

**Machismo(s): A Cultural History, 1928 – 1984**

by

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For my family and in memory of my father, Jose H. Morales.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication .....	ii
Acknowledgements .....	iii
List of Figures .....	vii
Chapter One: Introduction .....	1
Chapter Two: Constructing and Contesting the Machismo Model, 1934 – 1974 .....	19
Chapter Three: Debating Nationalist Machismo: Latina/o Activists, 1967 – 1974.....	56
Chapter Four: Criminalized Machismo: Two Crimes, Two Speeches, and their News Coverage in 1974 Texas.....	96
Chapter Five: Macho Latinos in Popular Culture: Authorship and Stereotypes, 1969 – 1978.....	140
Chapter Six: “I want to be a Macho Man”: Appropriating Sensual Machismo in Popular Culture, 1974 – 1981.....	195
Chapter Seven: Epilogue.....	234
Bibliography .....	238

## LIST OF FIGURES

### FIGURE

1.1. Google Ngram Viewer search results for “machismo” and “macho” .....	18
1.2. <i>The New York Times</i> ’ Chronicle search results for “machismo” and “macho” .....	18
3.1. “The Macho’s Sombrero Sometimes Hides More Than His Head” comic .....	95
5.1. The main poster of the film <i>Macho Callahan</i> (1970) .....	194
6.1. 1974 Newspaper advertisement for Macho wetsuits by Sea Suits .....	231
6.2. 1974 Newspaper advertisement for Macho wetsuits by Sea Suits .....	231
6.3. 1976/1977 Magazine advertisement for Macho fragrances by Fabergé .....	232
6.4. 1978 Magazine advertisement for Macho fragrances by Fabergé .....	232
6.5. An image of Randy “Macho Man” Savage from a wrestling show advertisement ..	233
7.1. The Japanese flyer for the 1984 video game <i>Super Punch Out!!</i> (1984).....	237



## Chapter One

### Introduction

This dissertation draws attention to the uncritical circulation of the term “machismo” in scholarly works and American cultural discourse from 1928 – 1998. It traces the term in select historical and social contexts, in both English and Spanish publications, to investigate the type of cultural work the idea does among the social sciences, humanities, U.S. popular culture, and the Latina/o community.<sup>1</sup> While machismo obviously has its roots in the Spanish-language, this dissertation focuses on the ways competing interests deployed the term in mostly Anglophone contexts and how this imagery of machismo affected Latina/o racial representations.<sup>2</sup> I argue that uncritical reproduction of the term augmented the racialization of Latina/os, furthering white anxiety over Latina/o culture in the twentieth century.

I use “racialization” to signify the classification of Latina/os as culturally and/or physically aberrant compared to white Americans.<sup>3</sup> In the second edition of their leading text

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<sup>1</sup> In this dissertation, Latina/os is an umbrella term used to describe the “mosaic of identities” of those with Latin American heritage. Vicki L. Ruíz and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, *Latina Legacies: Identity, Biography, and Community* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 5.

<sup>2</sup> The terms macho and machismo are examples of Spanish loanwords in American speech. I am not referring to Spanglish, the practice of code-switching between Spanish and English. Spanglish is more than linguistic behavior, as columnist Ed Morales argues; it is what “we speak, but it is also who we Latinos are, and how we act, and how we perceive the world.” Scholar Ilan Stavans agrees that Spanglish is more than just a language, defining it as “the verbal encounter between Anglo and Hispano Civilizations.” Ed Morales, *Living in Spanglish: The Search for Latino Identity in America* (New York: Macmillan, 2002), 3; Ilan Stavans, *Spanglish: The Making of a New American Language* (New York: Rayo, 2003), 2, 5–6.

<sup>3</sup> The process of racialization is often dehumanizing, creates a racial hierarchy, and is done with contempt. Steve Martinot, *The Machinery of Whiteness: Studies in the Structure of Racialization* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 10–11, 18; Don Herzog, *Poisoning the Minds of the Lower Orders* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 306–307.

*Racial Formation in the United States* (1994), Michael Omi and Howard Winant define racial formations as consisting in American society within “racial projects, large and small, to which all are subjected.”<sup>4</sup> They argue that these everyday “projects” are ideological and standardize racial classifications to Americans as “common sense.” I argue that machismo is one of these projects, as many Euro American writers adopted and reproduced the term largely to suit their own purposes. Broadly conceived, machismo stood for an aberrant, culturally aggressive masculinity allegedly specific to Latin American culture. Latina/os have responded to this imagery in different ways by selectively accepting, arguing against, and transforming machismo for themselves. The two approaches can be best summarized by scholar Cornel West as “identity-from-above” and “identity-from-below.”<sup>5</sup> This dissertation seeks to historically “unpack” notions of machismo to reveal these intersections of racial formations, Latina/o identity politics, and academic intertextuality.

My interest in this topic began from queer feminist theorist Gloria Anzaldúa’s ideas on machismo in *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (1987).<sup>6</sup> She wrote that there were three types of machismo: familiar, false, and modern.<sup>7</sup> Her familiar notion of machismo was exhibited by her father. It meant “being strong enough to support my mother and us, yet being able to show love.”<sup>8</sup> Anzaldúa contrasted this to false machismo, an “adaptation” to poverty and oppression, causing men to “put down women and even to brutalize them.”<sup>9</sup> She described the third machismo, modern, only as an “Anglo invention” suggesting it was the mainstream notion

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<sup>4</sup> Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, Second (New York: Routledge, 1994), 60.

<sup>5</sup> Cornel West, “A Matter of Life and Death,” *October* 61 (Summer 1992): 22.

<sup>6</sup> Gloria Anzaldúa, *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza*, First (San Francisco: Spinster/Aunt Lute, 1987).

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 83.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

that differed from the other two. This account not only revealed distinct forms of machismo, but also categorized them based on personal experience. To Anzaldúa, her experience of a loving and supportive father was “macho.” Whereas the other types were unfamiliar to her, seemingly existing as stereotypes held by Euro Americans.

Other Latina/o writers have published their own accounts of machismo within Latin American sexual identities and relationships. For example, sociologist Tomás Almaguer detailed a theoretical model to explain the Latin American sexual system in “Chicano Men: A Cartography of Homosexual Identity and Behavior (1991).”<sup>10</sup> Quoting anthropologist Roger Lancaster, Almaguer described how there was no equivalent to the North American “gay man” in the Latin American sexual system since it was “based on a configuration of gender/sex/power that is articulated along the active/passive axis and organized through the scripted sexual role one plays.”<sup>11</sup> This system labels specific roles and parts of the body as either “active,” worthy of praise, or “passive,” that were scorned. Most salient for this dissertation is that Almaguer cited how machismo signified specific roles within this system. In Nicaragua, he noted how “machista” described the active sexual role for men.<sup>12</sup> However, in Argentina, “macho marica” described a new gay identity that encompassed both active and passive sexual roles; following the “butch” script from North America.<sup>13</sup> Thus, similar to Anzaldúa, Almaguer’s framework depicts the many ways machismo could stand for various roles, dependent on geographic and social factors.

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<sup>10</sup> Tomás Almaguer, “Chicano Men: A Cartography of Homosexual Identity and Behavior,” in *The Lesbian and Gay Studies Reader*, ed. Henry Abelove, David M. Halperin, and Michèle Aina Barale (New York: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 257.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.

Another sociologist who investigated “real” accounts of machismo is Alfredo M. Mirandé who published the results of open-ended interviews with Latino men in *Hombres y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture* (1997).<sup>14</sup> Mirandé began his study by stating that, as a child in Mexico City, he was “exposed to a wide range and variety of images of masculinity and manhood (and womanhood), images that were at once complex, subtle, and often contradictory.”<sup>15</sup> This included male relatives who served in the military, drank heavily, carried weapons, and his father who Mirandé described as unlike the others but was “athletic and strong.”<sup>16</sup> Thus, the goal of Mirandé’s study was to display the range of Latino masculinities. This included notions of machismo as well. He concluded,

[Machismo] appears to be a more complex and diverse phenomenon than is commonly assumed... Most respondents did not define macho as a positive cultural or personal trait or see themselves as being macho. Only about one-third of the men in the sample viewed the word “macho” positively.<sup>17</sup>

Mirandé provided some insight into this finding, adding that the men who identified with machismo were English-speakers and white-collar professionals, signifying a generational and class difference. The majority of his respondents, though, believed it meant an exaggerated masculinity characterized by dominance, violence, and egotism.<sup>18</sup> Mirandé’s interviews suggests that many Latinos disapproved of the stereotypical characteristics of machismo.

These accounts by Anzaldúa, Almaguer, and Mirandé, depict machismo as complex and complicated; familiar and foreign; and dependent by a variety of social factors. Thus, this

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<sup>14</sup> The subjects for Mirandé’s study were all Latino men living in the United States. Many, however, were foreign-born. Alfredo Mirandé, *Hombres Y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997), 67.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 3–5.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 78–79.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 69–72.

dissertation aims to contextualize and historicize these kinds of descriptions, providing a cultural history of machismo in the United States.

Other writers have provided some cataloging of the representations of machismo. However, their insistence to claim and prove a “real” version of machismo limits their analysis and impedes a complete cultural history. In “Machismo: A Universal Malady,” Latin Americanist Ronaldo Andrade exhaustively examined academic and popular literature and derived four types of machismo: 1) the aggressive warrior “Conqueror Macho,” 2) the misogynistic and womanizer “Playboy Macho,” 3) The Machiavellian “Masked Macho,” and 4) the honest and responsible “Authentic Macho.”<sup>19</sup> While Andrade’s intent was to exhibit how these types of machismo were universal and not specific to Latina/o culture, he exposed his bias by naming the last machismo that emphasized responsibility as “authentic.” He even personalized it, declaring, “these men exist just as my father existed,” claiming it as the “real” machismo and obscuring the others he constituted.<sup>20</sup>

Another attempt to historicize the social and cultural context of machismo occurred in 1996 with the publication of *Muy Macho: Latino Men Confront Their Manhood* (1996). Edited by poet and essayist Ray González, sixteen Latino male poets and novelists wrote essays addressing “how they see themselves as men within the concept of what it means to be ‘macho.’”<sup>21</sup> Inspiration for this anthology, González specified, was the absence of Latino men in the 1990s men’s movement inspired by Robert Bly’s *Iron John: A Book About Men* (1990). González lamented: “Why are Latino men not part of the large gatherings of men who beat on

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<sup>19</sup> A. Rolando Andrade, “Machismo: A Universal Malady,” *Journal of American Culture* 15, no. 4 (1992): 33–34.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 39.

<sup>21</sup> Ray González, “Introduction,” in *Muy Macho: Latino Men Confront Their Manhood*, ed. Ray González (New York: Anchor Books, 1996), xiii.

drums and recount their problems with their emotions?” The open-ended writing prompt and references to the men’s movement received various responses from the contributors. Most essays consist of testimonies on parenting, upbringing, sex, and other moments where the writers were mindful of their gender. The reception of this text, though, was less than glowing. Publishers Weekly stated that “Some pieces falter when they try to be revelatory.”<sup>22</sup> Latina/o and Latin American scholar David Manuel Hernández similarly criticized the collection, stating the essays “only skims the surface and is uneven in its interrogation of Latino gender roles.”<sup>23</sup>

To investigate the cultural history of machismo in the United States, this dissertation focuses almost entirely on the twentieth century when ideas about machismo began to circulate widely. Of course, this is not to say that nineteenth century political and military conflicts between the United States and Latin America lacked a gendered racialized discourse. For example, debates over Texas’ independence from Mexico in the 1830s was interpreted as a “racial clash” between Anglo-Saxons and Mexicans.<sup>24</sup> Senator Robert J. Walker of Mississippi argued for the United States to politically recognize Texas as its own nation-state and beamed that “American institutions, American feelings, our freedoms, our language, and our kindred race, predominated over that fair country, instead of the colored mongrel race.”<sup>25</sup> Puerto Ricans and Cubans were similarly racialized following the 1898 Spanish-American War when the United States acquired these islands.<sup>26</sup> White American social scientists conducted studies on

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<sup>22</sup> “Nonfiction Book Review: *Muy Macho* by Ray Gonzalez, Editor,” *Publishers Weekly*, accessed January 7, 2015, <http://www.publishersweekly.com/978-0-385-47861-8>.

<sup>23</sup> David Manuel Hernández, “Confronting or Confounding Masculinities? *Muy Macho*: Latino Men Confront Their Manhood by Ray González,” *American Quarterly* 51, no. 1 (March 1999): 210.

<sup>24</sup> Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 213.

<sup>25</sup> *Register of Debates in Congress, Comprising the Leading Debates and Incidents of the First Session of the Twenty-Fourth Congress, Part II*, vol. XII (Washington: Gales and Seaton, 1836), 1529.

<sup>26</sup> Alejandra Bronfman, *Measures of Equality: Social Science, Citizenship, and Race in Cuba, 1902-1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 6; Alexandra Minna Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 55–56.

these populations and imagined a public health crisis with epidemics of prostitution and venereal disease.<sup>27</sup> Thus, by the turn of the twentieth century, Latina/o bodies were already pathologized and racialized as different from Euro Americans.

Nineteenth century anxiety over aberrant non-white bodies and their masculinities was not exclusive to Latinos. Fear of Black masculinity as violent and devious, with a perverse sexual desire for white women, impelled violent acts against the African American community following emancipation and the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution (1865).<sup>28</sup> Around the same time, Chinese immigrant men in the western United States were racialized by white working men fearing labor competition and political parties hoping to acquire labor votes as deceitful, opium users who schemed to traffic and rape women.<sup>29</sup> With most laboring in laundry and food services, however, the stereotype of Chinese men also included effeminate notions, furthering their image as inassimilable and thereby warranting exclusionary immigration laws.<sup>30</sup> These stereotypes of aberrant masculinities justified the racial oppression Black and Chinese communities experienced, as many white Americans believed they were unfit for American modern life.

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<sup>27</sup> Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 8, 53–56.

<sup>28</sup> Previous stereotypes of African American males were non-threatening. For example, Uncle Tom was gentle while Jim Crow and Zip Coon were comic relief. Ronald L. Jackson II, *Scripting the Black Masculine Body: Identity, Discourse, and Racial Politics in Popular Media* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006), 42.

<sup>29</sup> Nayan Shah, *Contagious Divides: Epidemics and Race in San Francisco's Chinatown* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001); Charles J. McClain, *In Search of Equality: The Chinese Struggle Against Discrimination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Mona Pon, "The Social Construction of Chinese Masculinity," in *Gender and History in Canada*, ed. Joy Parr (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1996), 68–88; Sucheng Chan, *This Bittersweet Soil: The Chinese in California Agriculture, 1860-1910* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), 3–5; Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana: Illini Books, 1991), 41.

<sup>30</sup> Jachinson Chan, *Chinese American Masculinities: From Fu Manchu to Bruce Lee* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 5–6.

These concerns were exasperated by shifting notions of gender roles on a national level. Late nineteenth-century women attained voting rights in several states, mostly for local elections and school boards, and also participated in political parties and “Americanization” programs.<sup>31</sup> Euro American men, faced with fewer economic opportunities for entrepreneurship, shaped a new masculinity away from the Victorian ideals of self-control and polite character in favor of muscular bodies and “strenuous” lifestyles.<sup>32</sup> They embraced the role of a red-blooded, Rooseveltian “man of action.”<sup>33</sup> But what of the macho? With these contentious nineteenth century gender relations, when did the anxiety over Latino “macho” masculinity enter the public imagination?

The term “macho” has a convoluted beginning in U.S. English. The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) reports the first written usage of “macho” in a 1928 article in *The Nation*. Surprisingly, the article did not associate this Spanish word with Latina/os. Journalist Carleton Beals used “macho” to describe American marines fighting in the 1927 – 1933 Nicaraguan Constitutional War.<sup>34</sup> Beals rode on horseback for two weeks between the mountainous

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<sup>31</sup> Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 10.

<sup>32</sup> Ideas that inspired this new “strenuous” American masculinity were: social Darwinism, conservatism, and notions of “civilization.” Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995), 13–23.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*; Kevin P. Murphy, *Political Manhood: Red Bloods, Mollycoddles, and the Politics of Progressive Era Reform* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 1–4; Elna C. Green, *Southern Strategies: Southern Women and the Woman Suffrage Question* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 4.

<sup>34</sup> Before Beals’ article, the history of relations between the U.S. and Nicaragua was filled with military interventions. The deployment of American soldiers to Nicaragua occurred in 1853, 1867, 1894, 1896, 1898, 1899, 1907, 1910, 1912, and 1926. American interest in Nicaraguan political affairs stems from its possible site for a canal between the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Even after the construction of the Panama Canal, the U.S. ensured its canal monopoly by signing the 1914 Bryan-Chamorro Treaty, which granted exclusive rights to the U.S. to build a canal across Nicaragua, a 99-year renewable lease for the Corn Islands, and a naval base in the Gulf of Fonseca for three million dollars. The 1926 deployment of American soldiers occurred in response to a civil war in which General Augusto César Sandino demanded the abdication of the conservative, pro-American president Adolfo Díaz and an election monitored by Latin American officials. After six years of guerrilla warfare and monitoring the presidential election of Liberal Juan Batista Sacasa, American marines left Nicaragua in 1933. Shortly after, General Sandino retired his campaign. Stewart Brewer, *Borders and Bridges: A History of U.S.-Latin American Relations* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2006), 93–95; Thomas M. Leonard, *Central America and the United States: The Search for*



jungles of Honduras and Nicaragua to interview General Augusto César Sandino, the leader of the opposition.<sup>35</sup> As he was about to reach General Sandino’s mountain encampment, numerous refugees told him, “The Macho (Americans) have taken El Chipote [*sic*].”<sup>36</sup> As General Sandino retreated deeper into the jungle, Beals continued after him and encountered more refugees, whom he described as “fleeing ever deeper into the wilderness in order to escape the dreaded macho, the hated American marine.”<sup>37</sup>

The OED’s first listed use of the term “machismo” appeared in 1948. Twenty years later, machismo directly referred to Mexican Americans. Beatrice Griffith, a social worker, portrayed Mexican American youth as alienated from the rest of U.S. society in her novel *American Me*. She described machismo as the “large male ego [of] every Mexican-American, young or old.”<sup>38</sup> Griffith claimed machismo as central to the way youth gang members earned respect from their peers—that is, through their ability to fight and endure physical pain.<sup>39</sup> She went on to mention machismo several more times in her text, revealing how convinced she was machismo influenced the many imprudent decisions made by the youths in her study.

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*Stability* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), 70–74; Carleton Beals, “With Sandino in Nicaragua IV: Sandino Himself,” *The Nation* 126, no. 3271 (March 14, 1928): 289.

<sup>35</sup> Carleton Beals, “With Sandino in Nicaragua I: To the Nicaraguan Border,” *The Nation* 126, no. 3268 (February 22, 1928): 204; John A. Britton, *Carleton Beals: A Radical Journalist in Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 71–73.

<sup>36</sup> Carleton Beals, “With Sandino in Nicaragua II: On the Sandino Front,” *The Nation* 126, no. 3269 (February 29, 1928): 233. Historian Michael J. Schroeder cited an oral history of 78-year-old Luis Boedeker González, a former soldier of General Sandino, recorded in the 1980s. González was asked why Nicaraguans used “macho” to describe the American marines. He answered, “Because they were brutes. A Yankee didn’t understand, since they didn’t speak Spanish, they hardly understood anything, the bloody murderers.” Michael J. Schroeder, “Intelligence Capacities of the U.S. Military in the Sandino Rebellion, Las Segovias, Nicaragua, 1927-1932: Success, Failures, Lessons,” April 2, 2008, <http://www.sandinorebellion.com/mjs/mjs-intel.htm>. Schroeder’s dissertation also documents the use of “macho” to liken Americans to “mules.” Michael J. Schroeder, “‘To Defend Our Nation’s Honor’: Toward a Social and Cultural History of the Sandino Rebellion in Nicaragua, 1927-1934” (Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1993), viii.

<sup>37</sup> Carleton Beals, “With Sandino in Nicaragua III: On the Trail of Sandino,” *The Nation* 126, no. 3270 (March 7, 1928): 260.

<sup>38</sup> Beatrice Winston Griffith, *American Me* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1948), 50.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 43–44, 50–51.

Google's Ngram Viewer provides further insight. An analytic tool developed to search through the database of Google Books, Ngram Viewer outputs graphs that reflect the usage of words and/or phrases, adjusted by language and year.<sup>40</sup> Figure 1.1 presents the results of a search for "machismo" and "macho" in 1928 – 1998. As expected, based on the OED listing previously mentioned, the word machismo does not appear until 1948 and peaks in the late 1970s, followed by another peak in the 1990s. The usage of the word "macho," on the other hand, increases in the 1970s, surpassing the word "machismo" altogether, signifying its more common usage in post-1970s U.S. English. This shift of macho's increased usage over that of machismo aligns with the release of the Village People's popular song "Macho Man" (1978), which is an object of study in Chapter Six.

Another analytic tool is *The New York Times*' Chronicle, which documents the appearance of words and/or phrases in *New York Times* articles from 1851 to the present. Figure 1.2 presents the search results for the number of articles in which "macho" and "machismo" appear. These results are similar to the findings from Google's Ngram Viewer. The newspaper scarcely published the words until the late 1960s, when their usage increased.<sup>41</sup> In 1975, both words are cited in 63 articles. The following years, the word "macho" increases in usage, cited in 222 articles in 1980, whereas "machismo" is less favored, not appearing more than 70 times in a year until 2012. These results serve as a caveat for the aims of this dissertation, since a comprehensive cultural history of machismo will require a nuanced analysis of the ways "macho" was favored over "machismo" in U.S. English.

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<sup>40</sup> Jean-Baptiste Michel et al., "Quantitative Analysis of Culture Using Millions of Digitized Books," *Science* 331, no. 6014 (January 14, 2011).

<sup>41</sup> Readers may note the numerous appearances of the word "macho" in 1937 – 1938 *New York Times* articles. At the time, the newspaper reported on the arrivals and departures of ships from New York. One of these ships contained the word "macho" in its name.

These dates, conflicting definitions, and mixed racialized connotations of Euro Americans and Latina/os point toward a project that explores the cultural history of machismo's representations within the U.S. English lexicon. The examples from the OED descriptions show that machismo often stood for a complex, yet coherent, set of ideas that intersected with notions of race, class, and gender.<sup>42</sup> To remind readers to suspend their notions of machismo due to these numerous variations, definitions, traits, and syndromes, I title this dissertation and its chapters with "machismo(s)," the occasional plural form.

This dissertation takes fairly random instances where machismo appears in a U.S. English statement to consider the larger circulation of possible uses for machismo at any particular moment.<sup>43</sup> For example, union leader César Chávez has several notable quotes connecting manhood and the need for unionization.<sup>44</sup> Yet, as discussed in Chapter Three, he reserved "macho" to connote violent and uncooperative behavior. Another example is film critic Roger Ebert who used the term machismo in his reviews of several violent films in the 1970s, including *Straw Dogs* (1971) and *Deliverance* (1972).<sup>45</sup> Yet, none of these films explicitly used the term or featured Latina/os. Thus, even though a statement or scenario may imply machismo, due to

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<sup>42</sup> Historian Eileen Suárez argued that "discourses about race became interwoven with those of gender and class—often deflecting and refracting off them, but never completely buried." Eileen J. Suárez Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Race in Puerto Rico, 1870–1920* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 7.

<sup>43</sup> The various forms include the following: macho, ma'cho, makismo, machista, machisto, etc. The term "machisto" is unique to U.S. English since the term is a mistaken application of the -o ending to masculinize a word, as *machista* is the correct choice. In other words, one would still use *machista* to refer to a male even though it ends with -a. Félix Rodríguez González, "Stylistic Aspects of Spanish Borrowings in the Political Press: Lexical and Morphological Variations," in *Spanish Loanwords in the English Language: A Tendency Toward Hegemony Reversal* (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1996), 87–88.

<sup>44</sup> When describing how contractors would cheat farm workers when they weighed their harvest, César Chávez remarked how this was more than a lost wage, "It's a matter of destroying your manhood, taking away all your dignity." Jacques E. Levy, *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 61.

<sup>45</sup> These film reviews by Roger Ebert are reprinted and accessible via his website: Roger Ebert, "Straw Dogs Movie Review & Film Summary (1971)," *Rogerebert.com*, December 27, 1971, <http://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/straw-dogs-1971>; Roger Ebert, "Deliverance Movie Review & Film Summary (1972)," *Rogerebert.com*, October 9, 1972, <http://www.rogerebert.com/reviews/deliverance-1972>.

its numerous connotations and permutations, I analyze only instances in which the word itself, and/or its various forms, appear.

These instances are like riddles, allowing us to puzzle through the reasons a writer or performer chose to use this Spanish word in a U.S. English statement. Statements are recorded events that are repeated, linked to other statements that precede and follow it, and are transformed by writers who reference it.<sup>46</sup> As described by literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin, every utterance is part of a dialogue already in progress.<sup>47</sup> Analyzing and contextualizing statements that refer to machismo will reveal a relational network of knowledge consisting of its appearances, dispersions, limits, and ruptures that expose the author's own purpose and agenda in the history of this idea.<sup>48</sup> In other words, this dissertation creates an "index" where a single word points toward a constellation of ideas. Many of the early publications containing statements on machismo are originally written in Spanish. Thus, this dissertation will address the Spanish use of machismo if the writings were later translated into English, written and published in both languages, or provide a relevant perspective for the analysis of machismo in U.S. English statements.

The American usage of machismo raises several important questions that are at the center of this dissertation. How have the notions of machismo changed over time in the United States? What patterns of use emerged in the works of experts in academia? In what instances did machismo appear in U.S. popular culture? What implications does this dissertation provide for

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<sup>46</sup> Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1972), 28.

<sup>47</sup> M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. Michael Holquist, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 410.

<sup>48</sup> Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 35–44, 152–154.

its everyday use? Further, what meanings have been produced and circulated within the Latina/o community?

This dissertation comprises of five chapters. Chapter Two will historicize the late 1940s – 1970s hegemonic, social scientific “machismo model” that alleged Latin American men were “more sexist” and violent than Euro American men due to their machismo.<sup>49</sup> Some scholars dismiss these early social scientific publications as motivated by a “racist social science agenda,” and thus, they avoid thoroughly engaging the research.<sup>50</sup> Although I agree that the early social sciences racialized Latin American culture by its supposed aberrant gender roles, these publications form an archive that holds authority over machismo’s early appearances in U.S. English.<sup>51</sup> This chapter begins with a thorough analysis of the origins of the model: the writings of Mexican intellectuals, including philosopher Samuel Ramos and poet/essayist Octavio Paz, who mentioned machismo in different ways as they speculated on the post-revolution Mexican character that supposedly lacked modernity. The chapter will then follow the writings of many Euro American social scientists who referred to these same notions of machismo in their research. The extent of the hegemonic machismo model is revealed through the research of a few academics, such as anthropologist Oscar Lewis and sociologist Joseph Mayone Stycos, who published criticisms that were seemingly ignored by other social scientists. Instead, despite

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<sup>49</sup> Cynthia E. Orozco, “Beyond Machismo, La Familia, And Ladies Auxiliaries: A Historiography of Mexican-Origin Women’s Participation in Voluntary Associations and Politics in the United States, 1870-1990,” *Perspectives in Mexican American Studies* 5 (1995): 3–4.

<sup>50</sup> Carlos Adams, “Machismo and the Geographies of Hope” (Dissertation, Washington State University, American Studies, 2006), 181. American eugenics obtained prominence during the 1920s with the 1924 Johnson-Reed Immigration Act, that excluded “undesirables” from Europe and Asia, and the 1927 Supreme Court case *Buck v. Bell* that upheld Virginia’s sterilization law of the “unfit.” Stern, *Eugenic Nation: Frontiers of Better Breeding in Modern America*, 16–17.

<sup>51</sup> I am applying Michel Foucault’s argument about the relation between power and knowledge, where “the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge, and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power.” Thus, an analysis of these social scientific texts on machismo and their authors will reveal their agendas and their willingness to accept the previously published hegemonic notions. Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press, 1980), 52.

debate, the machismo model existed into the 1970s as a standard framework for the study of Latina/o culture.

Chapter Three will examine the pervasiveness of machismo and its racialized imagery in the Latina/o civil right movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Many activist leaders settled on “heteropatriarchal” notions of the Latina/o family as central to their nationalist ideology.<sup>52</sup> Since these activist leaders used the term machismo to signify these ideas, I call this strategy “nationalist machismo” since it served their political agendas.<sup>53</sup> Other activist leaders, though, including the reformed Young Lords, Chicana feminists, and union leader César Chávez, decried nationalist machismo in the Latina/o community, offering alternative notions of machismo that included: love, tenderness, egalitarianism, and sacrifice. This chapter will examine this contentious debate by analyzing speeches, newspaper articles, political platforms, pamphlets, poetry, songs, theatre, comics, and other works produced by these activists. Best stated by Latina/o and Latin American scholar Catherine S. Ramírez, these types of cultural works “reflect... [and also] produce history, narrative, and meaning.”<sup>54</sup> Indeed, the appearance of

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<sup>52</sup> Catherine S. Ramírez, *The Woman in the Zoot: Gender, Nationalism, and the Cultural Politics of Memory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 113.

<sup>53</sup> Patriarchy is often used to describe anything related with male domination. However, I use sociologist Sylvia Walby’s definition of patriarchy as a system of social structures that can include “the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarch relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions.” From Walby’s list, the latter two best describe the gender dynamics with machismo in the Chicano student movement. Furthermore, I apply feminist scholar Dale Spender’s definition of patriarchy as a “process of validating male... experience,” which is similar to filmmaker Jesús Trevino’s observation that Chicano cultural nationalism was created by men, for men only. Nickie Charles, *Gender Divisions and Social Change* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1993), 88; Sylvia Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), 20; Dale Spender, *Man Made Language* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 2; Jesús Salvador Treviño, *Eyewitness: A Filmmaker’s Memoir of the Chicano Movement* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2001), 250; Tomás Almaguer, “At the Crossroads of Race: Latino/a Studies and Race Making in the United States,” in *Critical Latin American And Latino Studies*, ed. Juan Poblete (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 207, 214.

<sup>54</sup> Ramírez, *The Woman in the Zoot: Gender, Nationalism, and the Cultural Politics of Memory*, xv.

machismo in these texts and productions disseminated notions of machismo for public consumption, furthering the debate over what machismo should stand for.

Chapter Four is a case study of 1974 news reports where the social scientific and Latina/o community notions of machismo collided over its criminalization. At the center of this chapter are two crimes in Texas: a prison siege at Texas State Penitentiary – Huntsville and a murder committed by a teenager. An analysis of the press coverage will reveal a media narrative where journalists blamed machismo for any news story that involved Latina/os and violence.<sup>55</sup> The Spanish-speaking community in Southern Texas, however, closed ranks and protested against these representations. They sought to claim and celebrate machismo as an “honorable” masculinity.

Chapters Five and Six turn to 1970s and 1980s U.S. popular culture where machismo had numerous instances. Most of these, though, are only passing references. For example, recording artist Michael Jackson’s song “Beat It” (1982) has the lyrics, “You better run, you better do what you can / Don't wanna see no blood, don't be a macho man.”<sup>56</sup> Here, machismo connoted toughness. Yet, “macho man” is not mentioned again in the song lyrics, leaving it as only a passing reference. Thus, for an in-depth analysis, Chapter Five and Six are limited to examples that have machismo in their title since it suggests it is a major theme of the production and allows a thorough investigation.

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<sup>55</sup> Sociologists William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani call this a “media frame,” a centralized theme that journalists employ to connect and explain different news stories. William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani, “The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action,” ed. R.G. Braungart and M.M. Braungart, *Research in Political Sociology* 3 (1987): 143.

<sup>56</sup> Michael Jackson, *Beat It*, Thriller (Epic Records, 1982), 33 rpm.

Chapter Five examines popular culture productions with Latina/o involvement from 1969 – 1978. This includes examples where Latina/os were authors, contributors, or performers. Although the stereotypical notions of machismo are apparent, there are slight deviations from examples authored by Latina/os. Indeed, they depict machismo favorably, characterizing it with: responsibility, romance, musical talent, bravery, and attractiveness. The other productions, particularly those authored by non-Latina/os, only portray the stereotypical machismo of lust, egotism, and violence. Thus, this chapter argues that even though the stereotype of machismo was still predominant among many, Latina/o authors were actively engaging with it, offering alternative notions of machismo.

Chapter Six examines the ways machismo was applied to non-Latino men in 1970s and 1980s popular culture. This appropriation characterized machismo differently than seen before, as muscular physique and sexual virility, that this chapter will call “sensual machismo.” Of interest are the ways this machismo is what sociologist Demetrakis Demetriou would call a hybrid bloc, a construct that selectively draws from other masculinities to maintain its hegemony.<sup>57</sup> I argue that sensual machismo borrowed many notions from the stereotype of machismo and thus retained some of its racialized connotations in the process. Yet, sensual machismo was differentiated as something desirable, reserving the racialized stereotype for Latino men.

Returning to *Racial Formation*, Omi and Winant use the term “trajectory” to describe the ongoing “clash and compromise” in constructing racial politics and identity.<sup>58</sup> This dissertation illuminates such a “trajectory” for Latina/os and the idea of machismo since its stereotypical

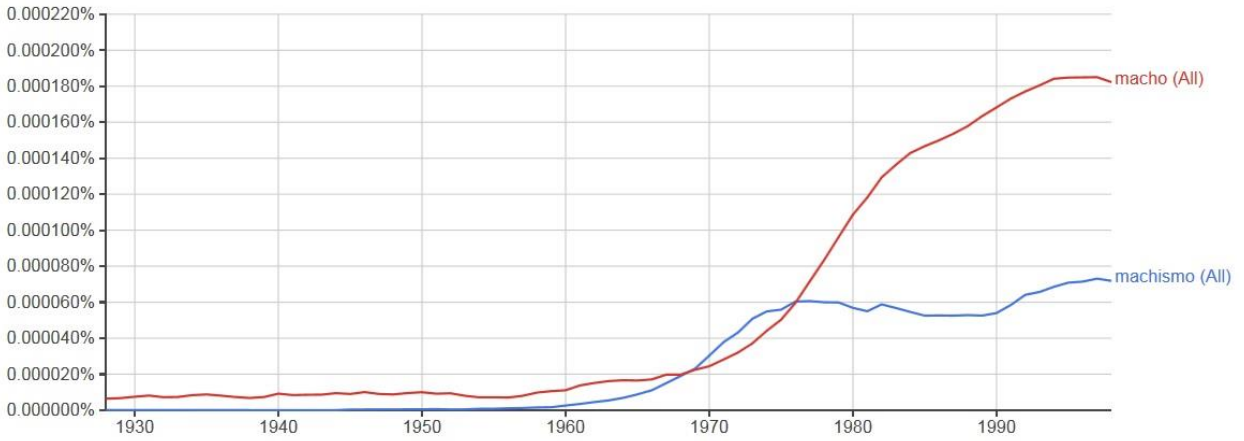
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<sup>57</sup> Demetrakis Z. Demetriou, “Connell’s Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity: A Critique,” *Theory and Society* 30, no. 3 (June 2001): 337.

<sup>58</sup> Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, 78–79.



characteristics of chauvinism, lust, and violence casted a long shadow that reached throughout the twentieth century, becoming almost a necessary component to mention when discussing Latina/o culture. Since this stereotype is still prevalent today, examining the nuanced responses from Latina/os are paramount to this cultural history since they have articulated their own, often racialized, notions.



Figures 1.1. Google Ngram Viewer search results for the search for “machismo” and “macho” in 1928 – 1998, from the corpus of American English, case-insensitive.

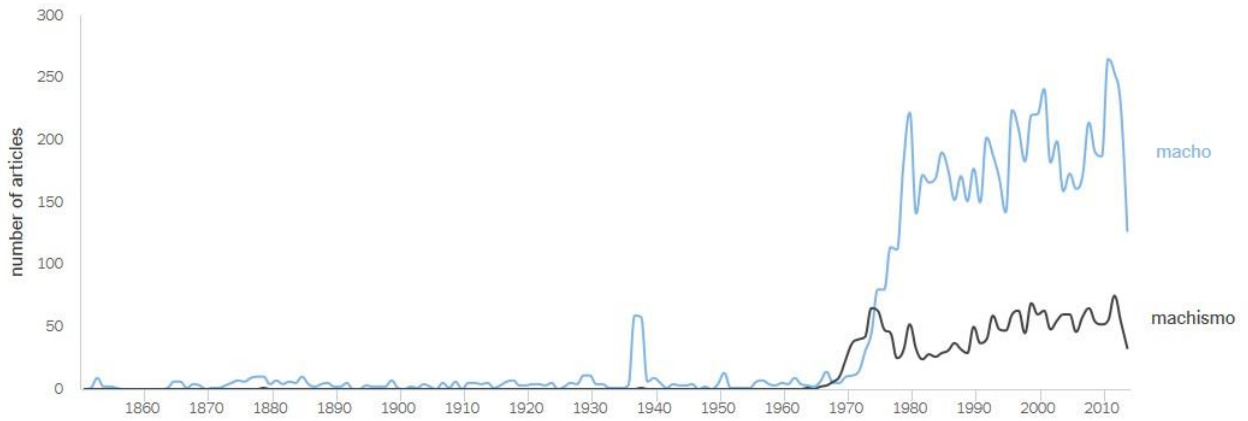


Figure 1.2. The *New York Times*' Chronicle search results for “machismo” and “macho” in 1851 – Present, number of articles.

