Spanish, Black, and official mestizo populations.[147] For instance, the Black population doubled from 20,000 in 1575 to 40,000 in 1675.[148] With these manuscripts La Plaza's current population can be categorized as untraditionally *mestiza*, that is, variants of indigenous, Spanish, and African heritage with a good portion unlikely aware of their latter heritage.[149] This finding of the African heritage recorded in Ixtlán's manuscripts indicates that even when activities are written down and recorded, documents, too, may get suppressed when an oral and cleverly deployed cultural narrative is transmitted as a part of the country's nationhood.

[147] González y González, *Zamora*, 52-53.
[148] Ibid., 52-53. Also see Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México, 1519-1810; Estudio Etno-Histórico* (México, D.F.: Ediciones Fuente Cultural, 1946).
[149] See, Kelvin L. White, "Meztizaje and Remembering in Afro-Mexican Communities of the Costa Chica : Implications for Archival Education in Mexico," *Archival Science* 9, no. 1 (2009).

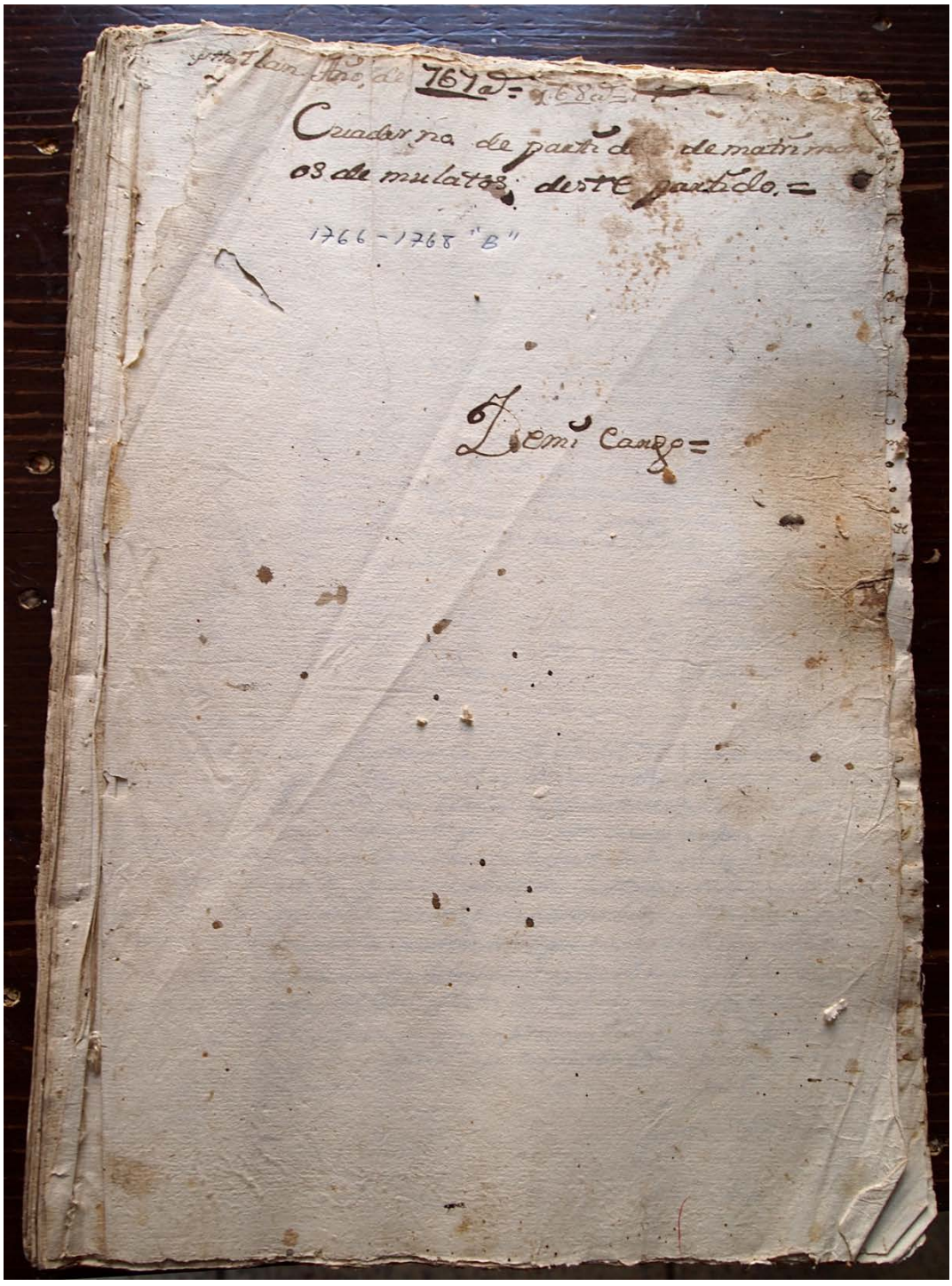

Figure 12 Marriage Register for Mulatos, "Cuaderno, de partídos, de matrimonios os de mulatos deste partído," circa 1672-82. Image courtesy of the *San Francisco de Asís* Parish. Photo by Janet Ceja.

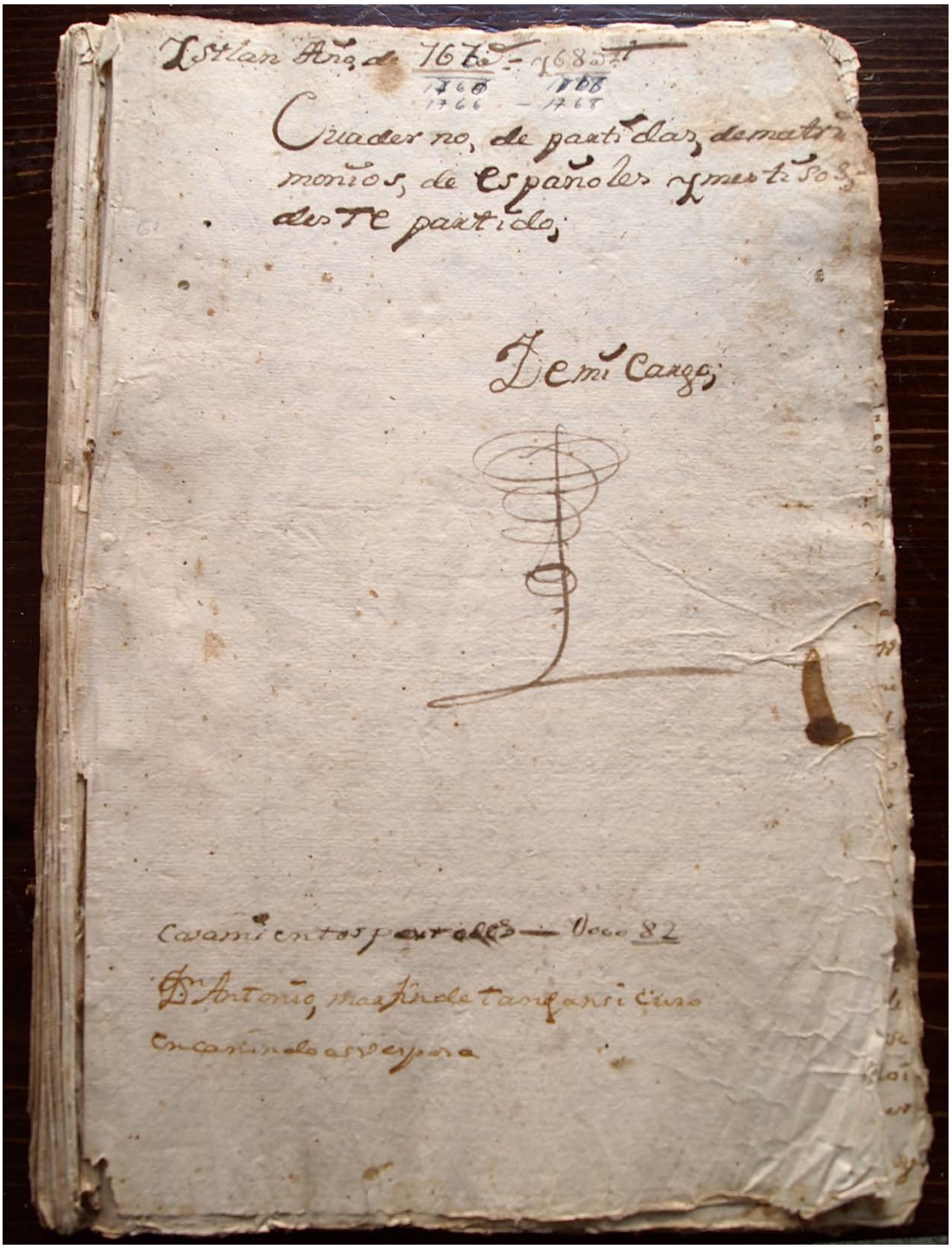

Figure 13 Marriage Register for Spaniards and Mestizos, "Cuaderno, de partídos, de matrimonios, de españoles y mestísos deste partído," circa 1672-85. Image courtesy of the *San Francisco de Asís* Parish. Photo by Janet Ceja.

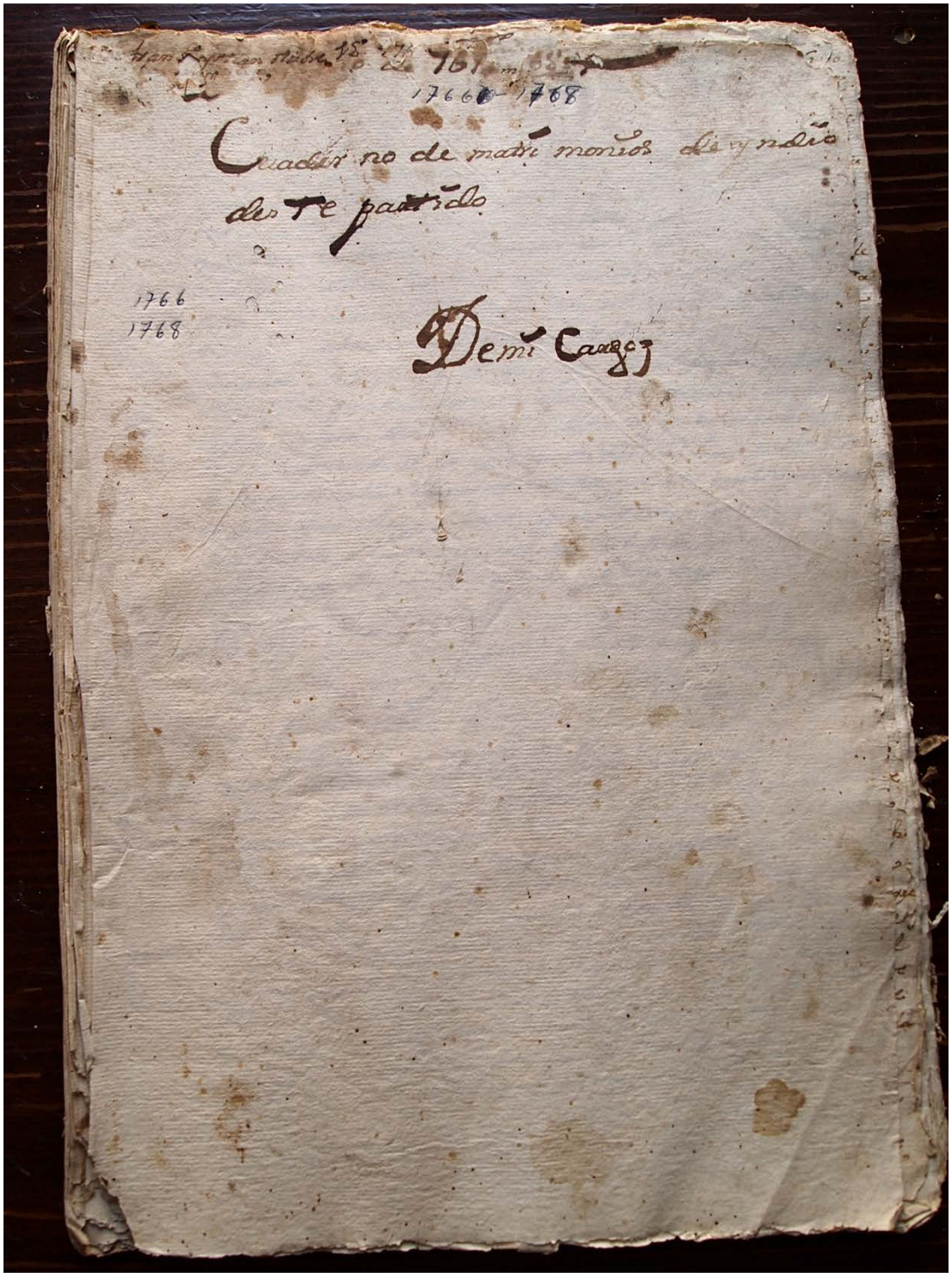

Figure 14 Marriage Register for Indians, "Cuaderno de matrimonios de yndio deste partído," circa 1766-78. Image courtesy of the *San Francisco de Asís* Parish. Photo by Janet Ceja.

The memory infrastructures of elders' expose that the concept of time as chronology is not of major relevance in La Plaza. Understood differently, the concept of time in La Plaza has its own dimensions, which have been greatly affected by social and economic forces. For instance, the hacienda system and its control of the land dominated the amount of time the people labored in a day. The bodies of individuals under this system's control felt the pains of hunger and the weight of poverty in a manner that has scarred their memories. The Catholic Church, in association with *hacendados*, sent priests to haciendas to celebrate religious rituals that also affected the cosmos of the society. The Catholic Church had expectations of the community whether it was through requesting tithe or in dictating moral values. Therefore, the shared patterns and experiences of a population, its *memory infrastructures*, can lead to the identification of a cultural past that may or may not bear the qualities of a historical consciousness, but that can lead to a more systematic understanding of what and how intangible phenomena can be preserved and for what purposes.

4.1.3.6 Conclusion

The elders' individual and communal memories offer an example of how memory holds a structure, which in this case was useful for understanding the socioeconomic history of the town. In particular, the changes in the conditions in which the fiesta now operates. The memory processes at play in their stories reveal the individual, social, and cultural contexts in which they lived and which significantly shaped their experiences in growing up and growing old in La Plaza. Further, the recurring themes revealed a collective memory that was aware of the vast changes the fiesta had undergone until then. French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs, known for

developing the concept of collective memory found that "no memory is possible outside frameworks used by people living in society to determine and retrieve their recollections"[150] In La Plaza, I found that the elders stories intertwined the misfortunes of the past with the progress of the present, allowing the emergence of a frame of reference for understanding the fiesta as having a "poor" past and a "rich" present.

Furthermore, this temporal relationship arrived at by linking the elder's memories places them in the arena of event-oriented records. As noted earlier event-oriented records may be tantamount to oral tradition. Anderson states: "The oral record is equivalent to oral tradition and is impossible to capture without losing meaning. The event must be re-performed to access it across time."[151] Re-performance is out of context in this setting as I sought to have the elders recollect their memories of Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta; it was not a tradition to be performed. On the other hand, the information I was in search of was about another event-oriented record that was performed—Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta. I was asking the elders to remember and access the memory of this celebration across time. The fact that they did not accurately remember the celebration of Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta demonstrates that as they were re-telling it, it had lost meaning for them as they could not remember it accurately. Factors affecting this loss of meaning, as noted earlier, were that in the past the fiesta was not always celebrated in the *rancho*. Additionally, the elders were no longer active participants in the fiesta, and for this reason, the fiesta may have been in decline in their memory. It is also likely that I was the first person in a long time, if ever, to ask them questions about the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe. After all, the event has become normalized as a part of their lives. Anderson

[150] Maurice Coser Lewis A. Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 43.
[151] Anderson, "The Footprint and the Stepping Foot : Archival Records, Evidence, and Time," 16.

suggests that event-oriented records could become a part of providing reference services by referring patrons to the community that practices the living record. With the memory infrastructures found here archivists may see it more fit to help the community document these accounts, that is, if the community wishes to do so. Still perhaps for others, it is to dig up a community's *memory infrastructures* to incorporate new dimensions of time into archival recordkeeping, whether it is through object-oriented records that already exist from the activities the intangible cultural heritage now affords or more radically by accepting that event-oriented records play an important role in archives as living and persistent representations of a community's identity they can help preserve through other means. Acknowledgement of the role such a mechanism plays in the preservation of intangible cultural heritage is the first step. Moreover, in environments such as La Plaza where there are no archives new possibilities of what an archive might constitute could include educational priorities in its mission statement. For instance, to support varied forms of literacy by using records from the community that can engage student learning in reading and writing, or curating their records over the Internet to connect with family members living in the U.S. Building a historical consciousness through programming activities can also help engage the community more critically about their past.

4.1.4 Devotional Labor

In *devotional labor*, I describe the details of the fiesta celebrated in 2011: the social groups who organize each day of the fiesta; the mismatch between the fiesta's enactment by the townspeople and the priest's expectations; the reluctance of head organizers to take on the duty; the

fundraising activities in the local community as well as through the Mexican diaspora in the US; and the variety of religious and secular celebratory practices.

Devotional labor is the enactment and celebration of the fiesta made real through strenuous acts of devotion. I adopt the concept of *devotional labor* from Elaine A. Peña's work on Our Lady of Guadalupe in *Performing Piety Making Space Sacred with the Virgin of Guadalupe*. Peña uses the term to refer to the practices of *Guadalupanos*, the faithful believers of Our Lady of Guadalupe, as offerings in the form of pilgrimage, prayer, song, dance, and shrine maintenance among others that in turn "develop, preserve, sanctify, and connect not only spaces but also histories and traditions across several boundaries: geopolitical, social, and institutional."[152] She studied the sacred spaces created by Mexicans and Mexican immigrants in the U.S. at three Guadalupe shrines: Mount Tepeyac in Mexico City where it is said Our Lady of Guadalupe appeared to Saint Juan Diego, and two others built by her followers in the U.S. in Des Plaines, Illinois and on Chicago's far North Side in the U.S. For instance, she offers the example of genuflection as an expansive form of labor that though quite simple may take on a complexity when put into a historical perspective that considers how Our Lady of Guadalupe's pilgrims walk for days across central Mexico or for hours in the icy cold climate of Chicago, thus giving the act of genuflection the status of a religious and symbolic form of capital through devotion.[153] This sanctifying of space through the body also gives rise to physical traces of evidence revealed as calluses, scabs, and scrapes suffered on journeys and later invoked through the telling of stories.[154] This is particularly important because it demonstrates that devotional labor produces

[152] Elaine A. Peña, *Performing Piety Making Space Sacred with the Virgin of Guadalupe* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 10.
[153] Ibid., 10.
[154] Ibid., 44.

evidence that may not be able to be selected into the archive, but that can be supported as linked evidence if identified in material form.

In the next section I describe the fiesta in detail from my participant observations and the informal interviews conducted. In the following narrative I weave these observations and interviews, but focus especially on points made by Joel Castro Durante, a strawberry farmer, and head organizer of the day of the *Freseros* (strawberry); Kati Cordoba Chavez and Dora Francisca Peña, both members of the of the group, la Divina Providencia (the Divine Providence), and who led the day of the *Señoras* (the women); Mario Rodriguez Luto and Pedro Ramirez Torres, agriculturalists who headed the day of the *maquinaria* (machinery); and Angel Andrade Gonzalez, who lives in the U.S. and spearheaded the day of the *Hijos ausentes* (absent children).

Our Lady of Guadalupe's Fiesta as a Religious Novena

Figure 15 ***El Sagrado Corazon de Jesus*** **Church, 2012. Photo by Janet Ceja.**

The novena of Our Lady of Guadalupe is held in La Plaza every year during the month of January, a date that is different from the official festivities that take place on December 12

according to the Roman Catholic Liturgical calendar. La Plaza's fiesta's time frame has been adapted locally to meet the social organization of the community. According to Father Ernesto Sanchez Rodriguez, a priest I spoke to at the diocese of Zamora, Our Lady of Guadalupe's celebrations are often changed from their official dates because community members, who for living abroad or in other parts of the country, are unable to travel during the official fiesta period. In La Plaza, this reason certainly makes sense since more community members are said to live in the U.S. than in Mexico. The diasporic members living in the U.S. and other parts of Mexico are referred to as *Hijos ausentes*, and while not all of them visit La Plaza every year for the fiesta, and others will never return for legal, financial, or personal reasons, it is an especially popular period to visit for those who do have the means and desire to return. Moreover, this is what makes the fiesta a distributed enterprise–the community itself is spread out across its borders and participates in its celebration through different means ranging from organizing to attending to watching a DVD of it on their television screen. The ongoing and earnest adherence to religious practices engenders what Peña calls *devotional capital* and Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta is the maximum demonstration of such capital by the devout Catholic community of La Plaza.

For instance, when speaking to someone from the municipality of Ixtlán about La Plaza's fiesta he smiled and described it as a very nice event, then added that he often took his daughter to see the processions. I was surprised by his comment given that he was from a somewhat larger "modern" pueblo, and I assumed their fiesta would be better attended and organized. I asked him if Ixtlán did not practice its fiesta in honor of *San Francisco de Asís* in a similar manner. The man shook his head and mentioned that what made La Plaza's fiesta special was that people still believed in God as demonstrated and performed through their fiesta. Apparently, people in Ixtlán are not as religiously feverous. La Plaza's successful fiesta is also a sign that

most of the rancho continues to be dominantly Catholic (though there are evangelical Christians with religious headquarters in the pueblo of Ixtlán).

Before discussing further how the fiesta and its devotional labor "works" it is important to first provide an overview of its organization and map it out according to the local cultures that are represented and headed each day by the local leadership.

4.1.4.1 The Structure of La Plaza's Fiesta

In 2011, the fiesta took place from January 22-30 and consisted of various individuals in leadership roles representing the nine days of the *novena* (Table 3). Typically there are two-three leaders (though there may be more) per group who take on the responsibility of heading each day.

Table 3. Our Lady of Guadalupe's Fiesta by day, 2011.

Day 1	January 22	Las señoras de La Plaza del Limón (Día de la Divina Providencia)	The Women of La Plaza del Limón (also known as the Day of the Divine Providence)
Day 2	January 23	Los ecuareros, albañiles, y Banda Limonera	The Ecuareros (Producers for Autoconsumption), Construction Workers, and the Limonera Band
Day 3	January 24	Los señores de la maquinaria	The Men of the Machinery (equipment)
Day 4	January 25	Los freseros	The Strawberry Farmers
Day 5	January 26	Los comerciantes	The Merchants
Day 6	January 27	Los chiveros y ganaderos	The Goat Herders and Ranchers
Day 7	January 28	Los jovenes	The Youth
Day 8	January 29	Los hijos ausentes (Día de los emigrados)	The Absent Children (Day of the Émigré)
Day 9	January 30	Los ejidatarios	The Ejidatarios (Shareholders of communal lands)

Each day of the novena consists of small and large segments of populations whose identities span the rancho's workforce and social make-up. Moreover, communally, they financially sponsor the event through money gained from their employment. The local parish relies on its devotees to be able to cover the costs of the religious fiesta by paying for the expenses it produces such as the Church's electricity bill, the candles used, decorations and flower arrangements, as well as the honorariums and cost of meals for priests who come from other areas to assist and participate in the festivities. The day's leaders work in unison to cover the Church's costs. In 2011, the nine groups even fundraised to purchase supplies to paint the parish Church. Beyond these expenses and occasional additional activities that incur costs, any other secular desires leaders want to showcase on each of their respective days, such as performers from out of town, is added to their fundraising budget goals.

It should be noted that during this period the parish of La Plaza, *El Sagrado Corazon the Jesus* also sees a rise in monetary donations because of the number of people who visit from out of town. There is also a high surge of sacramental celebrations such as baptisms, first communions, and marriages for the locals and community members living abroad who return to take part in these religious sacraments in their homeland. In fact, one major highlight of the fiesta is that the Bishop from the Diocese of Zamora, which oversees La Plaza's parish, visits on the last day of the fiesta and celebrates Mass with the locals. During the 2011 fiesta this occurred, though it did not take place until after the novena due to the Bishop's busy schedule.

This demonstrates that the order in which each day is celebrated is flexible and adaptable. During 2010-2013 the order of the days remained the same and only changed slightly with the addition of the local Banda Limónera, which contributed toward the celebration of the day of the *Ecuareros* and *Albañiles* in 2011. This took place because for one, the band wanted to take part

in the festivities and be represented, and secondly, because the organizers of the day of the *Ecuareros* and *Albañiles* had not been successful in raising money for the event and needed the financial assistance. Besides adding new groups to a day of the novena, it is possible that, for instance, the day of the *Freseros* and *Comerciantes* be switched if both leaders agree. These strategies have taken place in the past according to Joel Castro Durante, a lead organizer of the day of the *Freseros*. Changing the order of the days celebrated during the fiesta may be a sign of demotion in terms of each committee's ability to successfully showcase secular events for the local community and outside attendees, which in turn builds their reputation in a positive manner. That said, the days celebrated earlier in the week are not as popularly attended than those toward the end because traditionally the committee groups who organize the celebration toward the beginning of the novena have not been successful in raising money in support of secular activities. These secular activities primarily include outside performers and a concert with popular musical bands. For example, if a committee's day was programmed toward the beginning of the fiesta, the committee is likely to not have raised as much money as the members of those situated toward the end, and these tend to be supported with monies from community members in the U.S. This, however, is not always the case. The day of *Las señoras,* organized by members of the group, *La Divina Providencia,* has recently gone up in social status largely due to raising more money that has resulted in engineering a more elaborate celebration. This did not go unnoticed by the parish priest who prompted the committee to shift their day closer to the end. The organizers chose not to because to them the first day of the fiesta has been traditionally led by *Las señoras* and this was a custom they did not want to lose. Additionally, celebrating the first day of the novena in the name of the Divine Providence is symbolically powerful and many of them believed it should continue to launch the novena forward.

Donisio Repentino Sandoval has been the priest in La Plaza since 2007. He is from the state of Jalisco, which sits northwest of Michoacán. As we chatted in his office about the fiesta, his comments about the inhabitants initially struck me with confusion as he described their excitation for the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe as "very fervorous" though "a bit erroneously as they want to mix pagan traditions with religious customs." At the time, I translated the term *pagano* into English as *pagan* and had initially associated it to polytheism, but this seemed rather odd given that in La Plaza there are no longer any "indigenous" populations. I soon realized that what he was referring to was all that was non-religious, such as the material gains and excesses the organizers of religious fiestas may seek to exemplify and exhibit beyond devotional piety in the religious rituals enacted. These activities may include the excessive showcasing of popular forms such as expensive musical bands, dancing, and drinking. Thus, paganism may encompass anything from spending incredible amounts of money on contracting notable bands for spectacular concerts to having a variety of dance performers during the religious procession. This fervor corresponds to the elders' I spoke to and their perception that the fiesta is currently a "rich" event compared to its "poor" past. This richness, moreover, is the manifestation of new economic capital that is being introduced from the U.S. through the donations of community members who reside there and help subsidize the fiesta for Our Lady of Guadalupe.

4.1.4.2 Enacting Our Lady of Guadalupe's Fiesta

The final Sunday of the month of January always marks the end of Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta, and the third Saturday of the month tends to mark its beginning with the parish priest leading the *rosario de la aurora* (the Rosary at dawn) at five in the morning. In Spanish, *aurora* means dawn and the Rosary is supposed to be prayed at this time. Although, in some cases, the

rosario de la aurora may also signal the first Rosary of the day, which may be prayed earlier or after dawn. The Rosary is prayed each of the nine days of the novena and the community is called to attend the Rosary with the shuttering pops of loud firecrackers. Those who wake-up to attend gather at the church and follow the priest through the rancho's streets in prayer.

Since the *Rosario de la aurora* may be accompanied by music it is not unusual for the local instrument band to be hired to play during the reading of the rosary's mysteries.[155] The music component makes the celebration feel less solemn and more alive by facilitating its embellishment with the local music traditions. After approximately thirty minutes, the Rosary participants arrive back at the Church with the sound of church bells now calling on the community to celebrate Mass. Inside of the church are new devotees who did not make it to the Rosary and patiently await the Mass to begin. Because the fiesta takes place in the winter, the sun begins to rise near the end of Mass thus marking its closure symbolically with the break of dawn. It is then followed by loud and jovial *banda* music establishing a festive mood with familiar songs such as: "Las mañanitas" (birthday song), "El Toro Mambo" (The Bull Mambo), "Caminos de Michoacán" (Routes of Michoacán), and many others.

In the last ten years, the organizing committees have also gotten into the habit of offering warm beverages, usually coffee and/or hot chocolate, along with sweet bread. At times a bottle of alcohol or tequila is passed around amongst the men who add some of this *aguardiente* into their cups of coffee, a classic drink in the country's repertoire of alcoholic beverages. Elders I spoke to talked about drinking *pajaretes* in the morning before going to work, a concoction of

[155] The mysteries are centered on the life of Jesus Christ and consist of the Joyous, Sorrowful, Glorious, and Luminous mysteries, each of which are further subdivided into five categories that constitute the ritual through a series of prayers. The four sets of mysteries are prayed on specific days of the week as well as times of the year and during special feasts.

fresh goat milk and cane based alcohol; a beverage likely to go back to days of the hacienda, though it has not been typical of the fiesta.

Kati and Dora, two organizers of the day of *las señoras*, noted that they enjoyed the morning aspect of the fiesta the most because of the community feeling felt during this time of day. There is an intimacy created amongst those who attend the morning Mass because of the smaller number of people who participate and that generally consists of an older crowd. Kati's and Dora's observations and experiences contrast with the second part of the day's events that begin in the early evening and are dominated by the youthful energy of locals and visitors. The evening events are attended by those less inclined to wake-up early for Mass, that is to say, the majority of the rancho.

The number of people who attend the early rosary and Mass during the fiesta fluctuates, but has increased and consists of an older crowd ranging from 30 to 80 years of age. The committees most successful at fundraising contract one of two local bands, though sometimes both to play music throughout the town immediately after the morning Mass. This activity consists of walking around town with the band and visiting the members of the group who donated money to celebrate the day with a song serenade. This gesture has recently involved distributing coffee and sweet bread to anyone in sight by the committee organizers, though usually people are awaiting their arrival outside their homes to support the festivities. Others join the committee members and walk through the town in solidarity, some drinking coffee, others alcohol or both. This activity may last anywhere from an hour to four hours depending on how much money the committee has allocated for it. As noted, it is an activity put on by the committees who successfully fundraise, and consists mainly of the day of the *Jovenes*, *Hijos ausentes*, and *Chiveros and Vaqueros*.

The Sign of the Cross	In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Amen.
"The Apostles Creed"	I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord who was conceived by the Holy Spirit, born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died and was buried. He descended into hell; on the third day He rose again from the dead; He ascended into heaven, is seated at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence He shall come to judge the living and the dead. I believe in the Holy Spirit, the Holy Catholic Church, the communion of Saints, the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection of the body, and life everlasting. Amen.
An "Our Father"	Our Father, Who art in Heaven, hallowed be Thy name, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. Amen.
Three "Hail Marys"	Hail, Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you. Blessed are you among women, and blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death. Amen.
A "Glory Be to the Father"	Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Spirit. As is it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be world without end. Amen.
The reading of a Mystery followed by: one "Our Father," ten "Hail Marys," and a "Glory Be to the Father"	
Repeated four more times for the additional Mysteries.	

Figure 16 The Roman Catholic ritual of Praying the Rosary

Most people go about their regular duties during the rest of the day, though if some community members have family visiting from abroad they often go on day trips visiting cities or go out to eat and spend time together. It is not until five in the evening that firecrackers again alert the rancho that the second half of the festivities will begin with the unveiling of the procession; committee members and performers must prepare for it in advance. The procession begins at the main entrance of the rancho in the neighborhood known as *El Camino Real* (The Royal Road), and it ends at the church's atrium with the celebration of a second Mass. Some devotees are already waiting inside the church before the procession even arrives in order to find a seat, as the evening Mass tends to be very well attended. Additionally, if people from other nearby ranchos visit La Plaza to celebrate it is likely that they attend Mass in the evening, or simply show up for the night's musical performances. Overall, the processions can last anywhere between forty-five minutes to over two hours depending on the number of performers and people involved. For Kati and Dora, the evening procession is the most difficult part of the fiesta to coordinate. They rely on many people to participate, including but not limited to individuals willing to hold religious banners and Mexican flags, local music bands, and the drivers of pick-up trucks decorated as floats. The floats are used for the performance of staged biblical scenes by locals or for the placement of religious statues to stand in reverence. Other vehicles parade in the procession with sound systems that blast loud music so that traditional folk dancers and indigenous performers can follow performing to the beat of the music. Depending on the day there may also be tractors and livestock, all of this commotion, Kati and Dora say, can be difficult to handle especially when they are consistently being asked by the mass of performers and devotees where they should be positioned in the procession. The procession is a bricolage of sound, symbols, material forms, animals, and human enactments representing the

devotional labor of the fiesta's committee organizers, but also the people willing to participate in the day's activities whether they are dancing for Our Lady of Guadalupe or solemnly walking and praying in the procession.

This major performative event signaling the community's devotional labor also has rules. Kati and Dora found out that it is possible to practice their devotion incorrectly.

4.1.4.3 The Standards of Devotional Labor

On one occasion, *Las señoras* did not meet Father Donisio's expectations when they chose to arrange the banners of Our Lady of Guadalupe's apparitions differently from previous years. Instead of having the banners one after the other consecutively they chose to alternate them with floats. Father Donisio informed them that the apparition banners must be placed one behind the other with approximately two meters of space between them. While this was a small reprimand, it nonetheless makes the pressure of coordinating the processions more difficult for Kati and Dora knowing they can upset the priest who expects them to just know these things. *Las señoras*, however, are not the only ones who have incorrectly ordered the religious symbols of the procession according to Father Donisio. In his experience it was not uncommon for the fiesta's committee leaders to place non-religious symbols at the head of the procession. Instead of placing the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe at the beginning of the procession, the committee organizers for the day of the *Chiiveros* and *Vaqueros*, for instance, have attempted to place animals at the forefront, and on another occasion the fiesta's youth organizers sought to put their "queen of the fiesta" at the head of the procession as well. This was quite a surprise to Father Donisio when he began to lead La Plaza's fiesta, and it made him question exactly what the previous priest had allowed the community members to get away with.

One of his duties as their spiritual leader has been to correct these practices, or *purify* them as he put it. Given his reaction to their practices, it is clear that the manifestation of devotional labor has rules based on the Catholic doctrine and as mediated by the subjective interpretation of priests overseeing these festivities. In fact, priests must practice the Catholic Church's *Missale Romanum* (Roman Missal) general rules for religious processions stating that "Their purpose is to arouse the faithful's devotion, to commemorate God's benefits to man and to thank Him for them, and to call upon Him for further assistance; hence they ought to be celebrated in a truly religious manner…It is the pastors' duty to explain them to the faithful at the proper time."[156] The rules also state that sacred vestments be worn by the clergy who must be reserved and intent on feverous prayer, and similarly those following and marching in the procession must as well, without food or drink allowed. Further, "A cross is carried at the head of the procession, and where it is the custom also a banner with sacred images, but not one that has a military character or a triangular form."[157] Yet processions in La Plaza are far from following the *Missale Romanum* as at any moment there may be a small child drinking soda pop, the onlookers perhaps munching on something, and instead of solemnity there is incredibly loud music that immediately follows the priest who walks along in the procession guiding members of the community in prayer with a bull horn. Devotional labor is situated then somewhere in between what the Roman Catholic Church mandates and the local customs people have adopted as mediated by the spiritual leader in residence. Father Ernesto from the Diocese of Zamora commented that in the region many of the priests hail from Michoacán, and are therefore familiar with the locals' customs and sensitive toward their traditions thus bringing a cultural sensitivity

[156] Sancta Missa, "Rituale Romanum, 1962, Processions - General Rules," accessed, January 12, 2013, http://www.sanctamissa.org/en/resources/books-1962/rituale-romanum/55-processions-general-rules.html.
[157] Ibid.

to their work as missionaries. In La Plaza, popular faith is developed and nurtured by way of religious fiestas based on how the local parish priest learns to celebrate religious them while growing up. As such the celebration of fiestas by way of the Catholic Church becomes a tradition that is passed down through its actual celebration over time by way of priests who must engage with local communities to continue to arouse their faith in Christ and the Catholic Church as an institution. For Father Donisio, the procession is not the only activity in which La Plaza's community organizers' devotional labor veers into uncommon traditions and for the community members, weary feelings about the celebration are unleashed.

4.1.4.4 Threatening Traditions as a Catalyst for Preservation

One Sunday morning during Mass Father Donisio threatened to eliminate the day of the *Señores de la maquinaria* because no one wanted to take on the responsibility of heading the committee for the day's organization. This lack of leadership is not unusual, as some of the organizers I spoke to mentioned that they did not want to take on their positions, but only did so out of respect for the priest who had appointed them. For the day of the *Señores de la maquinaria* no one seemed to want to take on the responsibility. Mario Rodriguez Luto finally stepped in with Pedro Ramirez Torres, and Angel Andrade Gonzalez after learning that the day would be dissolved. He had been a part of the organizing committee two years prior. Living in a largely agricultural community, Mario is a part of the community that depends on machinery for their employment in agriculture. He and the two others decided to take on the leadership role because "it's a tradition and we did not want to let it die because the priest really did want to suppress it." In order to preserve the day, and their own identity in Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta, it meant that they would have to intervene. It was not until they saw the potential loss of their identity as

members of this group, which is connected to the local workforce of the rancho that they chose to exert the devotional labor required in maintaining the day as a part of the fiesta.

Figure 17 Front of decorated tractors parading in Our Lady of Guadalupe's procession organized by the *Señores de la maquinaria*, 2012. Photo by Janet Ceja.

Figure 18 Back of decorated tractors parading in Our Lady of Guadalupe's procession organized by the *Señores de la maquinaria*, 2012. Photo by Janet Ceja.

The major reason Mario and others did not want to head the committee for the day of the *Señores de la maquinaria* is because of the money management that is involved in the process. The committee leaders must personally visit people's homes to request donations from community members that use any form of machinery in their employment. This may include the obvious farming machinery such as tractors, but also vehicles such as pick-up trucks. By expanding the meaning of machinery to everyday forms of transportation, the group also hopes to extend their chance of getting more monetary support.

In 2011, the committee requested a donation of $1000 pesos (approximately $80.00 U.S. dollars) from every community member. Although, as Mario added: "we leave it up to each person's conscience if they have it [money] or if not, what they want to give." The committee leaders begin visiting and collecting money every weekend at least a month in advance, though the majority begins at least three months prior with some putting on fundraising activities such as raffles. Compared to other groups the *Señores de la maquinaria* started requesting donations rather late, but they still managed to fundraise over $30,000 pesos (approximately $2,500 U.S. dollars) for the celebration of their day. Some community members are very willing to support the event, others unabashedly tell the committee leaders to come back another day, with no intention of ever donating.

Pedro who with Mario organized the day had this to say on the matter:

> …me, personally, I didn't want to [take on the role] because in the first place there are people who refuse to donate, and sometimes we only have a limited amount of time to visit them and they get angry because we're visiting, they put on long faces and those little things we take into account and well, we say, "no, hey, why should we be racking our brains out?" This time around it's probable that we'll each have to put in some money from our own pockets for little things we should have taken into account but what we [the committee] want now, thanks be to God, anyway, is to come out well.

Some of the other excuses committee organizers hear from the locals are that they have already contributed to the fiesta by contributing to other organizing committees. For instance, the leaders of the day of the *Comerciantes* commented that some claim to have donated money by way of their wives who contribute $200 pesos for the day of the s*eñoras*, or their kids who give

$250 pesos toward the day of the youth, or they may have a small *equaro* and donate money to the day of the *Ecauareros, Albañiles, y Banda Limonera*. Whether the other committee leaders were simply more prepared in their fundraising techniques, or the *Señores de la* maquinaria were given a series of excuses, the reality is that the cost of the fiesta is a burden on the whole rancho. For this burden to be lessened it requires a lot of collaboration and laborious work on the part of the committee leaders, along with a great dosage of faith in Our Lady of Guadalupe since it is for her that this celebration is put on after all.

The $200-1000 peso contributions demonstrate the differences in the amount committees request from community members and for those who are a part of more than one social group it is frustrating to have multiple fiesta committee members visit every weekend for donations without having the means to afford it. For instance, it is not unlikely that a young woman would be asked to donate money for the day of the s*eñoras* and *youth.* Participation based on donations for a young woman would amount to $450 pesos.[158] For men, this cost increases depending on their trade. The fiesta depends greatly on the community's financial contributions, but when money is an issue some may give raw goods such as a sack of corn or beans if they cannot contribute with actual money.

Fundraising activities are not limited to the community's dependency just on each other, but also on animal productivity or cultivation of the land which can in turn be transformed into financial capital. Joaquin Ruiz Vega, one of the committee leaders for the day of the *Ecuareros, Albañiles* and *Banda Limonera* noted that their *ecuaros* rely heavily on the rainy season as it is difficult to irrigate the land in the hills. If the weather changes their crops may in turn be

[158] To give an idea of the local wages, if a woman chooses to work one day out of the week in the fields picking strawberries she would make approximately $10 pesos for every five gallon pail picked during the high season and $13 pesos during the low season. In 2011, $10 pesos was the equivalent to approximately $.80 U.S. cents and $13 pesos amounted to about $1 U.S. dollar.

negatively affected, and this too has a domino effect on their ability to donate money for the yearly fiesta.

The Church's tithe is transformed into the embodiment of the community's own labor to satisfy their fiesta's commitment to Our Lady of Guadalupe. What is rather curious is that most towns and cities with large Catholic congregations organize their major annual religious fiestas in honor of a patron figure, oftentimes a saint. The patron is designated by the name of the parish, and in La Plaza it is *El Sagrado Corazon de Jesus*. Yet, when the designated celebration for the parish patron comes around, the fiesta organized is a simple event that might extend to two days without lavish processions, but with solemn prayer and religious services. This is not unique to La Plaza, and in other surrounding areas Our Lady of Guadalupe is also an important figure that is celebrated as a major religious patron even though the town's parish patron is not.

Donations for the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe are gathered by the head organizers from community members who all wish to see the event through at its bare minimum, meaning to contribute towards the Church's required fees for decorations, candles, electricity, and other costs incurred during the festivities. In speaking to every committee, they all claimed raising the amount necessary to meet what was requested by the Church as their fundamental goal. Activities such as hiring performers for the procession or contracting a band for the evening festivities were "extras," though the local community's judgment of a day's success is heavily dependent on the overall execution of the committee's leadership in these "extra" activities. For many, especially the youth who are interested in the secular activities, the most successful committees will be the one who puts on the best showcase of events throughout the day and especially at night. The best secular activities tend to be those put on by the *Jovenes* and *Hijos ausentes* who gather much of their financial capital in the U.S., each fundraising up to

approximately $200,000 pesos (approximately $16,000 U.S. dollars). When compared to what the day of the *Señores de la maquinaria* may raise at approximately $34,000 pesos, it makes quite a difference as to how spectacular the event will be judged by the locals and visitors.

In general, community members organizing and coordinating the fiesta are often reluctant to take on the responsibility of leading a day of the novena. One major source for their hesitancy comes from the fundraising efforts they have to coordinate with pre-planning periods ranging from one to three months in advance. In some parts of Mexico where religious fiestas are celebrated, preparations for town fiestas in honor of religious entities begin immediately following the end of the festivity. In La Plaza, the events follow a less rigid schedule and community members rely on the local priest to assign a group of people to coordinate each day's celebration. Some community members may volunteer to take on the responsibility, but it is likelier for the priest to assign positions to people who are involved in the social group representative of each festive day.