## Chapter Two

### Constructing and Contesting the Machismo Model, 1934 – 1974

In his 1977 article “The Chicano Family,” sociologist Alfredo Mirandé expressed his frustration with the social scientific studies available on Mexican American families. He argued that even though U.S. social scientists were more culturally aware, their research framework was not objective in that they compared racial, “pathological” families against an ideal white, modern standard.<sup>59</sup> Mirandé was also critical of these family studies since they were influenced by a literary source: 1930s – 1950s “psychoanalytically-based Mexican national character studies.”<sup>60</sup> These writings by Mexican essayists contemplated the Mexican national character following the traumatic 1910 – 1920s Mexican Revolution; promoting what Mirandé described as “a pervasive feeling of inferiority and a rejection of authority.”<sup>61</sup> Many Euro American social scientists

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<sup>59</sup> The early framework for family studies was called structural functionalism that investigated and measured how well a family functioned. Maxine Baca Zinn, “The Family as a Race Institution,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Race and Ethnic Studies*, ed. Patricia Hill Collins and John Solomos (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 2010), 359–361; Alfredo Mirandé, “The Chicano Family: A Reanalysis of Conflicting Views,” *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 39, no. 4 (November 1977): 747.

<sup>60</sup> Mirandé, “The Chicano Family: A Reanalysis of Conflicting Views,” 748.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid. The Mexican Revolution is a complex event that political economist Adam David Morton argues is a “passive revolution” characterized by the following: foreign interventions, uneven development of capitalism, geopolitical rivalries, expansion of the property-owning class, institutionalized state-labor relations, and many incomplete state policies, particularly over land reparations and development. Adam David Morton, “Reflections on Uneven Development: Mexican Revolution, Primitive Accumulation, Passive Revolution,” *Latin American Perspectives* 37, no. 1 (January 2010): 13, 22. For more on the Post-Revolution literature and the tension of choosing a modern Mexican character between the traditional Indian and the zealous revolutionary proletariat, please see: Rebecca J. Lester, *Jesus In Our Wombs: Embodying Modernity in a Mexican Convent* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2005), 286–289; Roger Bartra, *The Cage of Melancholy: Identity and Metamorphosis in the Mexican Character*, trans. Christopher J. Hall (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 17–20, 90.

believed these accounts were insightful and used them as a “foreword” for their research on all Latina/os, including those who lived in the United States.<sup>62</sup>

Mirandé’s article identified three different sets of writers whose works comprised the written knowledge on Latina/o families: Mexican intellectuals, Euro American social scientists, and Latina/o American academics. Most significant for this dissertation, though, is Mirandé’s claim that machismo was the “prevailing feature” among these works, serving as an explanation for “all that is wrong with the Mexican and Mexican American family.”<sup>63</sup> This assertion is what historian Cynthia E. Orozco called the “machismo model,” a presumption by Euro American social scientists that Latin American culture was abnormal and more sexist than modern, white culture due to its supposedly aberrant gender roles of patriarchy and misogyny.<sup>64</sup> Thus, this chapter will extend Mirandé’s insights by looking closely at how the idea of machismo was discussed by these writers since their dialogue constructed and contested the machismo model into the 1970s. I argue that although the machismo model became the standard, hegemonic framework for studying and writing about Latina/o families, its creation was full of debate, particularly by Latina/o social scientists who could not agree if machismo was real or a stereotype.

The first section analyzes the notions of machismo in Mexico from the 1930s – 1950s. Mexican intellectuals who wrote essays on the Mexican national character included tragic notions of machismo. The three writers examined are: philosopher Samuel Ramos, poet/essayist

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<sup>62</sup> Anthropologist Gordon W. Hewes admitted that the Mexican national character studies were a useful “historical foreword to [a] scientific investigation.” Gordon W. Hewes, “Mexicans in Search of the ‘Mexican:’ Notes on Mexican National Character Studies,” *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 13, no. 2 (January 1954): 209–210.

<sup>63</sup> Mirandé, “The Chicano Family: A Reanalysis of Conflicting Views,” 748.

<sup>64</sup> Orozco, “Beyond Machismo, La Familia, And Ladies Auxiliaries: A Historiography of Mexican-Origin Women’s Participation in Voluntary Associations and Politics in the United States, 1870-1990,” 3–4.

Octavio Paz, and detective fiction author María Elvira Bermúdez. This section continues with examples of how the abovementioned tragic notions were mostly within printed works by Mexican intellectuals as musicologist Vicente T. Mendoza and lexicographer Francisco J. Santamaría documented machismo as signifying bravery, honor, male, and dignity in Mexican vernacular. Mexican intellectuals, though, continued with these tragic notions into the 1970s as psychologist Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero and psychoanalyst Aniceto Aramoni published studies that centered on machismo and violence. Their bibliography demonstrated the expanding literature on machismo since they included U.S. research as well.

The next section investigates 1940s – 1960s U.S. social scientists who furthered the hegemonic machismo model that Mirandé despaired. I use a hegemony framework to analyze the machismo model since Euro American social scientists referred to it as a benchmark with which to compare their results.<sup>65</sup> Most of these accounts by social scientists are overlooked by some scholars, as they believe the studies were motivated by a “racist social science agenda.”<sup>66</sup> However, the analysis of works by two authors in particular, anthropologist Oscar Lewis and sociologist Joseph Mayone Stycos, reveals a more contentious debate on machismo than previous scholars have acknowledged. Indeed, the early publications of Lewis and Stycos employed and furthered the machismo model. However, after years of committed research, they produced more nuanced accounts, with Stycos going so far as to claim machismo did not exist at all.

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<sup>65</sup> Here, I follow Artz and Ortega Murphy’s definition of hegemony as “the process of moral, philosophic, and political leadership that a social group attains only with the active consent of other important social groups.” Lee Artz and Bren Ortega Murphy, *Cultural Hegemony in the United States* (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 2000), ix–5.

<sup>66</sup> Adams, “Machismo and the Geographies of Hope,” 181.

The last section analyzes the writings of several Latina/o Americans academics who criticized the machismo model. Their stances, though, varied by arguing that the machismo model was: 1) a stereotype, 2) a universal characteristic non-specific to Latina/os, or 3) something else entirely. These authors are: folklorist Américo Paredes, educational psychologist Edward Casavantes, and sociologist Miguel Montiel.

This chapter argues that the creation of the hegemonic machismo model was a contentious process, featuring many debates and disagreements among writers in Mexico and the United States. The notion of machismo as tragic, though, was the most persistent, serving as a thesis for writers to prove or disprove into the 1970s.

### ***Mexican Writers: The Post-Revolution Mexican Character***

One of the earliest and most cited Mexican writers on machismo is philosopher Samuel Ramos. In 1934, Ramos published his book *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México*, which argued Mexicans suffered from a national inferiority complex evident from their everyday behavior.<sup>67</sup> This psychoanalytic examination relied on Alfred Adler's ego psychology, which claimed mental illness was caused by social factors, rather than on the more prevailing Freudian interpretation that explored unfulfilled desires.<sup>68</sup> Although an Adlerian framework allowed Ramos to make generalizations on Mexican culture, it labeled Mexican families as pathological,

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<sup>67</sup> Translation: "The Profile of Man and Culture in Mexico." Calman J. Cohen, "Beyond the Pathological Approach to Mexican Family Research: A Study of Authority Relations in Family and Polity," in *Contemporary Mexico: Papers of the IV International Congress of Mexican History*, ed. James W. Wilkie, Michael C. Meyer, and Edna Monzón de Wilkie, UCLA Latin American Studies ; v. 29 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 368.

<sup>68</sup> José E. Limón, *American Encounters: Greater Mexico, the United States, and the Erotics of Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998), 84–85. A Freudian analysis of machismo, within the ego-id-super ego framework, would separate its instinct, organized thoughts, and moral characteristics. Antonio Viego, *Dead Subjects: Toward a Politics of Loss in Latino Studies* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 150.

influencing the direction of future studies. Indeed, many leading researchers would assume that all Mexican families suffered from some form of mental disorder that needed diagnosis.<sup>69</sup>

Among the 182 pages of his text, Ramos only mentioned “macho” twice. Both instances occur in his discussion of the *pelado* character (literally “bare” or “plucked”), whom Ramos imagined as an unwanted urban resident who is poorer than the proletariat, has low intellect, uses vulgar speech, and often insulted others to increase his self-esteem.<sup>70</sup> Ramos believed that the *pelado* could only find meaning through one value, “*el del macho*.”<sup>71</sup> He went on to define this value as follows:

*Este concepto popular del hombre se ha convertido en un prejuicio funesto para todo mexicano... Hombres en la acepción zoológica de la palabra, es decir, un macho que disfruta de toda la potencia animal.*<sup>72</sup>

Ramos’ word choices of “zoological” and “animal” advance a virile and savage masculinity. To reiterate, since Ramos’ ideas are commonly misinterpreted, machismo does not include an inferiority complex. It is the *pelado* who felt inferior, and thus adhered to machismo. Most significant for this chapter is that machismo seemed insignificant to Ramos’ profile of the Mexican national character as it is barely mentioned. Rather, it was other writers who misinterpreted and generalized Ramos’ ideas of a national inferiority complex and machismo together that placed him into the machismo model.

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<sup>69</sup> Cohen, “Beyond the Pathological Approach to Mexican Family Research: A Study of Authority Relations in Family and Polity,” 368.

<sup>70</sup> Samuel Ramos, *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México*, Primera (México: Imprenta Mundial, 1934), 77–81; Rafaela G. Castro, *Chicano Folklore: A Guide to the Folktales, Traditions, Rituals and Religious Practices of Mexican Americans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 183, 199; Arnoldo Carlos Vento, *Mestizo: The History, Culture, and Politics of the Mexican and the Chicano* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998), 98.

<sup>71</sup> Translation: “...of the macho.” Ramos, *El Perfil del Hombre y la Cultura en México*, 77–81.

<sup>72</sup> Translation: “This popular concept among men is an ill-fated bias to any Mexican... Men who accept the zoological sense of the word, [that] is to say, a macho enjoys animal potency.” Ibid.

One writer who mentioned and furthered Ramos' theory of a national inferiority complex is essayist Octavio Paz. In his text *El Laberinto de la Soledad* (1947), Paz emphasized a theme of solitude, where Mexicans hide all emotions to the extent that it distanced them from everyone else, including themselves.<sup>73</sup> This supposed solitude, Paz claimed, was also manifested in Mexican manliness (“*hombria*”) that constrained men from backing down (“*rajarse*”) or opening themselves to others.<sup>74</sup> Paz viewed these behaviors as abdicating (“*abdica*”) what he considered Mexican manhood, machismo.<sup>75</sup> However, his notions of machismo were different from what Ramos described. Paz believed it was a distinct masculinity that emphasized defensiveness and solitude:

*El “macho” es un ser hermético, encerrado en sí mismo, capaz de guardarse y guardar lo que se le confía. La hombría se mide por la invulnerabilidad ante las armas enemigas o ante los impactos del mundo exterior.*<sup>76</sup>

Paz's conflation of machismo and manliness (“*hombria*”) generalized all Mexican men as machos, leaving no space for alternative Mexican masculinities. Moreover, his definition emphasized intransigence and thus revealed its weakness to capitulating to any outside influence. In other words, the more withdrawn a man is, the more Paz considered him a macho. Paz's macho is similar to Ramos' in that they are both tragic characters, displaced from modernity.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Translation: “The Labyrinth of Solitude.” Octavio Paz, *El Laberinto de la Soledad*, Primera (Mexico: Cuadernos Americanos, 1947), 29.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 29–31.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> Translation: “The macho is to be tight-lipped, keep to himself, and be capable of guarding both himself and whatever has been entrusted to him. Manliness is judged by one's invulnerability to enemy arms or the impacts of the outside world.” *Ibid.*, 31.

<sup>77</sup> Bartra, *The Cage of Melancholy: Identity and Metamorphosis in the Mexican Character*, 90,124. Paz also claimed there was a double-standard in that tough, independent women are belittled as *mala mujeres* (bad women) while machos are empowered through these same characteristics. Paz, *El Laberinto de la Soledad*, 1947, 38. My analysis of Paz's ideas of masculinity is derived from David D. Gilmore, *Manhood in the Making: Cultural Concepts of Masculinity* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1990), 9–23.



Paz went on to elaborate on his “macho” character while discussing the mysteries of the post-Mexican Revolution national character. He claimed insight into this mystery was within the Mexican idiom *chingar* (a profane verb roughly equivalent to the English “to fuck”). *Chingar* is a verb but is also used as a noun or adjective to signify a range of expressions.<sup>78</sup> Paz argued that the colloquial expression of the verb connoted “*el triunfo de lo cerrado, del macho, del fuerte, sobre lo abierto.*”<sup>79</sup> His placement of the macho as the active agent (the “*chingón*”) suggests each use of the word celebrated the macho’s “triumph” over an exposed individual.<sup>80</sup> However, Paz did not expand on this depiction of an aggressive macho. He instead discussed the semantics of *chingar* and its application toward women, leaving the reader with an unsettled image of a reclusive macho in the first edition of *El Laberinto*.

Although Paz’s ideas are cited by many writers in conversations about Mexican daily life, they are unaware of the revisions Paz made between the first and the 1959 second edition of *El Laberinto* (twelve years later).<sup>81</sup> As discussed, the first edition defined machismo as demanding emotional solitude and defensiveness, and as a trait that was celebrated with each use of *chingar*. By the publication of the 1959 (second) edition of *El Laberinto*, however, Paz’s ideas of machismo had shifted from defensive to aggressive. The new volume dedicated several more

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<sup>78</sup> Some popular uses for *chingar* are: to drink, to violate, to hurt, and to trick someone, to fail, or have sex with. Boye De Mente, *NTC’s Dictionary of Mexican Cultural Code Words* (Chicago: NTC Publishing Group, 1996), 52.

<sup>79</sup> Translation: “The triumph of the reserved, the macho, the strong over the exposed.” Paz, *El Laberinto de la Soledad*, 1947, 83–84.

<sup>80</sup> I am echoing Judith Butler’s argument that, “There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results.” Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 25.

<sup>81</sup> Paz will be treated as a philosopher in this dissertation. Best described by anthropologist Matthew Gutmann, Octavio Paz “should not be taken literally but literarily.” Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson, eds., *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 20; Matthew Gutmann, *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 229; José Quiroga, *Understanding Octavio Paz* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), 57; Octavio Paz, *El Laberinto de la Soledad; Posdata; Vuelta a El Laberinto de la Soledad*, Edición Especial, Tezontle (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1981), 307–309.

pages to machismo, suggesting that it had become much more ubiquitous in discussing Mexican culture. Paz's updated description characterized machismo as "*agresividad, impasibilidad, invulnerabilidad, [y] uso descarnado de la violencia.*"<sup>82</sup> While the first edition focused on the macho as a defensive stance, the second edition lingered on aggression by expanding the section on "*chingaderas*," or acts of confusion/horror intended to humiliate others.<sup>83</sup> For example, as a hyperbolic example of a *chingadera*, Paz stated that a macho cure for a friend's headache was firing a bullet into his head.<sup>84</sup> In other words, Paz had transformed his macho into a villain, and he even claimed that each *chingadera* was celebrated by the macho with a sinister smile.<sup>85</sup> This disparaging portrayal reminded Paz of another character, the Spanish conquistador. Both conquistadors and machos embodied "power" for Paz, each with the capability to wound and humiliate.<sup>86</sup> However, Paz took this one step further by stating "*el macho representa el polo masculino de la vida*," once again conflating machismo with manliness by imagining it as the masculinity to which Mexicans adhered.<sup>87</sup>

Thus, while he willingly accepted and cited Ramos' idea of a Mexican national inferiority complex, it was not until the publication of his second edition that Paz shifted his concept of machismo from an expression of withdrawal seclusion to a version of Ramos' savage masculinity. Paz went further, ultimately portraying machismo as a villainous form of behavior in which solitary machos aggressively humiliate others. This shift still complimented Paz's

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<sup>82</sup> Translation: "Aggressiveness, insensitivity, invulnerability, and the stark use of violence." Octavio Paz, *El Laberinto de la Soledad, Segunda* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1959), 73.

<sup>83</sup> Paz also called the macho "*el Gran Chingón*," an upgraded status from the first editions' "*chingón*." Ibid., 73–74.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid.

<sup>87</sup> Translation: "The macho represents the masculine pole of life." Ibid.

argument that solitude afflicted Mexican society, as it justified the macho's seclusion as a way to avoid conflict with other machos.

María Elvira Bermúdez, a Mexican novelist, similarly ascribed aggressive ideas of machismo to Mexican gender roles at about the same time that Paz printed his second edition of *Labyrinth of Solitude*.<sup>88</sup> Bermúdez had some success writing a couple of detective fiction novels. In 1955, though, she took a different direction when she published *La Vida Familiar del Mexicano*. She argued that Mexican gender roles impeded men's ability to be "*sencillos y humanos*" and women's ability to be "*dignas e independientes*."<sup>89</sup> In particular, she blamed machismo, which she described as impairing judgment with "*un desfogue del instinto*," that turned Mexican men into delinquents.<sup>90</sup> Bermudez also compared the Mexican macho to other nations' stereotypical male characters. She described the macho as more cautious than England's Othello and more lustful than Spain's Don Juan.<sup>91</sup> Othello, a Shakespearean character, was deceived into believing his wife Desdemona was unfaithful through several machinations by the villain Iago. Othello's anger and jealousy led him to abuse his wife and, ultimately, murder her in the last act.<sup>92</sup> Thus, Bermudez imagined the Mexican macho's attitude toward women as worse by comparison.

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<sup>88</sup> Bermúdez received her law degree in 1939 and worked for years as a counsel to the Mexican Supreme Court. She published numerous detective stories, including the first in Latin American literature to have a female detective protagonist in 1947. Darrell B. Lockhart, ed., *Latin American Mystery Writers: An A-to-Z Guide* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004), 24.

<sup>89</sup> Translation: "Family Life of the Mexicans, simple and humane, dignified and independent." Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Translation: "A venting/loss of instinct." María Elvira Bermúdez, *La Vida Familiar del Mexicano* (México: Antigua Librería Robredo, 1955), 95.

<sup>91</sup> Translation: "A macho cannot be defeated." Ibid., 86–88.

<sup>92</sup> David Bevington, "Othello: Portrait of a Marriage," in *Othello: New Critical Essays*, ed. Philip C. Kolin (New York: Routledge, 2002), 226.

Bermúdez's continued by elaborating on machos supposed obsession with women: “*desprecia a la mujer; pero vive obsesionado por las mujeres.*”<sup>93</sup> She believed this interest was only physical, and that, in turn, it caused an inferiority complex for machos as they were unable to comprehend women's spirituality.<sup>94</sup> Bermúdez's machos compensated this sense of inferiority through acts of strength that often led to abuse, as they wanted to conquer women.<sup>95</sup> Machos, however, were also depicted as victims in that their abusive acts caused them much despair and eventually drove them to commit suicide.<sup>96</sup>

These accounts by Ramos, Paz, and Bermúdez imagine machismo as an aggressive masculinity that is either caused by or derived from an inferiority complex. Ramos believed it was a vulgar, savage masculinity that was favored by the urban poor. Paz argued it was the masculinity of Mexico and was characterized by aggressiveness, insensitivity, and seclusion. Bermúdez went even farther, describing an abusive, womanizing macho that ultimately would self-destruct.<sup>97</sup>

Similar tragic notions of machismo were also documented in Mexican vernacular by lexicographer Francisco J. Santamaría. In his 1959 dictionary of Mexican idioms, he defined machismo as: “*Vulgarismo grosero, por varonía, virilidad.*”<sup>98</sup> It coincided with the notions of crudeness and excessive masculinity emphasized by Mexican intellectuals. Yet, Santamaría added in a second definition for macho that differed; he noted that macho could be used to

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<sup>93</sup> Translation: “He despises women, but he is obsessed with them.” Bermúdez, *La Vida Familiar del Mexicano*, 85.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 87–88, 90.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>97</sup> Bermúdez's callous portrayal of machos was furthered when she claimed younger men were opposed to machismo since they did not attempt to seduce every woman they met and openly discussed their love and care for their children. *Ibid.*, 131, 139–140.

<sup>98</sup> Translation: “Crude vulgarism, for maleness, virility.” Francisco J. Santamaría, *Diccionario de Mejianismos*, Primera (Mejico: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1959), 677.

indicate a superior size in plants and animals. These two different idioms suggest that even though Mexican intellectuals seemed assured that machismo stood for an aggressive masculinity, in early 1960s Mexican dialect, there was another connotation.

Other Mexican intellectuals, though, continued discussing and furthering the tragic notions of machismo. Psychologist Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero published a research study titled *Estudios de Psicología del Mexicano* (1961) where he cited both Samuel Ramos' *pelado* and Octavio Paz's more disparaging national inferiority complex.<sup>99</sup> When discussing machismo, though, he argued that it applied to other Latino men as well, extending it beyond Mexico.<sup>100</sup> Yet, this claim was not elaborated upon until the publication of his second edition. There, Díaz-Guerrero added in a footnote, citing a 1958 U.S. study where social scientists applied his past research on Mexicans and machismo to Puerto Rican subjects.<sup>101</sup> In other words, Díaz-Guerrero did not apply machismo to other Latina/os on his own. Instead, he was observing and in agreement with how his research on Mexican family relations was applied to other Latina/os by U.S. social scientists.<sup>102</sup>

A researcher who disagreed with the tragic notions of machismo was Mexican musicologist Vicente T. Mendoza. In his 1962 article "*El Machismo en México: Al Través de las Canciones, Corridos y Cantares,*" Mendoza attempted to rectify the tragic notions emphasized

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<sup>99</sup> Translation: "Psychological Studies of the Mexican." Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero, *Estudios de Psicología del Mexicano*, Primera (México, D.F.: Antigua Librería Robredo, 1961).

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>101</sup> The study Díaz-Guerrero cited was: R. Fernández Marina, S. Maldonado Sierra, and D. Trent Richard, "Three Basic Themes in Mexican and Puerto Rican Family Values," *The Journal of Social Psychology* 48 (1958).

<sup>102</sup> Years later, at the first symposium of Chicano Psychology in May 1976 at University of California – Irvine, Díaz-Guerrero continued to promote the machismo model by calling machismo "one of the most negative aspects of the Mexican culture." Rogelio Diaz-Guerrero, "A Sociocultural Psychology?," in *Chicano Psychology*, ed. Joe L. Martinez (New York: Academic Press, 1977), 23–24.

by Mexican intellectuals with the proud notions he heard in Mexican song lyrics.<sup>103</sup> He argued “*que existen dos clases de machismo*”: authentic and false.<sup>104</sup> To Mendoza, authentic machismo meant bravery, dignity, courage, generosity, stoicism, and piety towards women; worthy of praise in songs. False machismo, on the other hand, was the previously discussed tragic notions of bravado, cowardice, and arrogance caused by an inferiority complex. Although the musical examples Mendoza analyzed did not include the word machismo, his claim was still perceptive. Twenty years before, iconic cowboy protagonist of Mexican cinema Jorge Negrete sang “*Yo soy mexicano*” in the film *El Peñón de las Ánimas* (1942).<sup>105</sup> The song begins with the proclamation, “*Yo soy mexicano / Mi tierra es bravía... / ¡Palabra de macho que no hay otra tierra mas linda y más brava que la tierra mía!*”<sup>106</sup> The song exudes confidence and pride, in claiming Mexico as a beautiful, untamed land beloved by machos. Thus, machismo had several connotations in 1940s – 1960s Mexico, including plant/animal size and bravery.

Mexican intellectuals, though, continued to publish works into the 1970s that held machismo as tragic. For example, psychoanalyst Aniceto Aramoni described machismo as the “disturbed, uniquely Mexican answer to the universal quest for individualization, dignity, and relatedness.”<sup>107</sup> Similar to Bermúdez, he emphasized the cycle of violence in Mexican patriarchy, wherein machos rendered women “docile but resentful, submissive but passively resistant or actively negative.”<sup>108</sup> What makes Aramoni’s analysis unique, however, is his

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<sup>103</sup> Vicente T. Mendoza, “El Machismo en México: Al Traves de las Canciones, Corridos y Cantares,” *Cuadernos del Instituto Nacional de Antropología* III (1962).

<sup>104</sup> Translation: “There exists two types of machismo.” *Ibid.*, 75–76.

<sup>105</sup> Translations: “I am Mexican” and “The (Rock) Crag of Souls.” Miguel Zacarías, *El Peñón de las Ánimas* (CLASA Films, 1942).

<sup>106</sup> Translation: “I am Mexican / My land is brave... / On the word of a macho, there is no land lovelier or wilder than mine.”

<sup>107</sup> Aniceto Aramoni, “Machismo,” *Psychology Today*, January 1972, 69.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*

supposed paradox of this gendered oppression, as he believed machos revered the Virgin Mary and their own mothers even though they tended to control and disparage women more generally.<sup>109</sup> Calling this situation a “tragic comedy of errors,” Aramoni theorized that machos oppressed women to prove how much of a macho they were, not to themselves or other machos, but to their mothers.<sup>110</sup> Aramoni argued that oppressed women embedded all of their hopes and frustrations in their sons, fostering anxiety and an inferiority complex in the boys as the boys attempted to fill the role of their absent father, thereby continuing the cycle.<sup>111</sup> Aramoni’s theories further depicted machismo as culturally ingrained in Mexican men from childhood. Moreover, and most salient for this discussion, Aramoni published most of his articles in English, thus distributing these tragic notions to the American imagination alongside Paz’s *Labyrinth of Solitude*, which was first translated in 1961.<sup>112</sup>

Many Mexican intellectuals imagined machismo as a mode of Mexican masculinity characterized by virility, aggressiveness, patriarchy, and solitude, and proven through sexual or courageous acts. These were mostly literary reflections, however, an attempt to define a modern Mexican character; they were not proven through any empirical research. But even Mexican thinkers disagreed over the meanings of machismo. Whereas Paz himself shifted from depicting a defensive macho to an aggressive one, Mendoza and Santamaría observed machismo as meaning bravery or animal/plant size in Mexican vernacular. U.S. social scientists reduced these variations, adopting the tragic figuration of machismo. This understanding of machismo became

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<sup>109</sup> Aniceto Aramoni, “The Machismo Solution,” in *In the Name of Life: Essays in Honor of Erich Fromm*, ed. Bernard Landis and Edward S. Tauber (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), 104–105.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 106–107.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> Aramoni’s exposure to readers in the United States was widespread since he was cited in *New York Magazine*’s article “The Machismo Mystique” by Linda Wolfe. Linda Wolfe, “The Machismo Mystique,” *New York Magazine*, August 7, 1972, 62.

a basis for research on Latina/o families in which social scientific methodologies were deployed to diagnosis the numerous social ills of Latina/o culture, contributing to their racialization as fundamentally different from Euro Americans. In the next section I will discuss these works, particularly focusing on the family studies of anthropologist Oscar Lewis and sociologist Joseph Mayone Stycos.

### ***Euro American Writers: Creating the Machismo Model***

The Oxford English Dictionary credits social worker Beatrice Griffith as the first to use the term “machismo” in her book *American Me* (1948).<sup>113</sup> After graduating from Pomona College in 1933, Griffith was employed as a social worker in East Los Angeles, serving mostly Mexican American families.<sup>114</sup> She claimed her inspiration for writing *American Me* was the youth themselves, who urged her, “Tell them how it is with us, Miss.”<sup>115</sup> Griffith produced a collection of short stories of contentious young Mexican American characters marginalized by

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<sup>113</sup> Actually, Griffith first used machismo in her article “Who Are the Pachucos?” (1947), in which she narrated a story similar to one found in *American Me*, only with a different character name (Chuey Martinez) and a different criminal charge (auto theft). “Machismo,” *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007); Beatrice Winston Griffith, “Who Are The Pachucos?,” *Pacific Spectator: A Journal of Interpretation* 3 (Summer 1947): 352–354. Although Griffith cited numerous nonfiction accounts, and her characters were based on her social work clients, this section will treat Griffith’s text as a work of fiction to investigate her notions of machismo. In other words, *American Me* is based on true events that were fictionalized by the author to garner sympathy for the characters. Lennard J. Davis provided a similar analysis of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719): “Crusoe is at once true and false; he is fiction with a true existence and a true story with a fictional structure.” Eduardo Obregón Pagán, *Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot Suits, Race and Riot in Wartime L.A.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 129; Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), 157.

<sup>114</sup> Griffith, “Who Are The Pachucos?,” x. Griffith later supervised art projects for the National Youth Administration, a New Deal program that paid students for job training or for projects at their schools. It was also the first federal agency with an affirmative action program, and in 1938, it held the first federal conference on the hardship of African American youth. John Caughey and Laree Caughey, eds., *California Heritage: An Anthology of History and Literature* (Los Angeles: The Ward Ritchie Press, 1962), 466; Richard A. Reiman, *The New Deal and American Youth: Ideas and Ideals in a Depression Decade* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992), 1–7; Griffith, “Who Are The Pachucos?,” x.

<sup>115</sup> Griffith, *American Me*, ix–x.



their Mexican families and white American society in 1940s Los Angeles, during a period which included the Zoot Suit Riots.<sup>116</sup>

Griffith's first used machismo as she recounted a juvenile court hearing. In this scene, Chacho Martínez was charged with possessing a firearm in a gang fight and was ordered to avoid all contact with his neighborhood gang.<sup>117</sup> Griffith disagreed with the decision since it did not take into account the beneficial social relations the gang could provide Chacho, such as protection, companionship, and opportunities to prove "machismo."<sup>118</sup> She wrote that machismo required risking "life and freedom to maintain his growing reputation as a tough fighter and a rugged guy."<sup>119</sup> In other words, Griffith suggested machismo was a type of bravado proven through fighting. She also believed it was central to the intergroup relations of the gang, describing the "trials of machismo" as follows:

They will throw punches at one another, or whale each other up. They keep this up until the first boy drops, then he may get it by the whole group. All the boys then have the right to beat him up. If he "takes it," he is proving machismo; if he doesn't, it's just too bad. Cruelty of the group toward the weaker member or opponent is reinforced by their own inbred sense of personal honor and fearlessness in challenging anyone who insults them.<sup>120</sup>

This account of intergroup violence further associated machismo with cruelty in that both the victim and his attackers proved their machismo by enduring and participating in the sadistic performance. Griffith's use of "inbred" suggested that such deviant forms of Mexican culture

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<sup>116</sup> The Zoot Suit Riots were a series of pogroms by sailors and civilians targeting youths wearing zoot suits in Los Angeles from June 3 – 9, 1943. Helen Papashvily, "Pushing Behind The Stereotypes," *Common Ground* 9, no. 3 (Spring 1949): 104; Pagán, *Murder at the Sleepy Lagoon: Zoot Suits, Race and Riot in Wartime L.A.*, 167–191; Luis J. Rodríguez, *Hearts and Hands: Creating Community in Violent Times* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2003), 325; Arturo Madrid, "In Search of the Authentic Pachuco: An Interpretive Essay," in *Velvet Barrios: Popular Culture and Chicana/o Sexualities*, ed. Alicia Gaspar de Alba (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 24–27; Griffith, *American Me*, ix–x.

<sup>117</sup> Griffith, *American Me*, 42.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, 43–44.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 50–51.

were hereditary; rooted in biology.<sup>121</sup> Thus, Griffith objected to the court order since Martinez would suffer social isolation and, most of all, lose his macho status among his peers.

Griffith went on to extend her notions of machismo to all men of Mexican American descent:

For machismo represents the large male ego that every Mexican-American, young or old, is endowed with. Machismo makes a boy swear big round oaths as a youngster, join the paratroopers or marines when he is older, seek dangerous positions in battle, “drop” his girl on the dance floor if he has sufficient provocation, and take any and all dares.<sup>122</sup>

This depiction of machismo as specific to Mexican American men racializes it as a form of self-glorification. In terms of her narrative’s purpose, machismo served as an antithesis for Griffith’s hopeful adolescents who struggled to incorporate these expectations and other Mexican traditions to find their “American” identity. Griffith also made sure to include how machos targeted women if provoked to maintain their tough image. This text depicts the cultural challenges Griffith’s young Mexican Americans faced as they were coming of age within the United States, particularly since they were expected to use violence to prove themselves.

Oscar Lewis committed over twenty-five years of ethnographic research on Latin American families.<sup>123</sup> He published similar conclusions as Griffith though the two focused on

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<sup>121</sup> Griffith also described instances of “friendly knife fights” in which gang members would jab each other until “the blood came through their shirts in little spots, but they wouldn’t quit [or back down].” *Ibid.*, 320–321.

<sup>122</sup> Griffith provided a glossary of Spanish and Pachuco words at the end of her text but it did not include the word “drop.” Therefore, I assume a literal interpretation. *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>123</sup> The Boasian cultural paradigm was innovative at the beginning of the twentieth century because it regarded culture in the plural—i.e., cultures—and as learned human behavior, in contrast to the theories of instinct that evolutionary anthropology assumed. The first generation’s (pre–World War I) approach to anthropology was historical, and they debated how to study culture; however, the second generation’s (1920s) approach focused on scientific data through integration and individual enculturation. The third generation produced culturally-focused historical accounts by observing and documenting actual events. For a more detailed discussion on these generations of anthropology, see Fredrik Barth et al., *One Discipline, Four Ways: British, German, French, and American Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 263; George Jr. Stocking, *The Shaping of American Anthropology 1883-1911: A Franz Boas Reader* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974), 17; Regna Darnell, *Along Came Boas: Continuity and Revolution in Americanist Anthropology* (Philadelphia: John Benjamin’s Publishing

different countries. His research in Mexico began in 1943, when he served as the director of a community study on Tepoztlán, Morelos (fifty-seven miles south of Mexico City).<sup>124</sup> Lewis was particularly intrigued by the little known rural Mexican culture there, and he used Robert Redfield's *Tepoztlán: A Mexican Village* (1926), which was published almost twenty years prior to Lewis' study, as a reference.<sup>125</sup> Lewis' approach, however, differed from Redfield's. The latter focused on documenting Tepoztecan consensus, whereas Lewis investigated Tepoztecan conflict, because he believed studying conflict was more productive in understanding the human condition.<sup>126</sup> Part of that conflict, Lewis imagined, derived from machismo. Moreover, years later in the 1960s, Lewis admitted to reading Octavio Paz's *El Laberinto* beforehand. When Lewis first read Paz's 1947 or 1959 work (first and second edition respectively) is unknown, but he admitted that there was a "tremendous similarity" between Paz's tragic notions of the Mexican national character and his own research of Mexican interpersonal relations.<sup>127</sup>

In one of his first articles published in the late 1940s, Lewis wrote about everyday Mexican behavior.<sup>128</sup> He was convinced that there were only a "few homes" where husbands

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Company, 1998), 278–285; Regna Darnell, *Invisible Genealogies: A History of Americanist Anthropology* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 34–37.

<sup>124</sup> The preliminary study gathered economic, ecological, and ethnographic data. Oscar Lewis, "The Tepoztlán Project: Report on Administrative and Field Problems," 1944 1943, 5–7, Oscar and Ruth Lewis Papers, Record Series 15/2/20, Box 107, University of Illinois Archives.

<sup>125</sup> Redfield commended Lewis on his decision to conduct a "personality study" of Tepoztlán and even sent copies of his field notes, including the message, "[I wish] indeed I were there with you." "Letter from Robert Redfield to Oscar Lewis," November 16, 1943, Oscar and Ruth Lewis Papers, Record Series 15/2/20, Box 60, University of Illinois Archives.

<sup>126</sup> Douglas Butterworth, "Oscar Lewis 1914-1970," *American Anthropologist, New Series*, 74, no. 3 (1972): 749. This is also known as conflict theory, a theory that fixates on unfavorable portions of a society as sites for agency; it is originally attributed to Karl Marx's research on conflict between economic classes. Gary Ferraro and Susan Andreatta, *Cultural Anthropology: An Applied Perspective* (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 2010), 308.

<sup>127</sup> Susan M. Rigdon, *The Culture Facade* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 234, 294.

<sup>128</sup> Oscar Lewis, "Husbands and Wives in a Mexican Village: A Study of Role Conflict," *American Anthropologist, New Series* 51, no. 4 (December 1949): 602–10. I read Lewis' research as an interpretation of rural Mexico for an American audience, one that stresses differences between the two. Thus, we can question his careful selection of interviews as source material, which Lewis himself stated that data were difficult to gather due to participant unwillingness—something that compelled him to utilize different methods (observation, direct questioning, indirect questioning, family comparison accounts, etc.) to organize and construct his narratives for a convincingly scientific

strictly ruled as authoritarians.<sup>129</sup> Lewis referred to his interviews with women as evidence, saying that although they “readily admit the superiority of men and tend to admire a man who is *macho*, or very manly, [but] they describe the ‘good’ husband as one who is relatively passive and not too domineering.”<sup>130</sup> Lewis would later reprint this statement twice in other publications, signifying it as an entrenched idea of his even after eleven years of further research on Mexico.<sup>131</sup> While the content is the same among the statements, in 1949, Lewis had to define that macho meant “manly,” suggesting again how new the idea machismo was to U.S. readers.<sup>132</sup> Lewis believed that machismo was an ideal that did not coincide with the actual behaviors of Mexican families. He also suggested there was a limit to Mexican patriarchy in that women wanted their husbands to publicly conform to this “manly” authoritative masculinity but they still wanted to have some say in their private home. This encounter Lewis had with the idea of machismo was portrayed as a conflict within Mexican homes. Thus, since Lewis emphasized conflict in his research, it was a topic he found useful.