In some cases it is not only the priest who issues the assignments to the locals, but the community members themselves persuade individuals to take on the task. For instance, Raymundo Aguilar Ferrero led the day of the youth two years prior to the 2011 fiesta, and similar to many others I spoke to, he was reluctant to take on the role for a second time. One of the reasons he felt compelled to take on the responsibility was because community members living in the U.S. called on him to do it. It is important to note that the bonds between community members living in La Plaza with those who now live in the U.S. remain strong in spite of the physical distance. Through the fiesta, they continue to maintain this community. While committee leaders are hesitant to take on the role, not all of them find it difficult to organize. Raymundo, the head of the day of the *Jovenes,* commented that it was not hard for him

to coordinate the event, perhaps because it was Our Lady of Guadalupe who helped him with raising money and gathering support for her fiesta from people locally and outside of La Plaza. Still, he commented that he did not want to organize the fiesta the following year though he would be willing to help the new leadership the coming year. At the heart of this decision were the criticisms he received concerning the organizational decisions he had made that year.

Raymundo, much like others who willfully take on the event, are "idea people" because they come up with new visions for the organization of the day's events, whether they observe activities by attending other fiestas in the region or neighboring states or simply have a creative eye. Making changes to the fiesta will, of course, have consequences whether it involves not meeting the Catholic Church's religious standards or their community's own opinions of how the event should be executed based on their own experiences. Community members can also be very critical of the lead organizers because there tends to be embezzlement amongst some of the groups. It is rumored that some lead organizers are stealthy with the monies they fundraise and keep some of it for themselves. Rumors of committee leaders stealing money are especially prevalent among the days that bring in the most money, the days of the *Jovenes* and *Hijos ausentes*.

Even some of the days that do not raise much money have gained bad reputations. For instance, another reason why no one wanted to take on the responsibility of leading the day of the *Señores de la maquinaria* was because the year prior there had been problems in this regard. As a result, members of this social group did not want to contribute in 2011. For the day of the *Hijos ausentes*, Miguel Salvador Cervantes, one of the organizers of the day, commented that the year prior to his involvement there was also a lot of money that got "lost." While the distance between the U.S. and Mexico is quite far, Miguel was not referring to the money getting lost in

its route to Mexico via Western Union! The money was stolen by those who took part in the fundraising activities in the U.S. On other occasion's committee members from the *Hijos ausente*s are also negatively looked upon for using the money they fundraise to pay for their trips to Mexico from the U.S. Their critics believe they should pay for their own trips, and the money raised should be solely for the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe. These criticisms have negative consequences on the fiesta because fewer people feel inclined to donate money to individuals from these committees, and new committee members must work harder to earn the trust of the community. This bring us back to the fiesta's distribution across borders and the collaborative work that *does* take place between La Plaza's community in the U.S. and Mexico.

4.1.4.5 Distributing the Fiesta's Labor Economy

In the U.S., money for the fiesta is raised through various means including raffles, dance parties, and food sales known as kermises that in turn help build community amongst the members of La Plaza living in the U.S. In 2011, the *Hijos ausentes* committee was led by Miguel Salvador Cervantes who lives in Wisconsin, and Jorge Roble Santos and Martin Ochoa Valles both of whom live in California. When I asked Miguel how they managed the money they raised for the event he stated:

> There are a lot of people selling [raffle] tickets, in other words, collecting the money [for us], but we know who all of the people gathering the money are. At some point we call them, "you know I'm going to send [tickets]," and it's as if I needed your help "can you help me sell twenty tickets in Los Angeles" and you accept, "Okay, what do I do with the money?" I look for the most convenient way for you-you see, there is a leader, Jorge, in Ontario, "this is his number; call

> him, or send the money to Mexico, to someone you know from here [La Plaza] and when we're in Mexico we'll stop by to pick it up. The majority [of the people] always send it to me." I also collect money and it arrives to me all the way from San Francisco, Houston, and I've searched [fundraised] in other areas where there are only a few people from La Plaza; they do help. In Houston, we've never fundraised, but there is a young woman that is helping me there, and its' just her family, just her five brothers. Last year I located another family in Houston, and there are now ten people who help [from that area], and this year they just called me; but there are also people in the state of Alabama, I think they're moving, they work in agriculture and [the person from Alabama said] "call me maybe we'll be here [in Alabama];" he's from the rancho, but it [money] will always fall in the hands of two people: me or Jorge.

It is no wonder that money can get "lost." There are many people who sell and buy tickets that are not directly overseen by the head organizers, and the people participating must be honest with the large sums of money they are in charge of gathering until they send it to the leaders of the committee. As such, the "labor" of the *Hijos ausentes* extends all over the U.S., and requires a lot of networking and teamwork in order to execute a successful day for the fiesta.

As noted, one factor that affects the desire for people to take on this responsibility is the instability encountered in terms of fundraising. The effects of not creating an atmosphere of lively events, of dance, and of folklore mean specific festive days create low expectations and as a result create a poor reputation. This is manifested through jokes, judgments, and mean-spirited criticisms. Furthermore, this, too, has implications given that the organizers may not be asked to

head the event again, or they may not want to do it altogether because they do not want to be criticized.

Besides the immediate consequences, there are also larger structural ones that occur due to globalization. The values brought about through new capital affect places such as La Plaza by creating new forms of economic dependency through the celebration of traditional customs. The growing expectations created for the *Jovenes* and *Hijos ausentes* are not stable if the working conditions of the community members living in the U.S. are threatened through policies that affect their well-being. The economic structures and political climates of each country are always in flux and affect the employment of individuals on both sides of the border, and in turn, also affect the flow of community members who can go to and from each country to participate in the fiesta. Moreover, such sources of support are not always stable. We can further contextualize this "instability" as linked to the global economy, local job markets, migration patterns, and level of poverty confronted by members of La Plaza on both sides of the border. On the other hand, the fiesta's "stable" characteristics are the fundraising mechanisms they employ at low (e.g., low risk raffles) or high (e.g., high risk raffles) levels to pay for the cost of the fiesta. Other low level risk fundraising activities include having kermises in La Plaza on Sunday evenings when members of a committee sell popular dishes such as tamales or enchiladas. In the U.S. fundraising activities include picnics and dance parties. As such, fundraising is a major part of the logical structure of the fiesta with a range of possibilities depending on the context in which the activities are organized and acted out. This dependency on the participation and more importantly, the financial capital raised by community members in the U.S. creates new expectations from the community in Mexico and makes organizing the fiesta both a local and transnational affair. However, the maintenance of the community's social

bonds are the strongest linkages. These activities have contributed to Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta's preservation as devotional labor that is being transformed from a purely religious offering to one competing with the "paganism" Father Donisio was referring to when I spoke to him.

4.1.4.6 Conclusion

In La Plaza, devotional labor yields a record of continuous worship and the creation of customs that represent La Plaza's identity as a community that persists through the celebration of the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The acts involved in creating a fiesta in La Plaza offer a glimpse at how devotional labor is communally distributed, financially straining, morally charged, and physically taxing. Communally distributed because the fiesta is financially supported by La Plaza's community members in Mexico and the U.S.; financially straining, because fundraising is largely dependent on the success of La Plaza's community to transform local harvests, livestock, and physical labor into products that provide them with financial capital; morally charged, because while the fiesta is a religious feast it competes with secular excesses customary of Mexican celebrations; and physically taxing, because there are nine days of religious and secular festivities that begin at five in the morning and can end as late as three in the morning.

The concept of devotional labor can be considered an event-oriented record for its kinetic form as Anderson remarks, "Kinetic records include dance, ritual, craft, and sport—all of which are activities that have historical lineages and are performed in semantically stable

ways."[159] Curiously, the historical lineage of Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta is a syncretic manifestation that dates back to pre-Columbian times with the deity Tonantzin. Prior to colonization the Nauha made pilgrimages to mount Tepeyac to venerate Tonantzin where Our Lady of Guadalupe was said to have appeared to Juan Diego in 1531. The desire for Catholic friars to convert the indigenous populations to Christianity is said to have led to the creation of Our Lady of Guadalupe for this purpose. By reconfiguring local native customs with those of Christianity it is possible that the kinetic customs of dancing and performing survived as a part of religious processions in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe. Devotional labor, then, is a link to this long forgotten story of the past. Thus, if the mind has forgotten the linkages between Tonantzin and Our Lady of Guadalupe, is it possible that the body has not? In other words, is it possible that the tradition has undergone a semantic transformation on the receiving end that it is currently being read in in a new context?

In Bastian's article "'Play Mas': Carnival in the Archives and the Archives in Carnival: Records and Community Identity in the US Virgin Islands," she develops a theoretical framework for understanding a cultural archive. She goes on to prove how Carnival in the U.S. Virgin Islands is much like an archival record by having a consistent structure, context, and fixed content representing the "ethos" of the society. Ultimately, however, and much like Anderson comments on event-oriented records, Bastian recognizes that the best way to act upon such a finding is based on "the archivist's own recognition and acceptance of cultural performances as analogous to records" and "a willingness to document and unite many elements of an extended longitudinal cultural performance—be they artifacts, music, photographs, video, text—within a

[159] Anderson, "The Footprint and the Stepping Foot : Archival Records, Evidence, and Time," 16.

cultural context over time."[160] I made a similar recommendation in the previous section, but it is also important to recognize that memory infrastructures and devotional labor are preservation mechanisms that could be introduced in an archive by, for instance, incorporating elders into the fiesta's celebration through an archive's outreach programs that highlights the memory of the event through their oral transmission. Submitting records concerning the event's financial activities to the archive may also be a way to keep individuals honest. Here, the development of such outreach programs would likely be unfeasible in an archive without a mission to support the archiving and preservation of intangible cultural heritage. Besides a place for archivists to "document and unite" the elements of a cultural performance or other forms of intangible cultural heritage as Bastian notes, a "cultural archive" would have archivists willing to actively participate in these practices and study their preservation beyond documentation. In this manner, *informal records* would be identified and formally be introduced into an archival context.

4.1.5 Material Production

In *material production*, the perspective is limited to the materiality produced as a result of the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe as a video composition. I present the local videographers who record Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta and sell DVDs as mementos. I was able to interview two of the three and of the two I interviewed one is from the pueblo of Ixtlán and the other from La Plaza. The third videographer from Ixtlán refused to be interviewed, so his work is only discussed in passing and for making comparisons. I discuss the videos produced by Oscar Alvarado Acosta from Ixtlán, and the daughter of the father-and-daughter duo from La Plaza,

[160] Jeannette Allis Bastian, "'Play Mas' : Carnival in the Archives and the Archives in Carnival : Records and Community Identity in the Us Virgin Islands," *Archival Science* 9, no. 1 (2009): 122-23.

Alma Arellano Ramirez and Fernando Arellano Flores. However, I specifically focus on Oscar's work because of his unique documentary vision, created in conjunction with members of the community of La Plaza.

First, I discuss the videographers' background and relationship to foreign audiovisual technology. Then, I examine how the videos are recorded during the fiesta, and how the rapport between videographer and community influences how the video is made. Finally, I round out the study with a film analysis of a typical day of the fiesta by Oscar, the videographer from Ixtlán.

4.1.5.1 The Craft of Videography

Alma, twenty years old when I interviewed her, shyly told me as we stood in the atrium of the Church that she started to help her father in their small videography business at the age of twelve. She continues to assist him with video recording events such as religious fiestas and other celebrations, but also in taking digital photographs of people during these events. They are one of many videographers you can find in the surrounding pueblos and ranchos called upon to record and photograph festive events such as weddings, birthday parties, quinceañeras, funerals, the building of new homes, and other life-altering events. Her parents acquired their first analog tape-based camcorder when they were living in the U.S. in the 1990s, but have since upgraded to a more modern hand held model and now live in Mexico. Their video archive consists of videos from La Plaza's fiesta dating back to 1999.

Oscar on the other hand, officially took up videography in 1990 at the age of forty. Oscar, much like Alma and Fernando in La Plaza, was the first person to introduce this craft to Ixtlán. The earliest record Oscar has of La Plaza's fiesta is from the year 2000; and though he believes to have been the first amateur videographer to record its fiesta, it is questionable given

the year Alma's father dated his video archive. When I asked Alma for a copy of their oldest video, I was handed one from 2001 because they could not find the oldest one. The retrieval of the media for both videographers was a problem when I requested their oldest footage of the fiesta.

When Oscar started doing video work in La Plaza, it was by invitation. Individual committee members who organized the event worked out a contract with him to video record the days they headed. They would book Oscar for a set number of hours and requested that he capture specific content pertaining to their day. This is the typical manner in which videography still works with celebratory events such as weddings, quinceañeras, and other festivities. Contract work for the video recording of religious fiestas is no longer a standard practice in La Plaza with the exception of the day of the *Chiveros* and *Ganaderos* who still request that he shoot a personalized video of their day.

With more and more access to video equipment, cell phone camcorders, and other such portable devices, the work of amateur videographers is not sought after in the manner it was a little over a decade ago when the fiesta's video productions were at the height of their popularity. Religious fiesta videos are now packaged as complete sets that include the nine days of festivities; they are no longer personalized works that satisfy the viewing desires of just the fiesta's committee groups. Further, the major difference between contract work and these new packages is that videographers produce videos at their leisure. For instance, Oscar, and Alma and Fernando are not keen on video-recording the fiesta's morning festivities, whereas the second videographer from Ixtlán documents both.

In fact, when discussing the possibility of an interview with the second videographer from Ixtlán, he mentioned that he was looking for a way for his videos to be distinguished from

the rest. That's when he slyly proposed that since I was interviewing the lead organizers of the fiesta for my study that perhaps we could mutually benefit each other by having him video record the interviews. In this manner, he too, could benefit from editing the interviews into his video production. Suffice it to say that I did not agree, though I thought it was a clever idea. His reputation for capturing the fiesta is distinguished as one that is very "complete," because he records the nine days of celebration beginning with the first morning Church Mass then later during the procession and through the wee hours of the night. Additionally, his product is the most expensive and least flexible in capturing what community members might request of him.

This style differs from Oscar's, and Alma and Fernando's in that they are less strict about capturing the event in the morning, and are more open to recording what is requested of them. Much like his hometown competitor, Oscar also tries to add something new to his productions each year whether it is playing with formal visual qualities or the opening scenes of the novena each day. He comments: "I tell you it's, almost every recording should have something new so that it's not the same route and it becomes monotonous because I did receive some commentaries, 'no well, we know your videos by heart because you begin in such a way' so sometimes it's important to begin shooting in a different location or record only the procession." The other manner in which he achieves distinction in his work is through his videos' opening titles of the novena's specified by day and leadership, which he calls *la edición* (the edition). The *edición* is outsourced to another videography studio in the city of Zamora because he does not have the technology or know-how to do this sort of visual work.

While the competition for La Plaza's clientele is not fierce, it does exist amongst the three different videographers who often walk around and record the event all at once from different positions in conjunction with numerous other hand held devices used by the onlookers

and participants of the event. Each videographer brings his or her own techniques to add value to the video and persuade buyers into purchasing their product.

4.1.5.2 Oscar's Unexpected Journey

In 1985, Oscar had a small business renting Betamax movies in Ixtlán. This business venture required that he travel to the city of Zamora for a distance of approximately 58 kilometers (36 miles) roundtrip by car to pick-up movies from a rental store. He then took them back to Ixtlán to rent out to the local townspeople. At a time when the Video Home System (VHS) dominated the world market, Oscar was going to Zamora to rent Betamax movies in a locale where it was still commercially profitable to do so. For instance, in the U.S., Betamax technology had not been a viable consumer product since the late 1970s. Betamax was still actively used in Mexico in the 1980s and Oscar's introduction to video technology took place during this transitional period. It was not until a few years later that he actually purchased a VHS tape-based camcorder.

The purchase took place after a local man approached him at his video rental business to ask if he had any idea how to use a video camera. The man was older and the camcorder he owned had been a gift from his family in the U.S. For Oscar, it was the first time he had ever handled a camcorder and his immediate success at it led the old man to ask Oscar if he would be willing to video record parts of Ixtlán, the church, a famous geyser, and his home. It turns out that soon thereafter, the old man reckoned he did not need the video camera and sold it to Oscar thus rationalizing "…and what-what do I want it for?" For Oscar, as it was for Fernando and Alma, modern video technology reached their community and hands by way of human migration and the ability for people to travel across borders and return with technological goods in hand.

Their experiences demonstrate two different ways in which this was possible. Oscar gained a camcorder as the result of one person's inability to use a technology that was purchased for him from family abroad. For Fernando and Alma, Fernando's trip to the U.S. led him to return to Mexico with a camcorder in hand. In the end, both adapted the camcorder as a means for self-sufficiency and expanded its intended use for the home by shifting its use from the domestic to the public sphere.

Oscar's inclination toward videography grew largely because of the locals in Ixtlán. When he first started practicing with the camcorder out in public, people around him often asked if they could purchase a copy of what he was recording. This interaction between Oscar, the camcorder, and the local townspeople wishing to see what he was capturing set off the idea that perhaps taking up videography would be a profitable venture. With camera in hand Oscar became a very visible figure in Ixtlán as he had access to a new technology that immediately aroused the attention of those around him. Oscar also noted in one of our talks that he gathered satisfaction from the fact that what he captured on video underwent "immortalization." He often gets requests from people who want video copies of family members in his videos who have passed away and this goes to show how his customers place emotional value on his work as they are able to connect with the memory of their dead. His video archive is an asset and he keeps copies of his major festivities for this reason. Another aspect about Oscar's video archive is that it houses unique videos of religious fiestas not only from La Plaza, but other small ranchos and pueblos in the area. Today, amateur videography may be commonplace in many parts of the world; but in areas such as La Plaza, Oscar's, and Fernando and Alma's use of it since the 2000s is an example of how it has been transformed from its original intention to satisfy other local interests and speak to the community's desires and curiosity.

4.1.5.3 Re-use in the Video Archive

Oscar's archive consists of 8mm analog video, VHS, and DVD formats that document festivities in the surrounding ranchos since 1990. He first began shooting on VHS tapes, but later transitioned to 8mm videotapes. He uses the 8mm videotapes to video record events directly, then he transfers the content to second generation DVD format, which is used to make more copies. The second generation copies, at times, become the "master" copies since he deletes the original content he shoots in order to reuse it. It is too expensive to purchase 8mm videotapes for every production, not to mention locate them for purchase in the region. According to Oscar, they are scarce. In this context, Oscar's preservation techniques are closely aligned with his videography practice. His techniques encompass practicing the art of reuse and are oriented toward sustainability, because he cannot afford to use new 8mm videos every time he shoots an event. Similarly, he places more value on the content he shoots than the video format or quality of the picture; getting a clear image is important, but a pristine one is not a top priority. The quality of the content usually remains at the second generation master copy from which "access" copies are made to sell to those who are represented in the video. This means the original content inevitably loses quality through the ongoing reproduction, but as noted, it is not of primary importance.

After a day's shoot the content recorded is previewed in order to search for scenes that are too dark, repetitive and shaky shots, possible footage shot of the ground, and all content that does not make for a pleasant viewing experience. Then, once the remaining content has been selected, he transfers it to his second generation video copy, which is duplicated onto the DVDs he sells to the public. In 2011, Oscar spent approximately fifteen hours of video recording the fiesta in La Plaza and ended up producing a twelve hour video of the celebration. The amount of

time dedicated to each day of the novena can run anywhere between thirty to fifty-five minutes. That same year he sold the DVD set for $300 pesos (approximately $24 U.S. dollars). Alma and Fernando charged the same amount for their videos, and they used this same technique: after recording the fiesta, they select the content they want to keep, transfer it to a DVD that becomes the master copy and from which they make more copies. When necessary they also delete the content on the master videotape for reuse.

The quality of the moving images is not of interest as much as what the images capture and invoke. Further, Oscar physically houses his collection of videos in a room in his home so the very act of keeping the videos also constitutes their preservation. Aside from keeping the video records, his preservation techniques in this context include the concept of duplication. Curiously, these practices are quite similar to the early trends of preservation practiced by moving image archivists in the U.S., though now the term encompasses a series of physical and intellectual activities.

Oscar sells his videos after the whole novena has ended, usually the following afternoon. Every day of the novena he compiles the footage he shoots and arranges it so that his product can be ready for community members who live in the U.S. and are interested in purchasing a video, but must leave soon after the fiesta has ended. The other videographers have the same workflow, and their products are ready for sale the next day. Oscar shows up in his car and parks in a visible and central location with his videos in hand, he also pays one of the rancho's stores with a loud speaker to advertise his videos with a short message that lets the town know where he is located and how much the DVDs cost. This approach is different from the other two videographers in that Alma and Fernando are on foot walking around the town selling the videos,

while the other videographer from Ixtlán drives around the town in his own car with a loud speaker announcing the sale of his videos.

4.1.5.4 Sociality and Co-constructing the Fiesta's Narrative

In spite of all the technological devices more readily available to community members, when some of them see Oscar in Ixtlán or La Plaza they ask him if he will be selling videos for the fiesta as a cue that they are interested in his work. In this manner, they too, are prepared to look for him to purchase his video set after the event has ended. This is, in part, because of the relationships he has built with the people of La Plaza over time, as well as the techniques he uses in his videos to attract customers. Some community members, moreover, still do not have access to video technology, whether it is for reasons having to do with affordability, their age, or their lack of know-how to use the technology. In other cases, community members simply do not wish to be bothered by the task of video recording the event while they are celebrating.

One of Oscar's tricks of the trade in making friends and getting new customers is by breaking the fourth wall in his videos while he's recording them. Oftentimes he begins with a joke in order to collapse the serious and rigid stance people sometimes take-on when they are being recorded. After a joke some of people loosen up and even put in an order for a video, while others inevitably want to be left alone. His breaking the fourth wall technique also helps him to get to know new community members as much as it nurtures old ties. In his videos it is discernible that he knows some people better than others by the way they look at the camera. Some react to the camera with greater confidence or he may in fact capture those who he is familiar with through close-ups. Others shy away from the camera. This amalgamation of shots makes the video appear to be community-oriented with a number of people who willingly open

up to the camera through their gestures. This technique is in line with his sociable personality. For instance, when I asked him why he enjoyed videography work he explained, "…it's a job from which one feels satisfaction because you're, besides recording the event well, you get to know the people more, more people, you know more places and it's like you make more friendships, because almost always during fiestas, because kids attend, I feel like they talk to me, you know, and I see them and know them and the elders, too, who see the videos or who see me around there recording." Moreover, these relationships work to his advantage because as he builds community with the people of La Plaza, they become invested in his work and have the desire to purchase videos from him as opposed the work of the other videographers.

Another consequence of his sociability is encountered when the locals expect more of him. In fact, the people with whom Oscar interacts are quite honest about what they want to see in his videos. Impersonating an embodiment of comments he receives from his customers' requests, he says the following: "I live at such location and my family will be there watching [the fiesta's procession], and I also want to be recorded there because they want [family in the U.S.] to see us, okay because they want to see us, they want to see us over there and I'm going to send it [to the U.S.]…because sometimes we buy a movie… and they say…'well you guys weren't in it we didn't see you we saw other people but not you all.'" As this statement suggests, some of Oscar's customers depend on him to capture them on video during the fiesta per the request of their family living in the U.S. The people in La Plaza then send these videos off to their family in the U.S. with other family or friends who visit from abroad and are in touch with the future recipients of the video. Oscar can get anywhere between fifteen to twenty requests during the fiesta in just one day. It is also typical for people to request that certain content be censored. An example of how this occurs is when some men request he not video record them while they are

dancing or drinking alcohol because they could get in trouble with their wives. As such they send hand signals to Oscar so that he can avoid shooting them. He states,

> In fact, sometimes I even ask them…I first review them [the videos] and then I see them [the men] and then, [I say to them] "but you show up like this and that—is there a problem?" [They say:] "No, yes," or "You know what, yeah it's better to remove it, remove it!" but they do say this, even this time around [during the fiesta] they've said this, "Don't record the dance party!" So the amount of footage I can record is limited and during the dances I would go in and search around [for them], and I'd say [to myself] I better shoot from this direction instead because it's true that they will see them dancing over there [in the U.S.] and they will get caught. Others tell me "Look, when I raise my hand like this it means 'no' [don't record] okay?" And we agree and sometimes they tell me the same thing if they're drinking alcohol with friends.

So the perimeters of what he shoots at different points during the fiesta are in many ways already determined by his customers. It should be of no surprise then that the townspeople who make these requests end up being those who purchase his DVDs. His customers may buy one or more videos to distribute amongst family members. For instance, he was asked to video record an elderly couple at the doorsteps of their home because the man's wife could not walk to the central street where the procession would be passing through. Oscar ended up going to their home to video record them and this act later resulted in the family purchasing six videos. The bigger the family and more distributed they are in the U.S., the greater chance more of these types of bulk video sales take place.

It should be noted that video-recording homes, especially newly built ones is quite popular. The remittances sent to Mexico from family members in the U.S. may also go toward the building of a home for the larger family, if not specifically for the sending families who want to construct their own home. While undocumented workers are unlikely to own homes in the U.S., their chances of constructing one in Mexico grow by saving enough money to send back home. In spite of the economic downturn, the U.S. dollar is still able to go a long way in Mexico. In fact, remittances are what keep a lot of families afloat in places such as La Plaza, and more generally Mexico's greater economy. In 2011, $2.08 billion U.S. dollars were sent to Mexico by Mexicans who live abroad.[161] For those who save up enough money in the U.S. to begin building a house in Mexico these videos simultaneously act as evidence that their new home is actually being built and how it has happened over time. It also shows other diaspora members how their fellow community members are transforming their capital into economic investments in Mexico. As such, the major challenge Oscar confronts with his community-oriented video work is balancing the fiesta's narrative to accommodate a communal vision of personal interests.

4.1.5.5 Typical Opening Scenes: day of the *Freseros*

The *Freseros'* novena day in the *edición* opens with black text that is highlighted in lime green overlaid onto footage showing exterior shots of the parish chapel, church, and the rancho's plaza that at the time was occupied by a stage for the evening's music concert. The plaza is located directly in front of the parish church and the overlaid text introduces the date, which is connected by a colon to a short quote that reads as though it is from the *Nican Mopohua*, an early

[161] The Los Angeles Times, "Remittances to Mexico Fell 20% in September Compared with Last Year," accessed 1 January, 2013, http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/world_now/2012/11/mexico-immigrants-remittances.html.

text documenting Our Lady of Guadalupe's apparition in the indigenous Náhuatl language. For the day of the *Freseros* the quote from the *Nican Mopohua* states "When Juan Diego entered with the Virgin, he bowed and knelt before him [the bishop]; he [Juan Diego] immediately gave him the message our Lady from heaven…" Then, immediately below this quote, and of Oscar's doing is the following excerpt:

The *freseros* also bow before

God to give thanks for all

the generous blessing he provides.

Headed by:

Ernesto and Joel Castro Durante and Armando Blanco Campos

Accompanied by:

The catechists and all of the parish children

Celebrated by:

Father Jorge Garza Melendez

Through the credits the committee heads are recognized each day with their names to remind viewers that thanks to their devotional labor and leadership the day was prosperously celebrated. Moreover, the gestures of their devotional labor are woven with the words of the *Nican Mopohua* and what follows are the images that prove their devotional acts. The heads of each committee are framed as protagonists by way of the words presented, although after this image disappears the rest of the video captures the community as protagonist celebrating in a series of activities that together give the fiesta meaning. Running in the background of the *edición* various shots of the *rancho's* plaza and the surrounding atrium are edited together, including some showing the concert stage that blocks a part of the church's façade. This juxtaposition is also symbolic of the

rancho's feverous "paganism" and demonstrates how the evening's activities appear to take precedence over the religious festivities in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe.

Besides the visual footage and text that set up the day of the *Freseros,* aurally there is familiar traditional music bursting with cheer. The song called "Las mañanitas" usually sung or played on someone's birthday or saint's day aims to put viewers in a celebratory state. After a few more shots of the plaza and architectural markers most locals would recognize, there is an abrupt edit. This edit is signals the poor technical integration of the *edición* Oscar outsourced in Zamora. Similarly, new music is added, this time it is a *banda,* brass based popular Mexican music. The song playing is an immigrant ballad titled "México ya regresé" (Mexico, I've returned). The song lyrics (Appendix D) are appropriate for those who represent the diaspora as they portray someone who left their home country and is able to return to his *pueblo* in Mexico. Presumably the person now has the means to provide for his or her family and for which he or she is grateful to the U.S., though he or she wants never to return.

Thereafter, the camera continues to take the viewer through the rancho's Plaza until a poster image of Our Lady of Guadalupe is spotted hanging on the church and zoomed into. This poster image is superimposed with a quick edit of the framed image of Our Lady of Guadalupe inside of the Church, thus making the images dissolve into each other. The zoomed image slowly zooms out and the interior of the church becomes the center of the frame. The camera continues to move around the church and capture various objects and statues in the church with a mix of medium and close-up shots. Oscar uses these camera techniques throughout his production effectively in order to not bore viewers with a standard medium shot of a location. When he has ended covering the interior of the church he cuts to a close-up of a mesquite tree in the plaza with numerous bean pods. This is an element worth appreciating because it will

immediately remind community members of eating this typical fruit often enjoyed as a local treat. These intimate touches of linking the identity and memory of La Plaza's community are not typical of the other videographers' work.

After shooting the mesquite pods, he cuts to footage of the priest's home, the chapel, the church, and the plaza with the immense concert stage, and a statue of Our Lady of Guadalupe in the plaza's gardens. Afterwards, he presents a long shot of a street and then cuts to a medium shot of the home of the elderly couple mentioned earlier. The footage is at first inconspicuous as it focuses on the street and since he has spent a great deal of time shooting empty spaces, it appears as though the viewer is now touring La Plaza's streets. It is not until he shoots a close-up of a plaque with the family's last name, and he proceeds to capture an elderly man opening the home's door that it becomes apparent that the footage is a bit out of the ordinary. This and the subsequent footage begins to revolve around the family's home and a few shots of the family. Even if the footage of the actual family amounts to a few seconds, the shots he takes of other homes in close proximity with a tighter focus remain associated with the family's home. It is not until he shoots a diversity of streets using long shots and he introduces new people passing by that a transition from the family just witnessed occurs. Except as Oscar continues to shoot La Plaza's streets there are more people walking and standing around casually and it is unclear whether these images have been requests or are simply natural encounters. The video continues to tour La Plaza and gives viewers a preview of how the rancho has changed, and casually introduces the viewers to its people with more gut wrenching ballads narrating the immigrant experience in the U.S. Then, more and more people appear standing around, sitting, and casually socializing as they wait for the evening procession to make its way through their street.

Some people make it a point to tease and criticize Oscar for focusing on specific people; he mimics the people who criticize him: "'Hey, you shot those drunkards way too much, don't shoot them anymore. Hey, and you shot that [person], how much did he pay you because you shot him like he paid you to do it. What's going on?' And sometimes I think that I might overdo it, but yeah, yeah, there are comments like that." Oscar actually satisfies these requests at no extra charge, "they are included with the purchase of the video," he states. Moreover, he also receives complements: "…there is a person there from La Plaza and it [what she said] stuck with me, well a little because she was telling me 'I just I like to watch your movies because you like, like you know what we want to see.'" Getting to know people from La Plaza as an outsider has helped him shape a reflection of who they are and that they enjoy watching.

4.1.5.6 Conclusion

This section focused on the work of videographers documenting the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe on DVDs as the material production that result from the activities enacted during the celebration. These amateur productions are made for the locals to see themselves individually and collectively, to find themselves within a space that brings them back memories of the fiesta. The videos may be of interest to townspeople who were not able to participate in the fiesta, others use them to remember deceased family members; yet in other cases, the DVDs meet the desires of the once-locals now living in the U.S. to see family and friends back home. The videos are purchased after the event; they may be watched at a leisurely pace, some choose to watch the videos together immediately after the fiesta. For those living in the U.S. who cannot attend, there is a lag time between the purchase and their viewing, as they have to wait for those who made the purchase in La Plaza to return to the U.S. For the latter group especially, living

within a global environment has meant previous ideas about how they lived in La Plaza and who they are as members of the diaspora in the U.S. has created a market for consuming products, such as videos to satisfy their desire to reconnect with their homelands and maintain a sense of communal identity. Michoacán ranks third in Mexico among states with migrants to the U.S. The municipality of Ixtlán, where La Plaza is located ranks high within the state of Michoacán as a locale that receives many remittances from family members in the U.S.; has a great deal of temporary workers that travel to the U.S.; as well as numerous members that return home from the U.S. It is not unlikely to find natives of Michoacán in the popular receiving states of California, Illinois, and Texas, even though states such as Wisconsin and Washington are becoming areas of new exploration. More recently there has been a growing trend of Mexican immigrants to destinations in the southern, northeastern, midwestern, and northwestern regions of the U.S. Some scholars suggest that the rise of visibility of Mexican migrants has recently led to divisive politics concerning undocumented migration.

In "Documenting the Immigrant and Ethnic Experience in American Archives" Dominique Daniel recommends to archivists interested in documenting these communities that "They must take into consideration the effects of information and communication technologies on immigrant and ethnic groups, which should not be seen as local, isolated pockets of populations but as elements in global, transnational communities." One effect of information and communication technology on La Plaza is that the notion of community continues to expand from its traditional borders and these flows of human migration lead to the creation of documentation that shapes and speaks to their experiences. Through the circulation of audiovisual media we find evidence that immigrant and ethnic communities do not live in isolated pockets, but are highly distributed networks of people found throughout the globe. If the

circulation of documentation from these communities is imaginarily compounded, and transposed with recent digital preservation efforts using the principle of decentralized and distributed preservation (e.g. lots of copies keep stuff safe, LOCKSS), the impact of the of documentation distributed by human migration may help us understand how to approach preservation on different scales and from different perspectives. The continuous reproduction and distribution of Our Lady of Guadalupe's visual story in relation to the identity of La Plaza also helps to preserve this community's identity in new contexts, including the fiesta as a cultural tradition accessible in documentary form. Out of the three social practices enacted by the community, it is the *material production* that emerges from the celebration is the most likely to be adopted by archives for its physical manifestation and potential in being accepted within the already-set work practices of these institutions.

5.0 SUBJECTIVE DISCLOSURE: HOW I ARRIVED TO BUILDING THEORY

This chapter is devoted to the grounded theory methodology employed in this project. The grounds for doing this have been 1.) to be transparent about the theory building process I conducted in completing this study and 2.) because there are few models in archival studies that employ this methodology, and for this reason, it can benefit other researchers interested in utilizing it. For grounded theory in particular I have attempted to unravel a knotty history that must be understood before employing its methods, and for ethnography I traced its lineage and disciplinary deviations. Furthermore, the deep exploration of both methodologies is evidence of the journey of the research process I took to conduct this project.

Writing about the state of archival research in 2004, Anne Gilliland and Sue McKemmish noticed that "…until recently, there has not been the conscious theory-building that is evidenced in the recent work of archival scholars. Theory-building, as a research method, is a means by which the logic that is used to build the theory is made explicit and accessible to the user of the resulting theory."[162] As will be discussed later, I also found that few scholars in archival studies thoroughly disclosed their ethnographic and grounded theory methods in discovering or building theories. Not having methodological models to guide research makes it difficult for novice researchers to engage in research that "span[s] organizational, disciplinary, cultural, or national

[162] Anne Gilliland and Sue McKemmish, "Building an Infrastructure for Archival Research," *Archival Science* 4(2004): 155.

boundaries" as Gillialand and McKemmish suggest archival studies scholars endeavor to do.[163] In this section, I add another example to the short list of theory building projects mentioned by Gilliland and McKemmish in their article.[164]

I first set up separate discussions of ethnography and grounded theory by addressing some of the major transformations these approaches have undergone due to philosophical and epistemological debates by academicians in the latter part of the twentieth century. These debates are important because they have set the stage for the exploration of new forms of interpretative research I have set out to conduct here. Second, I address the application of ethnography and grounded theory in archival studies research by furnishing some examples of their use by scholars in the field. I do this to map out where my work falls in relation to these scholarly trends and to provide a thorough explanation of the research process. After having covered some of the intellectual debates and the scholarly application of each approach in archival studies, I delve into the specifics of grounded theory ethnography as it has been used in this project by using dimensional analysis.

5.1 ETHNOGRAPHY

In "The Once and Future Ethnographic Archive" anthropologist George E. Marcus wrote that prior to anthropology's postmodern[165] turn in the 1980s the discipline sought to be a positivist

[163] Ibid., 153.
[164] For instance, they mention the work of Trevor Livelton, *Archival Theory, Records, and the Public* (Lanham, Md.: Society of American Archivists : Scarecrow Press, 1996); Karen F. Gracy, "Documenting Communities of Practice : Making the Case for Archival Ethnography," *Archival Science* 4(2004); Martine Cardin, "Archives in 3D," *Archivaria* 51(2001).
[165] Postmodernism is a movement within the broader social constructionist philosophy.

social science (ethnoscience) by constituting cumulative ethnographic knowledge through reliable sources for comparative studies and generalizing aims; moreover, in doing so, anthropology was able to equally canonize its own knowledge domain.[166] In this sense, ethnography was viewed as a theory of knowledge gained through the analysis of social patterns, and as anthropologists Roger Sanjek remarks once focused "on a particular population, place and time with the deliberate goal of describing it to others."[167] Studying the culture and meaning-making capacity of cultures has been at the heart of anthropology, and over time this lens has shifted from being focused on one place and single populations to multi-sited locations with diverse populations, and increasingly it has been addressing the existential dilemmas of cyberspace.

The descriptive writing that takes place in the field during and after the observations of the people and/or social phenomena being studied is ethnography's distinguishing technique commonly known as "thick description." Ethnography, however, is also about accuracy and precision in presenting the actors' points of view as well as the breadth of the topic covered such as the various aspects of a social life being studied.[168] The translation of these concepts to quantitative research would equate to the "validity" and "reliability" of ethnography's methods. Further, to engage with these tenets methods have been devised, such as through formal and informal interviews. Each method has protocols for implementation and use, and the steps taken will depend on the approach taken by the researcher. Therefore, in the production of knowledge

[166] George E. Marcus, "The Once and Future Ethnographic Archive," *History of the Human Sciences* 11, no. 4 (1998): 50-51.
[167] Roger Sanjek, "Ethnography," in *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, ed. Alan Barnard and Jonathan Spencer (London; New York: Routledge, 2002), 296.
[168] Howard S. Becker, "The Epistemplogy of Qualitative Research," in *Contemporary Field Research : Perspectives and Formulations*, ed. Robert M. Emerson (Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press, 2001), 323, 27.

ethnography can function epistemologically (as a theory of knowledge), methodologically (as an approach to conducting a type of ethnography), and as a method (a technique for gathering data).

According to Marcus, the existence of anthropology had depended on the trope of a "world ethnographic archive" he remembers extolled at a meeting put on by the National Research Council's Commission on Behavioral and Social Sciences and Education in 1984. The ethnographic archive consisted of the discipline's present and future promise then believed to be "the production of ethnography, at the minimum, and at its most valuable, the present making of documents for history."[169] In other words, the production of ethnographic knowledge defined the discipline's purpose as a positivist social science and the writing of ethnographic texts accounted for its future through historical interpretation. When postmodern thought assaulted the grand narratives and totalizing discourses of modernity for a more critical view of the world whether fractured, pluralistic, heterogeneous, or historically contingent, this new framework for understanding the production of knowledge caused the world ethnographic archive to break down. The cataclysmic effects of postmodernism made the ethnographic archive's contents burst open with new meanings and interpretations.

Among the interpretations were the voices of populations who had been previously studied by anthropologists. They increasingly questioned the ethnographic authority and knowledge derived from so-called scientific observations that gave their lives meaning. In the 1960s, Chicano scholars Octavio Romano, Américo Paredes, and Nick Vaca were some of the voices that set out to question the myths constructed by "Anglo" social scientists who spoke for and about people of Mexican heritage. For instance, Paredes revealed that folklorist and anthropologist Munro Edmonson's research inferred that fatalism was a crucial cultural value of

[169] Marcus, "The Once and Future Ethnographic Archive," 50.

Mexican people based on the mistranslation of a stanza from the song "Me he de comer esa tuna" (I have to eat that prickly pear). Edmonson figured that based on the translation the person referred to in the song is "obliged by fate to eat the cactus fruit known as prickly pear (tuna)."[170] His lack of competence in the language and culture (particularly male machismo) blinded him of the sexually oriented double entendre (known as *albur*). Edmonson read the stanza fatalistically as "no matter what, I will eat the prickly pear, even if I get my hand full of thorns."[171] What Edmonson did not grasp was that "the pear in question is not an actual fruit, of course, but a woman's favors."[172] Munro's misunderstanding of the lyric's underlying meaning is an example of how ideas about people unlike us can be interpreted to generate and generalize stereotypes in broader society.

Sociologist Joan Moore highlighted the political consequences of this type of social science research on minorities including among others: the employment and legitimation of academics who conducted research on minorities with no effective outcomes, creating risks in the welfare of minorities through research findings that excluded minority groups from participation (and subsequently affected funding for possibly effective programs through grass-roots initiatives), and the omission of important variables stemming from these communities to explain their social realities.[173] Thus social science scholars sought to counteract such phenomena through the creation of new methodological techniques, but this occurred only after minority groups who were the subjects of their studies raised questions and concerns about the

[170] Renato Rosaldo, "When Natives Talk Back : Chicano Anthropology since the Late Sixties," *Renato Rosaldo Lecture Series Monograph* 2(1986): 11. The translations by Paredes come from Américo Paredes, "On Ethnographic Work among Minority Groups," in *New Directions in Chicano Scholarship*, ed. Ricardo Romo and Raymund Paredes (La Jolla, CA: University of California, San Diego, 1978).
[171] Rosaldo, "When Natives Talk Back : Chicano Anthropology since the Late Sixties," 11.
[172] Ibid., 12.
[173] Joan W. Moore, "Social Constraints on Sociological Knowledge : Academics and Research Concerning Minorities," *Social Problems* 21, no. 1 (1973): 72-73.

nature of the research being conducted. Moreover, the work of minority insider/outsider scholars such as Paredes also helped dispel some of the myths that circulated in academic circles and would later help set the foundation for institutionalized epistemologies in higher education. For Mexican-Americans, this critical tradition is known as Chicano Studies. A core value of Chicano Studies aimed to incorporate the Chicano community in the research process to give voice to the social issues affecting their livelihood and well-being. Early Mexican-American scholars as well as those from other racial and cultural backgrounds used ethnographic field work as a means to, as anthropologist Renato Rosaldo put it, "talk back" and challenge the very validity of the ethnographic process being practiced.