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text. Henrietta L. Moore, *A Passion For Difference: Essays in Anthropology and Gender* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1994), 109–110; Joseph C. Finney, ed., *Culture Change, Mental Health, and Poverty* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1969), 157, 163–164.

<sup>129</sup> Lewis, “Husbands and Wives in a Mexican Village: A Study of Role Conflict,” 602.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 603.

<sup>131</sup> In 1951 and 1960 respectively, Lewis published (italics are my emphases): “While women readily admit the superiority of men and tend to admire a *man who is manly*, they describe the ‘good’ husband as one who is relatively passive and not too domineering” and “[Women] readily admit to the superiority of men and tend to admire a man *who is macho or manly*, yet they describe the ‘good’ husband as one who is not dominating but relatively passive.” Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1951), 319–320; Oscar Lewis, *Tepoztlán: Village in Mexico* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1960), 57.

<sup>132</sup> Matthew Gutmann explained the omission of the term “macho” in the 1951 statement by stating, “it appears that the problem for Lewis was not manliness per se, but rather the utility of the term macho and how it explained or detracted from the overall points he was making.” While I agree that the utility of the term “macho” is seen in the discrepancy of the statements, I will point out that Lewis also excluded other Spanish words used in “Husbands and Wives” from its reproduction in *Life in a Mexican Village*. On the same page, the phrase *muy malo* is excluded from “...women readily characterize all men as ‘very bad,’” suggesting that the omission has more to do with the amount of Spanish words in Lewis’ published study rather than the use of the term “macho” specifically. Furthermore, Lewis decided to rewrite macho in *Tepoztlán: Village in Mexico* (1960), signifying that he believed it did not distract the readers from his description. Matthew Gutmann, *The Romance of Democracy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 35; Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied*, 320.

Machismo also figured significantly in Lewis' first book, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied* (1951), which documented the village's geography, history, population, agriculture, and social relations.<sup>133</sup> In this text, Lewis again presented machismo in the context of conflict. Machismo encouraged young men to prove they were “*muy macho*” by transgressing a taboo topic at home: having “many sweethearts and sexual affairs before and after marriage.”<sup>134</sup> Such pressure resulted in unfulfilled expectations because, Lewis contended, few men ever achieved the reputation of being macho enough, making it a constant endeavor for Mexican men.<sup>135</sup> This account added promiscuity to Lewis' notions of machismo and extended it to male adolescents.

In his next book, *Five Families* (1959), Lewis presented his thesis of the “subculture of poverty,” which argued that the poor understood the world differently than the mainstream of national Mexican culture.<sup>136</sup> Lewis insisted in the preface that “male dominance and the cult of *machismo* or masculinity” ruined ideal monogamous marriage. Efforts to assert one's machismo resulted in extramarital affairs, illegitimate children, support of mistresses (“*casa chicas*”), and even the abandonment of wives with their children.<sup>137</sup> Although sweeping in its attribution,

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<sup>133</sup> The methodology used for *Life* included interviews, observations, autobiographies, case studies, and psychological tests. The study also reproduced Lewis' previous articles. Lewis later reproduced and updated this research in *Tepoztlán: Village in Mexico* (1960), which re-printed the content of *Life* with an additional section about social change in the village. Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepoztlán Restudied*, xiv, xxvii.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 419–420.

<sup>135</sup> Similar to Paz, Lewis believed that women who partake in illicit sexual relations are considered delinquents while men claim sexual activity as a measurement of manliness. *Ibid.*, 420.

<sup>136</sup> Even though his thesis is commonly known for its reference to the “culture of poverty,” Lewis intended to label it as a “subculture” but feared that the idea of a “subculture” might connote inferiority—similar to “subhuman”—and would confuse the average reader. For more of Lewis' thoughts on this distinction, please see: Oscar Lewis, *Anthropological Essays* (New York: Random House, 1970), x. The popularity of Lewis' thesis extended into national politics through Michael Harrington's use of it in *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (1962) and, by extension, Daniel Patrick Moynihan's “The Negro Family: The case for National Action” (1965). For a detailed history of the intellectual sharing of the subculture of poverty, please see: Maurice Isserman, “Michael Harrington: Warrior on Poverty,” *New York Times*, June 19, 2009.

<sup>137</sup> Oscar Lewis, *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1959), 17.

Lewis again provided some limitations to machismo. He observed a difference in two of the five families he studied. The factors that Lewis believed negated machismo were old age, impotence, homosexuality, inability to financially support *casas chicas*, or being “bewitched” by a neighbor or relative.<sup>138</sup> Aside from a magical curse, these limitations reinforced Lewis’ original construction of a heteronormative, promiscuous, and domineering masculinity unique to Mexico and introduced a class analysis to his research on machismo.

Lewis’ account that one’s access to machismo might be impeded by their inability to support two families convinced him that machismo was not just a characteristic of the poor and the subculture of poverty. Indeed, to Lewis, supporting numerous mistresses (and their households) allowed urban men of the middle and upper classes to express their machismo.<sup>139</sup> Lewis believed machismo was not just isolated in a specific rural site, but was exhibited across Mexico by all men regardless of class, furthering his notions of promiscuity and extramarital affairs as macho.

In *The Children of Sánchez* (1961), Lewis changed his approach by writing first-person narratives from the perspective of members of the Sánchez family.<sup>140</sup> Lewis defined machismo in the introduction as “the cult of masculinity” and again argued, as he had in *Five Families*, that

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 17.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Although these stories blended anthropological ethnography and creative fiction, Lewis contended that they were “real” because he used a tape recorder to collect the stories. Oscar Lewis, *The Children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family* (New York: Vintage Books, 1963), xi. The use of the tape recorder also convinced many readers that *Children* was real and legitimized all of Lewis’ conclusions about Mexican culture. Irene Nicholson, *The X in Mexico* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1966), 104–105. Theorist Gayatri Spivak, however, is critical of intellectuals who make their oppressed subjects speak about their experience as it assumes they are fully aware of their situation/position. This action shrouds the role of the intellectual who can easily hide behind the words of the subaltern and act as a judge or bystander. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and Lawrence Grossberg, “Can the Subaltern Speak?,” in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 274–275, 280. Anthropologist Cyril Belshaw criticized Lewis for insufficiently documenting his ethnographic methodology. Oscar Lewis and others, “Book Review: The Children of Sánchez, Pedro Martinez and La Vida,” *Current Anthropology* 8, no. 5 (December 1967): 485.

it was one of the few traits of the subculture of poverty found in other socioeconomic classes.<sup>141</sup> Lewis' prior class analysis given in *Five Families* claimed that machismo was less apparent in the lower class due to their financial inability to support mistresses. He revised that argument in *Children* by writing, "in the middle class, *machismo* is expressed in terms of sexual exploits and the Don Juan complex whereas in the lower class it is expressed in terms of heroism and lack of physical fear."<sup>142</sup> This differentiation suggests that Lewis was actively imagining how machismo varied by region and class. Previously, he privileged promiscuity over machismo's other characterizations. Yet in this writing, Lewis imagined two notions of machismo dependent on class: heroic machismo and promiscuous machismo.<sup>143</sup>

Lewis also included criticism of machismo within the narratives. Jesús, the grandfather of the Sánchez family, blamed machismo for his father's deteriorating health because he believed it restricted men from grieving.<sup>144</sup> As a result, Jesús depicted machos drinking away their troubles or committing suicide rather than risking their machismo by seeking counseling. This view of machismo as psychologically damaging to men was furthered in the narrative of Jesús' son Manuel, who could not speak to his untrusting girlfriend due to what he called his "eternal vanity, the *pendejo machismo* of the Mexican."<sup>145</sup> In Lewis' prior research, criticism of machismo came either from Lewis himself or from the married women he interviewed. These narratives are the first instance in Lewis' research where the men themselves allegedly assessed

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<sup>141</sup> Lewis, *The Children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family*, xxvi–xxvii.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, xxvii.

<sup>143</sup> Anthropologist Irving Goldman noticed this differentiation as well and asked Lewis to elaborate on the difference between "slum" and "gentry" machismo. Goldman believed machismo encompassed both and tried to convince Lewis that he was imagining different patterns. "Letter from Irving Goldman to Oscar Lewis," January 28, 1961, Oscar and Ruth Lewis Papers, Record Series 15/2/20, Box 56, University of Illinois Archives.

<sup>144</sup> Lewis, *The Children of Sanchez: Autobiography of a Mexican Family*, 5–6.

<sup>145</sup> Translation: "The stupid machismo of the Mexican." *Ibid.*, 57.

its disadvantages. This suggests that Lewis believed machismo was pathological since it affected the mental health of Mexican men.

Manuel's description of machismo in a physical altercation furthered this negative evaluation:

I would never give up or say "Enough," even though the other was killing me. I would try to go to my death, smiling. That is what we mean by being "macho," by being manly.<sup>146</sup>

Risking death by enduring an attack instead of accepting defeat again depicted machismo as reckless bravado. Thus, Lewis' narratives of Jesús and Manuel presented Mexican men who acknowledged that machismo caused them psychological and physical harm. These self-criticisms of their own actions are similar to an inferiority complex that Mexican intellectuals previously emphasized.

Another narrative that criticized machismo was that of Jesús' daughter, Consuelo. Her narrative accused all men that she had ever known (her father, brothers, coworkers, etc.) of being misogynistic machos. This alleged oppression women faced caused Consuelo to consider leaving Mexico. As she described,

The *macho* Mexican, in his pride and vanity, considered women inferior and enjoyed humiliating them. Only *he* is right and only *his* feelings count. In a discussion, he is not interested in learning the truth, but only in outtalking the others.<sup>147</sup>

Her claims of sexism took a turn for the worse when her narrative described a sexual assault by a potential employer. Here, Consuelo condemned her "first, bitter encounter with that infamous, cursed Mexican *machismo*... It is a barbarous act of egotism and advantage, adorned with

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<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 431.



persuasive words.”<sup>148</sup> This critical statement, however, invites a deeper reading. Consuelo oddly claimed this was her “first” encounter with machismo, even though she had previously stated that all the Mexican men in her family were machos. Looking through Consuelo’s transcribed interview, from which Lewis derived his narratives, this exact sentence is not found. Rather, Consuelo stated, “*El acto del... ‘machismo mexicano,’ es un acto unicamente de ventaja y egoism, adornado con palabras convinscentes.*”<sup>149</sup> Lewis, instead, added in the words “first” and “barbarous” to emphasize not only promiscuity but also sexual assault as central to machismo. Overall, these narratives are notable in that neither the male nor female members of the Sánchez family are depicted as content with machismo, presenting it as a cultural norm affecting Mexican culture.

Lewis’ last book, *La Vida* (1965), extended his thesis of the subculture of poverty to Puerto Rico through his study of the Rios family, who supported themselves through prostitution.<sup>150</sup> The narrative sets an unpleasant tone due to numerous pornographic descriptions and vulgar language, which Lewis used to emphasize their poverty and sex work.<sup>151</sup> Since Lewis’ prior research on impoverished families had been conducted in Mexico, he commonly compared the two cultures in a racialized hierarchy.<sup>152</sup> Lewis believed that Puerto Rican men were “less stable, less responsible, and except when goaded, less concerned with *machismo*” than

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<sup>148</sup> Ibid., 440.

<sup>149</sup> “Consuelo Sánchez Interview,” n.d., Oscar and Ruth Lewis Papers, Record Series 15/2/20, Box 131, University of Illinois Archives.

<sup>150</sup> Oscar Lewis, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty-San Juan and New York* (New York: Random House, 1965), xxxi.

<sup>151</sup> Anthropologist Marvin Opler criticized Lewis for his choice to study this family, while sociologist Theodore Caplow criticized the narratives as being jumbled and held together through pornographic scenes. Lewis and others, “Book Review: The Children of Sánchez, Pedro Martinez and La Vida,” 486, 488.

<sup>152</sup> Laura Pulido’s theory of differential racialization argued that different racial and ethnic groups are racialized with particular sets of racial meanings functioning as and affecting their socioeconomic status and their position in racial hierarchies. In other words, the analysis of racialization should consider the distinct context of the group’s history, place, and popular ideology. Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left: Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 24.

Mexican men, as the former were quick to humiliate their opponents with a cut to their face.<sup>153</sup>

On the other hand, Lewis described Mexican men as more responsible and reserved in comparison. Yet, if they were involved in a physical altercation, Mexican men intended to kill their opponents.<sup>154</sup> Lewis' accounts convey that machismo was not only specific to Mexico, but suggests it is spread throughout Latin America culture as he affirms its existence in Puerto Rico.

Lewis also claimed that Puerto Ricans had an "obsession" with sex that, unlike with his Mexican subjects, was taught to children.<sup>155</sup> At an early age, Lewis claimed, male children were "erotically stimulated" by their family members such that every erection was celebrated as a sign of the child's machismo.<sup>156</sup> For example, when Fernanda, the mother of the Rios family, was told how her infant grandson constantly stared at girls, she exclaimed, "He's a real *macho*, a real he-man... He doesn't come from a family of sissies."<sup>157</sup> Fernanda's admiration of heteronormativity demonstrated how closely related Lewis' notions of machismo were to bravery, heterosexuality, and aggressiveness, as the child could not be one without the others.

Although Lewis' later publications provided negative portrayals of the subculture of poverty, in private and public correspondences, Lewis argued that all of the characteristics in the subculture of poverty, including machismo, were beneficial to Latino men.<sup>158</sup> Lewis' defense

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<sup>153</sup> Lewis, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty-San Juan and New York*, xxvii.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> Lewis described that sex was used "to express *machismo* (manliness)." *Ibid.*, xxvi.

<sup>156</sup> Lewis cited prior research on Puerto Rico that emphasized how notions of machismo were indoctrinated in young men from birth by displaying the size of their genitals in public and later by encouraging tantrums, promiscuity, and even testing through feats of strength. Another one of his sources claimed machismo was aggressiveness. *Ibid.*, xxvi; Raymond L. Scheele, "The Prominent Families of Puerto Rico," in *The People of Puerto Rico*, ed. Julian H. Steward (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 441; Sidney W. Mintz, "Cañamelar: Rural Sugar Plantation Proletariat," in *The People of Puerto Rico*, ed. Julian H. Steward (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 384; Robert A. Manners, "Tabara: Subcultures of a Tobacco and Mixed Crops Municipality," in *The People of Puerto Rico*, ed. Julian H. Steward (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1956), 147.

<sup>157</sup> Lewis, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty-San Juan and New York*, 6.

<sup>158</sup> For example, sociologist William F. Whyte asked Lewis if there was more to the narrative of Jesús in *Children*, as he appeared more "involved with his sexual preoccupations" than parenting. Lewis disagreed, saying that Jesús was "the most responsible figure in the family and in many ways, an admirable human being" because he supported

held his impoverished characters to different moral standards as he believed life within the subculture of poverty was different from life outside of it.<sup>159</sup> For example, in a presentation at the University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh in 1967, Lewis faced criticism that his research negatively generalized Latin Americans.<sup>160</sup> Lewis defended his research by positing that the social and psychological characteristics that he claimed to be true were an “adaptation” to poverty and thus could be considered positive traits. He cited machismo as an example of such adaptation, labeling it a “way of fighting alienation” and a “type of self-realization” that fostered male bonding and thereby prevented psychological breakdowns.<sup>161</sup> Lewis sought to dissuade his audience from considering his concept of machismo as racist; however, he could not help but call it a “cruel and destructive” characteristic that caused Latino men to desert their families.<sup>162</sup> Lewis’ presentation and remarks demonstrated his careful defense of machismo as a strategic lifestyle that in some cases could be beneficial to impoverished Latinos.

Lewis’ numerous publications presented machismo as a tragic form of masculinity for Mexican and Puerto Ricans. His accounts emphasized patriarchy that was proven through courage, violence, sex, and family size. After years of research, however, Lewis offered a more nuanced understanding that machismo depended on class, age, and marital status. Most of all, he

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a large family on a low income and still attempted to parent in an urban environment. “Letter from William F. Whyte to Oscar Lewis,” February 22, 1961, Oscar and Ruth Lewis Papers, Record Series 15/2/20, Box 2, University of Illinois Archives.

<sup>159</sup> Criticisms of Lewis’ research were mostly disregarded until Charles Valentine’s *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals* (1968) criticized Lewis’ empirical methods as difficult to test independently and mistakenly accused Lewis of “blaming the victim[s]” for their impoverished status. David L. Harvey and Michael H. Reed, “The Culture of Poverty: An Ideological Analysis,” *Sociological Perspectives* 39, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 468–470; Charles A. Valentine, *Culture and Poverty: Critique and Counter-Proposals* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), 74–75.

<sup>160</sup> Lewis spoke at the Latin American Institute at the University of Wisconsin at Oshkosh. For a more thorough description of this talk, please see: Rigdon, *The Culture Facade*, 90–91.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> Lewis also mentioned that women can achieve this form of self-realization as well, but they “need to beat men down to do it.” *Ibid.*, 91, 106.

argued that machismo was beneficial to those in the subculture of poverty since it served as a survival strategy.

Another social scientist who wrote explicitly on machismo and found citation in Lewis' *Five Families* was sociologist Joseph Mayone Stycos.<sup>163</sup> Stycos served as the assistant director of the Family Life Research Project at the University of Puerto Rico where he researched child-rearing among low-income and low-educated Puerto Rican families.<sup>164</sup> One of his earliest articles, "Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico" (1952), examined the socioeconomic factors affecting the high fertility rates of families.<sup>165</sup> Stycos attributed the larger family size to Puerto Rican men acting as a macho, "a virile male." He argued that these men garnered community respect through the number of children they fathered.<sup>166</sup> "The more pregnancies [the macho] can point to," Stycos claimed, "the better he has proved his *machismo*."<sup>167</sup> He thereby blamed machismo as a direct cause of Puerto Rico's overpopulation. Furthermore, he theorized that machismo served as a substitute for economic achievement and, in some cases represented an attempt to rupture the intense mother-son relationships caused by an absent father.<sup>168</sup> These

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<sup>163</sup> From Lewis' citations of Stycos' publications in *Five Families* (1959) and *La Vida* (1965), we can assume that Lewis followed Stycos' research closely.

<sup>164</sup> The social anxiety that fueled this research resulted from the fear of overpopulation due to industrialization of underdeveloped regions, allowing longer lifespans but not a reduction in births. The solution in the minds of many American social scientists was to "modernize" the Puerto Rican family by regulating their sexuality and reproduction, thereby limiting population and, in turn, poverty. J. Mayone Stycos, *Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico: A Study of the Lower Income Group* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), vii, 3; Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico*, 74–89.

<sup>165</sup> J. Mayone Stycos, "Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico," *American Sociological Association* 17, no. 5 (October 1952): 572–80.

<sup>166</sup> The other method mentioned for garnering community respect was fatherhood, which encouraged even more pregnancies. Conversely, Stycos portrayed women as modest and chaste—the opposite of the macho. *Ibid.*, 574–575.

<sup>167</sup> Stycos contended that considerable pressure existed for a newlywed couple to have a child immediately. Not doing so risked the husband's machismo or accusations that the wife was a "*machorra* (a barren women)." The word *machorra* may seem on the surface as a derivative of macho; however, a dictionary from 1726 matches Stycos' definition of "an infertile woman." *Ibid.*, 574–579; John Stevens, *A New Dictionary Spanish and English and English and Spanish* (London: Printed for Darby, J., et al. imp., 1726), page mac–.

<sup>168</sup> Stycos, "Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico," 574.

assertions suggest that Stycos imagined machismo as a sexuality-centered phenomenon among Puerto Rican men. Thus, he recommended sterilization for married women who already had children because their husbands had already proved their machismo to their peers.<sup>169</sup>

Three years later, Stycos published *Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico* (1955), which summarized his research on Puerto Rican virility and once again included machismo as a contributing factor.<sup>170</sup> In particular, Stycos dwelled on his survey of Puerto Rican men in which, he asked, “Speaking of being a *macho completo* [complete macho], how does a man show it? How does he prove it?”<sup>171</sup> As expected, the men’s responses varied. The most common response, sexual activity, accounted for only 40 percent of the total. The second and third most common responses were courageous acts and drunken bravado, at about 10 percent each.<sup>172</sup> Even though less than half of the respondents mentioned sexual activity, Stycos concluded that machismo was again a main factor contributing to the island’s large families, especially given married men’s desire to have at least one male child to continue the family legacy.<sup>173</sup> Stycos also commented on his results of drunken bravado, as he believed insecure machos only fought “those who are weaker,” and their boasts about “love making” were too compulsive to have any truth.<sup>174</sup> He further alleged that this abusive behavior extended into the household, where villainous machos delighted in deceiving and humiliating their wives.<sup>175</sup> Thus, Stycos’ study

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<sup>169</sup> Stycos argued that Puerto Rican men were capricious and could not be trusted with birth control. The sterilization of married women, he believed, would diminish the chance of extramarital affairs or desertion. *Ibid.*, 576.

<sup>170</sup> Stycos, *Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico: A Study of the Lower Income Group*, vii, 3, 22.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, 34–35.

<sup>172</sup> The remainder of the survey defined machismo as various social formalities. *Ibid.*

<sup>173</sup> The socialization Stycos noted were kissing/playing with the genitals of the boy, praising his erections, and teaching him vulgar words to use, especially during tantrums. *Ibid.*, 145, 177–178.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 145–146. Stycos called this violent group “not insignificant” as it accounted for less than one out of seven respondents. K. Back, R. Hill, and J. Stycos, “Machismo in Puerto Rico, Cultural Norm and Attitude Complex,” n.d., 3, Series III, Box 102, Folder 3, Planned Parenthood Federation of America Records, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.

<sup>175</sup> Stycos, *Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico: A Study of the Lower Income Group*, 147.

presented a lack of consensus on machismo's definition among Puerto Rican men, ranging from promiscuity, bravado, and violence. He seemed undaunted as he committed himself and called for others to research machismo's relation to family size.<sup>176</sup>

In 1959, Stycos expanded his past theories on machismo in *The Family and Population Control*.<sup>177</sup> He devised a more complex survey that asked 322 Puerto Rican men to pick between different types of men (i.e., a lucky man with women, a respected church-goer, or a man with many children) to measure male anxiety over promiscuity and procreation.<sup>178</sup> Based on his results, a surprised Stycos concluded that there was no anxiety to prove virility at all even though machos still celebrated virility:<sup>179</sup>

We have thus the interesting combination that these macho men want less children and have less children, and both in their relationship to their wives and in their reaction to the interviewers they put great importance on masculinity and virility.<sup>180</sup>

Stycos went on to state that previous research on machismo, his own works included, was skewed by disproportionately focusing on a marginal group of men who were anxious over their lack of children.<sup>181</sup> Thus, Stycos resolved that machismo was not to blame for population growth since its association with virility “exists primarily.... by reputation,” and new research was needed to quantify these attitudes, avoiding the imagined notions of machismo in the process.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>176</sup> Back, Hill, and Stycos, “Machismo in Puerto Rico, Cultural Norm and Attitude Complex,” 3.

<sup>177</sup> Reuben Hill, J. Mayone Stycos, and Kurt W. Back, *The Family and Population Control* (New Haven, Connecticut: College and University Press, 1959), 100.

<sup>178</sup> Back, Hill, and Stycos, “Machismo in Puerto Rico, Cultural Norm and Attitude Complex,” 1–3.

<sup>179</sup> Hill, Stycos, and Back, *The Family and Population Control*, 100–102, 104.

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, 104–105.

<sup>181</sup> Stycos' survey also suggested a communication problem between husbands and wives, as the wives believed macho men wanted large families. *Ibid.*, 104–106.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 105. Stycos called for more research on machismo through a quantitative analysis of attitudes. Back, Hill, and Stycos, “Machismo in Puerto Rico, Cultural Norm and Attitude Complex,” 7.

Although Stycos and Lewis pointed out that machismo was complex and not entirely detrimental to Latina/os, their revelations did little to influence the hegemonic machismo model in the 1960s and 1970s social scientific imagination. Other Euro American social scientists continued to use the model to signify an aggressive, sexist masculinity, supporting their assertions by citing Mexican intellectuals or the earlier publications of Lewis and Stycos. For example, criminologists Marvin E. Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti defined machismo as “maleness with overt physical aggression” and cited it as a factor in their theory on a “subculture of violence” that hypothesized the causes of homicides.<sup>183</sup> So too psychiatrist Ari Kiev, writing on Mexican folk medicine, noted how machismo was incompatible with *embrujada* (witchcraft) as “the witch tries to dominate, seduce, and weaken man.”<sup>184</sup> Likewise, Latin American historian Robert E. McNicoll argued that machismo was a recognizable form of male pride that combined courage, aggressiveness, and “the successful pursuit of women” and had existed in Latin America since the Spanish Conquest.<sup>185</sup> McNicoll justified this claim by arguing that machismo “was considered too strong a word for use in mixed company and hence did not appear in print” until recently.<sup>186</sup> These are but a few examples of how the hegemonic machismo model was applied to a wide-range of research on Latin American men. Some scholars saw machismo as critical to understanding anything from homicides to witchcraft.

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<sup>183</sup> The community Wolfgang and Ferracuti analyzed was not a Latin American community. Instead, they described machismo in a lower class Italian area of Boston. Marvin E. Wolfgang and Franco Ferracuti, *The Subculture of Violence: Towards an Integrated Theory in Criminology* (New York: Tavistock Publications, 1967), 305.

<sup>184</sup> Ari Kiev, *Curanderismo: Mexican-American Folk Psychiatry* (New York: The Free Press, 1968), 113.

<sup>185</sup> McNicoll believed that two dominate characteristics of the Spanish Renaissance formed machismo: the “Don Juan complex,” in which men try to convince themselves and other men of their ability to conquer women, and “public dignity,” in which any offense to a female family member could only be erased with the blood of the offender. Paul Kramer and Robert E. McNicoll, eds., *Latin American Panorama: An Anthology* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1968), 388–389.

<sup>186</sup> *Ibid.*, 388.

Urban economist Leo Grebler's *The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority* (1970) is another example of the pervasiveness of machismo among social scientists. Grebler provided ample socioeconomic data on the diversity of Mexican families dependent on urban/rural living, assimilation, and families structures, dispelling the stereotype of a single type of Mexican family.<sup>187</sup> Grebler, however, reiterated the machismo model even though his survey data on household responsibilities refuted it. He defined machismo as follows:

In addition to the dominant theme of sexual virility, *machismo* is also intertwined with the traditional patriarchy; masculinity is said to be demonstrated not only by the man's sexuality—particularly extra-marital—and other activities that suggest a phallic preoccupation, but by domination over the affairs of his family and especially over his wife.<sup>188</sup>

To prove that the Mexican husband was authoritative, Grebler surveyed Mexican husbands and wives about the responsibility of household decisions, tasks, and chores, such as painting rooms, budget decisions, punishing children, night care of children, and washing dishes. His results, except for the husbands' refusal to wash the dishes, showed that the distribution of chores and responsibilities were egalitarian, countering the machismo model. Grebler, though, explained his results by suggesting the husbands were admitting "that he has ceded control; at the same time he has assumed some of the responsibilities that were traditionally 'feminine.'"<sup>189</sup> This single sentence, which suggests a temporary shift in household duties, was the only analysis of his data. Grebler then reiterated the literature of the machismo model for two more pages, again in the face of his own data that contradicted it. This strange avoidance of his data demonstrated how

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<sup>187</sup> Myrna Oliver, "Obituaries: Leo Grebler; Expert on Housing Economics," *Los Angeles Times*, April 14, 1991.

<sup>188</sup> Leo Grebler, *The Mexican-American People: The Nation's Second Largest Minority* (New York: Free Press, 1970), 363.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*



hegemonic the machismo model was to many Euro American social scientists since it would contradict the literature he planned to reference.

The last section of this chapter focuses on Latina/o American writers who criticized the machismo model in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Their criticism incorporated two arguments: that machismo was a universal characteristic applicable to everyone or that it was a stereotype of Latin Americans. While these studies are portrayed as turning the tide against the machismo model, some Latina/o social scientists believed it and willingly used the machismo model as a framework for their research.

### *Latina/o Writers: Universality, Stereotypes, and Conformity*

In 1966 and 1967, folklorist Américo Paredes published two articles and presented a paper that cautioned folkloric researchers against borrowing the social scientific research on machismo.<sup>190</sup> He acknowledged that machismo existed and described it as “*un complejo de impulsos conducentes a una realización más perfecta de las potencialidades del hombre.*”<sup>191</sup> However, Paredes argued it was not unique to Latin Americans since “sex and violence... is as old as warfare.”<sup>192</sup> As an example, Paredes referred to the machismo of Euro Americans who revered belligerent strongmen such as the iconic frontiersmen, President Theodore Roosevelt,

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<sup>190</sup> Paredes' articles are “The Anglo-American in Mexican Folklore” and “*El Folklore de los Grupos de Origen Mexicano en Estados Unidos.*” The paper was presented at 37<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference of the International Congress of Americanists on September 9, 1966 and was published the following year as “*Estados Unidos, México y el Machismo.*” Since Paredes repeated many of his arguments across his three publications, this section will combine them for analysis. Américo Paredes, “The Anglo-American in Mexican Folklore,” in *New Voices in American Studies*, by Ray B. Brown (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Studies, 1966); Américo Paredes, “El Folklore de los Grupos de Origen Mexicano en Estados Unidos,” *Folklore Americano* 14 (1966): 146–63; Américo Paredes, “Estados Unidos, México, y el Machismo,” *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 9, no. 1 (January 1967): 65–84.

<sup>191</sup> Translation: “An impulsive complex that leads to a realization of the potential of manhood.” Paredes, “Estados Unidos, México, y el Machismo,” 83–84.

<sup>192</sup> Paredes, “The Anglo-American in Mexican Folklore,” 121–122.

and writers such as the “great American machista Ernest Hemingway.”<sup>193</sup> Paredes encouraged further folkloric research on machismo with his guidelines.

Paredes’ first research guideline was to ensure that the term appeared. He referred to the previously discussed musicologist Vicente Mendoza’s study where he concluded there were two types of machismo: an honorable, “authentic” form and a violent “false” form, produced from an inferiority complex. Paredes cited this study as an erroneous attempt at analyzing machismo since Mendoza included songs that praised men for their bravery, honor, and dignity, but the lyrics did not feature the word itself. Instead, Mendoza imagined these characteristics stood for machismo. Paredes went on to discuss how, in his own musical collection, not one Mexican song contained the words macho or machismo until the 1940s.<sup>194</sup> This allowed Paredes to conclude that machismo, “*indianismo*, *malinchismo*, [and] *pochismo*” were recently invented by writers after the Mexican Revolution who ruminated on Mexican nationalism.<sup>195</sup> Thus, Paredes emphasized the need for contextualization and evidence to study machismo since it was a recent phenomenon.

Paredes’ second guideline, with reference to philosopher Samuel Ramos, was to define machismo as a “sick exaggeration” of manliness that developed from a national inferiority

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<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> *Corrido* is a musical genre of Mexico that is similar to the ballad. Although “macho” appeared in *corridos* of the 1940s, Paredes argued that some of these references were used to celebrate and rhyme with the last name of then President Manuel Ávila Camacho rather than signifying a masculinity. Paredes, “Estados Unidos, México, y el Machismo,” 67–70.

<sup>195</sup> Translation: “Indigeneity, betrayer (derived from Malinche, the translator and partner of Spanish conquistador Hernán Cortés), and Americanized (derived from Pocho).” Américo Paredes, “Draft: Como México Sí Hay Dos,” 1960s, 27, Box 13, Folder 8, Américo Paredes Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.; Paredes, “The Anglo-American in Mexican Folklore,” 121–123. Paredes previously historicized words in Mexican folklore, including the word “*gabacho*” (an old Spanish name for Frenchman) applied to French soldiers in Mexico in the 1860s. *Gabacho* later reappeared in the 1930s, when it was used by urban Mexican Americans to refer to Anglo Americans. However, Paredes would not record the word *gabacho* again in Mexico until the 1960s. Paredes, “Draft: Como México Sí Hay Dos,” 34; Paredes, “Estados Unidos, México, y el Machismo,” 70–71; Ramón Saldivar, *The Borderlands of Culture: Américo Paredes and the Transnational Imaginary* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 277.

complex.<sup>196</sup> In particular, he claimed it was envy of other advanced nations or past national eras of excitement (i.e., the Wild West or the Mexican Revolutionary era). He advised folklorists to ignore the abundant family studies in favor of researching machismo in a nuanced way for any particularities. Recalling the previous discussion of Ramos who attributed machismo to the *pelado*, Paredes viewed machismo as one masculinity among many.

Paredes' final recommendation for studying machismo was to provide a class analysis. In particular, he argued attention should be turned away from the *pelado* to the Mexican middle class. Although this idea was not emphasized in the final versions of his publications, his drafts called the middle class the "carriers of the disease" who felt challenged by U.S. cultural influence.<sup>197</sup> Paredes described the middle class as the "most aware, most ambitious, most affected by American culture."<sup>198</sup> Thus, if we bring in Paredes' description of machismo as "*un complejo de impulsos conducentes a una realización más perfecta de las potencialidades del hombre*" and the history of the Mexican middle class (who supported the Mexican Revolution yet organized against the high cost of President Cárdenas' socialist government in the 1930s), we can infer that Paredes believed the Mexican middle class were the most obsessed with the idea of machismo.<sup>199</sup> Overall, Paredes believed machismo was a real phenomenon and recommended further research away from the social scientific machismo model.

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<sup>196</sup> Paredes argued that machismo began in the United States in the 1820s as a hostile and jealous reaction to the advancements of Europe. Paredes, "Estados Unidos, México, y el Machismo," 82–84; Américo Paredes, "Draft: Yo Soy Puro Mexicano," 1960s, 6, Box 13, Folder 8, Américo Paredes Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Libraries, The University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>197</sup> Paredes, "Draft: Yo Soy Puro Mexicano," 6.

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Translation: "A most perfect realization of the potential of manhood." Paredes, "Estados Unidos, México, y el Machismo," 83–84. The Mexican middle class accused the Porfirian administration as selling Mexico to foreigners, who controlled 80 percent of all commercial activity at the time of the revolution. Neftalí García, *The Mexican Revolution: Legacy of Courage* (Bloomington, Indiana: Xlibris Corporation, 2010), 24–27; Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution, Volume 2: Counter-Revolution and Reconstruction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 144; John W. Sherman, *The Mexican Right: The End of Revolutionary Reform* (Westport, Connecticut:

Another scholar who accepted machismo as a real phenomenon was educational psychologist Edward Casavantes. He argued that U.S. social scientists misunderstood Oscar Lewis' work since his studies "are really [only] characteristic of people living in poverty."<sup>200</sup> Instead, Casavantes defined machismo differently than the machismo model,

Men who show "machismo" are alleged to brag a great deal about their male conquests, and to regularly refuse to do womanly things such as dishwashing, cooking, diaper-changing, or minding the children.<sup>201</sup>

His definition is narrow since it only emphasized egotism and gendered expectations of household duties. This limited definition allowed Casavantes to ask, "What's wrong with 'machismo,' with being 'macho?'" There's nothing terribly wrong with it."<sup>202</sup> Casavantes, however, did concede that if machismo "takes the form of excessive fighting, drinking, or bragging about conquests, then it is a dysfunctional 'machismo.'"<sup>203</sup> Casavantes thus believed machismo as described by Oscar Lewis was problematic. For other Latino men, though, he seemed to accept it as common gender roles.

Other Latina/o American writers, however, refuted the machismo model in its entirety. Sociologist Miguel Montiel, for example, pointed at the lack of "methodological sophistication as well as empirical verification," that resulted in common stereotypical results.<sup>204</sup> Similar to Paredes, he attributed its beginning to Samuel Ramos and other Mexican intellectuals who wrote

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Praeger, 1997), 60, 101, 134; Héctor Aguilar Camín and Lorenzo Meyer, *In the Shadow of the Mexican Revolution: Contemporary Mexican History, 1910-1989*, trans. Luis Alberto Fierro (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 157–159.

<sup>200</sup> Edward Casavantes, "Pride and Prejudice: A Mexican American Dilemma," *Civil Rights Digest* 3 (Winter 1970): 24.

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>202</sup> *Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 24–25.

<sup>204</sup> Miguel Montiel, "The Social Science Myth of the Mexican-American Family," *El Grito* III, no. 4 (Summer 1970). Accessed from the Joseph Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library.

“philosophical and psychoanalytically oriented [exercises]” concerning the Mexican character.<sup>205</sup>

Montiel did not fault these writers because he believed they had no intentions of addressing Mexican American families. However, one intellectual Montiel did emphasize as unique was Octavio Paz, who applied his theories of Mexican defensiveness and solitude across national boundaries to Mexican American zoot suitors. Thus, Montiel suggested it was Paz’s “exercise” that advanced the application of machismo, an inferiority complex, and other pathological disorders to Latina/o Americans.

Montiel’s last criticism of the machismo model was its eventual results of blaming the men in the Mexican family. As he put it, the model “automatically labels all Mexican and Mexican Americans people as sick – only in degree of sickness do they vary.”<sup>206</sup> Montiel was referring to the generalizations that were tied with the machismo model as it completely failed to account for the family’s unique living experience that varied by region, generation, and citizenship.<sup>207</sup> Montiel thus believed the machismo model only resulted in stereotypes, unlike Paredes and Casavantes, who saw it as a real sociohistoric phenomenon.