Cultural misunderstandings of this sort grew in the 1970s and more critiques called attention to the subjectivity involved in the crafting of ethnographies that were beginning to be looked upon as colonial modes of representation.[174] The studies conducted by cultural theorist Raymond Williams, social historian Edward P. Thompson, and sociologist Pierre Bourdieu on the social relations of inequality and resistance movements helped change classic ethnographic practice in that it no longer sufficed to describe and encase the social patterns of cultures in order to structure and/or compare them, but to also point to the processes of change, conflict, and internal inconsistencies within them.[175] The work of Rosaldo is appropriate to mention here as a prime example. In his *Culture and Truth: the Remaking of Social Analysis,* he "writes culture" by openly addressing the role of subjectivity in social analysis through self-reflexive discussions as a trained Chicano anthropologist conducting an ethnographic study in the Philippines all the while critiquing the classical norms used in writing ethnography. These new ethnographic

[174] See, Edward W. Said, "Representing the Colonized : Anthropology's Interlocutors," *Critical Inquiry* 15, no. 2 (1989); Asad Talal, *Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter* (London: Ithaca Press, 1973); Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26, no. Spring (1989).
[175] Rosaldo, *Culture and Truth the Remaking of Social Analysis*, 27-28, 108.

approaches fueled by social constructionism, led ethnography to become less understood as a scientific endeavor than as an interpretative process. Thus, this is an example of how the trope of the world ethnographic archive broke down, and, for Marcus, the personal archives of anthropologists took precedence in displaying the visible evidence of anthropology's disciplinary imperfections.

> This personal ethnographic archive while it is still in the anthropologist's possession is in effect a rich inventory, a materialized extension that offers an objectification of the self, in whole or in part, at different stages of career and life for contemplation and analysis. Every anthropologist whom I know is an archivist of his or her own career in this way, and much can be understood about such a person in the range of habits by which he or she tends this archive – how it is displayed, how stored, how often and on what occasions parts of it are consulted and reread.[176]

Personal archives opened up a new world of possibilities for ethnography as a theory of knowledge, methodology, and method and it revealed an important relationship between anthropology and archival work – anthropologists are archivists.

Elisabeth Kaplan has compared the consequences of the postmodern turn in anthropology and archival work, and describes some of the shared features of both communities through activities of representation, description, and cultural engagement. She observes that through descriptive practices both archivists and anthropologists represent people, culture, events, history, and memory; they create and use records, and in doing so exercise power as well as control; and both mediate the interpretations of the subjects they treat and study. Yet unlike

[176] Marcus, "The Once and Future Ethnographic Archive," 53.

anthropologists, Kaplan found that archivists have lived in obscurity in their applied practice without a voice in broader societal and intellectual conversations, and as a result have not received much attention or critique from external sources as other disciplines in the academy. As such the philosophical and epistemological controversies that occurred in anthropology have not been dealt with so readily in archival training programs in academia. Instead archival methodologies continued to be markers rooted in nineteenth century positivism's valuation of neutrality and objectivity. To this Kaplan cautions that: "The inability or unwillingness to respond [to broader societal debates] will keep archivists from developing a more formal intellectual apparatus for the discipline, which in turn will prevent us from refining and improving our practice."[177] Along with others such as Hans Booms, Terry Cook, Joan Schwartz, Tom Nesmith, and Verne Harris, Kaplan was one of the few voices that at the time sought to bring to light such concerns. More recently, the Archival Education and Research Institute (AERI), and Pluralizing the Archival Curriculum Group (PACG) have heeded Kaplan's call. They pick up where Kaplan left off in discussing the value of ethnographic approaches that came out of the postmodern turn in anthropology. For instance, PACG seeks to foster "methodologies in which the relationships between researcher and "subject" are reconfigured, and pioneering participatory research models in which "research subjects" are redefined as partners in research," as well as "partnership research [that] acknowledges multiple sources of knowledge and promotes the use of multiple methods of discovery and dissemination of knowledge."[178] These ideas emphasize the social constructionism tradition of qualitative research based on the

[177] Elisabeth Kaplan, "'Many Paths to Partial Truths' : Archives, Anthropology, and the Power of Representation," *Archival Science* 2, no. 3-4 (2002): 218.
[178] The Archival Education and Research Institute (AERI), "Educating for the Archival Multiverse."

possibilities for understanding how reality is constructed through our human relationships and interactions with other knowledge traditions.

5.1.1 Ethnography in Archival Studies

What other types of relationships do archivists have with anthropology? Since the 1990s archival researchers have been using ethnography as a part of their research tool kit, particularly in dissertation research. One example is Karen F. Gracy's dissertation in which she coined the concept "archival ethnography" while investigating the shared and unshared meanings in the definition of film preservation amongst archivists and other stakeholders.[179] Archival ethnography, according to Gracy is "a form of naturalistic inquiry that positions the researcher within an archival environment to gain the cultural perspective of those responsible for the creation, collection, care, and use of records," she adds that the "creators of documents, users of documents, and archivists form a community of practice–the archival environment–for which social interaction creates meaning and defines values."[180] Gracy advances her definition of archival ethnography by acknowledging the work of Kaplana Shankar, Cirian B. Trace, and Elizabeth Yakel all of whom used ethnography to study the contexts and activities surrounding records creation and recordkeeping within different organizational settings.[181] For instance,

[179] Karen Frances Gracy, "The Imperative to Preserve Competing Definitions of Value in the World of Film Preservation" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2001). Gracy later wrote a book based on her dissertation, see, Karen F. Gracy, *Film Preservation : Competing Definitions of Value, Use, and Practice* (Chicago: Society of American Archivists, 2007).
[180] Gracy, "Documenting Communities of Practice : Making the Case for Archival Ethnography," 337.
[181] See, Elizabeth Yakel, "Recordkeeping in Radiology : The Relationships between Activities and Records in Radiological Processes" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Michigan, 1997); Elizabeth Yakel, "The Social Construction of Accountability : Radiologists and Their Record-Keeping Practices," *The Information Society* 17, no. 4 (2001); Kalpana Shankar, "Scientists, Records, and the Practical Politics of Infrastructure" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2002); Kalpana Shankar, "Recordkeeping in the Production of Scientific Knowledge : An

Shankar wrote about the context and the social shaping of records created by biologists *in situ* at a university laboratory. Through the use of ethnography she located a tension between the creation of records for organizational and personal purposes, between the public and intimate activities that take place in the construction of scientific knowledge. In *doing* ethnography she also learned to ask better questions about her research so that, in addition to the "how," she also entertained the "why" that in this case she fused broadly to investigate recordkeeping as a "learned, natural, and unquestioned form of scientific infrastructure."[182]

Kelvin White used an approach to ethnography in his dissertation called "mini ethnography." Mini ethnographies are focused and narrowly address the area under study; they also take less than half of the time of a full-scale ethnography.[183] In this case, White's ethnography used observation and interviewing to concentrate on the description of three dances in an Afro-Mexican village in Mexico. These techniques led him to infer that this undocumented history survived through dance. By using ethnography in combination with other methods he developed a framework for extending the archival paradigm to recognize the recordkeeping needs of diverse multiethnic and multiracial populations. Conceptual expansion, embeddedness, collaboration, leadership, activism, and ethics, reflexivity, and sustainability were all components of the framework. While embeddedness is just one aspect of ethnography's method, it stands out from the rest in the list regarding to its purpose as it "considers locating field experiences within communities to gain a richer understanding of community needs [and];

Ethnographic Study," *Archival Science* 4, no. 3-4 (2004); Ciaran B. Trace, "What Is Recorded Is Never Simply 'What Happened' : Record Keeping in Modern Organizational Culture," *Archival Science* 2, no. 1-2 (2002); Ciaran Trace, "Documenting School Life : Formal and Informal Imprints of a Fifth-Grade Classroom" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2004).

[182] Shankar, "Recordkeeping in the Production of Scientific Knowledge : An Ethnographic Study," 380.

[183] White does not note a benchmark for fieldwork, but traditionally, ethnographies in anthropology are at least a year. Kelvin Lewis White, "The Dynamics of Race and Remembering in a "Colorblind" Society : A Case Study of Racial Paradigms and Archival Education in Mexico" (University of California, Los Angeles, 2008), 50.

locating teaching within communities where learning can be supported through the participation of the entire community."[184] This point is especially important for developing a unique archival approach that can be fundamentally associated to Gracy's definition of archival ethnography. What is needed is a procedural explication of how such field experiences can be undertaken by archivists in their workplace with guidelines that instruct the use and utility of an ethnography stemming from an archival studies perspective.

Andrew Flinn's, Mary Stevens', and Elizabeth Shepard's work on community archiving in the United Kingdom (UK) is another example of why ethnography, if not, embeddedness is useful to archival studies researchers who work with populations seeking to establish archives. In particular, communities that believe they have been overlooked in mainstream archives. Flinn, Stevens, and Shepard observed that

> Many communities around the world have responded to such marginalisations and exclusions [from mainstream archives] by creating and constituting a variety of independent archives, community archives, community museums and keeping places. These all differ enormously, the motivations and the objectives of the communities they seek to represent as well as the priorities of individuals who provide the main impetus for their activity. However, they are all united by the desire to tell their own stories, if not always entirely independently from mainstream heritage organisations, then at least on their own terms.[185]

Flinn, Stevens, and Shepard, however, offer a word of caution when conducting ethnographies: they are time-consuming and exhausting.

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[184] White, "Meztizaje and Remembering in Afro-Mexican Communities of the Costa Chica : Implications for Archival Education in Mexico," 51.
[185] Andrew Flinn, Mary Stevens, and Elizabeth Shepherd, "Whose Memories, Whose Archives? Independent Community Archives, Autonomy and the Mainstream," *Archival Science* 9, no. 1-2 (2009): 82-83.

The trust and partnerships formed as a part of their research design for the "Community Archives and Identities: Documenting and Sustaining Community Heritage" project at the University College London pivoted around identity formation surrounding issues such as race, color, gender, sexuality, and class in community archives, and to understand how these archives could affect social policy.[186] The project team opted for the use of ethnography because it had an explanatory motivation of meaning-making activities noting that "Where the research focus is precisely on the way participants make use of historical material culture in order to construct particular subjectivities then a research method that explores meaning-making as a process that occurs in different contexts and over time is invaluable."[187] It was a nearly two-year project with fieldwork focused on four community archives that consisted of participant observation and interviews. The four community archives served as their main case studies and additional data gathered included interviews from other such community organizations in the UK. Although their project timeframe was significant, two years, ethnographies may extend for longer periods of time, and their work (along with White's) raise questions as to whether it would be beneficial to continue such projects with a longitudinal dimension to account for changes in attitudes between community and mainstream archives as well as community archives that are no longer sustainable.

The value of conducting ethnographies in archival studies has also been acknowledged by Sue McKemmish, Anne Gilliland-Swetland, and Eric Ketelaar as a method to assist in exploring cultures of documentation and worldviews in systems of classification, configurations of power,

[186] Ibid., 75; Mary Stevens, Andrew Flinn, and Elizabeth Shepherd, "New Frameworks for Community Engagement in the Archive Sector : From Handing over to Handing On," *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16, no. 1-2 (2010): 61-62.
[187] Stevens, Flinn, and Shepherd, "New Frameworks for Community Engagement in the Archive Sector : From Handing over to Handing On," 62.

and memory and evidence paradigms from an emic perspective.[188] Nevertheless, in spite of the growing number of ethnographies being conducted in archival studies only very little has been discussed about the implications of ethnographic studies by individuals who culturally represent the groups studied by the researcher(s) who leads the study through self-reflexive measures. Having worked as a film archivist Gracy mentions how her involvement in the film archiving community permitted her to position herself as "one of them" without being able to mask her knowledge on certain topics. This technique also forced her to frame questions differently and tailor them toward gathering data with greater depth. Similarly, Shankar had previously been a student of molecular biology and entered a graduate program in biophysics only to leave the field with some resentment. Her background knowledge of biology was useful as it helped her conversations with scientists, and she claims the distance between their research and backgrounds in biology was far enough to distance her resentment. A critical ethnographic approach is used by Ruth Elaine Bayhylle's in her dissertation on tribal archives; she also uses case study research, document analysis, grounded theory methods, and the Transformative Interpretative Paradigm. Bayhylle investigated the nature of the record, memory keeping practices, and the memory keepers of the Seneca Nation of Indians in western New York based on their knowledge infrastructure and tribal archive. Her first chapter ends with a section titled "Reflexivity" upon which she later expands in her methodology chapter as "Self-disclosure." In these sections, Bayhylle reveals her position as a Native American researcher and discusses with depth some of the internal conflicts she faced in the field for having an insider/outsider status. On the use of ethnography she remarks, "The tools of ethnographic inquiry of observing,

[188] Sue McKemmish, Anne Gilliland-Swetland and Eric Ketelaar, "'Communities of Memory' : Pluralising Archival Research and Education Agendas," *Archives and Manuscripts* 33(2005): 12.

experiencing, inquiring and examining are particularly suited to what I wanted to know but more importantly, it was exactly what I had been trained to do as an Indigenous person from the first day I began to learn."[189] This comment is in line with sociologists Hammersley's and Atkinson's point that ethnography resembles what people do in everyday life,[190] and in this way, through deep immersion within a social world, as Bayhylle remarks, ethnography can give the researcher a kind of competency from which to operate.

These are some of the major examples of how ethnography has been used and described by scholars in archival studies.

5.2 GROUNDED THEORY

In their *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, Strauss and Glaser explain how until then qualitative researchers in sociology generated theory from data "in a nonsystematic manner and nonrigourous way (when they had data at all), in conjunction with their own logic and common sense…In short, the work based on qualitative data was either not theoretical enough or the theories were too "impressionistic.'"[191] Moreover, at the time, a largely quantitative mindset dominated the field of sociology particularly with the use of survey and statistical research. Methodologically, this meant sociologists conducting qualitative research were formulating their findings based upon quantitative constructs without any further exploration of the implications of

[189] Ruth Elaine Bayhylle, "Tribal Archives : A Study in Records, Memory and Power" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 2011), 81.
[190] Hammersley and Atkinson, *Ethnography : Principles in Practice*, 2.
[191] Barney G. Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory : Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Chicago: Aldine Pub. Co., 1967), 15.

such techniques in qualitative research. Glaser and Strauss challenged these practices with their "discovery" of grounded theory.

Glaser studied at Columbia University and was influenced by the positivist oriented research of Paul F. Lazarsfeld in particular, but also Herbert Hyman, Robert K. Merton, and Hans Zetterberg to name a few. Strauss, on the other hand, was influenced by symbolic interactionism[192] and pragmatism at the University of Chicago, specifically the works of Herbert Blumer, Everett Hughes, John Dewey, and others who helped shape the Chicago School of Sociology. Their quibble over the analytic procedural approaches in grounded theory can be viewed as maintaining separate and divisive positions, though another option is to emphasize that as in the 1960s differences in opinion about qualitative research continue to keep grounded theory a site of stimulating and productive debates and possibilities. For this reason, it is significant to briefly cover some of these debates.

In his book *Emergence vs. Forcing: Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*, Glaser discloses major qualms with a subsequently written book by Strauss and his student Juliet M. Corbin titled, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. One of Glaser's major criticisms is that by using the constant comparison method with forms of questioning concerning the substantive area selected for study (such as questions of age, sex, or conditions), Strauss and Corbin *force* the creation of theoretical codes

[192] Symbolic interactionism is a pragmatist thread developed by sociologist Herbert Blumer based on the ideas of George Herbert Mead. According to Blumer, symbolic interactionism has three premises: 1.) "human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them"; 2.) "the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows"; 3.) "these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters." These three premises are meant to reveal the role people have in making meaning through social interaction as well as through their own interpretation as opposed to simply understanding how humans conduct themselves against the functions of a structure that determines their behavior. Besides meaning making capabilities, language and thought are also factors integral to symbolic interactionism. Herbert Blumer, *Symbolic Interactionism : Perspective and Method* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 2.

otherwise known as coding categories to become laden with preconceived ideas from the perspective of the researcher and not necessarily of the people being studied and from which the codes must emerge. For Glaser, the logic of grounded theory lies in asking two formal questions to inductively generate theory:

> What is the chief concern or problem of the people in the substantive area, and what accounts for most of the variation in processing the problem? And secondly, what category or property of what category does this incident indicate? One asks these questions while constantly comparing incident to incident, and coding and analyzing. Soon categories and their properties emerge which fit and work and are of relevance to the processing of the problem.[193]

Glaser's critique of Strauss and Corbin stems from the belief that conceptual categories are supposed to emerge from the data during the first phase of coding (sometimes immediately) after the researcher has studied the data without an antecedent problem or even review of the literature—just an open mind. Strauss' and Corbin's departure occurs in their desire to clarify emergent concepts through the use of a coding paradigm that incorporates a device called the "conditional/consequential matrix." The matrix is intended to stimulate thinking about macro and micro conditions or consequences that must be brought into the analysis.[194] Glaser's approach is based on the emergence of a code without any preconceptions disguised as a so-called paradigm. His process involves fracturing the data into codes and grouping them conceptually into categories that explain what is happening in the data, and which ultimately

[193] Glaser, *Emergence Vs Forcing : Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis*, 4.
[194] Anselm L. Strauss and Juliet M. Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research : Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1990), 181-82.

embodies the theory.[195] This technique though appears to be very straightforward is also tricky because it may very well be that because the researcher *pretends* to not know anything about the substantive area, he represses his previous knowledge and experiences. In that repression it is unknown if the researcher is subconsciously coding these ideas to satisfy an intuition he may have had beforehand. Still, in either case, the methodology compensates for the researcher's intuitive urges to frame concepts beforehand through the constant comparison of the data, which through a back and forth procedure verifies the utility and selection of the categories that emerge.[196]

Scholars Anthony Bryant and Udo Kelle link Glaser's grounded theory notion of coding categories as simply emerging from the data as "naïve inductivism" or "naïve empiricism." These terms date back to critiques of the seventeenth and eighteenth century belief of empiricist philosophers such as Francis Bacon and John Locke who found "the most important tasks of an empirical researcher was to free his or her mind from any theoretical preconceptions and "idols" before approaching empirical data."[197] As Kelle notes, this belief has since the 1960s been disproven and gone out of fashion for one that regards the cultural lens' of researchers inevitably affecting the meanings and results derived in the research process.

According to Bryant, the scholarship of researchers who worked with Strauss such as Adele Clarke, Kathy Charmaz, Joan Fujimura, Fritz Schuetze, Isabelle Baszanger, Wanda

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[195] Barney G. Glaser, *Theoretical Sensitivity : Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory* (Mill Valley, Calif.: Sociology Press, 1978), 55.
[196] Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory : Strategies for Qualitative Research*, 28.
[197] Udo Kelle, ""Emergence" vs. "Forcing" of Empirical Data? A Crucial Problem of "Grounded Theory" Reconsidered," *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum : Qualitative Social Research* 6, no. 2 (31 May 2005), http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/467/1000, accessed January 12, 2012; Antony Bryant, "Re-Grounding Grounded Theory," *Journal of Information Technology Theory and Application* 4, no. 1 (2002), http://aisel.aisnet.org/jitta/vol4/iss1/7, accessed January 12, 2012.Also see, Brian D. Haig, "Grounded Theory as Scientific Method," *Philosophy of Education*(1995), http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~pms/cj355/readings/Haig%20Grounded%20Theory%20as%20Scientific%20Method.pdf, accessed January 12, 2012.

Orlikowaski, and Susan Leigh Star, in particular, her co-authored book with Geoffrey Bowker, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences* are examples of how the classic form of grounded theory has undergone significant modifications since the writing of *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*.[198] For instance, Star's, Charmaz's, and Clarke's positions are associated to philosophical traditions that include pragmatism, social constructionism, and/or postmodernism. Pragmatists tend to analyze the practical implications of concepts and actions. This is clearly delineated in the title of Bowker's and Star's aforementioned book; their goal was to demonstrate how the social ordering done through practices of classification reflects the moral order of society. On the subject of social constructionist grounded theory, Kathy Charmaz has written a guide book entitled *Constructing Grounded Theory: A Practical Guide through Qualitative Analysis.* In it she takes readers through what she calls a journey into the grounded theory methodology by offering basic guidelines all the while acknowledging that her approach is just one interpretation of grounded theory that has undergone transformations to speak to today's diverse worldviews. She states that "Constructivist grounded theory assumes multitude realities—and multiple perspectives on these realities. Data are not separate from either the viewer or the viewed. Instead, they are mutually constructed through interaction…Thus, constructivist grounded theorists see the representation of data—and by extension, the analysis—as problematic, relativist, situational, and partial."[199] Similarly, Adele Clarke contends that the polyvocality of postmodernism has brought about the need "to deepen the recognition of the always already political nature of the practices of research and interpretation; enhanced

[198] Antony Bryant, "Grounded Theory and Pragmatism : The Curious Case of Anselm Strauss," *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum : Qualitative Social Research* 10, no. 3 (2009), http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs090325, accessed January 12, 2012.
[199] Kathy Charmaz, "Shifting the Grounds : Constructivist Grounded Theory Methods," in *Developing Grounded Theory : The Second Generation*, ed. Janice M. Morse, et al. (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2009), 138.

reflexivity on the part of researchers—and increasingly on the part of those researched—about research processes and products…"[200] Using the tradition of symbolic interactionism in Strauss' work as her arsenal she argues that it furnishes the theoretical and ontological foundations of the grounded theory methodology and claims the methodology was "always already" postmodern. To her these properties are evident in the deconstructive analytic interpretation that occurs during open coding, including the many and concurrent readings a researcher can interpret. These three scholars offer a small sampling of the new generations of practicing grounded theorists; all of which hold interrelated perspectives that leverage Strauss' contributions in their own work.

Having addressed some of the contentions behind the "Glaserian" and "Straussian" approaches that originate from positivism and interpretivist preoccupations there is ultimately cross-pollination in comparative procedures and the desire to build theory. This project welcomes the merging of traditions, and for this reason I define my engagement with the grounded theory methodology as selectively Straussian, by way of Leonard Schatzman's approach termed dimensional analysis. Before delving any further into how I implemented grounded theory via dimensional analysis, however, a brief overview of some of the positions archival studies scholars have taken in using grounded theory are reviewed.

5.2.1 Grounded Theory in Archival Studies

Paul Conway uses grounded theory in his research on photographic archives in two articles, "Modes of Seeing: Digitized Photographic Archives and the Experienced User," published in 2010 and later, in 2011, with Ricardo Punzalan, "Fields of Vision: Toward a New Theory of

[200] Adele Clarke, *Situational Analysis : Grounded Theory after the Postmodern Turn* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2005), xxvii.