Despite these disagreements, the machismo model continued to be employed among many Euro Americans, and even some Latina/o, social scientists. For example Mexican psychologist Rogelio Díaz-Guerrero, mentioned previously, presented at the first symposium of Chicano Psychology at University of California – Irvine in May 1976 where he called machismo “one of the most negative aspects of the Mexican culture.”<sup>208</sup> His presentation on the coping techniques of 15-year-old high school students called the machismo model into question as the

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid.

<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Miguel Montiel, “The Chicano Family: A Review of Research,” *Social Work* 18, no. 2 (March 1973): 29.

<sup>208</sup> Diaz-Guerrero, “A Sociocultural Psychology?,” 23–24.

students showed minimal violent inclinations. Rather than conclude that his study did not have sufficient evidence to prove the machismo model, Díaz-Guerrero instead held that the machismo model was still accurate, theorizing that the participants in his study had matured enough to control their “violent characteristics of *machismo*.”<sup>209</sup> Díaz-Guerrero’s presentation essentially reiterated the machismo model to future and present Chicana/o psychologists at the conference, continuing its place as the framework to study Latina/os.

### ***Conclusion***

The origins of the hegemonic machismo model can be traced to the writings of Mexican intellectuals reflecting on the post-revolution Mexican character. As they bemoaned the lack of Mexican modernity, they imagined machismo as one of many characteristics that defined the tragic Mexican (male) character. U.S. social scientists read these literary accounts with interest as they attempted to prove its accuracy, and continued using this framework, called the machismo model, into the 1970s. This chapter, however, demonstrates how this process was dynamic, and riven with debate and disagreement concerning the key aspects of machismo. Mexican lexicographer Francisco J. Santamaría and musicologist Vicente Mendoza documented that machismo was used differently, as a positive index of male, size, or bravery, in Mexican vernacular culture. Moreover, social scientists such as Oscar Lewis and J. Mayone Stycos, who committed years of research on Latin Americans and machismo, concluded it was a beneficial characteristic for these impoverished families. Latina/o social scientists, in turn, could not agree if machismo was even real or not.

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 24.

This chapter focused specifically on how, despite debate, American social scientists created and used the hegemonic machismo model to study Latina/os and their supposedly aberrant gender roles. The following chapter will examine how those notions of machismo were discerned by grassroots activists in the Chicana/o and Puerto Rican communities.

## Chapter Three

### Debating Nationalist Machismo: Latina/o Activists, 1967 – 1974

At a 1972 memorial dinner for educational scholar George I. Sánchez at California State University – Sacramento, folklorist Américo Paredes eulogized his colleague as an activist and pioneer of Mexican American studies.<sup>210</sup> As one might expect, Paredes mentioned many of Sánchez’s achievements ranging from his teaching positions to his academic research, publications, and memberships on government boards.<sup>211</sup> This abbreviated list was four pages long. Paredes, though, took the eulogy as an opportunity to discuss another matter: machismo.

Let me say that [Sánchez] was not the courage of the type that is called machismo, that supposedly Mexican complex that social scientists love to study... It is a strange commentary on the subtle ways of brainwashing that many of our young Chicano writers have accepted machismo as an ineluctable part of their ethnic make-up and, even more, have attempted to elevate the cult of the macho into a kind of Chicano mystique. The cult of the bully—the matón and the castigador de mujeres—does not deserve a place in our scale of values.<sup>212</sup>

This criticism at a memorial dinner, of all places, reveals a divide between Paredes and the Latina/o students he was addressing. Discussed in the previous chapter, Paredes published several articles where he agreed with philosopher Samuel Ramos, that machismo was a “sick exaggeration” of manliness that developed from a national inferiority complex.<sup>213</sup> Thus, several

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<sup>210</sup> The memorial dinner for educational scholar George I. Sánchez was held on December 8, 1972. Américo Paredes, “Jorge Isidoro Sánchez y Sánchez (1906-1972),” in *Humanidad: Essays in Honor of George I. Sánchez*, ed. Américo Paredes (University of California, Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Center Publications, 1977), 120–126.

<sup>211</sup> For a thorough biography of George I. Sánchez, please see: Mario T. García, *Mexican Americans: Leadership, Ideology & Identity, 1930-1960* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), Chapter 10.

<sup>212</sup> Translation: “The abuser and the punisher of women.” Paredes, “Jorge Isidoro Sánchez y Sánchez (1906-1972),” 124–126.

<sup>213</sup> Paredes, “The Anglo-American in Mexican Folklore”; Paredes, “El Folklore de los Grupos de Origen Mexicano en Estados Unidos”; Paredes, “Estados Unidos, México, y el Machismo,” 65–84.



years later, he seemed disdainful of anyone calling the late Sánchez a macho. Paredes focused on two discursive realms in particular: social scientific machismo and its derivative “Chicano mystique.”<sup>214</sup> Paredes bemoaned both since machismo connoted an aberrant, aggressive, womanizing masculinity that he believed was contrary to Sánchez’s courageous career.<sup>215</sup> Curiously, he did not elaborate on the “mystique” he disparaged. This chapter will investigate this “mystique” by analyzing the writings and speeches of activist leaders in Chicana/o and Puerto Rican communities.

Latina/o activism of the 1960s and 1970s encompassed numerous political platforms, organizations, and issues that ranged from racial solidarity, voter registration, school reforms, affordable healthcare, and even armed rebellion.<sup>216</sup> The participants were just as diverse as the agendas, but there was a commonality in the preference for direct action. Best articulated by American studies scholar Lee Bebout, Chicano nationalism agreed on more than common goals and political strategies, “the unifying agent was a usable past.”<sup>217</sup> Through a set of myths and

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<sup>214</sup> This chapter approaches the notion of Chicano mystique as the “culturally exalted” masculinity among the Chicano student movement where those that did not ascribe to these beliefs were excluded and seen as subordinate. R.W. Connell and James W. Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept,” *Gender and Society* 19, no. 6 (December 2005): 846.

<sup>215</sup> The characteristics of the social scientific machismo model commonly included: arrogance, intransigence, prone to violence, lust and callousness toward women and competitive boasting. Kramer and McNicoll, *Latin American Panorama: An Anthology*, 388–389.

<sup>216</sup> This was unlike the prior World War II generation of Mexican American grassroots leaders (such as the American GI Forum or the League of United Latin American Citizens) who encouraged integration and activism through voter drives. Moreover, Puerto Rican activism on the island was repressed by *La Ley 53* which criminalized having any association with communism or Puerto Rican independence. Stan Steiner, *La Raza: The Mexican Americans* (New York: Harper, 1970), 24–26; Roberto P. Rodríguez-Morazzani, “Political Cultures of the Puerto Rican Left in the United States,” in *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*, ed. Andrés Torres and José E. Velázquez (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 30–35; Carlos Muñoz, Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement* (New York: Verso, 1989), 1–16; Ernesto Chávez, “¡Mi Raza Primero!” (*My People First!*): *Nationalism, Identity, and Insurgency in the Chicano Movement in Los Angeles, 1966-1978* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 7; George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 3; Cristina Beltrán, *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 26–29; Rodríguez-Morazzani, “Political Cultures of the Puerto Rican Left in the United States,” 32.

<sup>217</sup> Lee Bebout, *Mythohistorical Interventions: The Chicano Movement and Its Legacies* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 2.

histories, leaders of the Chicano movement crafted an “us versus them” narrative that called for a struggle for liberation from the “foreign” Euro American colonizer. In its place, Chicano nationalists referred to a pre-Columbian heritage, imagining men as leaders through their notions of cultural patriarchy.<sup>218</sup> In the first section of this chapter, I will focus on the Denver-based Crusade for Justice organization whose leader Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales circulated a patriarchal, nationalist machismo in the Crusade’s grassroots organizing.<sup>219</sup> The Crusade’s nationalist machismo was on display at their 1969 National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference where members of the Chicana/o student movement and the New York Young Lords Party were in attendance. In turn, these students and Young Lords went on to reiterate nationalist machismo in their own publications and organizing.

The second section of this chapter will explain how this nationalist machismo was later contested, rejected, and/or transformed by the leadership of the reformed Young Lords, Chicana feminists, and United Farm Worker leader César Chávez.<sup>220</sup> Unlike some of the Latina/o social

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<sup>218</sup> American Studies professor Lee Bebout called this mythohistorical, “an integrated network of myths and histories.” *Ibid.*, 6–10.

<sup>219</sup> Patriarchy is often used to describe anything related with male domination. However, I use sociologist Sylvia Walby’s definition of patriarchy as a system of social structures that can include “the patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal relations in paid work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence, patriarch relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions.” From Walby’s list, the latter two best describe the gender dynamics with machismo in the Chicano student movement. Furthermore, I am also applying Dale Spender’s definition of patriarchy as a “process of validating male... experience” as, to borrow Jesús Treviño’s observation, Chicano cultural nationalism was created by men, for men only. Charles, *Gender Divisions and Social Change*, 88; Walby, *Theorizing Patriarchy*, 20; Spender, *Man Made Language*, 2; Treviño, *Eyewitness: A Filmmaker’s Memoir of the Chicano Movement*, 250. The 1960s Puerto Rican nationalist movement included more organizations than the Young Lords such as: the Puerto Rican Independence Party, Movement for National Liberation, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and El Comité. However, the Young Lords’ specific discussion on machismo is why they are included in this chapter. Furthermore, for simplification, I will refer to the New York Young Lords as such since the leaders changed the name of their organization several times: *Sociedad de Abizu Campos*, Young Lords Organization, Young Lords Party, and finally the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Worker’s Organization. Beltrán, *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity*, 28; Darrel Enck-Wanzer, ed., *The Young Lords: A Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 1–3; Treviño, *Eyewitness: A Filmmaker’s Memoir of the Chicano Movement*, 103; Rodolfo Gonzales, *Message to Aztlán: Selected Writings of Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales*, ed. Antonio Esquibel (Houston, Texas: Arte Público Press, 2001), xxiv.

<sup>220</sup> For a more thorough description of how the Chicano movement centralized patriarchy as a Chicano tradition, please see: Michael Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of a Discipline* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2009), 132–134.

scientists mentioned in the previous chapter who argued machismo was an imagined stereotype or a universal characteristic, these activists believed machismo existed and was a cultural characteristic of Latina/os. This chapter argues that these activists negotiated and created multiple notions of machismo through comparative, hierarchal language. Indeed, these efforts complicate the “mystique” that Paredes despaired as many of these criticisms were attempts to shift and extend the nationalist imaginary, finding their own space within newly formed boundaries.<sup>221</sup>

### ***Chicana/o and Puerto Rican Nationalist Machismo***

Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales, one of the “Big Four” leaders of the Chicano movement, was known for his professional boxing career and political organizing within the Democratic Party.<sup>222</sup> Unsatisfied with the attention given to minorities by politicians, Gonzales founded the Crusade for Justice in 1966, a civil rights and educational organization. The Crusade agenda included community programs to encourage youth to learn about Pre-Columbian history, establish their own self-help programs, organize demonstrations, and to explore fine arts.<sup>223</sup> Gonzales himself read widely, including authors such as Federico García Lorca, Pablo Neruda, John Steinbeck,

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<sup>221</sup> The myth of La Malinche was an example of ways to limit and create new boundaries in nationalist imaginary. Malinche, the indigenous translator and partner of Spanish Conquistador Hernán Cortés was invoked by Chicano nationalists to slander and exclude Chicana feminists from their organizations. However, Chicana feminists in the 1970s reclaimed La Malinche as an oppressed figure who was first sold to the Conquistadors. Bebout, *Mythohistorical Interventions: The Chicano Movement and Its Legacies*, 7–9.

<sup>222</sup> The other “Big Four” leaders were Reies López Tijerina, César Chávez, and José Angel Gutiérrez. Matt S. Meier and Margo Gutiérrez, *Encyclopedia of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2000), xvii. Gonzales was the first Mexican American Democratic district captain of Denver, Colorado. He also served in the Kennedy and Johnson administration’s War on Poverty programs. Nicolas Kanellos, ed., *Herencia: The Anthology of Hispanic Literature of the United States* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 195; Josh Gottheimer, *Ripples of Hope: Great American Civil Right Speeches* (New York: Basic Books, 2003), 335; Ernesto B. Vigil, *The Crusade For Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government’s War on Dissent* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), 5–8.

<sup>223</sup> Gonzales also placed young Chicanos in leadership positions at the Crusade for Justice. Gonzales, *Message to Aztlán: Selected Writings of Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales*, xv, xx; Vigil, *The Crusade For Justice: Chicano Militancy and the Government’s War on Dissent*, 64–72.

and Octavio Paz.<sup>224</sup> As discussed previously, Paz's *El Laberinto* defined machismo as an aggressive masculinity that aimed to humiliate others. Gonzales would not be the only Chicano/a leader to consider *El Laberinto* critical reading. Early Chicano studies syllabi (1968–1975) included Paz, Samuel Ramos, and other Mexican writers and philosophers.<sup>225</sup> Chicano activists had these ideas in mind while imagining their own Mexican American character, the Chicano.<sup>226</sup>

Gonzales disseminated his version of nationalist machismo through his poetry and speeches.<sup>227</sup> His 1967 epic poem “I am Joaquín” arguably became his most influential contribution. In it, Gonzales articulated a Chicano identity formed from the hardships of the Spanish conquest, colonization, the Mexican Revolution, and the economic exploitation/marginalization by U.S. society.<sup>228</sup> The poem circulated through numerous mimeographs, a film adaptation by *Teatro Campesino*, and public readings at Chicano movement demonstrations. The poem mentions machismo once toward its end, “Here I stand / Poor in money / Arrogant with Pride / Bold with Machismo / Rich in courage / and / Wealthy in spirit and faith.”<sup>229</sup> The imagery tied together myth, memory, and made a promise that the Chicano will “stand” and “endure” despite hardships.<sup>230</sup> Yet, Gonzales did not define machismo in the

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<sup>224</sup> Gonzales, *Message to Aztlán: Selected Writings of Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales*, xviii.

<sup>225</sup> Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of a Discipline*, 67–68.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 68–72. The criticism of the contemporary Mexican character from Paz and Ramos is part of the reason why Chicano nationalists emphasized pre-Columbian mythology for their Chicano identity. Ignacio M. García, *Chicanismo: The Forging of a Militant Ethos Among Mexican Americans* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 71.

<sup>227</sup> Gonzales called himself “the poet of the revolution.” Gonzales, *Message to Aztlán: Selected Writings of Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales*, xxxiii.

<sup>228</sup> For a more thorough analysis of the poem, please see: Morales, *Living in Spanglish: The Search for Latino Identity in America*, 77–82.

<sup>229</sup> Translation: “Farm worker theatre.” George Hartley, *The Abyss of Representation: Marxism and the Postmodern Sublime* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 276; Gonzales, *Message to Aztlán: Selected Writings of Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales*, 25.

<sup>230</sup> Philip D. Ortego, “The Chicano Renaissance,” *Social Casework* 52, no. 5 (May 1971): 305.

poem. It can be inferred as an admirable characteristic from its association with boldness, pride, courage, spirit, and faith, all of which enriched Gonzales' Chicano identity. This stanza is also more than halfway through the poem's chronology positioning machismo as an ideal modern characteristic in the timeline of Chicanos the poem presented. Gonzales reiterated this notion in an interview three years later where he claimed that the Chicano movement needed "people who have machismo, who have beautiful hearts, who have free Chicano minds."<sup>231</sup> Thus, Gonzales believed machismo was an essential characteristic for Chicanos, on par with "beautiful hearts" and "free minds."

In other speeches, Gonzales revealed how he imagined nationalist machismo as the courage to use violence.<sup>232</sup> Speaking before students at the University of Colorado, Gonzales argued that "our people in the barrios" wrongly demonstrated "their machismo [by] blasting each other... because they're mad and mean, and they know there is revolution in them but they don't know where to go."<sup>233</sup> Here machismo became interlinked with a violent and misdirected courage. Gonzales revealed his own presumptions about economic class when he urged his listeners to teach "our people in the barrio" about cultural nationalism, putting their machismo and willingness to use violence to good use.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>231</sup> Stan Steiner, "Militancy Among The Mexican Americans: Chicano Power," *The New Republic*, June 20, 1970, 18.

<sup>232</sup> Gonzales' speech analyzed in this chapter is "Social Revolution in the Southwest" that was given at the University of Colorado in 1967 and included three references to machismo. The full text can be found in: Francisco A. Rosales, *Testimonio: Documentary History of Mexican American Struggle for Civil Rights* (Houston, Texas: Arte Público Press, 2000), 339–347.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, 345.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 344–345.

When Gonzales spoke against the Vietnam War, he again reiterated his notions of machismo as the courage to use violence. He urged his listeners to evaluate the American myths they learned in school as Gonzales emphasized:

...how the only image of success is Anglo, so that our kids can become patriotically brainwashed to go die and show their machismo... But we have to direct our guts into a revolution; here where the battle really is.<sup>235</sup>

Gonzales referred to Spanish-surname enlistment and casualty rate in Vietnam which was overrepresented in relation to their U.S. population.<sup>236</sup> He interpreted this statistic as an indication of the extent of American indoctrination in the mindset of Chicanos as they were lead to believe that fighting and dying in combat was the only way to prove their machismo.

Gonzales elaborated on this idea in another speech where he denounced Chicano soldiers who erroneously believed that “*machismo* means getting a gun and going to kill a communist in Vietnam because they’ve been jived about the fact that they will be accepted as long as they go get themselves killed for the gringo captain.”<sup>237</sup> In this case, Gonzales believed the incentive of acceptance by Euro Americans was another reason Chicanos enlisted for the Vietnam War.

These examples by Gonzales give us a glimpse of how he imagined machismo as a characteristic among Chicano men who were willing to used violent tactics. Gonzales, however, claimed the authority to determine when Chicanos appropriately marshaled nationalist machismo and when it needed policing. He praised the violence at Tierra Amarilla, but condemned participating in the

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<sup>235</sup> Ibid., 342.

<sup>236</sup> While the Spanish surname population of five southwestern states was twelve percent, the casualty rate for Spanish surname soldiers of these states was nineteen percent. Ralph Guzman, “Mexican American Casualties in Vietnam,” *La Raza Magazine*, March 1970, 12–15.

<sup>237</sup> This speech was given at a 1969 symposium at Cal State Hayward. Roger Alvarado, *La Raza! Why a Chicano Party? Why Chicano Studies?* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), 11–12. Gonzales mentioned this belief again the following year at the First Annual National Chicano Anti-Draft Conference where he explained that many Chicanos enlisted in the military to demonstrate their machismo and courage. Roberto Elias, “Draft Conference,” *El Gallo: La Vos de La Justicia*, 1970, vol.11, no.6 edition, 3. Accessed from the Joseph Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library.

Vietnam War or urban violence.<sup>238</sup> Gonzales thereby implied that aggressive conflict was necessary for the movement and offered the Chicano movement as a means to prove machismo.

Gonzales also spoke about how machismo fit into Chicano gender roles. In a 1970 interview he stated:

*Machismo* means manhood. To the Mexican man, *machismo* means to have the manly trait of honor and dignity. To have courage to fight. To keep his word and protect his name. To run his house, to control his woman, and to direct his children. This is *machismo*... To be a man in your own eyes.<sup>239</sup>

This statement expanded Gonzales' nationalist machismo by valorizing patriarchy, traditional gender roles, honor, dignity, and courage to use violence once again. Gonzales believed that women could hold leadership positions in the movement. However, he cautioned "that they do not lose their *Chicanisma* or their womanhood and become a frigid *gringa*."<sup>240</sup> He clarified his point by stating, "I'm for equality, but I still want to see some sex in our women."<sup>241</sup> Gonzales' terms for Chicana leadership in the movement was to avoid Anglo feminism that he believed was contradictory to his imagined Chicano nationalism, divisive, and unattractive to the male membership.<sup>242</sup> Thus, Gonzales emphasized patriarchy as part of his ideal Chicano family.<sup>243</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> Gonzales argued that Chicanos needed to "identify with Tierra Amarilla as a battle cry symbolic of machismo and a right to self-determination." Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico was a landmark site of Chicano militancy and resistance when Reies López Tijerina led an armed court house raid to arrest the district attorney, bringing national attention to their Spanish land grant claims. Rosales, *Testimonio: A Documentary History of Mexican American Struggle for Civil Rights*, 346; Rudy V. Busto, *King Tiger: The Religious Vision of Reies López Tijerina* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 2–25.

<sup>239</sup> Steiner, *La Raza: The Mexican Americans*, 386.

<sup>240</sup> Alvarado, *La Raza! Why a Chicano Party? Why Chicano Studies?*, 9.

<sup>241</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>242</sup> Beltrán, *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity*, 48; Ian F. Haney-López, *Racism on Trial: The Chicano Fight for Justice* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 227.

<sup>243</sup> Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of a Discipline*, 132–133; García, *Chicanismo: The Forging of a Militant Ethos Among Mexican Americans*, 3; Beltrán, *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity*, 25–26.

Gonzales' nationalist machismo included the revolutionary Chicano identity, patriarchy, masculinity, honor, dignity, and courage to use violence when necessary. Since he read Octavio Paz's writings, he was likely influenced by the notions of machismo elaborated in the writings of Mexican intellectuals who imagined a tragic, aggressive masculinity at the center of Mexican manhood. Gonzales, though, believed machismo could be put to good use through Chicano nationalism.

Other Chicano activists promoted similar notions of machismo through songs, poetry, and speeches. One of the earliest songs of the Chicano movement was "*Yo soy Chicano*," by Crusade for Justice member Juanita Domínguez, that celebrated Chicano identity with a pledge for continuous political activism.<sup>244</sup> Machismo appeared in the fifth verse, "*Tengo mi orgullo y machismo, Mi cultura y corazón. Tengo mi fe y diferencias, Y lucho con gran razón.*"<sup>245</sup> Similar to Gonzales' poem, Domínguez associated machismo with pride, heart, faith, and readiness to fight for Chicanos. Even though the song was authored by a woman, the narrator of the song was male and promoted machismo proudly as part of a Chicano identity and movement.<sup>246</sup> This catchy song was performed by children from the Crusade's school Escuela Tlatelolco at the opening assembly of the 1969 Youth Conference, establishing it as the Chicano movement's

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<sup>244</sup> Translation: "I am Chicano." The song was sung to the tune of the popular revolutionary song "*La Rielera*" and was written on the way from the 1968 Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C. with the Crusade for Justice. Steven César Azcona, "Movements in Chicano Music: Performing Culture, Performing Politics, 1965-1979" (Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2008), 134, 144-145.

<sup>245</sup> Translation: "I have my pride and machismo, My culture and my heart. I have my faith and differences, And I struggle with great conviction." The lyrics to the song are found in: Arturo E. Escobedo, *Chicano Counselor: Consejero at the Crossroads!* (Lubbock, Texas: Trucha Publication, Inc., 1974), 79.

<sup>246</sup> Musicologist Steven César Azcona believes that Juanita Dominguez included machismo from the suggestions of other male passengers. Azcona, "Movements in Chicano Music: Performing Culture, Performing Politics, 1965-1979," 144-145.



anthem sung at rallies, marches, student group meetings, and United Farm Worker picket lines nationwide.<sup>247</sup>

The poet Alurista, another prominent Chicano activist, read his poem “*El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*” at that same youth conference. He called for Mexican Americans to organize around Chicano nationalism and embrace Aztlán, the mythical homeland of the Aztecs, as the current southwestern United States.<sup>248</sup> Although *El Plan* did not include specific references to machismo, Alurista made his ideas clear in his *Poem 13* which was written the same year. *Poem 13* gave a twist to the proverb of turning the other cheek when stricken. Alurista interpreted the lesson differently, writing “but you must turn / (*la mejilla de tu machismo / no para esperar sufrimiento / y aguantar*) / *no te dejes! / voltea, lucha!*”<sup>249</sup> Rather than responding to aggression with nonviolence, Alurista coded Chicano resistance with machismo. He implored his listeners not to turn the other cheek and expect more suffering, but instead to turn and violently resist as this act would prove machismo the Chicano nation’s machismo.

Other Chicano poets also associated machismo as part of the Chicano identity. For example, Gallo Kirach’s poem “*Tecatos*” depicted the urban night life of drug-filled Chicano

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<sup>247</sup> Ibid., 134; Treviño, *Eyewitness: A Filmmaker’s Memoir of the Chicano Movement*, 103.

<sup>248</sup> Translation: “The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán.” Alurista, in particular, is credited for spreading the idea of Aztlán through his poetry. Much of this information regarding pre-Columbian societies is derived from anthropological and archaeological archives by European and Euro-Americans. Beltrán, *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity*, 26; Gonzales, *Message to Aztlán: Selected Writings of Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales*, xii; Rafael Pérez-Torres, “Reframing Aztlán,” *Aztlán* 22, no. 2 (Fall 1997): 37; Sheila Marie Contreras, *Blood Lines: Myth, Indigenism, and Chicana/o Literature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 4; Ramón Grosfoguel, Nelson Malonado Torres, and José David Saldívar, eds., *Latin@s In The World-System: Decolonization Struggles in the Twenty-First Century U.S. Empire* (Boulder, Colorado: Paradigm Publishers, 2006), 127; Kanellos, *Herencia: The Anthology of Hispanic Literature of the United States*, 205. Historian Rodolfo F. Acuña argues that “the notion of Aztlán went hand in hand with the self-identification of Mexican Americans as “Chicanos.” Gonzales, *Message to Aztlán: Selected Writings of Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales*, xii.

<sup>249</sup> Translation: “but you must turn, (the cheek of your machismo, not to expect suffering, and endure), don’t let them! turn, fight!” A revised version of the poem titled “*tú sabes*” was published in his 1971 collection titled *Florícano en Aztlán*. Alberto Baltazar Urista Heredia, “Poem 13,” 1968 1969, 15, Series II, Box 2, Folder 7, Alurista Papers, Benson Latin American Collection, General Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin.; Alurista, *Florícano en Aztlán* (Los Angeles: Chicano Cultural Center University of California, 1971), 15.

communities.<sup>250</sup> Among the description of full cantinas, mariachi bands, and police sirens the poem stated “aztlán oaths taken / in the womb of our mother machismo.”<sup>251</sup> Despite the urban desolation depicted, Kirach referred to feminine notions of a “womb” to reclaim the barrio as nurturing site of cultural nationalism and machismo. Another poet who used machismo similarly was Ricardo Sánchez. In “migrant lament...,” Sánchez described the impoverished living and working conditions of migrant farm workers. Sánchez believed these conditions were sites of cultural enlightenment stating “A new age / has dawned” as farm workers were now traveling “From lettuce strike / To grape boycott,” laughing “with new machismo.”<sup>252</sup> The poem concluded by encouraging farm workers to use their “*coraje y cojones*” for further widespread change.<sup>253</sup> Sánchez’s poem signified machismo as a form of political and social awareness for farm workers. Moreover, he also signified it with anger, courage, and manhood which he believed would motivate the male farm workers to continue organizing.

Anti-Vietnam War Chicano activists also cited notions of machismo in their arguments to avoid the military draft through cultural nationalism.<sup>254</sup> At the Chicano Moratorium protest march on February 28, 1970, one protestor declared, “We aren't shedding our *machismo*. We [are] proving our *machismo* by asking the establishment the tough question, 'Why are we dying overseas when the real struggle is at home?'”<sup>255</sup> A generation before, Mexican Americans had

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<sup>250</sup> Translation: “Drug addicts.”

<sup>251</sup> Dorothy E. Harth and Lewis M. Baldwin, eds., *Voices of Aztlan: Chicano Literature of Today* (New York: New American Library, 1974), 184–185.

<sup>252</sup> Ricardo Sanchez’s poem “migrant lament...” was first published in his book of poems *Canto y Grito Mi Liberación* in 1971. Ibid., 197–198.

<sup>253</sup> Gallo Kirach’s poem “*Tecatos*” was first published in *El Ombligo de Aztlán*, a compilation of poetry edited by Alurista in 1971. Translation: “Courage/Anger and Testicles/Manhood.” Ibid.

<sup>254</sup> For a historical contextualization of Chicana/o military traditions, 1960s Chicana/o activism and their effect on the Vietnam War, please see: Chapters 1-3 of Lorena Oropeza, *¡Raza Sí! ¡Guerra No!: Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Viet Nam Era* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

<sup>255</sup> Ruben Salazar, *Border Correspondent: Selected Writings, 1955-1970* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 244.

used their military service in World War II and the Korean War to signify their patriotism and assert their claims for civil rights.<sup>256</sup> Chicano activists believed that keeping Chicanos at the home front of the civil rights movement was equivalent to—if not more than—fighting in Vietnam.<sup>257</sup> This argument flourished as, two years later, an anti-war pamphlet expressed the same sentiment by claiming that fighting and dying in an imperialistic war was not “macho.” It instead encouraged Chicano men to fight at home “in constructive ways that will help our Raza.”<sup>258</sup> As law student Ron Vera later summarized, resisting the draft “is in the strongest sense of the word a test of manhood, personal courage and honor, *machismo*.”<sup>259</sup> Vera’s comment exposes his imaginary of the new Chicano identity, where machismo was a central characteristic.

Rosalio Muñoz, UCLA Student Body President, also used machismo as a means to deter military enlistment. In an article for the Crusade for Justice’s newspaper *El Gallo*, he argued that U.S. institutions had played upon machismo to the detriment of the Mexican American community. He wrote:

I accuse the entire American social and economic system of taking advantage of the *Machismo* of the Chicano male, widowing and orphaning the mothers, wives, and children of the Chicano community, by sending their men into the front lines where our *Machismo* has given us more Congressional Medals [of Honor], Purple Hearts, any

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<sup>256</sup> Oropeza, *¡Raza Sí! ¡Guerra No!: Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Viet Nam Era*, 5.

<sup>257</sup> John Ibson, “Antiwar Movement,” in *American Masculinities: A Historical Encyclopedia*, ed. Bert E. Carroll (New York: Sage Publications, Inc., 2003), 29.

<sup>258</sup> Lea Ybarra and Nina Genera, “La Batalla Está Aquí: Chicanos and the War” (El Cerrito, CA.: Chicano Draft Help, 1972), 6–7. Author’s possession. An image of this pamphlet and a more thorough discussion about the Chicano anti-Vietnam War protests can be found in: Oropeza, *¡Raza Sí! ¡Guerra No!: Chicano Protest and Patriotism during the Viet Nam Era*, 106–110.

<sup>259</sup> Ron Vera, “Observations on the Chicano Relationship to Military Service in Los Angeles County,” *Aztlán* I, no. 2 (Fall 1970): 27–29, 35.

deaths in proportion to the population than any other race or ethnic group in the nation;  
This is genocide.<sup>260</sup>

Muñoz, like Gonzales, believed machismo was an innately courageous, but violent, characteristic that was a benefit on the battlefield. Moreover, Muñoz imagined that machismo manifested itself within familial relationships. Within the same article, he called for the government “to let the *Machismo* of the Chicano men and the passion and suffering of Chicano women be used to the benefit of ourselves and our willingness to improve the educational system... so that our youth can stay home and be *Machos* among their own families and friends.”<sup>261</sup> Similar to Gonzales’ notions of patriarchy, Muñoz believed nationalist machismo stood in for a particular type of male privilege within his ideal Chicano community that was misdirected into Vietnam. Thus, he called for members to embrace their machismo and join the Chicano movement on the home front.

Not all activists agreed with these versions of nationalist machismo. Many Chicanas who felt marginalized by the Chicano movement offered alternative definitions.<sup>262</sup> Elena H. García, for example, warned in the 1970 Stanford Chicana caucus resolution that machismo “can deny

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<sup>260</sup> Rosalio Muñoz, “Rosalio Muñoz Refuses Induction,” *El Gallo: La Vos de La Justicia*, October 1969, Vol. 11, No. 8 edition, 4. Accessed from the Joseph Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

<sup>262</sup> From 1970–1972, Chicana awareness emerged amongst Chicana students as they were excluded from both the Chicano movement and the women’s movement. In other words, it was the sexism within their communities and the racism of American society that constructed their feminism as women of color. These Chicana feminist groups found conflict within male dominated organizations, such as MEChA, where few women were given token leadership roles for the purpose of dividing the Chicana membership and upholding male decision-making. With such experiences, these women advocated for their own space and platform for equality. Yolanda Orozco, “La Chicana and Women’s Liberation,” *Voz Fronteriza*, January 5, 1976, 6, 13, Reprinted in Alma M. García, *Chicana Feminist Thought* (New York: Routledge, 1997); Sonia A. López, “The Role of the Chicana within the Student Movement,” in *Essays on La Mujer*, ed. Rosaura Sánchez and Rosa Martinez Cruz (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Center Publications, 1977), 26–27; Alma M. García, ed., *Chicana Feminist Thought* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 7; Maylei Blackwell, “Contested Histories: Las Hijas de Cuachtémoc, Chicana Feminisms, and Print Culture in the Chicano Movement, 1968-1973,” in *Chicana Feminism: A Critical Reader*, ed. Gabriela F. Arredondo (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 63.

the right of awareness, the right of self to the Chicana.”<sup>263</sup> She modulated her message by still encouraging women to embrace family life, the home, and support Chicano men. Yet, she also advocated for women to find their own “enlightenment” through a college education.<sup>264</sup> For García, machismo was a site of conflict. She believed that Chicano men wrongly assumed college educated Chicanas were attempting to disregard their roles in the Chicano patriarchy.<sup>265</sup> García and the other Stanford Chicanas therefore walked a tightrope around machismo. On one side, they did not want to disavow domestic roles in the movement, but on the other side they saw the oppression the ideas of machismo caused.

García used the film *Salt of the Earth* (1954) to explain her ideas. The movie dramatized a real 1951 labor strike by zinc miners in New Mexico. When the authorities forced the mostly Mexican miners to end their strike, women took up the cause. García described the labor-striking men as “anxious of their masculinity, their machismo,” as they initially refused any help from their wives.<sup>266</sup> The women, however, ultimately shared the common cause and triumphed. García saw this as analogous to the gender dynamics within the Chicano movement.

García implied a sharp critique of machismo in her conclusion. “The strikes only found victory,” she noted, “when the male protagonist started “by seeing beyond his machismo, respecting and recognizing his woman.”<sup>267</sup> This suggests that the use of machismo in Chicano organizations created more conflict and tension than aided their organizing efforts. A similar goal for cooperation between Chicanos and Chicanas was set by the San Antonio movement

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<sup>263</sup> Elena H. Garcia, “Chicana Consciousness: A New Perspective, A New Hope,” in *La Mujer-En Pie De Lucha*, by Dorinda Moreno (Mexico City: Espina Del Norte Publications, 1973), 5. Accessed from the Joseph Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

called Chicanas for Action.<sup>268</sup> They did not consider themselves an organization but a “spirit of cooperation” for the Chicano movement. This language suggests that creating their own organization could cause further gendered tensions, and thus they committed to operating independently until the men of MEChA (*Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán*) respected the efforts of Chicanas.<sup>269</sup> Chicanas for Action used machismo as a primary means for explaining their critique of MEChA:

We accept the “machismo” of our men so long as it is just that and not a covert egotism hiding weakness. “Machismo” is a beautiful thing but must not be confused with ego-trips and male arrogance. “Machismo” implies tenderness and understanding as well as strength and manliness. It is this that we see as respectable and beautiful in Chicanos. We accept his leadership but we demand high standards and expect him to do the same.<sup>270</sup>

On the surface, Chicanas for Action accepted a type of nationalist machismo as “a beautiful thing.” They made clear, however, that they did not share an unrestrained celebration of the phrase as a justification for sexism. Their statement offered an explicit re-reading of machismo, one that centered on “tenderness and understanding” and warned against arrogance. Their re-readings of machismo by Chicana activists, as well as their efforts to organize independently from men, are another example of the centrality of machismo to the nationalist politics of the Chicano movement.

Nationalist machismo was not only specific to Chicanos. A Puerto Rican nationalist organization called the New York Young Lords also held similar notions of machismo as central

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<sup>268</sup> Chicanas for Action later changed their name to “Corazon for Aztlán.” “Woman’s Liberation??,” *El Rebozo*, February 1970, 1, Part 1, Box 2, Folder 49, Michigan Farm Worker Ministry Coalition Collection, 1950-1990, Archives of Labor and Union Affairs, Wayne State University. The publication of this article was the same date when many women in East Los Angeles left the Brown Berets due to a sense of exclusion to form their own organization Las Adelitas de Aztlán. Dionne Espinosa, “‘Revolutionary Sisters’: Women’s Solidarity and Collective Identification among Chicana Brown Berets in East Los Angeles, 1967-1970,” *Aztlán* 26, no. 1 (Spring 2001): 17–18.

<sup>269</sup> Translation: “Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán.” “Woman’s Liberation??,” 1.

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*

to a revolutionary identity. Their leadership attended the Crusade's Youth Conference, connecting Corky Gonzales' notions with their own. In 1969, the Young Lords organized neighborhood clean-ups, served free breakfasts to children, detected lead in homes, and organized hospital workers for free healthcare in East Harlem.<sup>271</sup> The organization adhered to thirty rules of discipline and a thirteen point platform created by their central committee that focused on self-determination, self-defense and education.<sup>272</sup> The tenth of those thirteen points focused specifically on machismo:

We want equality for women. *Machismo* must be revolutionary...not oppressive.

Under capitalism, our women have been oppressed by both the society and our own men. The doctrine of *machismo* has been used by our men to take out their frustrations against their wives, sisters, mothers and children. Our men must support their women in their fight for economic and social equality, and must recognize that our women are equal in every way within the revolutionary ranks.

Forward, Sisters, In the Struggle!<sup>273</sup>

The leadership of the Young Lords articulated a binary vision of machismo that suggested its negative and positive valences. On the one hand, systems of oppression had created a mode of “capitalistic machismo” which required a resistant and revolutionary “socialistic machismo” as its counter.<sup>274</sup> They described capitalistic machismo as oppressive, abusive, and oppositional to the goal of equality. In the following section, I will examine more closely the conception of

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<sup>271</sup> Young Lords Party and Michael Abramson, *Palante: Young Lords Party* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971), 8–10. For more information on this garbage protest and a comparison with another garbage protest that occurred a year before, please see: José Ramón Sánchez, *Boricua Power: A Political History of Puerto Rican in the United States* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 196–198.

<sup>272</sup> Miguel Melendez, *We Took The Streets: Fighting for Latino Rights with the Young Lords* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2003), 189–190. This platform and strategy was also adopted by the Black Berets of Albuquerque, New Mexico, a Chicano nationalist organization.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*, 236. Sexism and machismo were also discussed in the Puerto Rican Socialist Party but they did not address it as the Young Lords did. Carmen Vivian Rivera, “Our Movement: One Woman's Story,” in *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*, ed. Andrés Torres and José E. Velázquez (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 204–206.

<sup>274</sup> I coin the terms “capitalistic machismo” and “socialistic machismo” to help clarify the Young Lords Party stance since they differentiated machismo with the latter serving as their ideal type.

nationalist machismo initially promoted by the Young Lord's leadership, and the ways in which the organization's female cadre's forced them to ultimately decide to reject machismo's connection to cultural nationalism for the benefit of Puerto Rican families. In the following section, I will discuss the ways that Puerto Rican women and Chicanas developed strategies for contesting nationalist machismo within the organization in which they worked.

### *Negotiating and Rejecting Nationalist Machismo*

Sexism became an important topic for women in the Young Lords through the leadership of Iris Morales, Denise Oliver and Gloria Fontanez.<sup>275</sup> At its inception, the Young Lords was comprised by few women none of whom served on the central committee. To increase women's political development and involvement, the leadership of the Young Lords created a "women's caucus."<sup>276</sup> After several months, the women's caucus made a list of demands. In particular, they noted the unfair power structures within the organization. Rather than meet as a separate caucus, women demanded that they be fully integrated into the leadership structure. A year later, they finally tackled the tenth point of the platform, which had called for revolutionary machismo.<sup>277</sup> "Machismo was never gonna be revolutionary," Denise Oliver remembered, "Saying 'revolutionary machismo' is like saying 'revolutionary fascism' or 'revolutionary racism'—it's a contradiction."<sup>278</sup> Women like Oliver eventually succeeded in changing the text of the platform point. "Down with machismo and male chauvinism," the new version read. It further

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<sup>275</sup> Jennifer Nelson, *Women of Color and the Reproductive Rights Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 116–119.

<sup>276</sup> Iris Morales, "¡Palante, Siempre Palante!: The Young Lords," in *The Puerto Rican Movement: Voices from the Diaspora*, ed. Andrés Torres and José E. Velázquez (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998), 218.

<sup>277</sup> Young Lords Party and Abramson, *Palante: Young Lords Party*, 52; Morales, "¡Palante, Siempre Palante!: The Young Lords," 218.

<sup>278</sup> These demands were augmented by a 'no sex' protest from the women's caucus until their demands were met. Young Lords Party and Abramson, *Palante: Young Lords Party*, 51–52; Nelson, *Women of Color and the Reproductive Rights Movement*, 118.



appealed that men “recognize that sisters make up over half of the revolutionary army.”<sup>279</sup> To impart the urgency of the revision, members moved its ranking in the platform from number ten to number five.<sup>280</sup> The women's caucus also demanded the creation of a men's caucus to discuss male chauvinism and gender relations as many women were joining the organization.<sup>281</sup>

Pablo “Yoruba” Guzmán, one of the founding members of the New York Young Lords, recalled how men in the Lords were apprehensive about discussing gender inequalities. “The first time we heard about women's liberation,” he remembered, “our machismo and our male chauvinism said, ‘Well, these chicks are all frustrated—that's their main problem. What they really need is a good—you know.’ That was the thing we were coming from.”<sup>282</sup> After several discussions, the men's caucus acknowledged the problems with the separation of the sexes. “That may be practical in the white community,” Guzmán concluded, “but for us in the Third World it is impractical because that's slowing our struggle down. We need everybody we can get, 'cause we're being eliminated.”<sup>283</sup> After some debate, the leadership of the New York Young Lords embraced feminism as a part of their platform and held caucus meetings for members to discuss their egalitarian, socialist revolution.<sup>284</sup>

Taking a position against machismo caused the leadership of the Young Lords to consider the meaning of the term. Richie Pérez invoked the stereotypical notions of it by describing it as “one of the trademarks of Latin culture” and machismo was “that exaggerated sense of manhood that constantly must be proven.”<sup>285</sup> Denise Oliver went into more details,

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<sup>279</sup> Melendez, *We Took The Streets: Fighting for Latino Rights with the Young Lords*, 239–240.

<sup>280</sup> Morales, “¡Palante, Siempre Palante!: The Young Lords,” 218.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*; Young Lords Party and Abramson, *Palante: Young Lords Party*, 51–52.

<sup>282</sup> Pablo “Yoruba” Guzmán's statement in Young Lords Party and Abramson, *Palante: Young Lords Party*, 46.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>284</sup> Nelson, *Women of Color and the Reproductive Rights Movement*, 113.

<sup>285</sup> Young Lords Party and Abramson, *Palante: Young Lords Party*, 53.

arguing that many men proved their machismo through many sexual relationships with women. This anxiety, she noted, often resulted in physical intimidation, and even assaults, on the women in the Young Lords Organization.<sup>286</sup> These ideas suggest that the Young Lords believed machismo was a real cultural phenomenon that existed even within their own organization.

The leadership of the Young Lords debated machismo's origins. In their article "Young Lords Party Position Paper on Women," the authors argued that Puerto Rican, Black and Third World women were doubly oppressed. They experience racism and also sexism from their own men as a cheap source of labor and as sex objects.<sup>287</sup> They blamed this on the macho, "a man who puts himself selfishly at the head of everything without considering the woman."<sup>288</sup> The article rejected the notion that machismo was innately part of Latina/o culture. Instead, it posited that machismo was a negative consequence of capitalism. They believed that the economic system measured manhood through money and status, thus causing psychological damage to unemployed men. These men would then vent their frustrations and loss of manhood by assaulting women and limiting their freedom. The article concluded that the pinnacle of this oppression is the separation of the Third World man and woman, which breaks down the heterosexual family, and is grounded on an imagined notion of their cultural identity.<sup>289</sup>

For the leadership of the Young Lords, machismo was a symptom of capitalism and the main cause for gender conflict in their community.<sup>290</sup> This aligned with the Lords' presumption that capitalism was the main obstacle in their revolution. They saw it at the root of most suffering

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<sup>286</sup> Ibid., 48–49.

<sup>287</sup> Central Committee, "Young Lords Party Position Paper on Women," *Palante, Young Lords Party*, September 25, 1970, 11, Joseph Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library.

<sup>288</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>289</sup> Ibid.

<sup>290</sup> Ibid.

because it commodified many basic human needs—food, housing, health care, education. As they began to grapple with sexism, it then became an obvious means for explaining gender conflict and machismo.<sup>291</sup> The Young Lords Organization of Milwaukee explicitly linked capitalism and machismo in their article “*La Mujer Como Revolutionaria*.”<sup>292</sup>

Male supremacy first found its way into history when private property and profit became a way of life. The male, in order to protect his fortune, kept his wife under lock and key. This was his assurance that the child whom inherited his money was his own. The child was of the male sex, whom in turn would leave his fortune to his son.<sup>293</sup>

The article continued this economic history by detailing how many contemporary Puerto Rican families now had women as the breadwinners while Puerto Rican men were the economic dependents, upending machismo. The Milwaukee Young Lords Organization concluded that “one can see how ‘machismo’ and male supremacy are not even valid,” suggesting that it was time to avoid it.<sup>294</sup> By negating these standards of machismo, the article concluded that:

Male supremacy, the age old tradition of the rich is looked upon by oppressed people as being a normal condition, not realizing that it is not really a part of our culture but that of the bourgeoisie (rich ruling class).<sup>295</sup>

While they did not provide a straight-forward definition of machismo, its association with male supremacy and capitalism suggests that the Young Lords Organization were able to denounce machismo as an outside influence to Puerto Rican culture and an impediment to their socialist revolution.

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<sup>291</sup> Rosemary Hennessy argued that coalition building across class identities can be achieved by targeting capitalism's attempts at limiting basic needs. For a more thorough discussion, please see: Rosemary Hennessy, *Profit and Pleasure: Sexual Identities in Late Capitalism* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 22, 228–232.

<sup>292</sup> Translation: “The Women as Revolutionary.”

<sup>293</sup> “La Mujer Como Revolutionaria,” *El Young Lord*, May 5, 1971, vol.1, no.3 edition, 9, Joseph Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library.

<sup>294</sup> The Young Lords' Spanish translation of the article also have the word “machismo” in quotes. Ibid.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

In 1971, the central committee of the Young Lords Party published a book of their history and ideology. In a chapter titled, “A Revolution within a Revolution,” leaders Pablo Guzmán, Denise Oliver, and Richie Pérez elaborated on their ideas about machismo. Oliver distanced machismo from being exclusively associated with Latino populations. White men, she argued, were machos as well.<sup>296</sup> What differed between the two racial groups was the means of performing machismo. She explained:

Among white men, their whole *machismo* thing is like, who can make better business deals or take *over* a large corporation. A man is respected by virtue of the money he has. But since the Third World man doesn't have any money, he's respected by his fellows for how much balls he's got, and how much he can oppress women, and how many women he can take to bed.<sup>297</sup>

Oliver argued that all machos sought respect and acknowledgement from other men. She explained within a capitalist society, however, monetary exchanges served as the primary method of garnering respect from the upper class. Since the impoverished “Third World man” was unable to conduct corporate takeovers, Oliver believed that he instead garnered his respect through dominance in sexual relationships. Pérez agreed and added to Oliver's distinction. The “frustration” from Puerto Rican men's capitalistic oppression, he believed, turned their “anger inward upon themselves and the woman in their lives.”<sup>298</sup> Guzmán summed up the argument by asserting that Puerto Rican men resorted to “prove their manhood, to prove that they are like that white person, they go around oppressing the sisters.”<sup>299</sup> These leaders of the Young Lords Party believed that machismo was a universal trait present among all men affected by capitalism and

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<sup>296</sup> Young Lords Party and Abramson, *Palante: Young Lords Party*, 48.

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

sexism. They blamed the frustration of the lower classes for becoming “machos” who turned violently inward against their families.

A leader of the Young Lords Party, though, held similar notions of machismo’s violence that were reminiscent of Corky Gonzales’ nationalist machismo. The Chicano leader, as discussed previously, urged militancy and protest, and argued that violence was warranted if necessary. For Gonzales, it was a matter of whether that violence would be directed into illegitimate pursuits, like military participation or gang violence or against a legitimate target like state power. Richie Pérez, similar to Corky Gonzales, described machismo as disempowering. “Brothers are ready to fight, ready to kill each other, over slights on each other's manhood,” he wrote, “But when it comes to our real oppressors—police, or greedy businessmen, or landlords, or politicians—no one is ever very ready to fight them.”<sup>300</sup> The Young Lords Party, thus, reevaluated their support for nationalist machismo due to these violent connotations. Ultimately, they rejected the idea altogether. For leaders like Pérez and Oliver, machismo came to symbolize an extraneous source of conflict that impeded their socialist revolution.

Chicana feminists published similar criticisms, calling for an end to machismo since it caused more conflicts between men and women in their movement. In her article “Macho Attitudes,” Nancy Nieto detailed a one-sided relationship with Chicano men that she blamed on “deep macho hangups.”<sup>301</sup> For Nieto, machismo was synonymous with male chauvinism. She noted how many Chicano men believed it was the Chicana’s “place and duty to stand behind and

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<sup>300</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>301</sup> Nancy Nieto, “Macho Attitudes,” *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc* 1, no. 1 (1971). Reprinted in García, *Chicana Feminist Thought*, 117.

back up her macho.”<sup>302</sup> This expectation limited Chicanas’ contribution in Chicano nationalist organizations, to only serve Chicano men’s interest as any other activities provoked suspicion about their loyalty. In particular, Nieto decried the sexual exploitation she witnessed, where machos pressured Chicana members into sexual relations. Those who refused these sexual advances were called “*vendidas*” for their lack of commitment to their men and the imagined heteronormative family.<sup>303</sup>

Other Chicana feminists also argued against the ideal Chicano nationalist patriarchal family. In “New Voice of La Raza: Chicanas Speak Out,” journalist Mirta Vidal instead emphasized the egalitarian societies in pre-Columbian America as their true cultural heritage since, “machismo... is the one thing, if any, which should be labeled an “Anglo thing.”<sup>304</sup> Columnist Rene Martínez also called for a reformation of machismo into something they could be proud of.<sup>305</sup> She wanted machos who were affectionate toward their families, proud of their Mexican heritage and prepared to defend la raza. Martínez charged that the current state of machismo was insufficient as:

*El mundo gringo nos quita el machismo varonil y nos deja la salvaje. Por eso el macho se a perverido en parrandero. Por eso el macho es tan mal con su esposa y sus hijos. Por eso el macho necesita tantas embras, porque el mundo no lo deja ser hombre natural y normal.*<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> Nieto recounted how Chicano men would take credit for Chicana efforts yet, when Chicanas planned programs for their own self-empowerment, the Chicano men would accuse them of “selling out” or chastising them with “women’s lib, women’s lib!! [sic]” Nieto, “Macho Attitudes.”

<sup>303</sup> Translation: “Sellouts or traitors.” Ibid.

<sup>304</sup> Mirta Vidal, “New Voice of La Raza: Chicanas Speak Out,” *The International Socialist Review*, October 1971, 23. Reprinted in García, *Chicana Feminist Thought*, 21.

<sup>305</sup> Rene Martinez, “El Machismo,” *El Rebozo*, February 1970, 4, Part 1, Box 2, Folder 49, Michigan Farm Worker Ministry Coalition Collection, 1950-1990, Archives of Labor and Union Affairs, Wayne State University.

<sup>306</sup> Translation: “The Anglo world removed masculine machismo and left savagery. This is why the macho is misconstrued as a drunkard. This is why the macho is abusive of his wife and children. This is why the macho needs so many females, because the [Anglo] world does not allow him to be a natural and normal man.” Ibid.

Similar to the Young Lords' platform, Martínez blamed Anglo society for robbing their "natural" machismo from their community and leaving them with a "savage" version of it. These accounts are but a few examples of how Chicanas criticized nationalist machismo as misdirected.

Moreover, the tension seen from the Chicana authors is a response from the Chicano movement who belittled their concerns for the sake of keeping their movement united.<sup>307</sup> While the above writings by Chicanas called attention to the problem of machismo, an anonymous letter, signed by una Chicana, in *La Chicana* newspaper threatened action.<sup>308</sup> "When I became involved in the Movement," she wrote, "I began to hate men (MACHOS) [*sic*]. It was my silence, now fully grown into a public scream."<sup>309</sup> The author then recounted the sexual harassment she experienced from male members and threatened the possibility that Chicanas "can turn their carino into fists and become vocal and unappealing Lib members. Or they can turn away from what they really need and want. Like me, sola yo, a Chicana who is learning to odiar (hate) what she would love to amar (love)."<sup>310</sup> The author conveyed a sense of betrayal by Chicano men whose machismo, she argued, hindered the movement toward liberation. According to this author, politically active Chicanas were thus left with three outcomes: participate in the movement with their limited gender platform, create their own limited space within the movement, or promote a separate feminist agenda away from machismo and ally themselves with the white women's movement.<sup>311</sup>

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<sup>307</sup> Beltrán, *The Trouble with Unity: Latino Politics and the Creation of Identity*, 56.

<sup>308</sup> Una Chicana, "Abajo con los Machos," *La Chicana - El Grito Del Norte*, June 5, 1971, F, Box 79, José Angel Gutiérrez Papers, 1954-1990. Benson Latin American Collection, General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid.

<sup>310</sup> Translation: "[Chicanas] can turn their affection into fists and become vocal and unappealing Lib members. Or they can turns away from what they really need and want. Like me, alone, a Chicana who is learning to hate what she would love to love." Ibid.

<sup>311</sup> These three options were not mutually exclusive. Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of a Discipline*, 132–133.

Chicana activists discussed their stance on machismo at various regional conferences and national meetings throughout the early 1970s.<sup>312</sup> During the May 8, 1971 Chicana Regional Conference at Los Angeles State College, for example, participants in the political education workshop described how male members slandered Chicana feminists as “dikes” (not conforming with traditional heterosexuality) or accused them of wanting to distract the movement for their own selfish gains.<sup>313</sup> When the accused Chicana defended herself by citing how “machismo” was intertwined with their politics, she was essentially exiled from the organization for challenging their expectations.<sup>314</sup> The workshop attendees thus motioned for their own study groups to define and practice “the revolutionary woman’s role” away from the machismo in the movement.<sup>315</sup> Machismo was again discussed at the conference’s general assembly where the theatre group *Teatro Mestizo* parodied the gender conflict in the movement within an untitled play.<sup>316</sup> Most notably, the performance ended with the female character wearing her costume as well as that of the male character to symbolize the danger of “over-reactionary” Chicana

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<sup>312</sup> There were thirty-four conferences, workshops and symposiums between 1970 and 1975 for Spanish-speaking women. Marta Cotera, “Feminism: The Chicana and Anglo Visions: A Historical Analysis,” in *Twice a Minority: Mexican American Women*, ed. Margarita B. Melville (St. Louis, Missouri: C.V. Mosby Co., 1980), 217–220.

<sup>313</sup> The workshop described how male leaders would divide the Chicana membership by selecting token Chicanas for leadership positions who accepted patriarchy. Furthermore, when a new Chicana joined the movement, she was either pressured to start a heterosexual relationship with a male member or was relegated to a subordinate status where she was “protected” by the men (similar to a patriarchal family). “Chicana Regional Conference: Political Education Workshop,” *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc*, 1971, 2–3, Box 4, Folder 17, John Castillo Papers. MSS 208. Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

<sup>314</sup> “Chicana Regional Conference: Political Education Workshop.”

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*, 2–3.

<sup>316</sup> “Chicana Regional Conference: Teatro Mestizo,” *Hijas de Cuauhtémoc*, 1971, 3, Box 4, Folder 17, John Castillo Papers. MSS 208. Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library. The theatre group *Teatro Mestizo* was a student group from San Diego State formed in 1969 and was a part of the larger artist collective scene based in San Diego’s Balboa Park called *Toltecas en Aztlán* (the park was reclaimed as a cultural center by Chicanos who called it the *Centro Cultural de la Raza*.) *Teatro Mestizo* produced progressive plays with cooperative male and female actors. Many of these female actors were also in the women’s theatre group called *Teatro de la Chicanas*. Azcona, “Movements in Chicano Music: Performing Culture, Performing Politics, 1965-1979,” 174–175; Felicitas Núñez, Sandra M. Gutiérrez, and Laura E. García, eds., *Teatro Chicana: A Collective Memoir and Selected Plays* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), xxv, 8, 93, 145; Philip Brookman, “El Centro Cultural de La Raza, Fifteen Years,” in *Made in Aztlán*, ed. Philip Brookman and Guillermo Gómez-Peña (San Diego: Tolteca Publications, 1986), 34.



feminists alienating the male membership and finding themselves without any allies.<sup>317</sup> During the question and answer session following the performance, the theatre group agreed that the “mass feeling of machismo” in the movement was unproductive but recommended against Chicana feminists separating and creating their own organizations as they believed that only through cooperation will the Chicano movement find liberation.<sup>318</sup> These gendered tensions continued as Chicana feminists were politically ignored by male leaders who adhered to nationalist machismo, even as they were also warned that their departures would lead to a weakening of the movement.<sup>319</sup>

Machismo was also a topic at *La Conferencia de Mujeres por La Raza*, the first national Chicana conference in Houston in 1971.<sup>320</sup> The conference attracted six hundred women from twenty-states to discuss the meanings of Chicana feminism, the Chicano movement, and other topics that concerned the Chicana/o community.<sup>321</sup> Publicity chairman Elma Barerra revealed to a local paper how machismo, which she defined as “male supremacy,” was also planned as a discussion topic. It was “a major problem,” she went on to explain, that many Chicano men refused to acknowledge, especially in marriages where many husbands treat their wives similar

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<sup>317</sup> “Chicana Regional Conference: Teatro Mestizo.”

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> This is similar to Jennie Chavez’s (founder of the student Chicana feminist group La Chicana at the University of New Mexico) description of a one-sided relationship with many male headed Chicano organizations of Albuquerque who, “Every time they needed maids, or cooks, they’d dial-a-Chicana.” Jennie V. Chávez, “Women of the Mexican American Movement,” *Mademoiselle Magazine*, April 1972, 150. Reprinted in García, *Chicana Feminist Thought*, 36.

<sup>320</sup> Translation: “Women’s Conference For The People.” “An Orientation to: ‘La Conferencia de Mujeres Por La Raza,’” 1971, Box 1, Folder 1, Lucy R. Moreno Collection, Benson Latin American Collection, General Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin. About 500-600 Chicana participants attended the Houston conference, hosted by Houston’s Young Women Christian Association, on May 28-30, 1971 with about 80% between the ages of 18-23. The registration deadline was waived due to the large amount of interest. Marta Cotera, “La Conferencia De Mujeres Por La Raza: Houston, Texas 1971,” in *Chicana Feminist Thought*, ed. Alma M. García (New York: Routledge, 1997), 155–157; Mirta Vidal, “¡La Raza En Acción!,” *The Militant: A Socialist Newsletter*, May 28, 1971, Vol. 35, No. 2 edition, Box 4, Folder 17, John Castillo Papers. MSS 208. Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

<sup>321</sup> Maylei Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 161.

to servants.<sup>322</sup> The registration form for the conference listed several workshops, the first titled “Machismo - What are we up against?” with keynote speaker Grace Gil Olivárez, the first woman graduate of Notre Dame University School of law.<sup>323</sup> While no complete record of this speech currently exists, two quotes of the speech provide insight into what Olivárez mentioned. The first quote argued that both men and women suffered from the “virgin-and-mother complex.” Olivárez stated that young men:

Look up to their mothers as saints, as virgins... The mother is placed on a pedestal. The young man cannot face the fact that his mother had to have intercourse with his father in order to give birth to him.<sup>324</sup>

This language refers to an Oedipus complex. It suggests that Olivárez, while preparing her speech, turned to the social sciences for information depicting machismo as pathological. To what extent she read the literature on the machismo model is unknown, but she did not dwell on defining machismo. Rather, she turned her attention to moving forward, urging that “as long as we [Chicanas] see ourselves as inferior we are collaborating in our own oppression.”<sup>325</sup> In other words, Olivárez urged Chicana feminists to turn away from nationalist machismo.

The Houston conference ended with a walkout by many unsatisfied attendants who claimed the conference was not representative of Chicana interests. Best described by historian

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<sup>322</sup> Barerra also added how many Chicanas did not want to press the issue since they felt Chicano men were already oppressed by society. Elizabeth Bennet, “Chicana Conference May Change Image,” *The Houston Post*, May 25, 1971.

<sup>323</sup> “La Conferencia De Mujeres Por La Raza: Registration Form,” 1971, Box 79, José Angel Gutiérrez Papers, 1954-1990. Benson Latin American Collection, General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin; “La Conferencia De Mujeres Por La Raza: Program” (Salazar Printing, Bacliff, Texas., 1971), Box 1, Folder 1, Lucy R. Moreno Collection, Benson Latin American Collection, General Libraries, the University of Texas at Austin. A survey included within the registration packet also asked registrants to circle topics of interest with machismo listed as number five of eight. “La Conferencia De Mujeres Magnolia Park YWCA: Worksheet No. 2,” 1971, Box 79, José Angel Gutiérrez Papers, 1954-1990. Benson Latin American Collection, General Libraries, University of Texas at Austin.

<sup>324</sup> As quoted in Francisca Flores, “Conference of Mexican Women in Houston--Un Remolino [A Whirlwind],” *Regeneración* 1, no. No. 10 (1971): 1–5. Reprinted in García, *Chicana Feminist Thought*, 157.

<sup>325</sup> As quoted in Chávez, “Women of the Mexican American Movement.” Reprinted in García, *Chicana Feminist Thought*, 36.

Maylei Blackwell, “the walkout eludes easy categorization or interpretive schema,” citing a wide range of ideological agendas including: labor, community organizing, socialism, communism, education, church, media, cultural productions, reproduction rights, etc.<sup>326</sup> Although one protestor exclaimed, “Our enemy is not with the machos but the gavacho (white man)!” suggesting machismo was part of the conflict that led to the walkout, of the many resolutions passed on sex, marriage, self-determination and religion, not once did the word machismo appear.<sup>327</sup> It is strange omission since, as discussed previously, it was the topic of the keynote speech and mentioned in the registration forms.<sup>328</sup> Regardless, criticism of nationalist machismo continued among Chicana publications.

Another site where Chicana feminists presented their critiques of machismo was in newspaper comics. Figure 3.1 is a comic with the caption “The Macho’s Sombrero Sometimes Hides More Than His Head.” It depicts a man with a large nervous smile holding a sombrero against himself with the crown of the hat serving as a phallic symbol.<sup>329</sup> Walking past him is a stern-faced Chicana wearing a short dress and heels with a purse in hand.<sup>330</sup> This cartoon

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<sup>326</sup> Blackwell, *¡Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement*, 179.

<sup>327</sup> From the attendants who walked out, they resolved that the YMCA impeded adequate representation by not funding non-YMCA members and demanded they reimburse attendees and fund another, more representative conference. *Ibid.*, 175; “Resolutions from ‘Mujeres De La Raza,’” 1971, Box 4, Folder 17, John Castillo Papers. MSS 208. Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library; “La Conferencia De Mujeres Por La Raza: Saturday A.M. Workshop Resolutions,” 1971, 1–2, Box 4, Folder 17, John Castillo Papers. MSS 208. Houston Metropolitan Research Center, Houston Public Library.

<sup>328</sup> There were two resolutions that hinted at machismo. In the Sex and the Chicana workshop, the participants resolved to have mothers raise their sons to treat women as equals with “no double standard.” The Marriage-Chicana Style workshop resolved that Chicanas with families needed “to educate their sons and thus change the attitudes of future generations.” “La Conferencia De Mujeres Por La Raza: Saturday A.M. Workshop Resolutions,” 1–2.

<sup>329</sup> This newspaper comic was reprinted in Dorinda Moreno, *La Mujer-En Pie De Lucha* (Mexico City: Espina Del Norte Publications, 1973), 31. Accessed from the Joseph Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library. The author and original publication is unknown.

<sup>330</sup> The author signed a “c\s,” a Chicano symbol meaning “*con safos*.” It is a phrase that is roughly translated as “with safety,” a code meant to refute any disagreement and was normally used for wall graffiti. In other words, regardless of opposing views, the art stands as is. Using this symbol for the cartoon of the hypersexual macho signified a Chicana/o artist who expected a rebuttal. José Antonio Burciaga, *Drink Cultura: Chicanismo* (Santa Barbara: Capra Press, 1993), 6–7.

presented machos as hypersexual and immature as they cannot control themselves at the sight of a woman. In turn, the viewer was left to question their trust of male leaders and members who had the hidden agenda of machismo and they could be easily distracted from the Chicano movement.

Chicanas also expressed their thoughts on machismo through poetry. Marta Jo Amorelli's poem titled "Machismo" detailed it as "natural" or even benevolent masculinity.<sup>331</sup> Her poem begins by describing how her immediate family members—father, uncle, brothers and son—are "machos" with a gentle nature. However, her final stanza declared, "*Machismo, es ser suave / Hombre, acercate no tengas miedo / a dar un abrazo, un beso a / aquel hijo que ayer lo hicistes / con gusto y que hoy con el / mismo gusto lo ignores.*"<sup>332</sup> Amorelli's ended her poem by depicting a change in machismo's praxis from her familiar tenderness to a strange, withdrawn behavior that alienated her close-knit family. With the poem's publication in the 1970s, it referred to the reformation of nationalist machismo in the Chicano movement as militant and patriarchal.

Chicanas also criticized machismo through their own theatre plays. A 1973 play titled *Bronca*, by *Teatro Chicana* an all Chicana theatre group from San Diego State University, protested the subservient roles assigned to women in MEChA.<sup>333</sup> The play had five women chant "*bronca*" in chorus with each taking a turn to ask for equality in movement activities (preparing food, clerical duties, giving speeches, and childcare). The word *bronca* means to brawl. When repeated several times, as in "BroncaBronCabrónca," the word *carbón* (a profane

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<sup>331</sup> Garcia, "Chicana Consciousness: A New Perspective, A New Hope," 35.

<sup>332</sup> Translation: "Machismo, is to be gentle, Man, come close and do not fear to give a hug, a kiss to that son you enjoyed yesterday but today you ignore." The poem is published in *Ibid.*

<sup>333</sup> Translations: "Brawl" and "Chicana Theatre." The script of the play is published in Núñez, Gutiérrez, and García, *Teatro Chicana: A Collective Memoir and Selected Plays*, 191–192.

noun equivalent to “asshole”) emerges from the word play.<sup>334</sup> The fifth speaker, however, addressed machismo directly by stating:

The machismo hurts men and women alike.  
The machismo is a tool of the oppressor.  
Man is not the enemy that breeds inequality and disease. The oppressor is!  
Brothers, unite with your sisters to fight the oppressor. Down with machismo!  
Brothers, unite with your sisters to fight the oppressor. Down with the enemy!  
We are both members of the same class: the working class!

Chorus: Only by men and women uniting as equals can we attain the liberation of our class!<sup>335</sup>

The content of this play illustrated the “triple oppression” Chicana feminists experienced from gender, race, and class oppression.<sup>336</sup> Their solution for liberation was thus to organize Chicanos and Chicanas through a shared “working class” identity, again claiming that the Chicano nationalist patriarchy “hurt” both men and women.

These refutations and productions were written in response to the expectation of conformity with nationalist machismo. They demonstrate the painful experience of exclusion by male members of the Chicano movement as these Chicana feminists were exiled if they spoke against the entrenched patriarchal expectations. Moreover, Chicana feminists criticized machismo as a detriment to Chicano culture with several arguments: machismo was Anglo-inspired, machismo was causing oppression in a movement to end oppression, and machismo hurt Chicano families.

Not all Chicano men, though, thought of machismo as a positive thing. Union leader César Chávez extensively criticized notions of machismo as an impediment to his union

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<sup>334</sup> Ibid., 37, 89, 144.

<sup>335</sup> The play then ended with a call for unity and the song “*Yo Quiero Que A Mí Me Entierren Como Revolucionario.*” Ibid., 192.

<sup>336</sup> Bebout, *Mythohistorical Interventions: The Chicano Movement and Its Legacies*, 6.

organizing. In a 1969 *New Yorker* magazine interview, Chávez declared “his contempt for that special kind of male self-consciousness that Mexicans call *machismo*.”<sup>337</sup> This was expressed while he described his close relationship with his father who did not find it “unmanly” to help with childrearing or housekeeping chores.<sup>338</sup> For Chávez, machismo was a gendered pride that construed the home as a feminized space preventing fathers from participating in household activities.<sup>339</sup> His admiration for his father’s household suggested that Chávez rejected this notion of machismo and considered himself and his father outside of its expectations. Furthermore, for Chávez to state his opposition to this notion of machismo in a magazine of national circulation again suggested how prevalent a topic this was that Chávez made sure to have a public stance against it.<sup>340</sup>

Chávez also believed machismo affected the organizing of his union. Historian Matt Garcia argued that the key to the early organizing success of Chávez and other organizers who worked with him was to trust their creativity.<sup>341</sup> For example, Chávez found the foremost hindrance in organizing families in union activities was impatient men, “full of *machismo*,” who believed having their families join the picket lines was “degrading.”<sup>342</sup> Chávez disagreed and praised women for their “staying power” especially since their participation compelled their

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<sup>337</sup> Peter Matthiessen, “Profiles: Organizer~II,” *The New Yorker*, June 28, 1969, 56.

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>339</sup> Michael Kimmel argues that masculine and feminine sex roles are relational. The definition and roles of one depend on the other, creating boundaries. Since both Chávez and his father rejected machismo and its boundaries around the home, they are free to help with child-rearing activities. Michael Kimmel, “The Contemporary ‘Crisis’ of Masculinity in Historical Perspective,” in *The Making of Masculinities: The New Men’s Studies*, ed. Harry Brod (Boston: Allen & Unwin, 1987), 122.

<sup>340</sup> Chávez also criticized Chicano nationalism in the same interview. Peter Matthiessen, “Profiles: Organizer~I,” *The New Yorker*, June 21, 1969, 75–76; Matthiessen, “Profiles: Organizer~II,” 58.

<sup>341</sup> Matt Garcia, *From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Worker Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 4.

<sup>342</sup> Peter Matthiessen, *Sal Si Puedes: César Chávez and the New American Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 160.

macho husbands to contribute as well.<sup>343</sup> This observation presented machismo as the male ego that prided itself from its gendered division of family life. Moreover, Chávez exposed how much he believe in machismo by detailing his recruiting technique of first recruiting wives rather than risk speaking with uncooperative machos.

Chávez would again criticize his notion of machismo at the onset of the five-year Delano grape strike that began on September 8, 1965.<sup>344</sup> In the third year of the strike, demoralized union members discussed and favored more confrontational strategies. There were instances of farm workers bringing guns to the picket lines and several packing sheds were allegedly burned by farm workers.<sup>345</sup> Alarmed by the escalation of violence, Chávez called for a meeting where he spoke for an hour and a half emphasizing the need to avoid violent “short cuts” as it would cause more suffering and present a lack of confidence in their labor dispute.<sup>346</sup> As an example of how violence caused more suffering, he referred to the African American civil rights movement whose shift to militancy and violent confrontations resulted in the burning of their own communities.<sup>347</sup> Chávez thus belittled the burning of the packing sheds as “macho” antics and again denounced machismo itself for its requirement of violence.<sup>348</sup> Until the farm workers

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<sup>343</sup> Ibid.

<sup>344</sup> Susan Ferriss and Richard Sandoval, *The Fight in the Fields: Cesar Chavez and the Farmworkers Movement*, ed. Diana Hembree (New York: Harcourt Bruce and Company, 1997), 86–94; Richard W. Etulain, ed., *César Chávez: A Brief Biography with Documents* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 10.

<sup>345</sup> Chávez asked those responsible for the burning of the sheds to turn themselves in. However, he later claimed volunteer firemen, not farm workers, burned the sheds. Levy, *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*, 272, 275; César Chávez, “We Are Accused,” *El Malcriado*, February 21, 1968, Volume 2, Number 1 edition, 2, Joseph Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library.

<sup>346</sup> Matthiessen, “Profiles: Organizer~II,” 69; Chávez, “We Are Accused,” 2.

<sup>347</sup> Matthiessen, “Profiles: Organizer~II,” 69.

<sup>348</sup> Chávez also questioned how many of the farm workers could be against the Vietnam War yet advocated violence in their own strike. Ferriss and Sandoval, *The Fight in the Fields: Cesar Chavez and the Farmworkers Movement*, 142; Matthiessen, *Sal Si Puedes: César Chávez and the New American Revolution*, 178–179; Levy, *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*, 272–273; Matthiessen, “Profiles: Organizer~I.”

reiterated their commitment to nonviolent protest, Chávez announced he would fast for the principals of nonviolence.<sup>349</sup>

Chávez's fast lasted twenty-five days and, with his diet of only water and a daily Eucharist wafer, he lost between thirty and forty pounds.<sup>350</sup> As he fasted, Chávez was bedridden but he attended daily mass and met with many visitors who recommitted themselves to nonviolence.<sup>351</sup> With an estimated ten thousand people visiting Delano, Chávez claimed, "I did more organizing out of that bed than I did anywhere."<sup>352</sup> At the end of Chávez's fast, he again mentioned machismo.<sup>353</sup> A prepared statement was read in Spanish by then vice-president of the United Farm Workers Julio Hernández then in English by Reverend James Drake.<sup>354</sup> Chávez's statement celebrated their unity as a union and again explained how his fast was a call for nonviolence and a call to sacrifice.<sup>355</sup> The English statement ended with:

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<sup>349</sup> Chávez believed this was more than a labor dispute but a claim for dignity. He also began the fast four days before the meeting at Filipino Hall. Matthiessen, *Sal Si Puedes: César Chávez and the New American Revolution*, 178; Levy, *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*, 272; Dolores Huerta, "For Immediate Release: Dolores Huerta Announcement," February 23, 1968, Series I, Box 5, Folder 7, The United Farm Workers Office of the President Collection, Archives of Labor and Union Affairs, Wayne State University.

<sup>350</sup> Chávez drank diet soda for the first three days but stopped since it might be considered food. He also outlasted Gandhi's Great fast of 1924 by four days. Randy Shaw, *Beyond the Fields: César Chávez, the UFW, and the Struggle for Justice in the 21st Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 9; Rajmohan Gandhi, *Gandhi: The Man, His People, and the Empire* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 273–274; "César's War," *Time Magazine*, March 22, 1968; *El Malcriado*, March 15, 1968, Volume 2, Number 2 edition, Joseph Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library.