Visual Literacy for Digitized Archival Photographs." In their research, they employ the grounded theory *method* of open coding to analyze their semi-structured interviews. A grounded theory method (or procedure) should not be confused with the overall methodological approach which is a matter of how a researcher conceives of their substantive area whether philosophically (e.g. Star's, Charmaz's, Clarke's work) or as based on the discipline.[201] These in turn affect the approach taken in analyzing the data.

Conway states, "Grounded theory analysis identifies patterns of meaning through the iterative, line-by-line extraction of concept terms from interview transcripts. This method is particularly useful for semistructured interviews during which participants use their own descriptive terms, instead of being prompted by the wording of questionnaires or other discussion guides."[202] He cites Chramaz's text as the authority from which he bases his approach to grounded theory. The results of the first article located "modes of seeing" as a theme based on the use of digitized photographs by seven expert researchers' using the Library of Congress' digital library collections. These included understanding digitized photographs as objects (images), engaging with the material properties of the original (pictures), and as archival records (archives). In the second article, a "fields of vision" model was introduced and built off of the results of the earlier article by Conway. Focusing again on a user perspective Conway and Punzalan introduced three approaches to digital visual literacy based on the seven researcher's research inquiry: discovering, landscaping, and storytelling.[203] One grounded theory method formed the basis of their analytic process, an approach that is certainly not unique to their

[201] Juliet M. Corbin and Anselm L. Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research : Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, 3 ed. (Los Angeles, Calif.: Sage Publications, 2008), 1.
[202] Paul Conway, "Modes of Seeing : Digitized Photographic Archives and the Experienced User," *The American Archivist* 73, no. 2 (2010): 436.
[203] Paul Conway and Ricardo Punzalan, "Fields of Vision : Toward a New Theory of Visual Literacy for Digitized Archival Photographs," *Archivaria* 71(2011).

research. Grounded theory techniques are oftentimes imported and adapted to satisfy analysis in qualitative and mixed methods research.

For instance, Luciana Duranti, Anne Gilliland, and Heather MacNeil addressed the procedures used to supplement the use of diplomatics theory in the case studies of the first International Research on Permanent Authentic Electronic Records Project (InterPARES). Following Glaser's and Strauss' *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, Duranti and Gilliland take advantage of its inductive logic to find the best possible methods for researching their case study data. Gilliland states: "The Task Force researchers adopted a grounded theory approach in which case studies of electronic systems were examined in order to identify and describe phenomena associated with the records and their contexts. Grounded theory is a method for discovering concepts and hypotheses and developing theory directly from data under observation."[204] The InterPARES research Task Force used a mixed-methods approach by using both diplomatics and grounded theory to find additional methods to employ in their case study data. Gilliland makes note of the use of grounded theory by the Task Force to discover concepts and hypothesis from their data. She goes on to reveal that functional analysis, business administration analysis, and content analysis were found to be suitable methods for permitting researchers to distinguish the defining characteristics of electronic records and their authenticity. Discussing this same project in "The Impact of Digital Technology on Archival Science" Duranti remarks that the Task Force applied a form of

[204] William E. Brown Jr. and Elizabeth Yakel also employ this same reasoning in their justification of the use of grounded theory in their article, William Brown and Elizabeth Yakel, "Redefining the Role of College and University Archives in the Information Age," *The American Archivist* 59, no. 3 (1996). Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, "Testing Our Truths : Delineating the Parameters of the Authentic Archival Electronic Record," *The American Archivist* 65, no. 2 (2002): 202.

grounded theory to analyze the case study data and build upon their research.[205] It is unclear what is meant by "form" though it is probable that she is referring to the philosophical differences between Glaser and Strauss. If accurate, in another article, this form is revealed by MacNeil who in describing a follow-up study to the first InterPARES references Strauss' and Corbin's *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*. MacNeil goes on to say that in addition to the use of diplomatics, the methodology also incorporated, "…an empirical and inductive one, based on a grounded theory approach to the collection and analysis of the same case study data, which aimed to build new theory about the nature of electronic records and the means of ensuring their authenticity."[206]

Victoria Lemieux used grounded theory in her exploration of the "nature" of the record by investigating the recordkeeping practices of four failed commercial banks in Jamaica and juxtaposing them with the success of two sustainable ones. Using Glaser's *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis* she concisely discusses using coding procedures and specifically describes the constant comparison technique. In addition, she cautions readers that: "Though it is beyond the scope of this article to discuss in detail the methodological approach of the study, essentially it involved drawing theoretical inferences from the field data, developing theoretical ideas by comparing the theoretical inferences with accepted archival theories, and then returning to the field data to test theoretical ideas in a recursive manner."[207] Lemieux's work found that records are dynamic and highly contingent on the context and social actors that take part in their creation, dissemination, and use. Christopher A. Lee and Helen Tibbo describe their use of

[205] Luciana Duranti, "The Impact of Digital Technology on Archival Science," *Archival Science* 1, no. 1 (2001): 52.
[206] Heather MacNeil, "Contemporary Archival Diplomatics as a Method of Inquiry : Lessons Learned from Two Research Projects," *Archival Science* 4, no. 3-4 (2004): 214.
[207] Victoria Lemieux, "Let the Ghosts Speak : An Empirical Exploration of the "Nature" of the Record," *Archivaria* (2001): 83.

grounded theory in their development of the DigCCurr Matrix of Digital Curation Knowledge and Skills to demonstrate how digital curation activities intersect with archival work, and how the former can advance the traditional archival tool kit through pedagogical strategies. Citing Glaser's and Strauss' classic text and thereafter articles written by Corbin and Strauss, and Star they begin their journey by asking: "What does one need to know in order to do digital curation?"[208] Knowing that the answer to the question is multifaceted Lee and Tibbo first fracture it into dimensions that are then used to constitute the DigCCurr Matrix. Their research design was described as "iterative, with numerous opportunities to gain feedback on and revise both our findings and curriculum materials. As we encountered new data (including frequent input from other scholars and interested professionals), we either incorporated the data within existing elements of the Matrix or revised the Matrix."[209] Moreover, this iterative process is what Strauss, Corbin, and Star describe as significant, if not necessary interrelated processes between the researcher's data collection and analysis. Thus stating, "The carrying out of procedures of data collection and analysis systematically and sequentially enables the research process to capture all potentially relevant aspects of the topic as soon as they are perceived."[210]

These examples demonstrate that grounded theory is invoked in archival studies research to varying degrees that can leave much to be desired in terms of describing the activities taken to arrive to findings. Yet as Lemieux's piece indicates, the reason for this is that there is hardly ever room to present a detailed account of the methods employed. Additionally, the publication process may affect how much information can be revealed. Still one characteristic that unites all

[208] Cal. A. Lee and Tibbo Helen, "Where's the Archivist in Digital Curation? Exploring the Possibilities through a Matrix of Knowledge and Skills," *Archivaria.*, no. 72 (2011): 130.
[209] Ibid., 130.
[210] Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss, "Grounded Theory Research : Procedures, Canons, and Evaluative Criteria," *Qualitative Sociology* 13, no. 1 (1990): 6; Susan Leigh Star, "Grounded Classification : Grounded Theory and Faceted Classification," *Library Trends* 47, no. 2 (1998): 221.

of the archival studies scholars who I have cited as using grounded theory is that the epistemological differences of grounded theory as based on its originators are never revealed or discussed, if only indirectly through their references.[211] This trend is similar to what Rangarirai Matavire and Irwin Brown found in the use of grounded theory in information systems (IS) research. After surveying thirty top journals in IS research from 1985-2007, they found that an astounding eighty-four out of one hundred and twenty-six articles did not adopt a methodological stance but simply adopted select techniques.[212] Matavire and Brown offer three reasons why they believe this is the case: 1.) given the epistemological controversies of the methodology researchers do not want to take a stance, 2.) because researchers may not want to produce a grounded theory but simply use the techniques where deemed appropriate, and 3.) it is difficult to use grounded theory with *a priori* conceptualizations. These unspoken epistemological nuances are important and should be revealed as they each draw on different techniques and logics to arrive to conclusions. Knowing what approaches are taken and the procedures used to arrive to theoretical "discoveries" can only help researchers understand the utility of grounded theory in advancing archival studies research and grounded theory methods as well. This is especially important when tackling new research concerns.

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[211] In a brief examination of three dissertations of archival studies doctoral students who completed their research using grounded theory, the results were similar. For instance, Karen Gracy used the Straussian approach based on Strauss and Corbin's *Basics of Qualitative Research: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* along with Charmaz's guide book, but she does not indicate the nuances in the Glaserian and Straussian approaches. Ruth Bayhylle also used Charmaz's book along with Glaser's *Theoretical Sensitivity: Advances in the Methodology of Grounded Theory*, and like Gracy, gave no indication on the philosophical differences. Jennifer Jane Bunn employed the Glaserian approach and clearly articulated why she chose it over Strauss' approach. See, Gracy, "The Imperative to Preserve Competing Definitions of Value in the World of Film Preservation"; Bayhylle, "Tribal Archives : A Study in Records, Memory and Power"; Jennifer Jane Bunn, "Multiple Narratives, Multiple Views: Observing Archival Description" (Ph.D. Thesis, University College London, 2011).

[212] Rangarirai Matavire and Irwin Brown, "Investigating the Use of "Grounded Theory" in Information Systems Research," in *Proceedings of the 2008 Annual Research Conference of the South African Institute of Computer Scientists and Information Technologists on IT Research in Developing Countries: Riding the Wave of Technology* (Wilderness, South Africa: ACM, 2008), 143.

5.3 DIMENSIONAL ANALYSIS

My use of dimensional analysis happened by coincidence and good fortune. Leonard Schatzman, Strauss' first student at the University of Chicago, developed dimensional analysis as another way of doing grounded theory during his time at UCSF. He followed Strauss there to teach courses in field research, and through teaching, developed an approach to grounded theory he called dimensional analysis. I came across dimensional analysis while researching more thoroughly the philosophical differences between Glaser and Strauss. Upon reading Schatzman's and his students' work, I was surprised by the straightforwardness of the method by comparison to what I had already covered with Glaser's, Strauss' and Corbin's, and the new generation of grounded theorists' use of the methodology. Curiously, at UCSF, Schatzman had found that he had mixed results in students' ability to do grounded theory; in fact, many of them went to him for assistance in demystifying the grounded theory procedures they could not grasp from Strauss.[213] Schatzman's dimensional analysis was a response to some students' inability to figure out how to do grounded theory. It is perhaps for this reason why I found it to be more intuitive than Strauss' and Corbin's approaches. Having read through much of the grounded theory literature, and after having significantly implemented the constant comparison and memoing techniques, I decided to add dimensional analysis to my tool kit. As noted earlier, grounded theory offers techniques for analysis that can be imported to varied research designs. Grounded theory should not be taken as prescriptive, although its techniques are prone to being treated as such for their systematic and procedural orientation. As Corbin and Strauss state, "Doing qualitative research is something that a researcher has to feel him- or herself through. A

[213] Barbara Bowers and Leonard Schatzman, "Dimensional Analysis," in *Developing Grounded Theory : The Second Generation*, ed. Janice M. Morse, et al. (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2009), 93.

book can only provide some ideas and techniques. It is up to the individual to make use of procedures in ways that best suit him or her."[214]

Dimensional analysis affords researchers the opportunity to break down the phenomenon studied into the dimensions that constitute it, leaving the strongest dimensions to order all of the others.[215] The most powerful dimension is referred to as the central "perspective." And from this term it can be argued that Schatzman's approach also follows the social constructionist trend in that he remarks about the central perspective: "You [the researcher] have at least made a commitment, a public commitment to which of the dimensions will be most telling of all that is involved in understanding a situation–indeed, creating the very situation being analyzed. Nature doesn't provide situations; situations are *constructed* (my emphasis)."[216] Schatzman is implying that the researcher is constructing the analysis based on his/her discernment about the value of a particular topic, and that in selecting the dimensions that will support the research, he or she has made a personal commitment to represent the research in the most telling fashion. This view falls in line with ethnography's technique of participant observation. An ethnographer focuses her or his attention on specific aspects of a phenomenon being studied because it is unlikely that he or she will be able to or even want to analyze and question it in its entirety. By choosing a central perspective in dimensional analysis the researcher has entered into an agreement with their research subject to represent with the utmost honesty and precision. Schatzman's view also coincides with Glaser's and Strauss' original 1967 grounded theory text when they state: "…the

[214] Corbin and Strauss, *Basics of Qualitative Research : Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory*, x.
[215] Jane F. Gilgun, "Dimensional Analysis and Grounded Theory : Interviews with Leonard Schatzman," *Qualitative Family Research* 1993, 2.
[216] Ibid., 2.

researcher does not approach reality as a tabula rasa. He must have a perspective that will help him see relevant data and abstract significant categories from his scrutiny of the data."[217]

Schatzman's notion of the most powerful dimension, that is, the perspective, also mirrors aspects of Strauss' and Corbin's coding paradigm. For instance, Strauss' and Corbin's coding paradigm has been referred to as "a perspective taken toward the data, another analytic stance that helps to systematically gather and order data in such a way that structure and process are integrated."[218] Dimensional analysis encompasses this same idea as a "perspective taken toward the data" through an explanatory matrix that is used to intuitively generate theory building from the data by using a story-like structure (Figure 19). Ultimately, this story like structure is an interpretation of the data and theorizing process.

The story-like structure aims to anchor a researcher's analytical thinking without having a preconceived theoretical grounding in social theory, though it certainly helps. Schatzman states: "Dimensionality was conceived as a property and variety of human thinking that turns language towards interrogative and analytic processes in the face of cognitive problems with phenomena, that is, when recognition and recall fail to provide situationally sufficient understanding."[219] In other words, not all researchers will have the ability to recognize or recall a problem related to a social phenomenon, but through the dimensionalizing of data and iterative comparative procedures, such as questioning, the analysis is prompted through a natural inclination to critically interrogate a situation (or as Clarke might say "deconstruct it"). In effect, the veracity and power of the method is that it can travel to other disciplines and areas of study without a

[217] Glaser and Strauss, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory : Strategies for Qualitative Research*, 3.
[218] Strauss and Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research : Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*, 128.
[219] Leonard Schatzman, "Dimensional Analysis : Notes on an Alternative Approach to the Grounding of Theory in Qualitative Research," in *Social Organization and Social Process : Essays in Honor of Anselm Strauss*, ed. Anselm L. Strauss and David R. Maines (New York: A. de Gruyter, 1991), 309.

commitment to understanding sociological constructs in order to effectively theorize a social process in an area such as nursing, and in this case, archival studies.

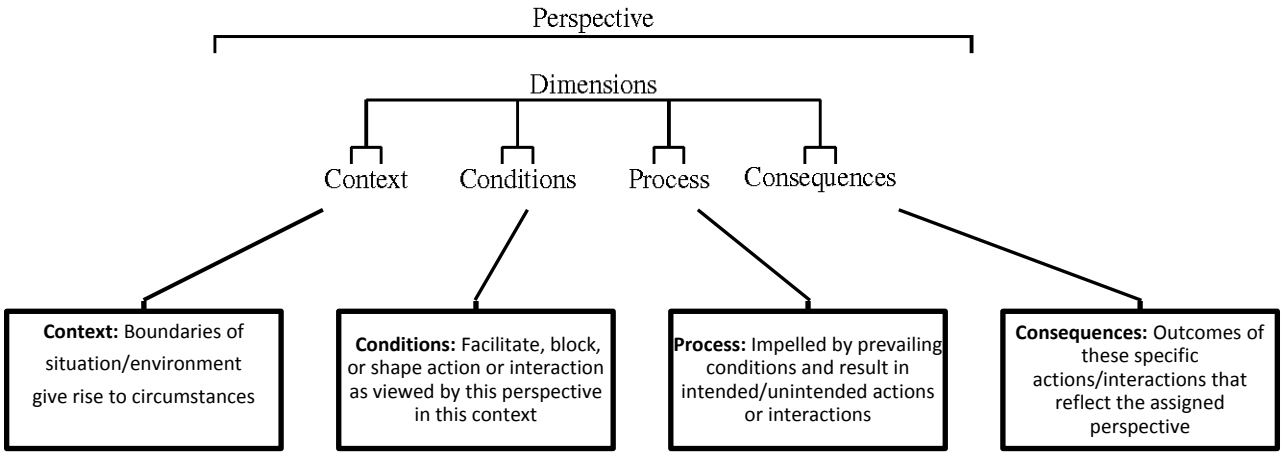

Figure 19 The dimensional analysis explanatory matrix.[220]

The "story" shaped by the explanatory matrix informs the relationship between actions and consequences under select conditions within specific contexts. The chosen dimensions portray reality and are collocated into clusters, or mini frameworks composed of the dimensions that are pulled from the data; it is similar to coding data. Schatzman notes that dimensionality "calls for an inquiry into its [the social phenomenon's] parts, attributes, interconnections, context, processes, and implications."[221] Designating these dimensions into the explanatory

[220] Text from Susan Kools et al., "Dimensional Analysis : Broadening the Conception of Grounded Theory," *Qualitative Health Research* 6, no. 3 (1996): 320.
[221] Schatzman, "Dimensional Analysis : Notes on an Alternative Approach to the Grounding of Theory in Qualitative Research," 309.

matrix provides a conceptual way of communicating about the event. That is to say, the act of designation moves an observation toward a more abstract representation of the event.[222] The explanatory matrix consists of four basic areas, all of which work together to represent the event through: context, conditions, processes, and consequences. The matrix should not be confused with Strauss' and Corbin's conditional/consequential matrix although there is overlap in their aim to integrate coding categories (for Strauss and Corbin) and dimensions (for Schatzman) into a framework that can render an integrated account of the phenomenon studied.

5.3.1 Grounded Theory and Dimensionalizing Data

Unlike the linear models presented in guidebooks describing how researchers should ideally approach grounded theory, this project's gathering of data, use of techniques, and integration occurred in a non-linear manner and at different stages in the research. The analysis was done at different points in time and with varying degrees of engagement. I began using Strauss' and Corbin's, and Charmaz's approaches to grounded theory. And one manner in which I did not follow a linear approach to grounded theory was in doing comparative analysis soon after enough data is collected and ready to be compared. While in the field, I immediately found out that it is not always feasible to do this. For example, during my first trip to La Plaza I found myself overwhelmed with making note of observations and interviews, which were all taking place incredibly fast and during what seemed to be a short period of time. I had arrived a few days early to prepare my materials as well as mentally as I was doing a type of research that until then I had only read about. I entered the field by attending a couple of weddings where I made

[222] Linda C. Robrecht, "Grounded Theory : Evolving Methods," *Qualitative Health Research* 5, no. 2 (1995): 173.

early contact with some of the local videographers. During this early period I also found out there was a poster with the celebration's program printed on it, which helped me to further plan out my time there. During the actual fiesta I observed and participated in the celebration, scheduled interviews, and interviewed people. In some cases I was up at five in the morning to get ready to attend Mass only after I had gone to bed at two in the morning when the previous day's celebration had ended. I began to analyze the data by writing field notes that I later wrote memos about. I was a lot more focused on capturing what I had observed. As such, I did not find the time to devote to open coding and comparing the data as advised by Strauss, Glaser, and Corbin. The amount of time needed to immerse oneself in the field, reflect, and build relationships meant some of the analytic advice offered by grounded theorists could not be practiced. The procedures I employed did not shadow a step-by-step approach nor need they be. Research is a messy and complicated process, but oftentimes the written results are so clean that they hide the messiness of the process. Using grounded theory and ethnography for the first time meant that during different moments in the research process one methodological approach had to suffer at the cost of the other.

Additionally, my work involved transcription and translation. These procedures are of great benefit to researchers who wish to be "close to their data." And while this was important to me, at the same time, I could not afford to pay someone to transcribe my audio recordings. This added step made my work more methodical and arduous as I had a number of interviews to get through and they lasted anywhere between half an hour to over an hour. I first used the software Dragon Naturally Speaking 10.0 in Spanish to transcribe the interviews. After a few transcripts I found the process too time-consuming as it was prone to language error and I had to make numerous corrections to the output transcribed. Since I had decided to use the qualitative

research software NVIVO 8 for organizing my data I switched over to using its transcription feature. Unfortunately, it was not very intuitive or user friendly for bilingual users. For example, the software did not capture diacritical marks in Spanish. Diacritics are important because the transcriptions were created in Spanish, however, since the analysis was primarily done in English I chose it for running the software. I ended up purchasing software specifically for transcription, and settling on a program called f4 for its ease of use and transcription options (e.g. time code stamps, adoption of a pedal). I transcribed the rest of the interviews in Spanish and I translated content into English when it was appropriate to incorporate into the project. The memo writing was done primarily in English, though there was some use of "Spanglish." Through trial and error I gained momentum in transcribing as I did in the theory building process.

The theory building process gained force after my third visit to La Plaza; by then I had collected the majority of my data. Prior to that, the theory building process was slowly brewing with generative questioning and open coding that led to data comparisons through memo writing. When I ran into a problem or question when coding I made sure to jot it down for future research and inquiry in the field; that process is known as theoretical sampling. Generative questioning, memoing, open coding, and theoretical sampling were techniques used from the Straussian and Glaserian grounded theory approach and are listed below with formal definitions directly derived from Strauss' *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*.[223]

- *Open coding:* this is unrestricted coding of the data. This open coding is done by scrutinizing the fieldnote, interview, or other document very closely: line by line, or even word by word. The aim is to produce concepts that seem to fit the data. These concepts

[223] Strauss, *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*, 21-22, 27.

and their dimensions are as yet entirely provisional answers, which immediately leads to further issues pertaining to conditions, strategies, interactions, and consequences.