<sup>351</sup> Levy, *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*, 273–277; Roger Burns, *Cesar Chavez: A Biography* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2005), 61–77.

<sup>352</sup> Matthiessen, "Profiles: Organizer-I," 64.

<sup>353</sup> Jorge Mariscal, "Negotiating César," in *César Chávez*, ed. Ilan Stavans (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Press, ABC-CLIO, LLC, 2010), 21.

<sup>354</sup> Matthiessen, "Profiles: Organizer-II," 71; Wallace Turner, "Head of Farm Workers Union Ends 25-Day Fast in California," *New York Times*, March 10, 1968, 22; "10,000 Mass in Gran Fiesta," *El Malcriado*, March 15, 1968, Volume 2, Number 2 edition, 3, Joseph Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library.

<sup>355</sup> César Chávez, "Statement by César Chávez on the Conclusion of a Twenty-Five Day Fast For Nonviolence," March 10, 1968, Series I, Box 4, Folder 3, The United Farm Workers Office of the President Collection, Archives of Labor and Union Affairs, Wayne State University.



I am convinced that the truest act of courage, the strongest act of manliness is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a totally non-violent struggle for justice. To be a man is to suffer for others. [sic] God help us to be men!<sup>356</sup>

The Spanish version of the speech, read first at the gathering, translated “manliness” as “machismo,” an implicit connection to the cultural history of machismo in U.S. English.<sup>357</sup> One reporter at the gathering went so far as to interpret this moment as “[Chávez] wanted to disabuse Mexican-Americans of the traditional belief in *machismo*—the test of manliness through violence.”<sup>358</sup> Thus, Chávez’s message reformed machismo to signify nonviolence and self-sacrifice.<sup>359</sup>

In several subsequent speeches, Chávez reiterated his new message of machismo as sacrifice. For example, in a speech for Senator Robert Kennedy's 1968 presidential campaign, Chávez promoted nonviolence and jokingly referred to machismo as the opposite, “like a rooster on tequila.”<sup>360</sup> Although his speech notes do not include the full joke, it suggested that Chávez made folly of certain attributes that many considered macho including drinking alcoholic beverages. In its place, he proposed a notion of machismo rejected such forms and instead was committed to sacrifice.

Chávez was more direct three years later as he spoke about a farm worker boycott to an audience of mostly middle class Chicana/os. He warned against the trap of materialism that

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<sup>356</sup> Ibid.

<sup>357</sup> A pamphlet published in Mexico with Chávez’s speech translated manliness as “*virilidad*” (virility) instead of machismo. This suggests that the word machismo was popularly used in the United States. G. Yamada, ed., “La Liberación Por La No Violencia” (Editorial Tlilan Tlalpan, March 1968), 1, Series I, Box 4, Folder 3, United Farm Workers, Office of the President, César Chávez, Archives of Labor and Union Affairs, Wayne State University.

<sup>358</sup> Richard L. Tobin, “The Revolution Is Not Coming. It Is Here,” *Saturday Review*, August 17, 1968, 63.

<sup>359</sup> For another discussion of how Chávez is anti-*macho*, please see: Luis Leon, “César Chávez, Christian Love, and the Myth of (Anti)Machismo,” in *Out of the Shadows into the Light: Christianity and Homosexuality*, ed. Miguel A. De La Torre (St. Louis, Missouri: Chalice Press, 2009), 88–89.

<sup>360</sup> Translation: “You cannot be a man without suffering.” César Chávez, “Speech Notes” (The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee Collection, n.d.), Box 7, Folder 7, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Wayne State University.

prompted machos to spend more time at the bar rather than at home or fighting for their rights.<sup>361</sup> In this instance, Chávez again sought to redefine the definition of machismo for his own ends. “A true *macho*,” he claimed, “is capable of sacrificing himself for what justly should be his.”<sup>362</sup> Chávez saw sacrifice as the most authentic measure of a man’s worth and he repudiated all other notions.

Even with Chávez’s allowance of machismo as sacrifice, the leaders of United Farm Workers still believed it was a threat to their nonviolent union organizing. They created a proposal that detailed a two year nonviolent training program for their organizers as they believed nonviolence was a constant endeavor.<sup>363</sup> Since the UFW would not win their historic farm workers contract until the following year, this proposal signifies Chávez’s continuing commitment to nonviolence following his fast.<sup>364</sup> In particular, the proposal emphasized the factor of machismo:

In the Mexican community there is the added question of *machisma* and *machismo*—the need to prove manhood and the idea that if a person does not return blow for blow that he is not *macho*. This is what the farm workers must deal with as they build their movement.<sup>365</sup>

For the organizing committee, machismo was an ingrained commitment to violence within their Mexican members that required training to overcome. Moreover, the inclusion of “machisma,” the feminized version of machismo, suggested that women were just as prone to violence as men.

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<sup>361</sup> William Hensey, Jr. and Larry Lyons, “Text of Chicano Report,” March 7, 1971, Series I, Box 8, Folder 11, The United Farm Workers Office of the President Collection, Archives of Labor and Union Affairs, Wayne State University.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>363</sup> “UFW Organizing Committee, Training in Nonviolence An Action Center Approach,” 1969, 1, 3–4, Box 46, Folder 10, The UFW Information and Research Department Collection, Archives of Labor and Union Affairs, Wayne State University.

<sup>364</sup> For a detailed account how the UFW attained their grower contracts in 1970, please see: Garcia, *From the Jaws of Victory: The Triumph and Tragedy of Cesar Chavez and the Farm Worker Movement*, Chapter 3.

<sup>365</sup> “UFW Organizing Committee, Training in Nonviolence An Action Center Approach,” 4.

However, this unusual reference to “machisma” apparently caused enough debate that it was edited out of an early draft yet the organizing committee retained its use in the final version. We can only speculate over the debate of including machisma, but its usage and attempted revision conveyed an anxiety among the leaders of the United Farm Workers over gendered notions of violence and machismo/machisma.<sup>366</sup>

Chávez himself could not escape these tense claims of machismo by the farm workers. One female aide accused him of being a macho: “You’re just as *macho* as all the rest; you think women are different!” “That’s right!” Chávez responded, “They’re all crazy!”<sup>367</sup> The biographer who documented this altercation did not contextualize the full discussion. However, this exchange further confirmed that machismo was discussed and its gendered tensions were seen as an impediment to the farm workers.

These oppositional and contentious notions of machismo were also reflected in the picket song “*La Purga de los Rancheros*” (1971) written by Francisco García.<sup>368</sup> The song praised the strength of the farm workers union and joked how the ranchers hid in restrooms from fear. It also devoted two of its six verses warning strikebreakers away including:

*A unos muy machos estas cosas les pasan.  
Como son muy gachos traicionan  
la raza. Se venden con los rancheros,  
Y los despachan para que traicionen a la misma raza.*<sup>369</sup>

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<sup>366</sup> I do not consider the UFW’s usage of machisma as a form of female masculinity. Instead, the leaders of the United Farm Workers were concerned how violence could easily occur by both men and women further necessitating the need for long-term training. For a more thorough discussion on female masculinity and especially threatening butches of color, please see: Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 1–6, 181–182.

<sup>367</sup> Matthiessen, *Sal Si Puedes: César Chávez and the New American Revolution*, 231.

<sup>368</sup> Translation: “The Purgative of the Ranchers.”

<sup>369</sup> Translation: “This happens to those who are very macho. Since they are despicable traitors, they betray their own people. They sellout to the growers, And they betray their own race.” Francisco Garcia, *La Purga de Los Rancheros* (New York City: Las Voces de los Campesinos, 1971), <http://farmworkermovement.com/media/voces/>.

In this song, strikebreakers are ridiculed for believing they were “macho” for crossing the UFW picket lines, positioning them opposed to “la raza.” Although these lighthearted lyrics do not directly criticize machismo or blame it for motivating strikebreakers, it does position “machos” as opposed to union and ethnic solidarity.

United Farm Worker founder and organizer Dolores Huerta also spoke several times in regards to machismo. In a 1973 newspaper interview about the political stances of the UFW, Huerta was asked directly, “Can you tell us something about machismo, and its effect on the women?” She offered a careful criticism and defined it as:

...like an inner strength that some people have and some people have more than others. Machismo in the real sense means “strength of a person.” It can be honest spiritual strength or fabricated strength from insecurity. Women are discriminated against because men are so insecure.<sup>370</sup>

Huerta’s definition differentiated machismo between “real” courageous machismo and a “fake” cynical machismo that she believed caused sexist attitudes. By praising the “real” machismo as a scarce yet noble characteristic, Huerta caused her readers to assess their notions of machismo. Moreover, this dissertation has documented this argument of “real” and “fake” machismo before among Latina/o academics, Young Lords, and Chicana feminists, where each claimed their own “real” notions. This differentiation demonstrated that there is an investment in keeping and redefining machismo in the Latina/o community.

Huerta again reclaimed machismo in a newspaper interview before her presentation on the farm workers and sex roles at Santa Clara University in 1976. She stated machismo was “neither a feminine [nor] masculine characteristic, but a term which applies to both” and

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<sup>370</sup> “Conversation with Dolores Huerta: A Merging of Roles,” *American Report*, November 26, 1973, Box 17, Folder 7, The UFW Information and Research Department Collection, Archives of Labor and Union Affairs, Wayne State University.

described it as “courage or guts which is held in both men and women.”<sup>371</sup> Huerta’s interpretation opened machismo to women, as seen before in the UFW nonviolence training proposal, and argued it was universal courage that anyone can have.

Chávez and other organizers in the UFW believed machismo existed and was an innately violent characteristic specific to Mexican culture. Even though Chávez later attempted to redefine machismo with self-sacrifice, the proposal for nonviolent training again reiterated their fears that violent machismo would impede their organizing efforts. Huerta’s latter discussions of machismo in the mid-1970s, though, exemplify that machismo was still an idea that the UFW was invested in, claiming it not as masculinity but as a universal and beneficial characteristic.

### ***Conclusion***

This chapter demonstrated how the ideology of nationalist machismo was central to the revolutionary identity proposed by Corky Gonzales and other affiliates of the Crusade for Justice, Chicano students, anti-war activists, and the Young Lords. While rooted in the previously discussed machismo model, nationalist machismo was advocated as a positive masculinity associated with patriarchy, willingness to use violence, honor, dignity, and courage. This notion of nationalist machismo was seen in poetry, speeches, political platforms, and songs of the Chicano movement and Young Lords Party. Its prevalence, though, was accompanied by male chauvinism, oppressing and placing female members in subservient roles.

Criticism of nationalist machismo emphasized how it impeded shared political goals. The leadership of the reformed Young Lords dismissed revolutionary machismo from their

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<sup>371</sup> Patricia Chavez, “Sexism Institute Speaker Urges Boycott of Lettuce,” *The Santa Clara*, Summer 1976, Box 17, Folder 7, The UFW Information and Research Department Collection, Archives of Labor and Union Affairs, Wayne State University.

platform, claiming it as European, capitalistic, oppressive, and incompatible with their third-world, socialist revolution. Chicana feminists also argued against nationalist machismo at conferences and in publications, questioning its productivity and as native to Chicana/o culture. César Chávez and the United Farm Workers also conversed over notions of machismo as they believed it caused tensions and violent inclinations within the multiracial, nonviolent union. After Chávez's first fast, however, he reversed his position by reforming machismo as a masculinity that valued self-sacrifice. Although he spoke at rallies about sacrificing to prove machismo, internal documents of the United Farm Workers demonstrated how the leadership of the United Farm Workers still believed machismo was a violent characteristic unique to all Mexicans, male and female. Negotiator and organizer Dolores Huerta, though, would later claim machismo as a genderless characteristic that reflected honor, courage and self-sacrifice.

Whether they accepted, rejected, or transformed machismo, these Latina/o activists believed it existed and used the idea, or argued against it, to organize and further their political agendas. While the prior chapter historicized the contentious social scientific machismo model and this chapter argued that many notions of machismo existed among Latina/o activist leaders of 1960s and 1970s, the following chapter will provide a case study where social scientists and activists debated the imagined connections between machismo and crime.



Figure 3.1. “The Macho’s Sombrero Sometimes Hides More Than His Head.” The author and original publication is unknown. The comic was reprinted in Dorinda Moreno’s *La Mujer-En Pie De Lucha* (1973).<sup>372</sup>

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<sup>372</sup> Dorinda Moreno, *La Mujer-En Pie De Lucha* (Mexico City: Espina Del Norte Publications, 1973). Accessed from the Joseph Labadie Collection, University of Michigan library.

## Chapter Four

### Criminalized Machismo:

#### Two Crimes, Two Speeches, and their News Coverage in 1974 Texas

This chapter is a case study of news reports covering two criminal cases that took place in Texas in 1974. An analysis of the media coverage of these two crimes reveals the emergence of what sociologists William A. Gamson and Andre Modigliani have called a “media frame” in which concepts of machismo were deployed that criminalized Mexican American masculinity. This analysis also reveals how the Latina/o community in South Texas worked to redefine machismo and disarticulate it from a discourse of criminality. A media frame is “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events.”<sup>373</sup> It proposes a straightforward narrative to explain news stories to media consumers, often continued if there is an interested audience. In what follows I examine two very different criminal cases to illuminate not only how the media frame structured public understandings of the connections between machismo and Mexican American criminality, but also the ways in which community members tried to change the media frame.

The first crime received widespread national attention. In 1974 heroin kingpin Fred Carrasco staged an eleven-day prison siege, in Huntsville, Texas. It was the longest prison siege in U.S. penal history.<sup>374</sup> The other crime, however, was only reported locally in San Antonio: A teenager murdered his friend after a fight. What these crimes have in common is their

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<sup>373</sup> Gamson and Modigliani, “The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action,” 143.

<sup>374</sup> “Huntsville Chronology,” *Dallas Morning News*, August 5, 1974, 3D.



perpetrators and place, Latino men in Texas. The language surrounding Carrasco's reputation as "El Señor" (The Man), though, led English-language news reporters to imagine a sensationalized media frame where machismo was the motive for violent acts. In response, the Latina/o community in South Texas contested how this media frame implied that their culture was complicit with murder and criminal behavior through their own "frame": *narcocorridos* (ballads), editorials, letters, and community organizing.<sup>375</sup> This required a careful negotiation amongst themselves first, then with the *San Antonio News* newspaper, of their notion of machismo as honorable.<sup>376</sup>

Central to this chapter is a historical understanding of the representations of Latino men in U.S. newspapers. By the 1970s, most national newspapers printed statements against racial profiling their stories.<sup>377</sup> The geopolitical context of South Texas, however, complicated this awareness as the region was still recovering from Jim Crow segregation that would not fully erode until the following decade.<sup>378</sup> Moreover, the Nixon administration's 1971 War on Drugs

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<sup>375</sup> A common stereotype about Mexican culture is that it harbors murderous tendencies due to the indigenous part of the culture. For instance, during the Sleepy Lagoon Trial of 1942, Los Angeles police lieutenant Edward Duran Ayres testified that youth of Mexican descent were prone to murder due to their Aztec roots, which had a "disregard for human life" as evidenced by historical human sacrifices. Contreras, *Blood Lines: Myth, Indigenism, and Chicana/o Literature*, 75–76. A *narcocorrido* is a musical narrative that extols heroic instances of smuggling and selling narcotics. Mark Cameron Edberg, *El Narcotraficante: Narcocorridos and the Construction of a Cultural Persona on the U.S.-Mexico Border*, Inter-America Series (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 1, 31.

<sup>376</sup> I am applying Ben. V. Olguín's theory of Chicana/o's complex notions of criminality. He argues "it is hegemonic and counterhegemonic—and sometimes both simultaneously" and includes a spectrum of conduct and prisoner agency. B.V. Olguín, *La Pinta: Chicana/o Prisoner Literature, Culture, and Politics* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 23.

<sup>377</sup> For example, the conservative *Chicago Tribune* printed several articles against racial profiling, police brutality against African Americans, and biased court rulings. Dawn Rae Flood, *Rape in Chicago: Race, Myth, and the Courts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012), 147. The first generation of African American journalists to integrate news organizations began in the 1950s. However, it was a slow process as only 3.95 percent of print journalists were minorities in 1978. Paul Delaney, "The Black Vanguard Integrates Newsrooms," in *Defining Moments in Journalism*, ed. Nancy J. Woodhull and Robert W. Snyder (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1998), 19; Virginia Escalante, "The Politics of Chicano Representation in the Media," in *The Chicano Renaissance: Contemporary Cultural Trends*, ed. David R. Maciel, Isidro D. Ortiz, and María Herrera-Sobek (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000), 140.

<sup>378</sup> Cynthia E. Orozco, *No Mexicans, Women, or Dogs Allowed: The Rise of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), ix. David Montejano argues that the end of Jim Crow racism was caused by the need for labor in World War II, mechanization of agriculture, and shifting political power to

depicted drug users as a public menace on par with drug distributors.<sup>379</sup> Thus, representations of Latina/os as criminals was overgeneralized and common in Texas print media.

Latina/o protests against these negative stereotypes in American media was not new. By 1970, Chicana/o activists had protested the Academy Awards, television programs, and advertisers for their depictions of Mexican characters as bandits.<sup>380</sup> The following year, Chicana/o activists organized with enough political allies to end the Frito-Lay Company's use of the "Frito Bandito," a cartoon character who sang songs about stealing corn chips.<sup>381</sup> Chicana/o journalists, who author Tomás Rivera called "without a doubt the most aggressive arm of the Chicanos," organized and led these efforts through news articles and editorials.<sup>382</sup> Hence, in 1974 when news reports criminalized machismo and its embodiment in the Chicano male, Latina/o activists were experienced and ready to respond against the established news media.<sup>383</sup>

My argument in this chapter will be elaborated in three sections. The first provides a biography of Fred Carrasco and analyzes the instances machismo appeared in print media during his Huntsville prison siege. The next section investigates how U.S. journalists applied these

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urban centers, and that it culminated with the Civil Rights movements of the 1960s. David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), Chapter 12. The segregation index for San Antonio was high in the 1960s and comparable to that of Los Angeles in 2000, but decreased the following decades. Edward E. Telles and Vilma Ortiz, *Generation of Exclusion: Mexican Americans, Assimilation, and Race* (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 2008), 96, 162.

<sup>379</sup> America's war against drug use began in 1914 with the Harrison Narcotics Tax Act that banned opiates. However, the Nixon administration's 1971 War on Drugs focused both on production and the consumption of narcotics. Andrew B. Whitford, *Presidential Rhetoric and the Public Agenda: Constructing the War on Drugs* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 34–42; Eva Bertram et al., *Drug War Politics: The Price of Denial* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 9–10.

<sup>380</sup> Chon A. Noriega, *Shot in America: Television, the State, and the Rise of Chicano Cinema* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 28.

<sup>381</sup> Translation: "Ballads." Ibid., 34–41.

<sup>382</sup> Chicano journalism has a long history with more than five hundred newspapers in existence between 1848 and 1958. Tomás Rivera, *Tomás Rivera: The Complete Works*, ed. Julián Olivares (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1992), 263. Author Rudolfo Anaya also believed Chicana/o journalists were just as influential and important as the artists of the Chicano moment. Joe Olvera, *Chicano - Sin Fin!* (El Paso: Zapata 1910 Press, 2007), xi–xii.

<sup>383</sup> Donna L. Dickerson, "Framing 'Political Correctness': The New York Times' Tale of Two Professors," in *Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World*, ed. Stephen D. Reese, Oscar H. Gandy, Jr., and August E. Grant (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001), 173.

notions of criminalized machismo to the reports of Mexican President Luis Echeverría's fourth State of the Nation address, in which he promised educational and employment opportunities for women. Carmen Maymi, national director of the U.S. Labor Department's Women Bureau, responded to these reports in two of her speeches. She agreed with the extant media frame, describing machismo as an external impediment to women's employment opportunities as well as an internal one affecting women's self-confidence. The last section will end the chapter with a discussion of the controversy and protest surrounding the media representation of a murder by a teenager, allegedly to prove his machismo. The response from the Latina/o community in South Texas to these news reports is threaded throughout the chapter, as it redefined machismo through various rhetorical strategies: first, that machismo was central to their culture, and second that it was a mode of masculinity that emphasized honor and responsibility.

### ***Fred Carrasco: A Lifetime Criminal***

Carrasco's criminal history began at an early age. Before age nineteen, he was arrested six times on various misdemeanors.<sup>384</sup> His seventh arrest, however, was for the murder of another teenage boy who had danced with a girl Carrasco admired.<sup>385</sup> Carrasco pleaded guilty to a lesser offense of murder without malice and paroled after serving twenty months. He returned to prison shortly afterward, however, when authorities caught him selling heroin.<sup>386</sup> Carrasco

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<sup>384</sup> Nathan Sherman, "Who Was Carrasco? Nobody Remembers," *San Antonio Express-News*, August 4, 1974, 3–A.

<sup>385</sup> Gregg Barrios, "The Outlaw King; The Sound and Fury of Fred Gomez Carrasco," *San Antonio Express-News*, July 22, 2001, sec. Insight, 1G; Fred Carrasco, "Diary Details Carrasco's Early Start on Life and Crime," trans. Gregg Barrios, *San Antonio Express-News*, July 22, 2001, sec. Insight, 1G; Tommy Miller, "Carrasco's Conflict with the Law Began 15 Years Ago with a Fight," *Houston Chronicle*, July 25, 1974; Nathan Sherman, "Carrasco's Story: Violence and Dope," *San Antonio Express-News*, July 28, 1974; Sherman, "Who Was Carrasco? Nobody Remembers," 3–A; "Carrasco's Past: Drugs and Prison," *New York Times*, August 4, 1974, 29.

<sup>386</sup> Jay Dorman and John Ira Petty, "10 Held by Huntsville Inmate," *Houston Post*, July 25, 1974, 25A; Miller, "Carrasco's Conflict with the Law Began 15 Years Ago with a Fight"; Barrios, "The Outlaw King; The Sound and Fury of Fred Gomez Carrasco," 1G; Sherman, "Carrasco's Story: Violence and Dope"; "Carrasco's Past: Drugs and Prison," 29; Wilson McKinney, *Fred Carrasco: The Heroin Merchant* (Austin: Heidelberg Publishers, Inc., 1975), 21–22.

again earned an early release because he served as a model prisoner for two-thirds of his time. Upon his release however, Carrasco returned to the heroin trade, eventually organizing his own cartel that reached from Texas to Mexico.<sup>387</sup> His exploits inspired a *narcocorrido* that Mexican Americans sang and danced to in San Antonio dance halls.<sup>388</sup> Carrasco added to his fame by playing with children at playgrounds, giving them candy and a message for their parents, “Go home and tell your parents you played with Carrasco.”<sup>389</sup> His adventures, however, came to an end in October of 1972. In an attempt to overtake his multimillion dollar drug cartel, several of Carrasco’s associates allegedly aided Mexican authorities in capturing him.<sup>390</sup> Carrasco, members of his family, and other associates were captured with 213 pounds of heroin (worth \$100 million) and a large cache of firearms.<sup>391</sup> After spending a few months in jail, Carrasco paid a bribe and escaped by hiding inside a laundry truck.<sup>392</sup> He returned to Texas, where some of his former associates were found assassinated.<sup>393</sup> Witnesses and speculation suggested Carrasco was taking his revenge.<sup>394</sup>

In response to the murders, Texan authorities launched one of the largest manhunts ever in South Texas. A U.S. customs agent who was part of the search remarked that Carrasco “fancies himself as a bandido, the machismo thing is big; His people look up to him as an all-

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<sup>387</sup> Carrasco had two prior criminal organizations dispersed by successful police investigations. McKinney, *Fred Carrasco: The Heroin Merchant*, 24–33, 91; Dorman and Petty, “10 Held by Huntsville Inmate,” 25A; Miller, “Carrasco’s Conflict with the Law Began 15 Years Ago with a Fight”; Barrios, “The Outlaw King; The Sound and Fury of Fred Gomez Carrasco,” 1G; Sherman, “Carrasco’s Story: Violence and Dope”; “Carrasco’s Past: Drugs and Prison,” 29.

<sup>388</sup> Miller, “Carrasco’s Conflict with the Law Began 15 Years Ago with a Fight.”

<sup>389</sup> Maryln Schwartz, “Fred Gomez Carrasco: The Myth and the Man,” *The Dallas Morning News*, August 7, 1974, 8A.

<sup>390</sup> Post News Service, “Carrasco’s ‘Legend’ Growing,” *Houston Post*, July 26, 1974.

<sup>391</sup> Gregory Curtis, “The Strange Power of Fred Carrasco,” *Texas Monthly*, October 1974, 100.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, 100–102.

<sup>393</sup> William T. Harper, *Eleven Days in Hell: The 1974 Carrasco Prison Siege in Huntsville, Texas* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2004), 67; Miller, “Carrasco’s Conflict with the Law Began 15 Years Ago with a Fight”; Post News Service, “Carrasco’s ‘Legend’ Growing.”

<sup>394</sup> Sherman, “Who Was Carrasco? Nobody Remembers,” 3–A; Miller, “Carrasco’s Conflict with the Law Began 15 Years Ago with a Fight.”

man type.”<sup>395</sup> This is the first instance in which Carrasco was described as a macho in newsprint and was later quoted again by journalists to detail the severity of the prison siege. Although Carrasco was a kingpin of an international drug cartel, the agent called him a mere bandit, a stereotype of Latino men as dishonest, treacherous, irrational, and violent robbers who were commonly the villains in contemporary Western films.<sup>396</sup> The agent also exposed his notions of machismo as a type of celebrated manhood to explain Carrasco’s popularity in the Latina/o community. This explanation for Carrasco’s fame based solely on his manhood, though, is unfulfilling as it implicated all Latina/os as admiring machismo regardless of their circumstances. Rather, working-class Mexicans have tended to identify with outlaws who resisted oppression or supported particular political issues, viewing them as revolutionaries and not bandits.<sup>397</sup> In Carrasco’s case, his luxurious lifestyle represented a different life away from the impoverished and segregated Mexican American communities, while his trafficking symbolized a challenge to arbitrary smuggling laws that border residents contended with

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<sup>395</sup> Law officers also commonly referred to Carrasco as the “ghost” and the “phantom” because he successfully eluded the manhunt for months. “Carrasco’s Troubled and Violent Life,” *San Antonio Express*, July 25, 1974, 16–A; Miller, “Carrasco’s Conflict with the Law Began 15 Years Ago with a Fight”; Mary Lou Parker, “Violence Built Carrasco Legend,” *San Antonio Express-News*, July 28, 1974, 6–A.

<sup>396</sup> The bandit stereotype originated in nineteenth-century dime novels. A popular creation of the bandit at the time, as previously mentioned, was the cartoon character Frito Bandito, who debuted in 1968. Sporting an oversized sombrero and curving mustache, he sang about stealing Frito chips. Charles Ramírez Berg, *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, and Resistance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 68; Juan José Alonzo, *Badmen, Bandits, and Folk Heroes: The Ambivalence of Mexican American Identity in Literature and Film* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 15; Anne Dingus, “Adios, Bandito,” *Texas Monthly*, January 1986, 187.

<sup>397</sup> A notable example of how Mexican Americans celebrated acts of resistance was the story of sharecropper Gregorio Cortez who was accused of horse theft in Central Texas in 1901. After being confronted by law enforcement, a misunderstanding in language translation led to a shootout where Cortez’s brother was wounded and a sheriff was killed. Cortez then fled into South Texas, evading capture, killed another sheriff, and finally turned himself in once he learned of the reprisals his family and other Mexicans faced. His story, trial, conviction, and pardon by the Euro American Texas governor was sung about throughout the Mexican American community as a praiseworthy example of resistance, social protest, and a Corrido Hero. Américo Paredes, *With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad And Its Hero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958); Ramón Saldívar, *Chicano Narrative: The Dialectics of Difference* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 27–28; Chris Frazer, *Bandit Nation: A History of Outlaws and Cultural Struggle in Mexico, 1810-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006), vii–2; E.J. Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels; Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester, England: University Press, 1959), Chapter 2.

whenever they crossed the U.S.-Mexican border.<sup>398</sup> Thus, it is no surprise that Carrasco found some admiration amongst the Latina/o community. This first instance exposed ignorance by the agent concerning Carrasco's reputation and also how, for Latina/os, the notion of machismo and manhood were commonly conflated.

After months of stakeouts, authorities finally found Carrasco at a motel in San Antonio. He engaged in a shootout with at least thirty policemen that left him with four gunshot wounds. Afterwards, he needed to walk with a cane.<sup>399</sup> A new *narcocorrido* titled "*El Corrido de Alfredo Carrasco*" played throughout bars in South Texas that told of this chapter in Carrasco's life ending. It commended the authorities for a successful manhunt and praised Carrasco for fighting until he was critically injured.<sup>400</sup> The ballad, however, cautioned that Carrasco's story was not over.<sup>401</sup>

A year and two days after his capture, Carrasco lived up to this warning: along with two other inmates, Rudy Dominguez and Ignacio Cuevas, Carrasco used smuggled handguns to seize the third-floor prison library, taking more than eighty people hostage.<sup>402</sup> The eleven-day prison

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<sup>398</sup> Américo Paredes, *A Texas-Mexican "Cancionero: Folk songs of the Lower Border* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 42, 96–97; David Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers: A Local History of the Chicano Movement, 1966–1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 214, 218–220.

<sup>399</sup> Miller, "Carrasco's Conflict with the Law Began 15 Years Ago with a Fight"; Harper, *Eleven Days in Hell: The 1974 Carrasco Prison Siege in Huntsville, Texas*, 23; McKinney, *Fred Carrasco: The Heroin Merchant*, 209; United Press International, "Suspect in Drug War Deaths of 45 Shot, Captured," *Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 1973, 45.

<sup>400</sup> Translation: "The Ballad of Alfred Carrasco." The ballad was written by Daniel Garcez and Salomé Gutierrez. Olguín, *La Pinta: Chicana/o Prisoner Literature, Culture, and Politics*, 179–181; Post News Service, "Carrasco's 'Legend' Growing"; McKinney, *Fred Carrasco: The Heroin Merchant*, 209–211.

<sup>401</sup> Olguín, *La Pinta: Chicana/o Prisoner Literature, Culture, and Politics*, 179–181; Post News Service, "Carrasco's 'Legend' Growing."

<sup>402</sup> Harper, *Eleven Days in Hell: The 1974 Carrasco Prison Siege in Huntsville, Texas*, 3–10. Carrasco was serving a life sentence for assault to murder a police officer, Dominguez was serving a fifteen-year sentence for assault to murder, and Cuevas was serving a forty-five year sentence for murder. Larry Cooper, "I've Got Plenty of Ammo And I'll Use It -- Carrasco," *Houston Chronicle*, July 27, 1974, 3; Larry Cooper, "Carrasco Gives Phone Interviews," *Houston Chronicle*, July 28, 1974. The only entrance to the library was a hundred-foot concrete ramp that zigzagged into four right-angled turns leading to the recreation yard two floors below; this impeded any rescue attempt. Harper, *Eleven Days in Hell: The 1974 Carrasco Prison Siege in Huntsville, Texas*, 15.

siege was the longest siege in U.S. penal history. As a point of comparison, it is important to remember that the Attica siege in 1971 New York lasted only four days. The Texas incident featured erratic negotiations, hostage releases/escapes, and, finally, a shootout that killed Carrasco, Dominguez, and hostages Julia Standley and Elizabeth Besed.<sup>403</sup> Newspapers followed every moment, publishing daily updates on the siege, even including telephone interviews with the captors and hostages.<sup>404</sup> Initial news stories described Carrasco with numerous phrases: “machismo,” “bandido,” “Modern Pancho Villa,” “El Señor,” “underworld king,” “a genuine Texas outlaw,” and a “ruthless killer.”<sup>405</sup> Reporters and prison officials employed machismo, in particular, to describe Carrasco’s irrational behavior that began with his first demand. Rather than demand safe transportation out of the prison, Carrasco wanted to see inmate David Robles, a prison writ-writer. Some then assumed that the siege was for prison reforms similar to Attica.<sup>406</sup> Robles, however, left the library soon after meeting with Carrasco, stating that he “wanted no part of it.”<sup>407</sup> Confused, the prison chaplain, Father Joseph O’Brien,

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<sup>403</sup> “Huntsville Chronology,” 3D. For a more detailed account of the prison siege, please see Harper, *Eleven Days in Hell: The 1974 Carrasco Prison Siege in Huntsville, Texas*; Aline House, *The Carrasco Tragedy: Eleven Days of Terror in the Huntsville Prison* (Waco, Texas: Texian Press, 1975). Juanita Díaz-Cotto, *Gender, Ethnicity, and the State: Latina and Latino Prison Politics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), Chapter 3; Robert Torricelli and Andrew Carroll, eds., *In Our Own Words: Extraordinary Speeches of the American Century* (New York: Washington Square Press, 1999), 299–302.

<sup>404</sup> This included *The New York Times* with a national circulation. Barrios, “The Outlaw King; The Sound and Fury of Fred Gomez Carrasco,” 1G; Jim Maloney, “2 Women Set Example in Ordeal at Prison,” *Houston Post*, July 26, 1974; Harper, *Eleven Days in Hell: The 1974 Carrasco Prison Siege in Huntsville, Texas*, 276.

<sup>405</sup> Carrasco allegedly committed more murders than Billy the Kid and Bonnie and Clyde combined. Post News Service, “Carrasco’s ‘Legend’ Growing”; Parker, “Violence Built Carrasco Legend,” 6–A; “Carrasco’s Troubled and Violent Life,” 16–A; Gloria Delgado, “Carrasco: Dangerous, Unusual ‘Gentleman:’ Another Side of ‘El Señor,’” *San Antonio Express-News*, July 27, 1974, 3–A; Post News Service, “Carrasco’s ‘Legend’ Growing.”

<sup>406</sup> Dorman and Petty, “10 Held by Huntsville Inmate,” 25A; Michael Berryhill, *The Trials of Eroy Brown: The Murder Case That Shook the Texas Prison System* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 29. At the time of the siege, the Texas Department of Corrections was under a legislative investigation for the alleged physical punishment of ten inmates who refused fieldwork on Father’s Day of 1973. *Ibid.*, 27–29.

<sup>407</sup> Robles was in critical condition at the prison’s hospital and was about to undergo surgery, but he left the hospital anyway to speak with Carrasco. Dorman and Petty, “10 Held by Huntsville Inmate,” 25A; Berryhill, *The Trials of Eroy Brown: The Murder Case That Shook the Texas Prison System*, 29. When asked later about his meeting with Robles, Carrasco said “I feel sorry for the man because he’s trying to reform the penal system” while suffering from his debilitating disease. “Carrasco Converses With Newsmen,” *Dallas Morning News*, July 26, 1974, 2E.

entered the library to negotiate. When asked if the siege was about prison reforms, Carrasco clarified, “Of course not. This is an escape!”<sup>408</sup> Although Father O’Brien told Carrasco “You can’t win!” as the Texas Department of Corrections had a non-negotiation policy for hostages, Carrasco believed the prison officials would relent. He then demanded blankets, pillows, cigarettes, and coffee.<sup>409</sup> This set the stage for the prison siege as a haphazard effort because Carrasco was intent on barricading himself in the library with prison staff members who signed the prison policy of non-negotiation if taken hostage.

Reporters and law-enforcement officials later attributed Carrasco’s irrational behavior — which included a volatile temperament and erratic demands — to machismo. However, early news articles depicted him as calm and open to negotiation.<sup>410</sup> For example, Carrasco initially exchanged fifty-six inmate hostages for fifteen pairs of handcuffs and a television.<sup>411</sup> Nevertheless, this lenient attitude changed, as Carrasco began setting abrupt deadlines. He threatened to shoot the hostages if he did not receive rifles, ammunition, body armor, and two-way radios. Moreover, he asked for brand name suits and steak dinners.<sup>412</sup> When prison

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<sup>408</sup> “Interview with O’Brien,” August 12, 1974, Carrasco tapes, Texas Department of Criminal Justice, Archives and Information Services Division, Texas State Library and Archives Commission, 1999/113-Audio 61; James P. Sterba, “‘I’m Ready for Anything,’ Texas Prison Inmate Says,” *New York Times*, July 28, 1974, 42. In the Attica prison siege, inmates held prison employees hostage in the hopes of gaining improved prison facilities/programs; three demands were specific to Latino prisoners. Díaz-Cotto, *Gender, Ethnicity, and the State: Latina and Latino Prison Politics*, 63. For several examples of twentieth-century prison reforms that promoted rehabilitation over punishment, please see Theodore L. Dorpat, *Crimes of Punishment: America’s Culture of Violence* (New York: Algora, 2007), Chapter 8.

<sup>409</sup> Sterba, “‘I’m Ready for Anything,’ Texas Prison Inmate Says,” 42; Joseph J. O’Brien, “‘...some Would Never Survive,’” *The Huntsville Item*, September 4, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; Dorman and Petty, “10 Held by Huntsville Inmate,” 25A; O’Brien, “‘...some Would Never Survive.’”

<sup>410</sup> Sterba, “‘I’m Ready for Anything,’ Texas Prison Inmate Says,” 42.

<sup>411</sup> Harper, *Eleven Days in Hell: The 1974 Carrasco Prison Siege in Huntsville, Texas*, 36, 40.

<sup>412</sup> Carrasco also demanded M16 rifles, ammunition, bullet-proof helmets and vests, two-way radio transceivers, suits and ties, and dress shoes. Carl Freund, “Softer Stance By Carrasco Being Hinted,” *The Dallas Morning News*, July 26, 1974, 1A; Carl Freud, “Deadlines Go As Carrasco Still Bargains,” *The Dallas Morning News*, July 26, 1974; “Many Adjectives Fit Carrasco,” *Dallas Morning News*, August 3, 1974, 12A; Cooper, “‘I’ve Got Plenty of Ammo And I’ll Use It’ -- Carrasco,” 1; Dorman and Petty, “10 Held by Huntsville Inmate,” 1.



authorities sent Carrasco the expensive suits, however, he angrily called them “rags.”<sup>413</sup> He also ridiculed the helmets and two-way radios he received as “Mickey Mouse” and fired a barrage of bullets to emphasize his demand for new ones.<sup>414</sup> Carrasco was once again amicable after receiving the upgraded items, and even dropped his demand for rifles, but then threatened to “blow up a hostage in 15 minutes” with a crude bomb if he did not receive three bulletproof vests.<sup>415</sup> After additional negotiations, Carrasco agreed to extend the deadline to 8 a.m. The following morning, he slept past the new deadline and then forgot about it entirely. Carrasco continued to threaten, “Meet my demands or prepare for war!”<sup>416</sup> This indecisive pattern was called a “game” by one reporter and hindered any progress in negotiations, as any agreement from Carrasco was followed by a threat and another abrupt deadline.<sup>417</sup>

Carrasco was also prone to boasting and exaggeration, which only added to the impression that he was irrational. When asked how he attained firearms in the prison, Carrasco lied, claiming he bribed Major Andre Murdock, a high ranking security officer for the Texas Department of Corrections, with \$25,000 to obtain the weapons.<sup>418</sup> This allegation that Carrasco

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<sup>413</sup> “‘Rags’ Cost \$600,” *San Antonio Express*, July 29, 1974, 3–A.

<sup>414</sup> “‘Respects Human Life:’ Carrasco Says He Doesn’t Want to Harm His Innocent Hostages,” *Houston Chronicle*, July 27, 1974; Sharon Cobler, “Death Pleas By Hostages Ring Fear,” *The Dallas Morning News*, July 28, 1974, 20 A; Cooper, “‘I’ve Got Plenty of Ammo And I’ll Use It’ -- Carrasco,” 1; Tommy Miller and King Waters, “Prison Officials, Carrasco Reach Impasse in Talks,” *Houston Chronicle*, July 30, 1974, 1.

<sup>415</sup> Carl Freud, “Carrasco Drops Rifle Demands,” *The Dallas Morning News*, August 1, 1974; Larry Cooper, “Woman Hostage Threatened By Carrasco Bomb,” *Houston Chronicle*, July 31, 1974; Miller and Waters, “Prison Officials, Carrasco Reach Impasse in Talks”; Larry Cooper and Tommy Miller, “Carrasco Is Talking Now of Cuba Trip,” *Houston Chronicle*, July 28, 1974, 1; Carl Freund, “Carrasco Issues Bomb Deadline,” *The Dallas Morning News*, July 31, 1974; “Librarian Sounded Scared,” *The Dallas Morning News*, July 26, 1974, 3E.

<sup>416</sup> “Inmates Threaten War; Carrasco Sleeps Past Early Bomb Deadline,” *The Huntsville Item*, July 31, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station.

<sup>417</sup> David Lindsey, “Negotiation Game Starts at 10 A.m.,” *Huntsville Item*, July 26, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station.

<sup>418</sup> The guns and ammunition were smuggled into the prison in cans of spoiled ham and peaches. Carl Freud, “Shots Fired at Huntsville,” *Dallas Morning News*, July 27, 1974; “‘Respects Human Life:’ Carrasco Says He Doesn’t Want to Harm His Innocent Hostages”; “Carrasco’s Past: Drugs and Prison,” 29; Freund, “Softer Stance By Carrasco Being Hinted”; Harper, *Eleven Days in Hell: The 1974 Carrasco Prison Siege in Huntsville, Texas*, 54; King Waters and Larry Cooper, “Prison Head Says Talks With Carrasco on Upturn,” *Houston Chronicle*, July 26, 1974; “Guns Unseen in Ham, Cans,” *The Huntsville Item*, September 6, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing

was able to payoff prison officials to aid his escape plan was printed in many newspapers alongside his taunts: “Be man enough to realize that I saw your weaknesses and took advantage of them.”<sup>419</sup> Carrasco made other boasts that mentioned manhood, such as how he was “a big man with big power in South Texas” who killed “40, 50, 60 – I don’t know how many persons.”<sup>420</sup> Moreover, when asked why he was attempting to escape, Carrasco responded, “We’re all men. And we’re tired of being tied down. I will die if necessary for my liberty.”<sup>421</sup> This constant boasting made any of his statements doubtful as it seemed Carrasco was intent on promoting his criminal image for newspapers, which then interpreted his taunts as evidence of his obsession with machismo, even though he did not use the word.<sup>422</sup>

Carrasco’s interviews were also racially charged. He often insulted prison officials and reporters by calling them “rednecks” and even called Texas Governor Dolph Briscoe a “tobacco-chewing redneck.”<sup>423</sup> When a reporter asked Carrasco about his destination if freed, Carrasco answered, “We are going where we will not see the face of the gringos again” and suggested he

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Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; Schwartz, “Fred Gomez Carrasco: The Myth and the Man,” 8A; “Prison Director Denies Murdock Provided Guns,” *The Dallas Morning News*, July 30, 1974, 6 A.

<sup>419</sup> Gloria Delgado, “Carrasco Vows Escape Today,” *San Antonio Express-News*, July 27, 1974, 2A; Larry Cooper and King Waters, “Carrasco Won’t Give Up 13 For Armored Truck,” *Houston Chronicle*, August 2, 1974, 23.

<sup>420</sup> Schwartz, “Fred Gomez Carrasco: The Myth and the Man,” 8A; “‘Respects Human Life:’ Carrasco Says He Doesn’t Want to Harm His Innocent Hostages”; Post News Service, “Carrasco’s ‘Legend’ Growing”; “Carrasco’s Past: Drugs and Prison,” 29.

<sup>421</sup> Delgado, “Carrasco Vows Escape Today,” 2–A.

<sup>422</sup> To monitor his representation in the press, Carrasco demanded six different newspapers daily and even threatened to shoot a hostage if his interviews were not televised. Authorities allowed Carrasco access to the media, giving them more time to look for a solution. “Many Adjectives Fit Carrasco,” 12A; Nicholas C. Chriss, “4 Killed as Texas Prison Siege Ends,” *Los Angeles Times*, August 4, 1974.

<sup>423</sup> Another instance when Carrasco issued discriminatory remarks occurred when reporter Cal Thomas offered a plan for Carrasco to investigate the efficiency of the Texas prison system. Carrasco called it “garbage,” called Thomas a “redneck,” and hung up. Carrasco also referred to Anglos as “*los pesquesos colorados*” (rednecks) in his Spanish interviews. “3 ‘Willing to Die’; Say No Surrender,” *The Huntsville Item*, July 28, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; “Gov. Briscoe Said ‘Redneck,’” *The Huntsville Item*, July 31, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; “Federico Gomez Carrasco,” *Chicano Times*, August 2, 1974, Vol. V, No. 49 edition, 3, Special Collections, Ethnic Study Collection, Latin American and Latino History and Culture, Michigan State University Library.

would set out for Cuba by either submarine or helicopter.<sup>424</sup> Carrasco later clarified that his remarks were not only about all “gringos” but intended to criticize “the system” in which selling narcotics was his only way to make a living:<sup>425</sup>

I did not take a straight career because I saw the injustice of the system. I could have chosen to be a doctor or a lawyer, but I would have been part of the system... The truth is I didn't have the heart that Henry B. Gonzalez has. I didn't have the heart to live with the system as this congressman from San Antonio has.<sup>426</sup>

By blaming “the system” and contrasting himself with Congressman González, a vocal opponent of Mexican American civil rights organizations, Carrasco again attempted to increase his popularity by implicitly allying himself with the Chicano movement.<sup>427</sup> Moreover, these comments represented his attempt to absolve himself of responsibility by blaming racism for forcing him into a life of crime.

Carrasco was also fatalistic. He exhorted how he was willing to “die like a man” and dared prison authorities to enter the library and face a shootout, adding, “If I die today or tomorrow—it's all the same to me. Destiny is destiny.”<sup>428</sup> Carrasco's accomplices shared this

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<sup>424</sup> Carrasco joked that Castro would welcome him with a piece of sugar cane. He later admitted the thought of using a submarine was also a joke. Delgado, “Carrasco Vows Escape Today”; Carl Freud, “Carrasco Bares Escape Plan,” *The Dallas Morning News*, July 28, 1974; “Carrasco Wants To Go To Cuba,” *San Antonio Express-News*, July 28, 1974, 5-A; Cooper and Miller, “Carrasco Is Talking Now of Cuba Trip,” 20; Freud, “Deadlines Go As Carrasco Still Bargains”; “Carrasco Converses With Newsmen,” 2E.

<sup>425</sup> “Three Heroes,” *Houston Chronicle*, August 5, 1974; “Gonzalez: Carrasco Evil Symbol,” *San Antonio Express-News*, August 10, 1974, sec. 1-B; “Federico Gomez Carrasco,” 3.

<sup>426</sup> “Gonzalez: Carrasco Evil Symbol.”

<sup>427</sup> Carrasco later said Congressman Gonzales had “*orejas de aguacate*” (ears filled with avocado). “Federico Gomez Carrasco,” 3. The phrase “the system” was a popular expression for those in the civil rights movements who promoted revolution over reforms, including leaders of La Raza Unida political party. The peak of organizing for the party in Texas lasted from 1970–1974, which coincided with the prison siege. Leaders continuously debated about the role of their political party. José Calderon, the Raza Unida Party state chairman from Colorado, argued that they should focus on a revolution, “not a part of the system but fighting against the system.” Olguín, *La Pinta: Chicana/o Prisoner Literature, Culture, and Politics*, 191; “Federico Gomez Carrasco,” 3; Armando Navarro, *La Raza Unida Party: A Chicano Challenge to the U.S. Two-Party Dictatorship* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2000), 59; “La Raza Unida Convention Ends With Solidarity Vows,” *Rocky Mountain News*, August 21, 1973; “State La Raza Conference Seeks Party Revolution Role,” *Denver Post*, August 21, 1973.

<sup>428</sup> Delgado, “Carrasco Vows Escape Today.”

fatalistic outlook, as they swore to an *abrazo* (death pact).<sup>429</sup> Domínguez warned, “If they want to storm this place, we’re waiting. They won’t find anything but dead bodies.”<sup>430</sup> Cuevas, who had limited English comprehension, declined a chance to speak with his wife over the telephone, stating only, “We have no solutions. We are living with death.”<sup>431</sup> This fatalism furthered the stalemate because Carrasco and his accomplices would not accept anything but freedom or their death. This was best phrased by one of Carrasco’s most publicized quotes, “What’s the sense of living when you’re caged up like an animal?”<sup>432</sup>

Paradoxically, Carrasco also exhibited polite formalities, charm, and wit. His first list of demands was typewritten and addressed to the Director of the department of corrections with formality “To J.W. Estelle, through Ruben Montemayor, attorney-negotiator.”<sup>433</sup> When Carrasco stole money from the hostages, he gave them receipts and a note instructing his attorney to reimburse them with interest.<sup>434</sup> Carrasco even sent flowers and a letter of apology to a hostage he released after she faked a heart attack.<sup>435</sup> Gloria Delgado, a Spanish-speaking reporter, was “surprised” at these formalities when she interviewed Carrasco.<sup>436</sup> She expected to speak with a cursing “mad dog killer” but instead described Carrasco as speaking “softly, politely, seriously and sincerely.”<sup>437</sup> He answered the telephone call with “At your service” and ending it with “It has been an honor to speak with you.”<sup>438</sup> Delgado later called again and

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<sup>429</sup> McKinney, *Fred Carrasco: The Heroin Merchant*, 272.

<sup>430</sup> Cooper, “Carrasco Gives Phone Interviews.”

<sup>431</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>432</sup> “Carrasco Converses With Newsmen,” 2E; Freund, “Softer Stance By Carrasco Being Hinted”; Sterba, “‘I’m Ready for Anything,’ Texas Prison Inmate Says,” 42.

<sup>433</sup> “Many Adjectives Fit Carrasco,” 12A.

<sup>434</sup> “Huntsville Hostages Cite Captors’ Boners,” *The Dallas Morning News*, August 21, 1974, 8A.

<sup>435</sup> House, *The Carrasco Tragedy: Eleven Days of Terror in the Huntsville Prison*, 103–106; Harper, *Eleven Days in Hell: The 1974 Carrasco Prison Siege in Huntsville, Texas*, 224–226.

<sup>436</sup> Delgado, “Carrasco: Dangerous, Unusual ‘Gentleman:’ Another Side of ‘El Senor,’” 3–A.

<sup>437</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>438</sup> Delgado, “Carrasco Vows Escape Today,” 2–A; Delgado, “Carrasco: Dangerous, Unusual ‘Gentleman:’ Another Side of ‘El Senor,’” 3–A.

impersonated a concerned relative of a hostage. According to her, in their conversation, Carrasco “sounded sympathetic” and “concerned” and assured her the hostages were well.<sup>439</sup> At the end of her news report, Delgado confessed a sense of “excitement” when speaking with Carrasco, which she explained as follows:

He could have cursed me. He could have hung up. He did neither. Maybe because I am a woman, or because I spoke to him in Spanish. Maybe it was because of the “machismo” for which he is so well noted.<sup>440</sup>

Delgado’s testimony is the second instance of machismo to appear in print during the siege. Most salient was Delgado’s notions of machismo since she was initially surprised at Carrasco’s formalities.<sup>441</sup> Although Carrasco politely tried to convince her that he was misrepresented in the media, Delgado resolved that Carrasco’s charm was just another side of his machismo. In other words, Carrasco’s polite formalities were not enough to dissuade Delgado from her previous notions because he still held hostages at gunpoint.

The third instance of machismo in print is a news article titled “Carrasco Style is Machismo” that alleged Carrasco’s irrational behavior and his main motivation “in defying the system and threatening to kill the hostages” were caused by machismo.<sup>442</sup> The article defined machismo as the Hispanic “dedication of masculine strength and dominance” and, as proof of Carrasco’s machismo, referred to his nickname of “El Señor” (translated as “The Man”), his reputation of being “muy macho – very male,” and a previously mentioned quote from Carrasco that mentioned manhood, “We are all men and we are tired of being tied down.”<sup>443</sup> The article

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<sup>439</sup> A daughter of a hostage reported a similar response from Carrasco, promising to treat the women hostages as if they were his mother or sister. Delgado, “Carrasco: Dangerous, Unusual ‘Gentleman:’ Another Side of ‘El Señor,’” 3–A; Maloney, “2 Women Set Example in Ordeal at Prison.”

<sup>440</sup> Delgado, “Carrasco: Dangerous, Unusual ‘Gentleman:’ Another Side of ‘El Señor,’” 3–A.

<sup>441</sup> Ibid.

<sup>442</sup> “Carrasco Style Is Machismo,” *Dallas Morning News*, July 28, 1974, 20A.

<sup>443</sup> Ibid.

then concluded by citing Texan editor Fernando Piñón's interpretation of Octavio Paz's theories, arguing that machismo masks the "Mexican inferiority complex."<sup>444</sup> In this article, the author conflated manhood and machismo but added notions of strength, dominance, and an inferiority complex. Also, by mentioning Latino authors like Piñón and Paz, the article legitimized its claim of Carrasco's machismo by claiming a type of insider knowledge. However, this article was only ten sentences long and did not explicitly state how these characteristics were seen during the prison siege. Instead, in this instance, machismo was framed by Carrasco's irrational behavior; it was left to the reader's imagination to make the connection between Carrasco's expressions of machismo and a distinctive Latino masculinity.

Many letters of support, prayer, and advice arrived at the Huntsville unit during the siege. Of the few addressed to Carrasco, a private telegram is the fourth instance of machismo to be analyzed here. The telegram from C. C. Horse of Galveston, Texas, praised Carrasco for his efforts for freedom and exclaimed "Viva Macho...Viva Carrasco Viva American Indians God Bless You."<sup>445</sup> While this telegram associated Carrasco's prison siege with the American Indian movement, the message furthered the idea that Carrasco's popularity was due to his machismo.<sup>446</sup> Horse more than likely read the newspapers accounts that referred to machismo and decided to use it as a compliment in his telegram to Carrasco.

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<sup>444</sup> Fernando Piñón was a close friend of many founding members of La Raza Unida party and reported on their political activities. Fernando Piñón, *Of Myth and Realities: Dynamics of Ethnic Politics* (New York: Vantage Press, 1978), xiv; "Carrasco Style Is Machismo," 20A.

<sup>445</sup> Translation: "Long Live Carrasco."

<sup>446</sup> At the time of the prison siege, the American Indian Movement was representing their members in court regarding their 71 day occupation at Wounded Knee on the Lakota's Pine Ridge reservation. David La Vere, *The Texas Indians* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2004), 228–229. For a thorough history leading up to the occupation, please see: John William Sayer, *Ghost Dancing the Law: The Wounded Knee Trials* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), Chapter 1.

These four instances of machismo in news print and a telegram exhibited various notions of machismo. They included: manhood, polite formalities, dominance, abusiveness, and an inferiority complex, and represent it as a characteristic admired by Latina/os. While this is quite a range of characteristics, one common element shared by the four instances is the use of Spanish: e.g., the agent's description of Carrasco as a "*bandido*," Delgado's interviews with Carrasco in Spanish, Carrasco's alleged reputation as "*El Señor*," "*muy macho*," and the telegram exclaiming "*¡Viva Macho!*" This use of Spanish in English writing furthered the idea that machismo belonged only to the Spanish-speaking populace.<sup>447</sup> Partial translations also added to this notion. For instance, "*El Señor*" could also mean mister, sir, or a male person, yet the news article translated it as only the English slang compliment "The Man."<sup>448</sup>

By the fourth day of the prison siege, Carrasco's irrational behavior was uncompromising then amicable, hostile, boasting, fatalistic, and yet charming and witty.<sup>449</sup> Confounding prison officials even more, Carrasco refused offers to be driven out of the prison, to surrender in front of newsmen, or to surrender to his attorney. In response to the latter, he threatened, "If the attorney shows up, I'll kill him too."<sup>450</sup> Instead he insisted, "I will leave the way I want to at the time I want to," furthering the idea that Carrasco had no escape plan whatsoever and was only negotiating for publicity.<sup>451</sup> As prison officials searched for a solution, they tasked a team consisting of psychologists, psychiatrists, and a bilingual consultant to create psychological

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<sup>447</sup> Jane H. Hill, *The Everyday Language of White Racism* (Chichester, U.K.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2008), 170.

<sup>448</sup> "Carrasco Style Is Machismo," 20A.

<sup>449</sup> These lenient offers made by prison officials occurred on the fourth day, which set the record for the longest prison siege in American penal history. Carl Freud, "Officials Reject Demands," *The Dallas Morning News*, July 30, 1974; Díaz-Cotto, *Gender, Ethnicity, and the State: Latina and Latino Prison Politics*, Chapter 3.

<sup>450</sup> Freud, "Shots Fired at Huntsville"; Miller and Waters, "Prison Officials, Carrasco Reach Impasse in Talks," 2; "Seven Shots Heard Friday," *The Huntsville Item*, July 28, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; "Jim Estelle: TDC Director Recalls Agonizing Days," *Houston Post*, August 5, 1974, 21A.

<sup>451</sup> Carl Freud, "First Victim Changed," *The Dallas Morning News*, July 29, 1974; Cooper, "'I've Got Plenty of Ammo And I'll Use It' -- Carrasco," 1.

profiles of the hostage-takers to discern their decision-making process.<sup>452</sup> With the prominent use of machismo in the news coverage on the siege, it is not surprising that the profiles also included it.

The available data the team analyzed on a short notice was extensive. These included prison records, medical histories, family histories, telephone calls from the captors, news articles on the siege, and interviews with prison employees who had knowledge “about Mexican American culture.”<sup>453</sup> While Carrasco’s report, which was the first and longest of the profiles at three pages, did not mention it, the profiles of Domínguez and Cuevas, which barely reached over a page each, mentioned machismo three times combined. The teams’ notions of machismo are thus discerned through a comparison of Domínguez’s and Cuevas’ profiles with Carrasco’s profile.

The profile of Domínguez mentioned machismo twice. It claimed that he was “fanatical in his fatalistic adoption of ‘machismo’” and would respond aggressively if anyone who threatened or “[appeared] to belittle his machismo orientation,” more than likely meaning his resolve.<sup>454</sup> The team believed that Domínguez was intent on “going out in a blaze of glory killing all the white people he can,” similar to his grandfather who died in a shootout with police.<sup>455</sup> In Cuevas’ profile, however, machismo was used differently. The team hypothesized that Cuevas was “very courteous and emphatic about his ‘macho’ [*sic*].”<sup>456</sup> Together, these

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<sup>452</sup> The profiles intended to provide points of division between the captors, their strengths/weaknesses of their personalities, and their behaviors in various situations. “Procedures Used in Evaluating the Psychological Makeup of and Interpersonal Relationship of Carrasco, Dominguez, and Cuevas,” 1974, 1–6, Series 4, Box 7, Folder 7, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station.

<sup>453</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>454</sup> Psychological Study of Rudy Dominguez in *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>455</sup> *Ibid.*, 1

<sup>456</sup> The incorrect word choice (machismo should have been used and not “macho”) indicates an unfamiliarity with machismo. Brief Psychological Summary of Inmate Ignacio Cuevas in “Procedures Used in Evaluating the Psychological Makeup of and Interpersonal Relationship of Carrasco, Dominguez, and Cuevas,” 1.



instances show that the team associated machismo with signature characteristics like fatalism, defensiveness, and courteous behavior; characteristics that echo those used to describe Carrasco's irrational behavior mentioned earlier.

While it did not mention machismo directly, Carrasco's profile also listed the above characteristics. The summary at the end, in particular, placed them together:

Inmate Carrasco is psychopathic to an extreme degree, but he possesses the charm and social graces to effectively conceal these antisocial traits. His history reveals a disregard for human life and other social and moral values. He has an almost omnipotent conceptualization of himself, and is concerned with how history will remember him. Outside of his desire to live, this is perhaps the most significant motivating factor in the individual's background. Carrasco is "El Senor" [*sic*] and all activities are attempts to preserve and maintain that entity.<sup>457</sup>

For the team, Carrasco's charm, disregard for others, and egocentrism were symptoms of psychopathy. When read with the other profiles, machismo is inferred yet not applied to Carrasco. Several journalists also saw these psychological profiles. They, in turn, published warnings that Carrasco would purposefully cause unpredictable scenarios, including killing the hostages, to maintain this macho, criminal image.<sup>458</sup> The team's reports warned negotiators of Carrasco's unpredictability and furthered the notion that the hostage takers were prone to irrational decisions due to their culture.

As the siege continued, Latina/o writers in the South Texas community defensively responded to the vilification of Carrasco's character in the press. The *Chicano Times*, a weekly bilingual community newspaper from San Antonio, published an article describing Carrasco as having "intelligence, daring, courage and chivalry" and claimed it was "probable" that Carrasco

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<sup>457</sup> Brief Psychological Summary of Inmate Frederico Gomez Carrasco in *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>458</sup> Schwartz, "Fred Gomez Carrasco: The Myth and the Man," 8A; Hervey Cleckley, *The Mask of Sanity: An Attempt to Reinterpret the So-Called Psychopathic Personality* (St. Louis, Missouri: The C.V. Mosby Company, 1941), 238–242.

would become a folk hero like Jesse James, Billy the Kid, Joaquín Murrieta, and Gregorio Cortez.<sup>459</sup> The article also reprinted excerpts from Carrasco's interviews, particularly his criticisms of "the system" and how his siege was intended to gain prison reforms and his freedom.<sup>460</sup> Armandina Saldivar, a columnist for *Chicano Times*, also wrote an article criticizing law-enforcement officials for maintaining their non-negotiation policy. She called it "animal" and even went so far as to call the prison officials "cowards" for not taking Carrasco's offer to take the place of the women hostages.<sup>461</sup> These articles praised Carrasco's efforts and character but, unlike the mainstream newspapers, did not mention machismo. Not until after the end of the prison siege did the *Chicano Times* publish their refutations of the media frame of criminalized machismo.

After days of negotiation, Carrasco finally decided to escape by rolling a crude shield made from blackboards, law books, book binding tape, and floor/ceiling material (with Mexican flags and images of Mexican revolutionary heroes taped to the outside for decoration) down a two-story ramp to an armored getaway truck.<sup>462</sup> Inside of the so-called "Trojan horse," Carrasco, Domínguez, and Cuevas each handcuffed themselves to a female hostage while Father O'Brien was handcuffed to the rear. The remaining eight hostages were handcuffed outside to push the contraption and serve as human shields.<sup>463</sup> When the group reached the final turn, a fifteen-minute shootout commenced. Authorities used water hoses and an aluminum ladder to ram and

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<sup>459</sup> "Federico Gomez Carrasco," 2.

<sup>460</sup> Carrasco also claimed that he was framed for the murders of his former associates by San Antonio police who wanted to steal their drug money. *Ibid.*, 3, 5.

<sup>461</sup> Armandina Saldivar, "Does Federico Carrasco Have Rights?," *Chicano Times*, August 2, 1974, Vol. V, No. 49 edition, 7, Special Collections, Ethnic Study Collection, Latin American and Latino History and Culture, Michigan State University Library.

<sup>462</sup> "Cons End Up Dead Near 'Trojan Horse,'" *The Dallas Morning News*, August 5, 1974, 24 A; Olguín, *La Pinta: Chicana/o Prisoner Literature, Culture, and Politics*, 184; McKinney, *Fred Carrasco: The Heroin Merchant*, 275.

<sup>463</sup> Carl Freund, "'An Assignment I'll Never Forget,'" *The Dallas Morning News*, August 5, 1974.

overturn the shield, revealing two dead hostages, Carrasco dead from a suicidal shot to his head, and Domínguez who was then shot three times by authorities when he moved while holding a gun.<sup>464</sup> Father O'Brien suffered a gunshot wound to his chest while Cuevas, the last hostage taker, had fainted and was not wounded.<sup>465</sup> Justice of the Peace J.W. Beeler, who witnessed the shootout, issued a preliminary ruling stating that since Carrasco and Domínguez refused to surrender to authorities, they committed suicide and were liable for the murders of the two hostages.<sup>466</sup>

Newspapers described the fatal scene as a “senseless slaughter,” and “a sickening sight,” noting that “all hell broke loose.”<sup>467</sup> Newspapers printed testimonies of officials and witnesses for days afterward. One hostage account by Anthony Branch, in particular, again exposed how news reporters blamed machismo for the tragedy. Branch was convinced that Carrasco, surrounded and inside a prison, knew he would not survive his escape attempt but went through with it anyway “to hold up his image.”<sup>468</sup> The reporter who wrote the article, however, inserted

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<sup>464</sup> There was a ten-minute pause between two barrages. Harper, *Eleven Days in Hell: The 1974 Carrasco Prison Siege in Huntsville, Texas*, 289–291; Joseph J. O'Brien, “The End: A Hail of Bullets,” *The Huntsville Item*, September 8, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; McKinney, *Fred Carrasco: The Heroin Merchant*, 289; United Press International, “Carrasco Held Killed by Own Gun,” *Los Angeles Times*, September 19, 1974.

<sup>465</sup> Carl Freud, “Convicts Kill Women Then Stage Suicide,” *The Dallas Morning News*, August 5, 1974; Freund, “‘An Assignment I’ll Never Forget’.” Cuevas was convicted for capital murder in 1975 and 1979, but both convictions were ruled mistrials due to the juror selection. He was convicted again in 1983 and executed by lethal injection in 1991. Ronald W. Robinson, *Prison Hostage: The Siege of the Walls Prison in Huntsville* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1997), 127–134.

<sup>466</sup> Justice Beeler based his ruling on the timing of gunfire and wounds of everyone involved. After a grand jury investigation, it was ruled that Carrasco shot a hostage then himself in the head while Dominguez killed a hostage and was killed by authorities. Hostages Julia Standley and Elizabeth Besed left behind seven children combined. “Carrasco Death Ruled A ‘Suicide,’” *Washington Post*, August 5, 1974; Freud, “Convicts Kill Women Then Stage Suicide”; O'Brien, “The End: A Hail of Bullets”; McKinney, *Fred Carrasco: The Heroin Merchant*, 288.

<sup>467</sup> Mike Leggett, “Carrasco Thought Nothing of Human Life or Feelings,” *The Huntsville Item*, August 2, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; Lyndol Wilkinson, “OUT the IN Door,” *The Huntsville Item*, August 11, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; Freund, “‘An Assignment I’ll Never Forget’.”

<sup>468</sup> Mike Leggett, “Carrasco Had a Look of Death in His Eyes,” *The Huntsville Item*, August 9, 1974, 2–A, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station.

machismo into the story by writing that Carrasco “died trying to uphold the ‘macho’ image that he treasured.”<sup>469</sup> This statement reads as an excerpt from the psychological profiles discussed earlier since Branch could have meant Carrasco’s criminal or fearless image, yet it was machismo as egotism that once again headlined the news story.

Juxtaposing these harrowing hostage accounts were reports of the mourning and celebration for Carrasco in South Texas.<sup>470</sup> At least eight new *narcocorridos* that described Carrasco’s escape attempt were written overnight and were performed on street corners the next day.<sup>471</sup> Most of these hastily written ballads did not rhyme, nor were they factual, but they allowed the Spanish-speaking communities of South Texas to create alternative narratives to the official story by celebrating Carrasco for fighting to his death.<sup>472</sup> Several English-language newspapers mentioned one *narcocorrido* in particular, “*La Muerte de Alfredo Carrasco*” by Salomé Gutierrez, which called Carrasco a “brave rooster” and described how he challenged law-enforcement officials at the prison.<sup>473</sup> One reporter disagreed with calling Carrasco “brave”

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<sup>469</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>470</sup> Several of the hostages exhibited Stockholm syndrome and sympathized with Carrasco. Larry Cooper, “Woman Freed Early Aided Prison Officials in Plan,” *Houston Chronicle*, August 7, 1974; Thomas Strentz, *Psychological Aspects of Crisis Negotiation*, Second (Boca Raton, Florida: CRC Press, 2011), 301.

<sup>471</sup> The amount of *narcocorridos* written about Carrasco outnumbered those written about outlaw Gregorio Cortez. Joe Nick Patoski, “Tex-Mex: The Music That’s Becoming America’s Reggae,” *Mother Jones*, May 1977, 37; Dagoberto Gilb, ed., *Hecho En Tejas: An Anthology of Texas-Mexican Literature* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 223.

<sup>472</sup> One of the three Spanish radio stations in San Antonio, however, refused to play the song. Chriss, “4 Killed as Texas Prison Siege Ends.” Unlike most *narcocorridos* of the time that were critical of the violence used by drug smugglers, folklorist Américo Paredes noted that about a dozen of the ballads about Carrasco were written in an older style casting the Texas Rangers as the antagonists and villains. Américo Paredes, *Folklore and Culture on the Texas-Mexican Border*, ed. Richard Bauman (Austin: CMAS Books, Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas at Austin, 1993), 28; Simon J. Bronner, *Folk Nation: Folklore in the Creation of American Tradition* (Wilmington, Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2002), 207; Gilb, *Hecho En Tejas: An Anthology of Texas-Mexican Literature*, 223–226; Patoski, “Tex-Mex: The Music That’s Becoming America’s Reggae,” 37. For a detailed analysis of several of Carrasco’s *narcocorridos*, please see: Olguín, *La Pinta: Chicana/o Prisoner Literature, Culture, and Politics*, 181–188. However, none of the published *narcocorridos* cite machismo.

<sup>473</sup> Translation: “The Death of Fred Carrasco.” “Carrasco Praised in Spanish Song,” *The Huntsville Item*, August 7, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station. For a thorough analysis of this *narcocorrido* and others on Carrasco, please see Olguín, *La Pinta: Chicana/o Prisoner Literature, Culture, and Politics*, 178–188.

because he had taken women as hostages and used them as human shields. He remarked that there were “plenty of brave roosters in Huntsville last weekend, but Fred Carrasco wasn’t one.”<sup>474</sup> Marlyn Schwartz, another reporter, went further, criticizing listeners of the *narcocorrido*. She differentiated between the “general public” who saw Carrasco as a murderer and drug king while the “cult” in South Texas believed Carrasco was a “folk hero.”<sup>475</sup> “They worshipped him,” Schwartz claimed, “they named their children after him, they even prayed for him.”<sup>476</sup> She did note that the communities where Carrasco’s legend thrived were impoverished people whose “stories passed around...were the only thing they had;” thus they could not see Carrasco as a “brutal murderer” because they believed he only killed to defend the barrios.<sup>477</sup> Other reporters, however, did not provide such contextualization. For example, a reporter quoted a young girl from San Antonio who only had one thing to say about Carrasco’s popularity: “He was much macho (a lot of man) [*sic*].”<sup>478</sup> This quote was cited by other reporters as well, furthering the media frame of criminalized machismo by showing Latina/os celebrating a murderer and a drug dealer who had profited from the narcotic epidemic in the barrios.<sup>479</sup>

A concerned reader of the *Dallas Morning News* newspaper expressed his dismay at the celebration of Carrasco. John N. Mitchell of Lubbock, Texas wrote a letter to the editor admonishing what he called “Carrasco Worship.”<sup>480</sup> He noted a contradiction in that Latina/os

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<sup>474</sup> “Huntsville’s Heroes,” *Arkansas Democrat*, August 9, 1974.

<sup>475</sup> Schwartz, “Fred Gomez Carrasco: The Myth and the Man,” 8A.

<sup>476</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>477</sup> *Ibid*. This was similar to the previously mentioned Chicano nationalist imagination of the *vato loco* whose criminal activities were justified since they supposedly targeted Euro Americans.

<sup>478</sup> This quote is from a United Press International article that was cited in “Many Adjectives Fit Carrasco,” 12A.

<sup>479</sup> Henry Collins, “Social Action and Community Organization Among Mexican American Narcotic Addicts,” in *Proceedings of the Institute on Narcotic Addiction Among Mexican Americans in the Southwest* (Rockville, Maryland: National Institute of Mental Health, 1971), 48.

<sup>480</sup> John N. Mitchell, “Carrasco Worship,” *The Dallas Morning News*, August 14, 1974.

accused law-enforcement authorities of harassment yet were now praising a career criminal through ballads. He surmised that machismo was responsible:

Does the designation of “macho” (a lot of man) mean that the Mexican-American culture condones wholesale murder, even murder done to their own people? Is the shooting of helpless women necessary for one to be designated as macho? ...If macho means killing and brutalizing and breaking the law, those who espouse that culture are doomed to further clashes with law-enforcement officials.<sup>481</sup>

Lubbock’s letter reads more as a concerned inquiry than a criticism since he ends by calling on Mexican American leaders to denounce Carrasco and clarify what machismo means. This letter exhibits wariness in accepting the media frame of criminalized machismo because it suggests that all Latina/os approved of the Huntsville hostage crisis. Thus, he asked the Latina/o community for clarification.

As before, the *Chicano Times* published more articles that defended Carrasco as a “man of honor and courage,” blaming racism for forcing him into a life of crime, and charging officials with “perpetuating a tremendous hoax on the media and the people.”<sup>482</sup> Citing alleged second-hand accounts, the newspaper published numerous allegations including the following: Carrasco did not kill the hostages as he would have wanted to avoid having a dead body handcuffed to him, Carrasco held \$100,000 in cash which was taken by officials, and Carrasco and Domínguez were executed at point blank range when the shield was overturned.<sup>483</sup> By printing these allegations, the *Chicano Times* humanized Carrasco and further dispersed these counter-

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<sup>481</sup> Ibid.

<sup>482</sup> “Huntsville Inmate Provides Details of Death Scene,” *Chicano Times*, August 30, 1974, 2, Special Collections, Ethnic Study Collection, Latin American and Latino History and Culture, Michigan State University Library; “Reflection on Folk Heroes,” *Chicano Times*, August 16, 1974, Vol. V, No. 50 edition, 14, Special Collections, Ethnic Study Collection, Latin American and Latino History and Culture, Michigan State University Library.

<sup>483</sup> “Inmate Charges Officials With Killings,” *Chicano Times*, August 16, 1974, Vol. V, No. 50 edition, 2, Special Collections, Ethnic Study Collection, Latin American and Latino History and Culture, Michigan State University Library.

narratives that casted doubt on the official report. At stake was more than what happened at the prison but also the representation of Latina/o culture.