- *Generative Questions*: questions that stimulate the line of investigation in profitable directions; they lead to hypotheses, useful comparisons, the collection of certain classes of data, even to general lines of attack on potentially important problems.
- *Theoretical Memos*: writing in which the researcher puts down theoretical questions, hypothesis, summary of codes, etc. – a method of keeping track of coding results and stimulating further coding, and also a major means for integrating the theory.
- *Theoretical Sampling:* sampling direct by the evolving theory; it is a sampling of incidents, events, activities, populations, etc. It is harnessed to the making of comparisons between and among those samples of activities, populations, etc.

I began with line-by-line coding and as I gained more confidence, I coded larger amounts of data. I used NVIVO's node feature to code data and write memos. The NVIVO node feature was helpful until I felt restrained by the manner in which it allowed me to visualize the dimensions (Figure 20). I moved my analysis to white boards and note cards, which gave me more flexibility in making associations between the data. Over the course of the project I accumulated over eighty memos that I organized with headings that revealed themes. In some cases these themes gained the status of higher order "dimensions" and in others they were modified. By the end of the project I had arrived at 110 dimensions that incorporated coding first, *à la* Charmaz and Corbin and Strauss, and later as dimensionalizing *à la* Schatzman. I felt at ease in switching to dimensional analysis because dimensionalizing data is functionally

equivalent to open coding,[224] and because I had not yet integrated my data. The explanatory matrix was especially helpful with the integration of the data based on the context, conditions, process, and consequences of the phenomenon studied.

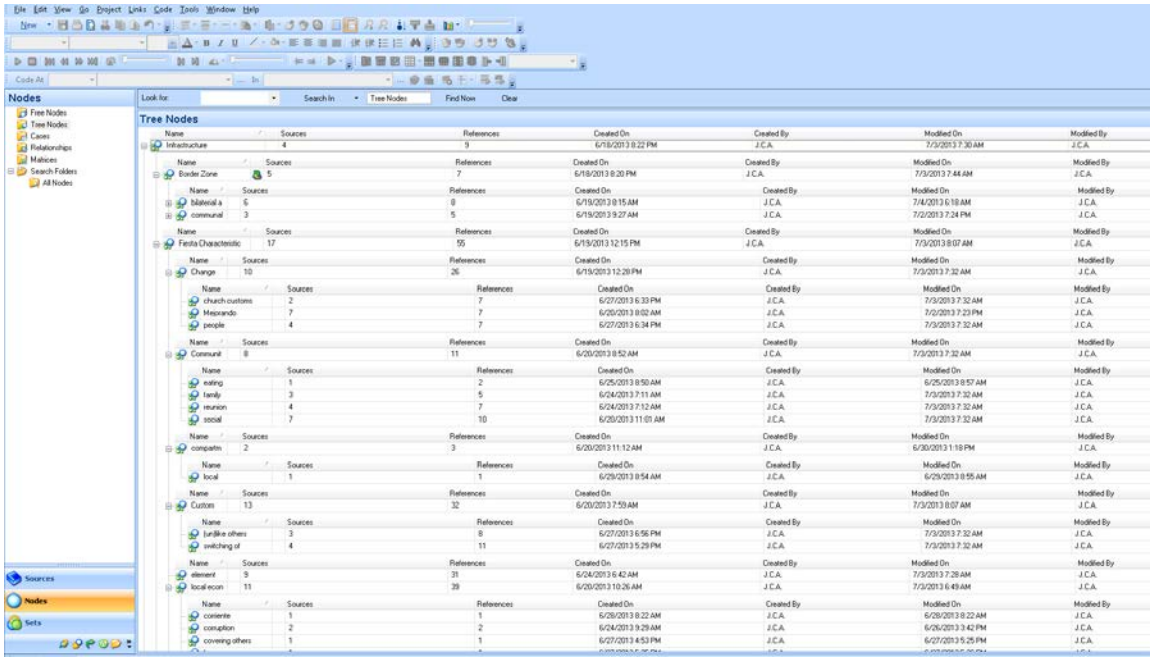

Figure 20 Screenshot of NVIVO 8 tree node feature

5.3.2 Theory Formation

The following example is offered as an illustration of dimensionalizing employed in this project using the guidelines provided by Schatzman in "Dimensional Analysis: Notes on an Alternative Approach to the Grounding of Theory in Qualitative Research."

[224] Schatzman, "Dimensional Analysis : Notes on an Alternative Approach to the Grounding of Theory in Qualitative Research," 310.

The dimensions associated with the fiesta are identified, pulled from the data, and amassed (Table 4).

Table 4. Examples of dimensions: "Bilateral Activity" and "Communal Network."

Bilateral Activity	Communal Network

Above are two dimensions derived from my interview data: bilateral activity and communal network. Bilateral activity represents a dimension that was pulled from the data after noticing a series of activities taking place bilaterally between the fiesta's committee organizers in Mexico with diasporic members in the U.S. Communal network was identified by seeing patterns in the data of communal efforts undertaken by the committee organizers during the fiesta as a transnational network that though distributed was unified across borders by the religious celebration. Bilateral activity and communal network, moreover, are two related dimensions. They were brought together as a way to amass dimensions that could be clustered.

The dimensions are organized into clusters, also referred to as frameworks (Table 5).

Table 5. "Border Zone" as a higher order dimension.

Border Zone	
Bilateral Activity	Communal Network

The dimension border zone was the name given to represent the mini cluster forming with the dimensions bilateral activity and communal network. A cluster is guided by the higher order dimension. Together, the dimensions aim to reveal that there is spatial and geographical distribution between a communal network that has been reconfigured bilaterally. As such, this led me to use border zone as a higher order dimension for the cluster, also known as "framework" consisting of the dimensions bilateral activity and communal network.

The dimensions begin to shape into a social complexity as they are fractured into sub-dimensions (Table 6).

Table 6. Sub-dimensionalizing the "Border Zone" cluster and building complexity.

Border Zone	
Bilateral Activity	Communal Network
can be successful or unsuccessful; creates expectations; risks; creates reluctance; adds depth: aesthetic, financial capital; NAFTA	there is fluctuation in participation; requires local and bilateral collaboration; strength depends on internal (local) and external (transnational) factors;

In Table 6, I fractured bilateral activity and communal network into sub-dimensions that I later compared with other dimensions in the cluster. By asking generative questions of the data beginning with, for instance: "What all is involved here?" then jumping into others that are more focused such as "If participation within the communal network fluctuates, are the fundraising activities that go on across borders stable?" and "How does the network's social ties affect the fiesta's stability?" At this point, theoretical memoing can assist the researcher withthe sub-

dimensionalizing process to flesh out the fractured dimensions and make associations between them (see Figure 19).

Sub-dimensionalizing procedures continue until the researcher arrives to an irreducible and concrete property.

The properties of the fractured dimensions become the *context,* which also help set the boundaries of the inquiry. However, not all dimensions will be fractured equally or at all. In Table 5 the sub-dimensions that constitute bilateral activity and communal network are examples of some of the defining features of these dimensions. Together they begin to form a more abstract cluster for the dimension border zone.

In the end, border zone ceased to be fractured and was ultimately integrated throughout the matrix. It is important to highlight that border zone, bilateral activity, and communal network were just three of many dimensions that led me to arrive to a perspective around which the substantive theory was built. This process of grouping related dimensions together was applied iteratively until I arrived at four principal dimensions: the *living identity* of the community evolving and embedded in the cultural identity of inhabitants of La Plaza; the *memory infrastructures* embodied in the memory of the elder town inhabitants' recollection of the past and transmitted through oral history; *devotional labor* enacted every year by the Catholic Church members who organize the fiesta, and the local and visiting attendants who participate in it; and finally, *material production,* specifically the works of local videographers who produce DVDs that are distributed to the Mexican diaspora in the U.S. These principal dimensions were chosen for their ability to capture the abstraction pulled from the dimensions.

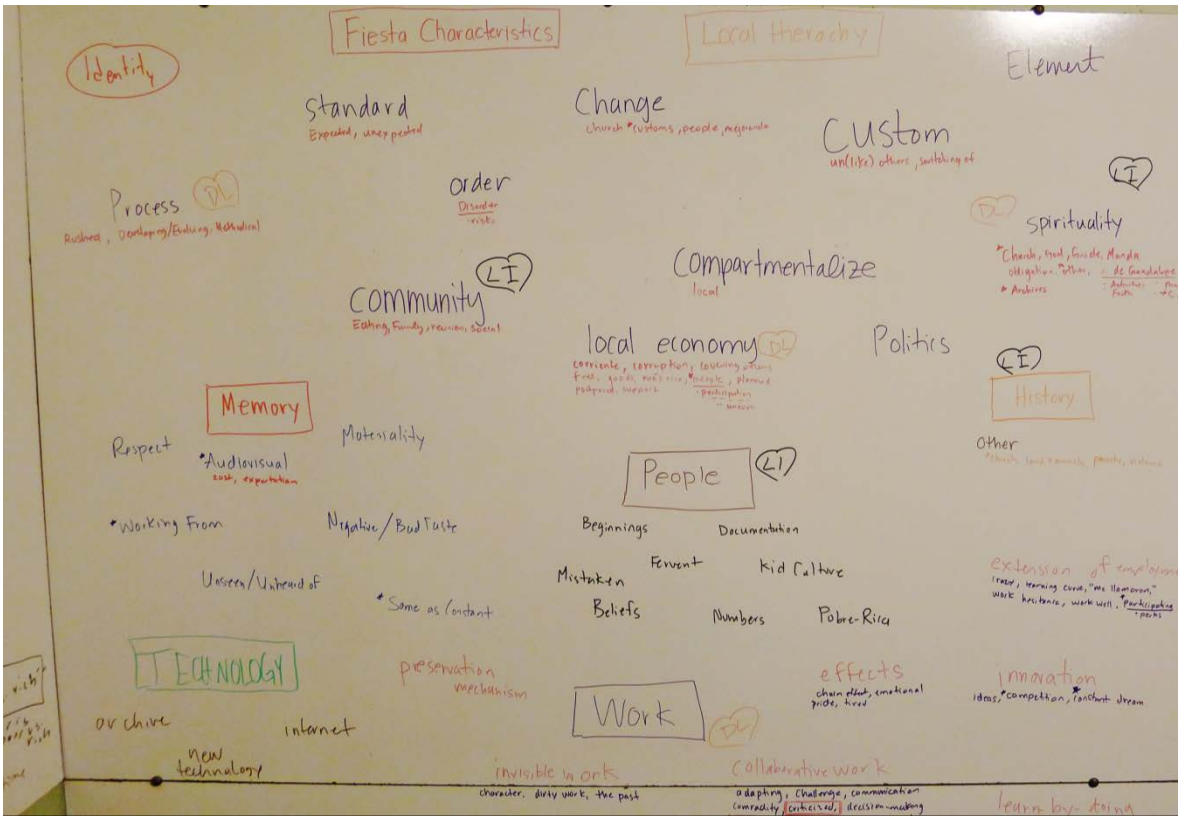

Figure 21 Dimensionalizing and grouping broader dimensions on white boards.

Informal Records: umbrella term used to describe and designate social practices that fall outside of regulated environments
Living Identity: the ongoing life that binds people together by way of a cultural identity
Memory Infrastructures: shared patterns and experiences embodied in the memory of individuals revealed through their recollections of the past and transmitted orally
Devotional Labor: the faithful organization of and/or participation in strenuous acts of devotion
Material production: the materiality that emerges and is produced as a result of specific social practices and activities

Figure 22 Defining the central perspective.

Perspective is assigned to the dimension that has the power to order and control the rest of the inquiry, that is to say, the one that best explains the phenomenon.

The four principal dimensions were identified to work in conjunction with the perspective of *informal records*. Informal records are reflected in the community's *living identity* by way of *memory infrastructures*, *devotional labor*, and *material production* associated with Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta. The idea that *informal records,* as the embodiment of different social practices, preserve the religious fiesta is the central perspective that was used to account for the major dimensions coded. This abstract concept ingested the constellation of dimensions pulled from the data; it had great explanatory power. For this reason *informal records* holds a higher order status, but maintains a state of interconnectedness with the other dimensions surrounding it (Figure 23). The perspective was achieved after looking more closely at the dimensions I clustered together, then the "aha!" moment emerged.

These social practices and material records were not records in the formal sense of the term. There is no formalizing measure or institution that can completely standardize these records to give them form, function, and purpose beyond what the social structures in La Plaza currently allow. Further, the records function within an informal sector of society without being regulated or protected by an institutional body besides the Catholic Church, though in this case this institution functions mainly at the level of tradition than as a bureaucratic regulator (although historically it did). In other words, the Church's tradition in Mexico is embroiled in syncretic and flexible religious practices with Our Lady of Guadalupe being one such example: in fact, *She* is an informal record.

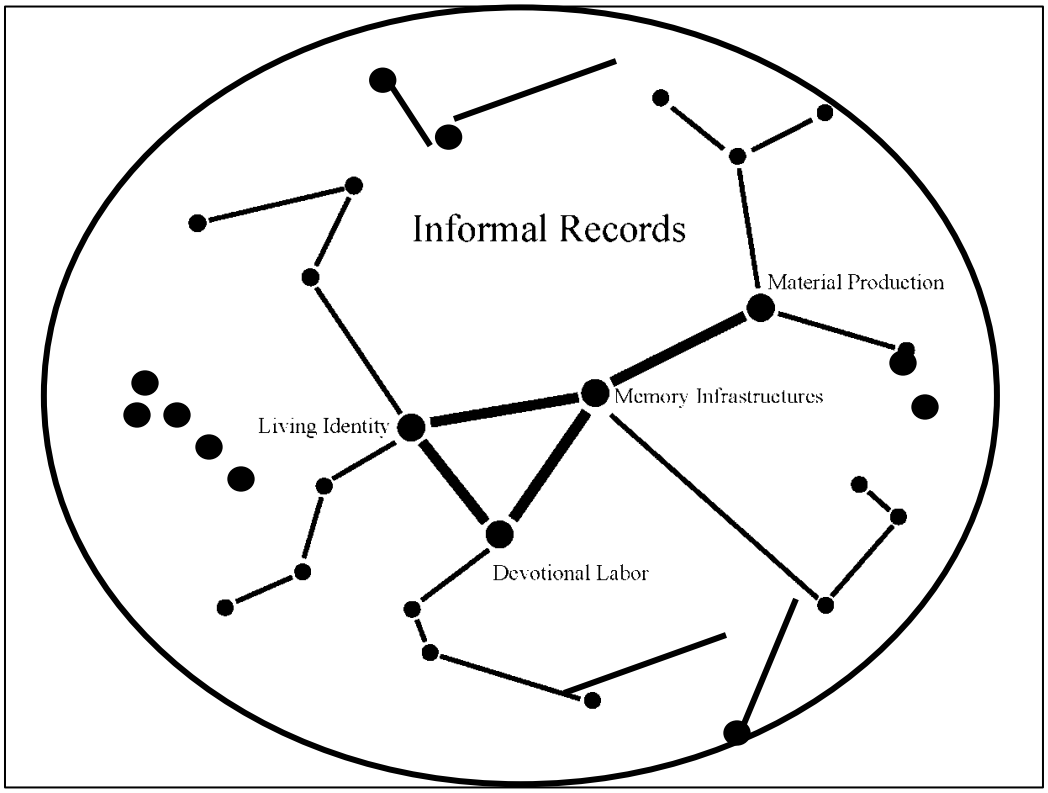

Figure 23 The main perspective as a constellation of "Informal Records."

The act of ordering and assigning values to the rest of the dimensions by way of the explanatory matrix as based on perspective is called *designation*.

Writing memos throughout the designation task is important because it can help to identify where it may be necessary to theoretically sample and fill in data gaps, and hence, better explicate its context, conditions, processes, and consequences. Figure 24 is an example of a memo written in trying to connect some of the ideas about the border zone cluster.

Memo: “Considering the Border Zone”

Community members organizing and coordinating the fiesta are often hesitant to take on the responsibility. One major source for their hesitancy comes from the fundraising efforts they have to coordinate with pre-planning periods ranging from one to three months in advance. In other pueblos (small towns), preparations for fiestas in honor of religious entities begin immediately following the end of the festivity. In La Plaza, the events follow a less rigid schedule and community members rely on the local priest to assign a small group of people to coordinate each day’s celebration. Some community members may volunteer to take on the responsibility, but it is likelier for the priest to assign positions to people who are involved in the subculture representative of each festive day. Although in some cases it is not only the priest who issues the assignments to the locals, but the community members themselves persuade individuals to take on the task. For instance, Raymundo led the day of the youth two years prior to the 2011 fiesta in 2009 and similar to many others I spoke to he too was hesitant to take on the role for a second time. Yet the reason he felt compelled to take on the responsibility was because community members living in the U.S. called on him to do it. The bonds between community members living in La Plaza with those who now live in the U.S. remain strong in spite of the physical distance, and for the fiesta, they create a sense of relief in terms of monetary support for those who remain in Mexico in general as remittances and specifically for the fiesta. This dependency on the participation and more importantly, the financial capital raised by community members in the North will over time create and change the expectations of the community in the South of what a fiesta should be and thus be judged upon its lavishness and ability to impress.

Figure 24 “Memo: Considering the Border Zone”

The explanatory matrix with all of its dimensions and properties provides a framework for writing up the theoretical findings into narrative form (Figure 16).

As mentioned, *informal records* is the perspective that satisfies the complexity of the mass of dimensions gathered in this project to answer the research inquiry. Because I derived a vast amount of dimensions, the act of constructing a narrative that was representative of the clusters I formed through designation was perhaps the most difficult aspect of this grounded theory analysis. While Figure 16 establishes the way dimensional analysis "works" and looks deceivingly straightforward, it can be difficult to let go of some of the dimensions as they all seem relevant. Thus, for the narrative formation I chose examples of dimensions that were both unique and robust enough to speak to the multidimensionality of the social practices and that constituted the theory.

Dimensional analysis is another way of doing grounded theory based largely on the most telling perspective that emerges from the data. This central perspective is the substance that controls the rest of the dimensions and is associated with the researcher's ability to recognize and recall patterns and ask question of the data. In dimensional analysis, the perspective is at the heart of the social phenomenon and in this project the substantive grounded theory derived is that the fiesta in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe in La Plaza is preserved through *informal records, which reflected the community's living identity by way of memory infrastructures, devotional labor, and material production.* The term *informal records* was used as the umbrella term to describe social practices that fall outside of formal regulatory practices, including those of archives. Moreover, these records have not been formalized or fixed in the archival imaginary in North America. Archival scholars have provided terms by which we may understand the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe as a cultural archive or event-oriented record, but there has been no

elaboration as to how there are mechanisms inherent in these cultural archives or event-oriented records that already help to preserve intangible cultural heritage, albeit, informally, as well as, how formalizing them may affect the on-going transmission of living communities and their own mechanisms for self-preservation.

In using the term "informal," I purposely aim to create a disassociation with formal archiving traditions that immediately conjure up an imaginary in which white gloves, manila folders, content management systems, and digital collections are a part of its standard repertoire. At the same time, the term informal is promising because it is a characteristic capable of being transformed as well as transformative. One can transform informal records as a way to reach new measures of productivity, opportunity, and equity; such transformations, if performed through reciprocal exchanges can help bridge practice that goes on in "traditional" archival settings and non-traditional ones. Here, the community archives trend is one example of how this is beginning to take shape.

As noted earlier, in this sociocultural context the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe carries a historical lineage of "informality" according to the divinity's true existence. At least from the perspective of some Catholics and scholars who value written records over oral traditions and of science over the plausibility of "miracles." Yet for those who venerate Our Lady of Guadalupe she is more real than any document can ever prove; thus, such experiences bear witness and transmit significant informal knowledge.

6.0 CONCLUSION

This project studied the *informal records* that preserve a yearly religious fiesta dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe in the rural community of La Plaza del Limón, Michoacán, Mexico. The goal of the project was to investigate how this religious fiesta was preserved without a formal archive. I identified the following categorical dimensions in support of the perspective of informal records: 1.) the living identity of the community that is an evolving and embedded in the inhabitants of La Plaza; 2.) the memory infrastructures embodied in the memory of the elder town inhabitants' recollection of the past and accessed through a number of interviews; 3.) devotional labor enacted every year by the Catholic Church members who organize the fiesta, and the local and visiting attendants who participate in processions and festive activities such as praying, dancing, and socializing); and 4.) material production, specifically the works of local videographers who produce DVDs that are distributed to the Mexican diaspora in the U.S. I used grounded theory ethnography to achieve theory development from an emic perspective that would allow for greater understanding on the preservation of Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta in the rancho of La Plaza in Michoacán, Mexico. I analyzed the data using grounded theory and the approach of dimensional analysis, as developed by Schatzman in the tradition of Anselm Strauss and identified "informal records" as the unifying "perspective."

This study did not begin with archival theory at its core nor did it use deductive logic to theoretically extend the concept of the record to a community without an official archive. Instead, this study stemmed from an interest to build theory using data that was representative of the lived experiences of La Plaza's community in relation to the preservation of their fiesta in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe. I used ethnography to collect data and grounded theory to analyze the data in order to achieve a substantive theory. Further, the grounded theory approach used dimensional analysis, a thread in the "Straussian" tradition. The substantive theory I arrived to was that *the fiesta in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe in La Plaza is preserved through informal records that reflect the living identity of the community. Three major components of informal records were identified as memory infrastructures, devotional labor, and material production.*

This investigation complements recent conversations in the archival literature concerning the archiving of intangible cultural heritage. Where my work differs is in the approach taken and the aim in understanding the social dimensions of preservation within a specific cultural context. The cultural context studied here demonstrates that event-oriented records and object-oriented records abound in the celebration of Our Lady of Guadalupe's fiesta. Anderson's take on the concept of the record as having a stable, semantic structure that moves through time as opposed to being linearly oriented in time led her to describe event-oriented records as being unable to be separated from their creators through kinetic and oral forms of transmission and ability to capture embodiment; additionally, space and time is shared in the transmission process between the creator and receiver of event-oriented records. On the other hand, object-oriented are those that may be considered a textual or visual record. As external objects they can be separated from their creators and as such represent of an activity. In this project it was found that the event-

oriented processes of informal records, in particular the memory infrastructures, devotional labor, and material production require that the community's living identity be understood as an active part of the preservation process. Such mechanisms are important for archives with a mission to archive intangible cultural heritage. Fostering archival outreach activities that can support the preservation of the processes that shape memory infrastructures and devotional labor have limitations in a U.S. archival context because it would require that an archive focus its attention toward archiving rituals archivists may not be culturally competent in addressing. Thus, such efforts may create sentiment that encompasses concern, or may be viewed as a threat to archival principles. Therefore, the possibilities of creating an archive that addresses a community's concern with the archiving of intangible cultural heritage will greatly depend on the community seeking archivization to work with archivists, if not for members of the community to become archivists and incorporate new procedures into the traditional archivist's toolkit that speak to larger cultural heritage preservation concerns. In a context such as that of La Plaza's where there is no archive supporting the preservation of intangible cultural heritage, there is a unique opportunity to create a new kind of archive in support of intangible cultural heritage, though it can be expected that it too will have its challenges.

At the same time, regarding the creation of an archive to support intangible cultural heritage in the U.S., the growth of the Latino population may prove to be one possible source for future experimentation. Latinos are one of the nation's fastest growing populations and the largest "minority" making up seventeen percent of the population according to the U.S. Census Bureau.[225] As historically colonized populations, hybridity has played a key role in the identity

[225] Anna Brown and Mark Hugo Lopez, "Mapping the Latino Population, by State, County and City," in *Pew Research Center* (Washinton D.C.2013), 5.

formation of Latinos, especially through religion. A large portion of Latinos are *mestizos* and in their *mestizaje* indigenous, European, African and Asian intangible cultural traditions continue to be celebrated. While these intangible cultural traditions may not be formally recognized as records in archives, they are still social practices that constitute their identity through *informal records*. As a first generation Mexican-American in the U.S., I can speak to the relevance archives have through my own desire to learn more about the "homeland" my parents left behind. This type of curiosity among more Latinos may lead to the development of archives amongst diaspora communities. Moreover, being able to identify *informal records* through processes such as memory infrastructures or devotional labor is useful knowledge for archivists who wish to assist immigrant communities to archive their transnational experiences in the U.S. and sending country. Furthermore, continuing to research the role of intangible cultural heritage in different ethnic and racial communities may also amplify their interest in archiving.

Finally, this project found object-oriented records in the *material production* created as a result of the fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe. The records are both analog and digital materials that could be regarded as documenting La Plaza's fiesta's history within the structure of the fiesta at a local level. These records range from receipts to notebooks used as tools by the fiesta's committees organizing to keep track of information concerning aspects of its organization. Other types of records produced are audiovisual records created by individuals in attendance through the use of personal digital photo cameras, video camcorders, and particularly those integrated in cell phone technology. Additionally, I discovered an archive in the municipality of Ixtlán's parish that did not materialize exclusively because of the fiesta, but it still indirectly forms a part of the community's identity as it relates to their racial origin and the history of the Roman Catholic religion in the region. Many of these material traces are afforded

by the fiesta and were identified as documents that could be selected for preservation within an archival setting that seeks to support the archiving of intangible cultural heritage in La Plaza. Only time will tell if the creation of an archive in La Plaza will be viewed as a viable project that the community will want to undertake.

6.1 FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research on the preservation of intangible cultural heritage from an archival perspective should focus on developing a more encompassing and robust theory than the one that has been developed here. The fiesta of Our Lady of Guadalupe in La Plaza is one substantive study from which a delimited theory was developed. The scope, range, applicability, and specificity of this project were confined to one case of the ritual. Investigating the social practices of religious rituals on a greater scale would help capture other perspectives and address the agency of the individuals who preserve it through different sociocultural mechanisms. One aim in extending the substantive theory developed here is by identifying more social practices by which communities informally enact the preservation of their intangible cultural heritage.

This exploratory study may also prompt future research questions concerning the role of the Roman Catholic Church and local governments in preserving such religious rituals through their own infrastructures. The scope of religious rituals such as Catholic novenas has great potential for more abstraction. Similarly, comparative studies with other religious rituals would allow for more complexity that could lead to a more robust theory. The greater question, however, would have to be in understanding how the mechanisms used to preserve these rituals

could benefit archival work in different cultural contexts. For instance, in the U.S., the material production derived from celebrating a religious novena may be the most suitable approach for an archival institution to help preserve intangible cultural heritage. Until there are models that go against the grain of traditional archival models of practice and more archivists are willing to accept the concept of the record beyond documentary forms, the archiving of intangible cultural heritage will be difficult and slow to be accepted in the already entrenched infrastructure of archives. Theoreticians may make it conceptually feasible to expand the archive, but how do you actualize them beyond the norm? Future research should investigate the plausibility and sustainability of preserving intangible cultural heritage within an institution that has this preoccupation at the heart of its archival mission. Geographic locations such as La Plaza can prove to be unique settings for this type of work through collaboration with the local community and institutions that are involved in celebrating such religious rituals. Moreover, research should, from the very beginning, take into account the needs of the community, material conditions of the environment, and types of documentation already being created as a result of a ritual's celebration as well as other documentation that exists in relation to it. By taking into account a community's living identity, and the processes of memory infrastructures, devotional labor, and material production, researchers and new communities who have not traditionally "archived" their history or culture can begin such a quest. The future of archives rests on our ability to see through the building of a new kind of archive, in which the preservation of intangible cultural heritage is supported by going beyond our current archival imagination.

APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY FOR SPANISH TERMS

Agrarismo: the agrarian reform movement in Mexico.

Aguardiente: a distilled alcoholic beverage.

Arrendatarios: tenants.

Banda music: a Mexican music style that uses brass-based instruments.

Castillo: a firework display.

Chilaquiles: fried tortillas cut into pieces, bathed in chili sauce, and garnished with cheese.

Ciénega de Chapala: the Chapala marshes surrounding Lake Chapala, the largest natural freshwater lake in Mexico.

Comunidades: communal lands.

Corrido: a Mexican musical ballad, known for its narrative form.

Criollo: a creole person of Spanish descent born in Mexico; creole people were a part of the Spanish caste system in the Americas.

Cristero War: also known as the Cristero Rebellion and Cristada, it was a civil war that took place in 1926-1929 in western Mexico between the State and Catholic Church.

Cristiada: see Cristero War.

Ecuaro: plots of land located in the hills used for self-consumption.

Ejido: an agrarian community.

Fiesta: a celebration. In the Roman Catholic tradition, a religious fiesta is celebrated to honor patron saints as well as Mary and Jesus. A religious fiesta may be accompanied by prayers such as a novena.

Gachupín: a Spanish colonial settler from Spain who emigrated to the Americas.

Gente grande: elderly people.

Guadalupanos: the believers of Our Lady of Guadalupe

Hacendado: owner of an hacienda.

Hacienda: a large private estate with permanent buildings and facilities dedicated to economic activities including agriculture, livestock, manufacturing, and extractive processes.

Latifundio: an estate with more than one hacienda and/or other landholdings.

Mantecada: a tortilla with melted pork lard with salt and chili sauce.

Medieros: sharecroppers.

Mestizo: in Mexico, a person of mixed racial and ethnic heritage; oftentimes, the term is associated with the fusion of indigenous and Spanish bloodlines; mestizos were a part of the Spanish caste system in the Americas.

Novena: prayers said for nine consecutive days. In the Roman Catholic tradition, a novena may be conducted to mourn the dead or in devotion to patron saints. A novena may be celebrated as a fiesta to honor a patron saint.

Pajarete: a drink consisting of fresh goat milk and cane based alcohol.

Patron: the boss; a supervisor.

Pequeñas propiedades: small private land holdings.

Peones acasillados: residential workers.

Raza cósmica: literally means “cosmic race”; a term coined in the twentieth century in Mexico as a way to build citizenship and unity after the Mexican Revolution.

Rancho: a ranch or locality with a small population.

Rosario de la aurora: the Catholic Rosary said at dawn.

Sopita: soup or broth.

Tertulia: a social gathering.

Tienda de raya: an hacienda store, or company store; translates literally into “line store” because the majority workers of haciendas were illiterate and they marked a line (*raya*) beside their names to get store credit from their bosses or hacendados.

Tienda grande: a store on the premises of an hacienda that literally translates into “big store”; see Tienda de raya.

Tilma: a cloak or cape.

Trabajadores eventuales: seasonal/contract workers.

APPENDIX B

RESEARCH STUDY SCRIPTS AND INTERVIEW GUIDES

Principal Investigator	Janet Ceja, Doctoral student University of Pittsburgh Library and Information Science Program 135 N. Bellefield Ave., Rm. 602 Pittsburgh, PA 15260 Tel. XXXX.XXX.XXXX E-mail: XXXXXX@pitt.edu
Research Study Advisor	Richard J. Cox, Professor University of Pittsburgh Library and Information Science Program 135 N. Bellefield Ave., Rm. 614 Pittsburgh, PA 15260 E-mail: XXXX@sis.pitt.edu

Script

The purpose of this research study is to investigate the historical and socio-cultural factors that have permitted the yearly fiesta in La Plaza del Limón to be remembered by its community members through videos, and at the same time, to understand how the memory of this celebration is preserved. The methodology of this study is ethnographic and it includes the use and analysis of library materials; videos produced of the fiesta for public dissemination; and finally, field notes from observations and interviews conducted during the fiesta. For this reason,

you are being interviewed at the 2011 fiesta in La Plaza del Limón. The interview will take from 1-2 hours, and you will be asked 9-12 questions.

Given that the observations and in-person interviews encompass non-sensitive topics in an open space, they do not pose greater risk than what would be encountered during daily life. Moreover, there is no direct benefit to you. Your participation is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from the project at any time. You will be explicitly asked if you want to be identified by your real name or anonymously—please be aware that this research study will be made publicly available.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study you can contact me over the telephone or via e-mail.

Investigadora principal

Janet Ceja, estudiante de doctorado
University of Pittsburgh
Library and Information Science Program
135 N. Bellefield Ave., Rm. 602
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
Tel. XXXX.XXX.XXXX
E-mail: XXXXXX@pitt.edu

Asesor del protocolo

Richard J. Cox, profesor
University of Pittsburgh
Library and Information Science Program
135 N. Bellefield Ave., Rm. 614
Pittsburgh, PA 15260
Tel. XXXX.XXX.XXXX
E-mail: XXXX@sis.pitt.edu

Texto de consentimiento informado

El propósito de esta investigación es examinar los factores históricos y socio-culturales que han permitido que la fiesta patronal de La Plaza del Limón sea recordada por sus habitantes a través de sistemas de documentación y a la vez entender cómo se preserva la memoria de esta celebración. El protocolo de este estudio es etnográfico y consiste del uso y análisis de: materiales bibliotecarios; archivos personales e institucionales; videos de la fiesta producidos para diseminación publica; y observaciones y entrevistas de campo. Por esta razón, se le está entrevistando sobre la fiesta patronal de La Plaza del Limón. La entrevista tomara de una a dos horas y consiste de aproximadamente diez preguntas. Puesto que las observaciones y entrevistas son realizadas en persona sobre temas que no son delicados y en un espacio público, no representan mayor riesgo que lo mínimo que uno encuentra en lo cotidiano. Su participación es completamente voluntaria y puede retirarse de la investigación en cualquier momento. No habrá beneficios que le sean útiles directamente. Se le da la opción de ser identificado por su nombre o de manera anónima, tenga en cuenta que el estudio estará al alcance público. Si tiene preguntas o

alguna inquietud acerca de este proyecto puede contactarme por teléfono o por correo electrónico.

I. Respondent Identification Information

Would you like to use your real name in this interview? Yes No

Name:

Title:

Age:

Would you like to receive the results of this study? Yes No

II. Personal History

a. Is there a history of videotaping productions in your family?
b. When did you learn how to videotape?
c. Can you talk to me about how you got started videotaping the fiesta in La Plaza del Limón?
d. Do you videotape other fiestas or events in the surrounding community?

III. Production

a. What do you videotape and how do you know it is important to record?
b. Do you attend the fiesta every day to videotape? Approximately how many hours per day do you spend videotaping the event each day?
c. Approximately how many hours of the video you record do you cut out? Why?
d. Can you talk to me about any special camera techniques or set-ups that you use?
e. Can you talk to me about what you would like to be able to do differently in the production of your videos?
f. Who is your clientele? What types of images do your clients ask you to record?
g. How do you edit your video? Does it take very long?
h. How do you make copies for distribution? About how many do you sell?
i. What is your video distribution and sales process like? How have video prices changed?
j. Do you save copies of your work? How and why?
k. Is there a special way you organize your videos?
l. Have you ever uploaded your videos onto the Internet? Why or why not?

IV. Video Narrative

a. How do you create meaning of the fiesta in La Plaza del Limón on video?
b. What makes your videos different from the other videographers' videos?
c. Compared to the actual event, what do you think is missing from your videos?
d. Why do you think people buy your videos?
e. What do you want people to remember from your videos?

I. Identificación del entrevistado

¿Le gustaría ser identificado por su nombre? Sí No
Nombre: _____
Título/Oficio: _____
Edad: _____

¿Le gustaría recibir los resultados del estudio? Sí No

II. Historia Personal

a. ¿Tiene historia de videograbación (de las producciones) en su familia?
b. ¿Cuándo aprendió a grabar video?
c. ¿Me puede hablar sobre cómo empezó a grabar la fiesta en La Plaza del Limón?
d. ¿Graba otras fiestas o eventos en las comunidades locales?

III. Producción

a. ¿Qué graba y cómo sabe que importa grabar?
b. ¿Asiste a la fiesta todos los días para grabarla? ¿Aproximadamente cuántas horas al día pasa grabando el evento?
c. ¿Aproximadamente cuántas horas remueve? ¿Por qué?
d. ¿Me puede hablar sobre técnicas especiales de grabación o montaje que usa?
e. ¿Me puede hablar sobre qué le gustaría hacer distinto en la producción de sus videos?
f. ¿Quién es su clientela? ¿Qué tipo de imágenes le piden sus clientes que grabe?
g. ¿Cómo edita su video? ¿Toma mucho tiempo?
h. ¿Cómo hace copias para distribuir? ¿Como cuántas vende?
i. ¿Han cambiado mucho los precios de sus videos?
j. ¿Guarda copias de la fiesta? ¿Cómo y por qué?
k. ¿Tiene algún modo especial de organizar sus videos?
l. ¿Alguna vez ha subido sus videos a internet? ¿Por qué o por qué no?

IV. Narración

a. ¿Cómo crea significado de la fiesta en La Plaza del Limón cuando graba?
b. ¿Qué hace diferente sus videos a los de otros videógrafos?
c. Comparado con el evento, ¿qué piensa que le falta a sus videos?
d. ¿Por qué piensa que la gente compra sus videos?
e. ¿Qué quiere que la gente recuerde de sus videos?

APPENDIX C

CORRIDO "EL BARZÓN"[226]

1	Esas tierras del rincón	Those fields in the corner
2	las sembré con un buey pando	I sowed with a slow ox
3	se me reventó el barzón	the ring of the yoke broke
4	y sigue la yunta andando.	and the oxen keep going.
5	Cuando llegué a media tierra	When I got half way
6	el arado iba enterrando,	the plough was buried,
7	se enterró hasta la telera,	it was buried up to the plough pin,
8	el timón se deshojó,	the beam of the plough got separated,
9	el barzón se iba trozando,	the ring of the yoke was bending
10	el yugo se iba pandeando,	the yoke was bending,
11	el sembrador me iba hablando;	the planter was talking to me;
12	yo le dije al sembrador,	I told the planter:
13	no me hable cuando ande arando.	don't talk to me while I'm ploughing.

[226] The translation of the lyrics were modified from the version used in Hernández, "Remaking the Corrido for the 1990s : Maldita Vecindad's 'El Barzón'," 112-16.

14	Se me reventó el barzón	The ring of the yoke broke
15	Y sigue la yunta andando.	and the oxen keep going.
16	Cuando acabé de pizcar	After I finished picking the crop,
1 7	vino el rico y lo partió.	the rich man came and divided it,
18	todo mi maíz se llevó,	all my corn he took,
19	nipa' comer me dejó,	didn't leave me anything to eat,
20	me presenta aquí la cuenta:	he presents to me the bill: [from the company store]
21	-Aquí debes veinte pesos	-Here you owe twenty pesos
22	de la renta de unos bueyes,	for the rent of some oxen,
23	cinco pesos de magueyes,	five pesos for magueyes
24	una anega, tres cuartillas de frijol	one fangea, three-quarters of beans
25	que te prestamos,	that we loaned you
26	una anega, tres cuartillas	one fanega, three-quarters
27	de maíz que te habitamos,	of the corn that we rationed you.
28	cinco pesos de unas fundas	five pesos worth of leather sacks
29	siete pesos de cigarros.	seven pesos worth of cigarettes
30	Seis pesos no sé de qué,	Six pesos of I don't know what,
31	¡pero todo está en la cuenta!	but everything's on the bill!
32	... a más de los veinte reales	... in addition to the twenty *reales*
33	que sacaste de la tienda...	that you borrowed from the company store...
34	... con todo el maíz que te toca	... however much corn you get
35	no le pagas a la hacienda,	can't pay it to the *hacienda*,

36 pero cuentes con mi tierra	but you can count on my land
37 para seguirla trabajando.	to continue working on it.
38 Ora vete a trabajar	Now go back to work
39 pa' que sigas abonando.	so that you can keep paying your debts.
40 Nomás me quedé pensando:	I couldn't stop thinking:
41 sacudiendo mi cobija,	shaking my blanket,
42 haciendo un cigarro de hoja:	rolling a cigarette:
43 -¡Qué patrón tan sinvergüenza,	-What a shameless boss!,
44 to' mi maíz se llevó	he took all my corn,
45 para su maldita troje!	to his cursed granary!
46 ¡se me reventó el barzón,	the ring of the yoke broke!
47 y sigue la yunta andando.	and the oxen keeps going.
48 Cuando llegué a mi casita	When I got home
49 me decía mi prenda amada:	my darling beloved was asking me:
50 ¿on'tá el maíz que te toco?	Where’ your share of corn?
51 le respondí yo muy triste:	I replied very sadly:
52 -El patrón se lo llevó	- The boss kept it all
53 por lo que debía en la hacienda,	because of what I owed the *hacienda*
54 pero me dijo el patrón	but the boss told me that
55 que contara con la tienda...	I could count on his store...
56 Ora voy a trabajar	Now I go to work
57 para seguirle abonando,	to continue paying off my debts,

58 veinte pesos, diez centavos	twenty pesos, ten cents
59 son los que salgo restando,	are what I still owe [him],
60 me decía mi prenda amada:	my darling beloved was telling me:
61 -¡ya no trababjes con ese hombre,	-don 't work for that man any more,
62 nomás nos está robando!	he's only robbing us!
63 anda al salón de sesiones,	go to the local agrarian committee
64 que te lleve mi compadre,	have my compadre take you,
65 ya no le hagas caso al padre,	and don't listen any more to the priest
66 ¡él y sus excomuniones!	he and his excommunications!
67 ¿Qué no ves a tu familia?	don't you see your family?
68 que ya no tienes calzones?	That you don’t have underpants?
69 ni yo tengo ya faldilla	neither do I have a skirt
70 ni tú tienes pantalones.	nor do you have pants.
71 Nomás me quedé pensando	I couldn't stop thinking
72 me decía mi prenda amada:	my darling beloved said to me:
73 -¡qué vaya el patrón al cuerno!	may the boss go to hell!
74 como si estuviéramos muertos de hambre	as if we were starving to death
75 si te has seguido creyendo	if you continue believing
76 de lo que te decía el cura,	what the priest told you
77 de las penas del infierno.	about the sufferings of hell.
78 ¡Viva la revolución!	Long live the revolution!
79 ¡Muera el supremo gobierno'	Death to the supreme government!

80	¡Se me reventó el barzón	The ring of the yoke broke
81	y siempre seguí sembrando!	and I still kept sowing!

APPENDIX D

"MÉXICO YA REGRESÉ" BY LOS REHENES

1 México, México, México	Mexico, Mexico, Mexico
2 ya estoy aquí, ya regrese de los Estados Unidos	I'm here, I've returned from the United States
3 gracias Dios mío por concederme	Thank you my God for allowing me
4 volver a estar con todos los míos.	to be with all of my loved ones
5 México, México, México	Mexico, Mexico, Mexico
6 cuando de ti yo me aleje solo mi Dios me vio que llore	When I moved away from you only my God saw that I cried
7 y si ahora lloro es de alegría	If I cry now, it's of joy
8 porque a mi patria y con mi familia	because I've returned to my homeland and family
9 ya regrese.	I've returned
10 Gracias a Dios ya estoy aquí	I'm here now thanks to God
11 en este pueblo, donde nací	in this pueblo where I was born
12 esta es mi tierra, este es mi gente	this is my land, these are my people
13 y es mi orgullo por Dios que si	and it's my pride, yes for God's sake

14 Mexicano aquí y donde sea	Mexican here and wherever
15 México, México, México	Mexico, Mexico, Mexico
16 Cuando de ti yo me aleje solo mi Dios me vio que llore	When I moved away from you only my God saw that I cried
17 y si ahora lloro es de alegría	If I cry now, it's of joy
18 porque a mi patria y con mi familia	because I've returned to my homeland and family
19 ya regrese	I've returned.
20 Gracias te doy Estados Unidos	Thanks to the United States
21 porque me diste que darle a los míos	Because you have me what to give to my own
22 mientras tenga vida te agradeceré	as long as I'm alive, I will thank you
23 pero mi México y mi familia	but my Mexico and my family
24 nunca otra vez por ti dejare	I will never leave you again
25 México, México, México ya regrese	Mexico, Mexico, Mexico I've returned

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