Columnist Saldivar also took offense to the media frame of criminalized machismo that surrounded Carrasco. In one article, she cited a televised interview of Detective William Weilbacher in which he allegedly called machismo “garbage.”<sup>484</sup> Weilbacher was a renowned detective in Texas who was described by another journalist as cunning, tough, and an “imposing figure” at six feet tall and close to three hundred pounds.<sup>485</sup> Weilbacher had investigated Carrasco before and even visited him during his imprisonment in Mexico the previous year.<sup>486</sup> Moreover, Weilbacher was credited for tracking and spotting Carrasco at the San Antonio motel in 1973 where he was captured.<sup>487</sup> Saldivar, however, seemed not to know anything about Weilbacher’s reputation and found his appearance unsightly, calling him an “overgrown boy with a glandular problem.” She responded to Weilbacher’s alleged dismissal of machismo as follows:<sup>488</sup>

Many Mexicans we talked to considered that an insult to our culture. Yours truly considers it an insult. Just what does this boy know about machismo? ...he should not flatter himself, for only Mexican males know about machismo. Those that keep

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<sup>484</sup> Armandina Saldivar, “Conspiracy Seen To Tarnish Carrasco’s Image,” *Chicano Times*, August 16, 1974, Vol. V, No. 50 edition, 4, Special Collections, Ethnic Study Collection, Latin American and Latino History and Culture, Michigan State University Library.

<sup>485</sup> Curtis, “The Strange Power of Fred Carrasco,” 104; Scott Huddleston, “Obituary: Weilbacher Was Legendary Detective,” *Mysanantonio.com*, February 1, 2005, <http://www.mysanantonio.com/news/metro/stories/MYSA020105.1B.obit.weilbacher.63850bf8.html>. Weilbacher is also a main character in McKinney, *Fred Carrasco: The Heroin Merchant*.

<sup>486</sup> In Mexico, Weilbacher found Carrasco weeping over the death of his half-brother, who had been found dead hanging from his belt. Carrasco accused Mexican authorities of murder because prisoners’ belts were allegedly confiscated before they entered the jail. When Weilbacher returned to San Antonio, he told Carrasco’s parents of their son’s emotional state, which humiliated him. Carrasco later attempted to indict Weilbacher for murdering one of his partners, but the main witness was apprehended shortly thereafter for selling narcotics, ruining his credibility. Curtis, “The Strange Power of Fred Carrasco,” 102–105.

<sup>487</sup> Huddleston, “Obituary: Weilbacher Was Legendary Detective.”

<sup>488</sup> Saldivar, “Conspiracy Seen To Tarnish Carrasco’s Image,” 4.

knocking machismo down are just going to have to get use to it because it exists [*sic*]. It is part of our culture and we Mexican women are glad it exists.<sup>489</sup>

Saldívar's unconditional acceptance of machismo as a "part" of Mexican culture is carefully worded, as she did not include any definition. Instead, she simply states that "only Mexican males know about machismo," excluding any further discussion. She concluded her article by stating there was an unfair double standard in the media, by which Mexicans were criminalized because of their culture whereas Euro American criminals were reported as having individual psychological problems.<sup>490</sup>

Competing interpretations of Carrasco as either a cold-hearted killer or as a victim of circumstances continued to circulate. Even prison chaplain Father O'Brien published his own hostage account. He unequivocally named Carrasco "a very sick, very vicious man" and "a desperate, conscienceless killer."<sup>491</sup> Father O'Brien claimed to know "Carrasco in a different way" than the other prison officials.<sup>492</sup> He was bilingual, oversaw Carrasco's cleaning duties of the chapel before the siege, served as a negotiator during the siege, volunteered to join the other hostages, was Carrasco's food taster, and was inside the Trojan horse during the escape attempt.<sup>493</sup> Carrasco mistrusted Father O'Brien the most, restraining him with two pairs of handcuffs, but he admitted his admiration for Father O'Brien in his statement, "I like the old

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<sup>489</sup> Ibid.

<sup>490</sup> Ibid., 5.

<sup>491</sup> Joseph J. O'Brien, "O'Brien's Warning Went Unheeded," *The Huntsville Item*, September 4, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; Larry Cooper, "Priest: World Better Without Carrasco," *Houston Chronicle*, August 6, 1974, 2.

<sup>492</sup> "Prison Priest Made Hostage," *San Antonio Express*, July 26, 1974.

<sup>493</sup> Father O'Brien was born and raised in an Irish neighborhood south of Chicago but received his seminary training in San Antonio and the lower Rio Grande valley where he improved his Spanish language fluency. Louis Moore, "Chaplain Tells How Carrasco Cleaned Chapel," *Houston Chronicle*, July 25, 1974; Chronicle Staff, "Carrasco Forcing Priest to Test Food," *Houston Chronicle*, July 26, 1974; "O'Brien 'Tough' Little Irishman," *The Huntsville Item*, September 1, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; Robinson, *Prison Hostage: The Siege of the Walls Prison in Huntsville*, 24, 34.



man... he is the only human being alive who tried to help me.”<sup>494</sup> Thus, Father O’Brien’s account is insightful since he understood Spanish and was both a negotiator and a hostage. After the siege, Father O’Brien was the most outspoken hostage, even giving an interview from his hospital bed. His statement, “The world is better that [Carrasco] is not in it anymore” was published in numerous news articles and was particularly condemning coming from a Catholic priest.<sup>495</sup> Father O’Brien’s account was published in eight parts in which he blamed Carrasco’s machismo as the cause of the siege and for its fatal conclusion.<sup>496</sup>

In his opening article, Father O’Brien described Carrasco’s irrational behavior as a performance where he assumed the role of “the suave courtly gentleman; the tender protector of womanhood; the fearless bandit leader; the astute bargainer; the masterful leader of men, and the loving husband and father.”<sup>497</sup> Father O’Brien believed his two main roles, above the others, were “Carrasco the Killer” and “Carrasco the Macho, the primal male.”<sup>498</sup> The use of “primal” suggested Father O’Brien saw machismo as primitive, even animalistic. He later compared Carrasco to various beasts. He described Carrasco as having the “sense of survival of a lobo wolf” as well as how he was “rooster-proud of his ‘machismo’ and vain about his appearance” since he spent an hour grooming himself every morning even though the only people who would

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<sup>494</sup> Cooper, “Carrasco Gives Phone Interviews”; “‘Inmates Trusted Me Less,’ O’Brien Says,” *Houston Post*, August 6, 1974.

<sup>495</sup> “World Better Off That Carrasco Is Not Here,” *The Huntsville Item*, August 7, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; Associated Press, “Priest Calls Carrasco, Sick, Mean,” *San Antonio Express*, August 6, 1974; Cooper, “Priest: World Better Without Carrasco.”

<sup>496</sup> Joseph J. O’Brien, “‘...heart-Rendering, Terrifying Session,’” *The Huntsville Item*, September 1, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station.

<sup>497</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid.*

see him were the hostages.<sup>499</sup> These descriptions differed from other notions of machismo since Father O'Brien associated it with vanity and not with violence.

Father O'Brien mentioned machismo again when discussing Carrasco's wife, Rosa.<sup>500</sup> Prior to the siege, Carrasco spoke to Father O'Brien about Rosa but referred to her as "la hembra," which Father O'Brien translated as "the woman" with "utter femininity, docility, submissiveness, subservience; in short, the primal mother."<sup>501</sup> The word "*hembra*" is commonly used in Spanish to signify a female animal, usually fertile. Thus, for Carrasco to use this term was unusual and Father O'Brien's took notice of it. Moreover, when Carrasco was told that officials were searching for Rosa on suspicion that she was involved in the escape attempt, Father O'Brien described Fred Carrasco as "pale with rage" and said that his "machismo got into an uproar" as he demanded that negotiators end the search.<sup>502</sup> Father O'Brien attributed this outburst to Carrasco's machismo. Authorities, though, had reasons to be suspicious. When they captured Fred Carrasco at the San Antonio Motel, they also apprehended Rosa.<sup>503</sup> Their lawyer assured them that their chance of being convicted was unlikely. Fred, however, did not want to

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<sup>499</sup> Joseph J. O'Brien, "Captive Priest Thought Inmate Gunmen's Helmet Would Explode," *The Huntsville Item*, September 6, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; O'Brien, "O'Brien's Warning Went Unheeded"; Joseph J. O'Brien, "The Beginning of the Tragedy," *The Huntsville Item*, September 4, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station. Father O'Brien was more than likely referring to the legend of Lobo, a gray wolf, who killed numerous cattle in New Mexico and avoided traps and hunters with supernatural wit. Nature, *The Wolf That Changed America*, Color, NTSC, 2009.

<sup>500</sup> Both Carrasco and his wife were captured after the San Antonio motel shootout, but Carrasco agreed to plead guilty to an assault to murder charge, a life sentence, in exchange for his wife's freedom. "Carrasco's Troubled and Violent Life"; "Wife Is 'Key' to Carrasco?," *The Huntsville Item*, July 31, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; Parker, "Violence Built Carrasco Legend."

<sup>501</sup> Joseph J. O'Brien, "Carrasco Threw 'Screaming Fit' Before Curtain," *The Huntsville Item*, September 8, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station.

<sup>502</sup> "Wife Is 'Key' to Carrasco?"; "Rosa Carrasco Charged," *The Huntsville Item*, August 2, 1974, W. J. Estelle Papers, Cushing Memorial Library and Archive. Texas A&M University, College Station; Alan Bailey, "Carrasco Response Studied," *San Antonio Express*, August 1, 1974; O'Brien, "Carrasco Threw 'Screaming Fit' Before Curtain"; John Lumpkin, "Search Persists for Rebel's Wife," *San Antonio Express-News*, July 27, 1974.

<sup>503</sup> "Wife Is 'Key' to Carrasco?"

risk Rosa's conviction and pleaded guilty in exchange for her freedom.<sup>504</sup> Thus, Fred Carrasco's reaction was more than just his angry "machismo," he could have also felt cheated as the authorities were again attempting to implicate his wife as leverage in the hostage negotiations.

Father O'Brien also thought of machismo when he entered the barricaded library for the first time. He described Carrasco as a different person from the one who had timidly cleaned the chapel. Instead, Carrasco spoke "short, sharp, curt, and forceful" and resembled a "bandit chief" with a "bandolier of ammunition draped over his shoulder and across his chest," "Puro macho!"<sup>505</sup> Carrasco's appearance and demeanor reminded Father O'Brien of the violent bandit characters in contemporary films, especially as he overheard Carrasco speak in Spanish of his plans to kill the hostages and have a dramatic shootout in the library.<sup>506</sup> With prison officials giving in to Carrasco's miscellaneous demands for blankets, coffee, etc., Father O'Brien believed that Carrasco loved the attention and decided against having a shootout because the negotiations gave him the opportunity to perform his machismo to this public.

Although Father O'Brien used machismo extensively, he reserved the term only for descriptions of Carrasco. He distinguished Cuevas and Domínguez from their leader by characterizing them as "a different breed," calling them "wild" and of "low intelligence."<sup>507</sup> He referred to Cuevas in particular as "a walking automaton, a mere robot."<sup>508</sup> These descriptions suggest that Father O'Brien believed machismo required a certain level of intellect, as he only

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<sup>504</sup> Curtis, "The Strange Power of Fred Carrasco," 103.

<sup>505</sup> O'Brien, "...some Would Never Survive."

<sup>506</sup> Ibid.

<sup>507</sup> O'Brien, "O'Brien's Warning Went Unheeded"; O'Brien, "Carrasco Threw 'Screaming Fit' Before Curtain."

<sup>508</sup> Ibid.

implicated Carrasco and his irrational behavior, not Mexican culture as a whole unlike the other news articles.

Father O'Brien's last use of machismo concerned the siege itself. He could not understand why Carrasco would barricade the library with hostages in the first place because he knew of the prison's non-negotiation policy. Yet, Carrasco continued to negotiate and taunt law-enforcement officials for a record time of eleven days, which Father O'Brien called "suicidal."<sup>509</sup> Father O'Brien believed Carrasco's last words before exiting the library in the Trojan horse solved this mystery. Carrasco spoke to Father O'Brien about his *narcocorridos* and he wondered what the last verses would be.<sup>510</sup> Father O'Brien retorted that the ballads would tell "how the great Carrasco had met his death hiding behind the skirts of women and the robes of a priest."<sup>511</sup> Carrasco disagreed and reiterated his stance that the prison was responsible for the crisis, leaving Father O'Brien to conclude Carrasco was "a fool" and "it was his Machismo [*sic*] that led him finally to his death."<sup>512</sup> Carrasco's concern for his ballads exposes his priority for his reputation and legacy, even if it cost numerous lives, including his own. Thus, Father O'Brien's hostage account furthered the media frame of criminalized machismo, adding how it was primitive, animalistic, and patriarchal, but he maintained it was Carrasco's alone.

Even with Father O'Brien's condemnation, the counter-narrative of Carrasco as a folk hero continued in the Chicana/o community of South Texas. At the March 1975 *Festival Floricanto* in Austin, Texas, *El Teatro Estudiantil Chicano de Cristal* performed a play by

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<sup>509</sup> Joseph J. O'Brien, "Carrasco Was 'Set up': Father O'Brien," *The Huntsville Item* (Huntsville, Texas, September 6, 1974).

<sup>510</sup> O'Brien, "...heart-Rendering, Terrifying Session," 2-A.

<sup>511</sup> Ibid. Author Wilson McKinney who wrote a biography on Fred Carrasco seconded Father O'Brien's opinion. McKinney, *Fred Carrasco: The Heroin Merchant*, 286-287.

<sup>512</sup> O'Brien, "...heart-Rendering, Terrifying Session," 1.

Gregorio Barrios titled *¡Carrasco!* that reiterated the second-hand accounts in which law-enforcement officials allegedly murdered Carrasco, Domínguez, and the two hostages.<sup>513</sup> The play also conveyed an oppositional reading of machismo, connecting it to strong family values by figuring Carrasco as a family man. A monologue from the character of Rosa, Carrasco's wife, lamented how Chicanos in Texas had no opportunities to find honest employment. She could not believe that Carrasco would kill the hostages then commit suicide, because he had much to live for: "*¡Que pendejura! Fue macho. Fue mi esposo. Fue mi amante. Fue el padre de nuestros hijos.*"<sup>514</sup> Rosa countered the official narrative that Carrasco was a crazed killer who had nothing to lose. Most salient, though, is the usage of "macho" that prefaced this list of characteristics, signifying its foremost importance, as it conveyed that Carrasco was incapable of committing suicide due to his responsibilities to his family. Thus, machismo was once again imagined as central to Chicana/o family relations.

The media frame of criminalized machismo blamed the Huntsville prison siege on Carrasco's machismo. From its focus on his irrational behavior to the celebration of Carrasco's death, the media frame associated machismo with the following traits: manhood, dominance, abusiveness, an inferiority complex, polite formalities, fatalism, and defensiveness. Moreover, a diverse group of writers compiled this list: Euro American journalists, Spanish-surnamed journalists, prison officials, police, psychologists, and hostages. The reclamation of machismo by the Latina/o community, however, did not occur in print until after the siege ended, where it was left undefined. The media frame of criminalized machismo, though, did not end with the siege; U.S. reporters applied it to political speeches, particularly one by Mexican President Luis

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<sup>513</sup> Translation: "Chicano Student Theatre of Cristal (Texas)." Gregorio Barrios, "¡Carrasco!," *Tejidos* II, no. No. 8 (Invierno 1975): 29–38. Accessed from the San Diego State University library.

<sup>514</sup> Translation: "How stupid! He was a macho. He was my husband. He was my lover. He was the father of our children." *Ibid.*, 35–36.

Echeverría. While a policy speech made by the president of a foreign state seems an unlikely place to turn, President Echeverría's speech would make a key appearance in the media frame of another set of reporting on Mexican criminality in Texas and its connections to pathological machismo. I turn now to this broadened media frame.

### ***Expanding the Media Frame: Machismo as a “National Problem”***

The month after the end of the Huntsville siege, Mexican President Luis Echeverría gave his fourth State of the Nation speech.<sup>515</sup> He addressed many topics, including reforms targeting social, political, and employment discrimination against women, supporting the end of the U.S. embargo against Cuba, and updates on various industrial programs.<sup>516</sup> These liberal reforms were an attempt to regain the public trust of his political party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), after years of political disappointment.<sup>517</sup> Mentioning reforms for women's rights in a State of the Nation speech, though, was unprecedented and was widely reported in English-language news media.<sup>518</sup> The Associated Press, in particular, focused on these reforms, calling them a “direct criticism” of machismo, “a feeling of male superiority over

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<sup>515</sup> Servicio de Investigación y Análisis Dirección, Referencia Especializada Subdirección, “Informes Presidenciales - Luis Echeverría Álvarez” (Congreso de la Unión, 2006), 174, RE-ISS-09-06-14, Centro de Documentación, Información y Análisis. Early in Echeverría's presidency, he believed in the idea “To Govern is to Populate” and urged Mexican women to have more children under the assumption that it would make Mexico a bigger and stronger nation. After reviewing Mexico's increasing population and poverty projection, however, he instituted family planning clinics. American reporters referred to this shift in policy in his supposed battle against machismo. Lynne Carrier, “‘Machismo’ In Mexico City,” *Boca Raton News*, December 3, 1970; Patrick Oster, *The Mexicans: A Personal Portrait of a People*, 1st Perennial Library (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 1990), 53; Luz María Gordillo, *Mexican Women and the Other Side of Immigration: Engendering Transnational Ties* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 81.

<sup>516</sup> Servicio de Investigación y Análisis Dirección, Referencia Especializada Subdirección, “Informes Presidenciales - Luis Echeverría Álvarez.”

<sup>517</sup> Emily Edmonds-Poli and David A. Shirk, *Contemporary Mexican Politics*, Second (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2012), 82–83; Charles Ramírez Berg, *Cinema of Solitude: A Critical Study of Mexican Film, 1967-1983* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 43–44.

<sup>518</sup> Reuters, “Puerto Ricans Say One in 3 Sterilized,” *Winnipeg Free Press*, June 23, 1975, 3.

women,” that had ruled Mexico for “centuries.”<sup>519</sup> This news article was reprinted in numerous national newspapers, reiterating the media frame of criminalized machismo, with various headlines including: “Echeverría Criticizes Machismo,” “Echeverría Plans Reform to End Machismo,” “Mexican Chief Asks End of ‘Machismo,’” and “‘Machismo’ Rebuffed.”<sup>520</sup> President Echeverría, however, did not mention the word machismo in his speech and only dedicated about one page out of a total of sixty-eight to the women’s programs.<sup>521</sup> Thus, these media reports again demonstrate how prevalent the media frame of criminalized machismo was in the American imagination, as they believed even the Mexican president wanted to end it.

U.S. newspapers published more articles furthering this media frame. For instance, after President Echeverría signed more gun control laws and censored several violent television programs, *The New York Times* described these efforts as “part of a broader Government effort to change Mexican attitudes toward ‘machismo’ – the cult of male virility – as manifest in the use of firearms and the subjugation of women.”<sup>522</sup> A month later, *The New York Times* published another story that focused on the new legislative programs for women’s job placement, calling them a threat to “the ancient and sacred Mexican cult of ‘machismo’ – male superiority.”<sup>523</sup> The *Los Angeles Times* also published a story that highlighted two successful Mexican American women, one working in immigration reform and the other in business, as examples for President

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<sup>519</sup> Several of the associated press reports are: Associated Press, “Chief Assails Sex Bias in Mexico,” *The Milwaukee Journal*, September 3, 1974, sec. Part 1; “Echeverría Criticizes Machismo,” *San Antonio Express-News*, September 2, 1974; Associated Press, “Mexico To Strike Blow For Women, Nation Told,” *The Blade*, September 2, 1974.

<sup>520</sup> “Echeverría Criticizes Machismo”; Alfonso Chardy, “Mexican Chief Asks End of ‘Machismo,’” *St. Petersburg Times*, September 2, 1974; Associated Press, “‘Machismo’ Rebuffed,” *The Spokesman-Review*, September 2, 1974; “Echeverría Plans Reform to End Machismo,” *El Chicano*, September 5, 1974, Chicano/a Research Collection, Arizona State University Library.

<sup>521</sup> The sections on feminist reforms are found on pages 178 and 218 of: Servicio de Investigación y Análisis Dirección, Referencia Especializada Subdirección, “Informes Presidenciales - Luis Echeverría Álvarez.”

<sup>522</sup> Alan Riding, “Mexico Banning Violent TV Series,” *New York Times*, September 30, 1974.

<sup>523</sup> “Revisions in Mexican Law Proposed to Aid Women and End ‘Machismo,’” *New York Times*, October 20, 1974.

Echeverría of women who had “conquered” machismo in the U.S.<sup>524</sup> The last news report, in particular, differed from the others. It exposed the reporter’s belief that machismo also existed amongst U.S. Latina/os, where it could be “conquered” through professional development. Thus, any news from President Echeverría, including firearm legislation and television censorship, was another opportunity for U.S. journalists to convey machismo as a cultural, and even criminal, detriment.

Almost two months after their first report, the Associated Press published an update on Echeverría’s supposed crusade against machismo. The article described the president as facing a daunting task because his opponents measured “their status in the number of mistresses they keep.”<sup>525</sup> The article also emphasized how machismo was present in ten other Latin American countries, outside the reach of President Echeverría’s legislative reforms. For example, the article described how Chilean housewives could not leave their country without a notarized letter from their spouses and how the Venezuelan birthrate to unwed mothers increased by 53% because men allegedly considered it manly to conceive children out of wedlock.<sup>526</sup> These accounts furthered the Associated Press’ notion that the “Latin concept of manliness” was pervasive and particularly unyielding outside of the U.S.<sup>527</sup> Overall, the article stated nothing new about Echeverría’s reform efforts and seemed to have been written only to continue the media frame of aberrant machismo.

One government official who seemingly read these news reports was Carmen Maymi, national director of the Labor Department’s Women Bureau. Born in Santurce, Puerto Rico, but

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<sup>524</sup> These two women were Irene Tovar and Virginia Lopez, who lived in the San Fernando Valley, California. Mike Castro, “2 Women of Mexican Origin Conquer ‘Machismo,’” *Los Angeles Times*, September 12, 1974.

<sup>525</sup> Associated Press, “Latin American Women Still Face Machismo,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 27, 1974.

<sup>526</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>527</sup> *Ibid.*



raised in Chicago, Maymi had years of experience working in the public sector before her appointment by President Richard Nixon in 1973.<sup>528</sup> When interviewed about her appointment, she stated the goal of the Bureau was to “eliminate discrimination based on sex, but also to improve employability of women and to increase job opportunities for them.”<sup>529</sup> Her outlook, position, and the timing of her two speeches, the first a month after Echeverría’s address, suggest that Maymi was aware of the media frame, because she associated machismo with women’s employment opportunities. Speaking at the first annual Conference of Puerto Rican Women in San Francisco, September 1974, Maymi said,

For generations, Spanish-heritage women have been the victims of machismo. They have been thought of as passive and retiring in their assigned roles of wife and mother. It was the men who were expected to be aggressive, to make the decisions, and to provide for the women and children in the family...<sup>530</sup>

Maymi defined machismo as specific to “Spanish-heritage,” where women were the “victims” of its unequal gender roles. Moreover, she went further by imploring women “to get rid of their machismo complex and put their finest talents to work in a cause that is vital to the future of the whole nation.”<sup>531</sup> Her critique was thus both external and internal, blaming Latina women for adhering to their second-class status. Thus, Maymi believed that machismo was not just a Latino male problem, but a problem that belonged to both men and women of Latina/o heritage.

Four months later, Maymi gave another speech to the Hispanic Organization of Professionals and Executives (HOPE) where she again cited machismo as a concern. She stated,

Now the barriers are coming down and the idea of ‘machismo’ is fading. But women still face many problems, particularly of attitude. There are still many among us who are not

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<sup>528</sup> “Carmen Maymi To Head Women’s Bureau,” *Chicago Metro News*, June 2, 1973, 14.

<sup>529</sup> Dolores Martinez Board, “Carmen Rosa Maymi: Long Time Champion of Women’s Rights,” *La Luz Magazine*, June 1973, 38.

<sup>530</sup> “Talk Urges Equality for Women of Latin Origin,” *Van Nuys Valley News*, September 19, 1974, 4–A.

<sup>531</sup> *Ibid.*

sure women should work outside the home at all, but if they do, they should be content with the lower, unskilled jobs.<sup>532</sup>

Maymi again associated machismo in reference to employment opportunities and patriarchal “attitudes.” Different from her prior speech, however, was her claim that machismo was “fading.” Perhaps this was intended to avoid conflict with her audience of business leaders, since she had previously spoken at the Conference of Puerto Rican Women, where only six men were reportedly in attendance.<sup>533</sup> Nonetheless, she was sure to again identify machismo as a “barrier” for Latinas and as an issue that business leaders should be wary of.

Although Maymi publicly criticized machismo, her speeches were not as widely reported in U.S. newsprint in comparison to Echeverría’s fourth State of the Nation. Conceivably, this was due to their different positions: a president of a nation-state receives more attention from the press than a director of a national agency. It was, nevertheless, part of a broader discourse on machismo as a “Latina/o” problem, one that inevitably shaped the ways in which the connections between Mexican American criminality and machismo were represented and contested within the media frame of 1974.

### ***Latina/os Organize and Protest a News Article***

In October 1974, the *San Antonio News* reported that machismo motivated a male teenager to murder.<sup>534</sup> A seventeen-year-old and his friend had a disagreement that escalated

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<sup>532</sup> “Women’s Bureau Director Maymi Calls for Aid to Spanish-Speaking Females,” *Daily Labor Report*, January 24, 1975, A-3.

<sup>533</sup> “Talk Urges Equality for Women of Latin Origin,” 4-A.

<sup>534</sup> The first American newspapers Australian media proprietor Rupert Murdoch purchased were the *San Antonio News* and the *San Antonio Express* in 1972. They would later merge into the *San Antonio Express-News* in 1984. Paul La Monica, *Inside Rupert’s Brain* (New York: Portfolio, 2009), 20; Heinz Duthel, *Rupert Murdoch: The Politico Media Complex Mogul* (CreateSpace Independent Publishing Platform, 2011), 79.

into a fight during which the seventeen-year-old injured his nose.<sup>535</sup> His friend then drove him home, and the injured teenager ran in, returned with a pistol, and fired two shots, killing his friend.<sup>536</sup> He allegedly confessed to the police and was arrested for the murder. The *San Antonio News* reported the incident with multiple front page headlines: “Machismo,” “Manhood’s proof no joking matter,” “Macho: male, masculine, strong” and “...he saved face.”<sup>537</sup> The article, however, did not provide any more details about the case. Instead, the reporter used the crime as an opportunity to repeatedly ridicule machismo. For example, the article contains a definition and a personification to emphasize the reporter’s disgust:

Macho is a gutter culture [*sic*]. It wanders ruthlessly looking for a fight. Tight, tie-dyed jeans, a muscle shirt, a glint of defiance in unfeeling eyes—that’s its outward look. Inwardly it has an alter ego. It is the cowardice of evil, a weakness to accept what it is. Men are not wild animals, destined to forever prove their masculinity.<sup>538</sup>

The phrase “gutter culture” implicates Latina/o culture as well, because machismo was not generally considered a culture by itself. Moreover, the description of machismo’s personification closely resembles the teenager’s image in the newspaper, as he was wearing a tank-top “muscle shirt,” leading readers to assume he was the one “looking for a fight” and was entirely responsible. The article ended by asking two questions intended to further convince readers of machismo’s futility: “Does [the seventeen-year-old], prisoner in Bexar County Jail, realize how much macho he has? Does it matter?”<sup>539</sup> Even though the teenager was arrested, the

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<sup>535</sup> Mike Hess, “Machismo: Manhood’s Proof No Joking Matter,” *San Antonio News*, October 9, 1974. The accused teenager lost his appeal but was released from custody two and a half years later with an after-the-fact writ. Because the legal records are no longer available, this chapter will not use the teenager’s name.

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>537</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>538</sup> *Ibid.*, 10A.

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid.*, 10.

reporter was exasperated by the outcome since he imagined that, to the teenager, incarceration was not a punishment. Rather, a conviction would prove the teenager's machismo to himself.

Similar to Carrasco's prison siege, the Latina/o community of South Texas protested the media frame. This time, the protest was more organized and directed, including three radio broadcasts (two on Spanish radio stations), letters, and direct appeals to the editors to print retractions. The first radio editorial aired two days after the article's publication on Spanish radio station KUKA. In English, it argued that the *San Antonio News* provided their "own personal version of machismo" that emphasized "vengeance, lack of compassion, or murder."<sup>540</sup>

Rather, the broadcast instead claimed,

Machismo is, for the Mexican American, manhood, strength, character and decision... the ability to fight discrimination; decision to do what his conscious dictates him; and manhood to defend himself with all the strength and spirit that that he believes is right within the framework of the law.<sup>541</sup>

The broadcast presented machismo differently than the *San Antonio News*, claiming machismo was in good character and could include self-defense. This called attention to the limited facts of the case that were available, as perhaps the accused was defending himself from further harm when he allegedly fired the pistol. The broadcast then listed several honorable examples of machismo, such as "When a Mexican American rises over difficulties and hardships to become a professional... that is machismo" and also included Cesar Chavez's efforts to improve the lives of farm workers as exemplary of machismo.<sup>542</sup> The broadcast ended by stating, "When a man kills another man... that's murder, not machismo" and warned that anyone who used machismo

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<sup>540</sup> KUKA Editorial in Bernardo Euseste, "'Machismo' Article Controversy Packet," November 27, 1974, Series IV, Box 60, Folder 16, Tomás Rivera Archive, Collection 253. University of California, Riverside Libraries, Special Collections & Archives, University of California, Riverside.

<sup>541</sup> Ibid.

<sup>542</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 2, Chávez believed machismo was a form of sacrifice years before, but this notion was not mentioned in the editorial. Ibid., Hensey, Jr. and Lyons, "Text of Chicano Report."

to “downgrade” Mexican Americans would antagonize the entire community because it is a cultural characteristic.<sup>543</sup> This defense was thorough, giving machismo a different definition and even providing examples. Yet, its airing on a Spanish-language radio station meant it was not intended for the *San Antonio News* newspaper or the larger English-speaking community. Instead, the broadcast informed Latina/os of the offensive news article and provided them with counter-arguments.

The second radio broadcast aired that same week on English radio KTSA. Logan Stewart argued the controversy was a misunderstanding. He believed machismo was “indigenous” to Mexican culture and referred to an unpublished survey by Trinity University that suggested Chicano men associated machismo with courage and responsibility.<sup>544</sup> The survey allowed Stewart to conclude that machismo was “complex,” consisting of pride, dignity, elegance, and “never” requiring proof.<sup>545</sup> Thus, he argued that machismo was not to blame for the teenage murder and was only a current topic of media interest due to Carrasco’s prison siege. Rather, Stewart believed the media reports exposed a “general Anglo misunderstanding of the term,” differentiating between “muy macho” and “muy hombre.”<sup>546</sup> Since Carrasco was a drug kingpin who sold heroin to his own community, Stewart argued he was not macho but instead was “muy hombre.” Similar to the previously discussed letter to the editor by John N. Mitchell, this broadcast again revealed a sense of uncertainty about the media frame of criminalized machismo. This included the testimony of Father O’Brien, who, of all the writers, was the most careful in using the term to describe only Carrasco.

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<sup>543</sup> KUKA Editorial in Eureste, “‘Machismo’ Article Controversy Packet.”

<sup>544</sup> The survey was conducted by Victor Soto, a civic leader in San Antonio. Logan Stewart Commentary in Ibid.

<sup>545</sup> Ibid.

<sup>546</sup> Ibid.

The final radio editorial was broadcasted in Spanish by the Spanish radio station KCOR. Director of Programming Guillermo Lozano read a one-page statement which began with, “¿Pero, que es machismo?” (But, what is machismo?) Asking this question in Spanish to Spanish listener seems unnecessary, but it was meant to preface counter-arguments and examples similar to the previous broadcasts. Lozano’s statement included a thorough definition as well:

*Para nosotros machismo es el valor innato del hombre, para defender su hogar, su dignidad, la familia, la patria, macho no es el delincuente que pelea, macho no es quien abuse del debil, o quien humilla al caido.*<sup>547</sup>

Lozano associated machismo with bravery, dignity, and family at the expense of the reported teenage “delinquent.” Yet, he made sure to insist it could include the previously mentioned right to self-defense, an idea and phrase favored by the 1970s Chicano movement over non-violence.<sup>548</sup> The editorial concluded that the news article was just another attempt to negatively stereotype Latina/o culture.

These radio broadcasts defined machismo as a masculinity that valued and defended family, dignity, and honor. Moreover, the broadcasts carefully separated the perpetrators from machismo. Carrasco, a celebrity within the Latina/o community of South Texas, was viewed as a social bandit by Chicana/o journalists, a victim of circumstances, a defender against oppressive law-enforcement officials, and/or a “godfather” who helped fund businesses in the Mexican American community.<sup>549</sup> The accused teenager, on the other hand, was shunned by these Chicana/o journalists and called a “delinquent,” with a passing reference at a possible self-

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<sup>547</sup> Translation: “For us, machismo is the innate bravery of man, to defend his home, his dignity, his family, his homeland, machismo is not the delinquent who fights, macho is not the one who abuses the weak, or who humiliates the fallen.” Guillermo Lozano, “Editorial KCOR,” in *Ibid.*

<sup>548</sup> Brian D. Behnken, *Fighting Their Own Battles: Mexican Americans, African Americans, and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Texas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011), 155, 193.

<sup>549</sup> Ioan Grillo, *El Narco: The Bloody Rise of Mexican Drug Cartels* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2011), 171.

defense scenario. This difference indicates the extent of the dominant media frame of criminalized machismo in the Latina/o community.

In response to letters of protest they received, the *San Antonio News* published a defense of their article in an editorial titled “The Evils of ‘Machismo.’”<sup>550</sup> The editorial stated there were several misunderstandings: first, that “anything critical of machismo is an attack on Mexican-American culture or Mexican-Americans” and second, that “confusing machismo with genuine Mexican culture is a gross distortion.”<sup>551</sup> Instead, they argued that machismo meant the following: continuous pregnancies, having many mistresses, avoiding household duties, and, in particular, killing as an act of revenge for losing a fight. The editors even referenced the alleged pledge by Echeverría, who wanted to “end machismo—or any culture of masculine superiority,” to support their criticism.<sup>552</sup> Their defense rested on the belief that machismo was its own “culture,” borrowing mostly from stereotypical notions of machismo as patriarchy discussed in Chapter Two. However, referring to President Echeverría’s reforms in Mexico contradicted this effort because the editors argued that machismo was not at all related to Mexican culture. Thus, the editorial was not comprehensive and did not retract any statements from the first article.

Two days after the publication of the editorial, Bernardo Eureste, representing the Chicano Social Workers Organization in San Antonio, called the editors of the *San Antonio News* to schedule a meeting.<sup>553</sup> The Chicano Social Workers demanded an apology and

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<sup>550</sup> San Antonio News Editorial Board, “The Evils of ‘Machismo,’” *San Antonio News*, October 28, 1974.

<sup>551</sup> Ibid.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid.

<sup>553</sup> Bernardo Eureste was from the south side of San Antonio. He graduated with a Master’s degree in Social Work and Public Health from the University of Michigan. He compiled together a packet of notes and statements from the Chicano Social Workers in San Antonio describing how they protested the criminal use of machismo by the *San Antonio News*. This packet is titled “Report of Machismo Controversy.” Portions of the packet were sent to several university professors Eureste knew. The most complete compilation was accessed from: Series IV, Box 60, Folder 16, Tomás Rivera Archive, Collection 253. University of California, Riverside Libraries, Special Collections & Archives, University of California, Riverside.

retraction of both articles. They also wanted editorial space to provide their own views on machismo. The *San Antonio News* agreed to a meeting and the editorial space, but was unwilling to apologize for or retract its previous articles.<sup>554</sup> Eureste described that meeting as consisting of “positions and counter positions, definitions and counter definitions, interpretations and counter interpretations.” The editors maintained they meant no offense and had used the dictionary definition of machismo.<sup>555</sup> Both parties ultimately agreed that the meeting was unproductive and that they would meet again once the Chicano Social Workers clarified their concerns on paper.

The Chicano Social Workers wrote a seven-page position paper that argued the *San Antonio News* discriminated against Mexican Americans by stereotyping machismo “in the worst possible way,” calling it “evil” and a “gutter culture.”<sup>556</sup> They decried how the editors promoted such controversy only to sell more newspapers, and they feared that the incriminations would continue in future publications, possibly targeting other cultural characteristics such as “*curanderismo*” or “*compadrazgo*.”<sup>557</sup> They demanded that the *San Antonio News* objectively report the news and publish its policy of reporting on culture.<sup>558</sup> The position paper also detailed the Chicano Social Workers own ideas of machismo. They believed that machismo benefited the “development of our own culture and that of the greater Southwest” in that it stood for “manhood,” “leadership,” nobility, perseverance, “responsibility,” “self-esteem.” They claimed it

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Eureste, Bernardo, “Report of Machismo Controversy,” Chronology, in Eureste, “‘Machismo’ Article Controversy Packet.” Rodolfo Rosales, “Personality and Style In San Antonio Politics: Henry Cisneros and Bernardo Eureste, 1975-1985,” in *Chicano Politics and Society in the Late Twentieth Century*, ed. David Montejano (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999), 13.

<sup>554</sup> Eureste, Bernardo, “Report of Machismo Controversy,” Chronology, 2, in Eureste, “‘Machismo’ Article Controversy Packet.”

<sup>555</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>556</sup> Chicano Social Workers Organization in San Antonio, “News Interpretation and Discrimination: Machismo Reconsidered,” November 27, 1974, 1, in Eureste, “‘Machismo’ Article Controversy Packet.”

<sup>557</sup> *Ibid.*, 1–2, 6. Translation: “*Curanderismo*” is folk healing and “*compadrazgo*” is an informal system of godparents that extends family ties. Castro, *Chicano Folklore: A Guide to the Folktales, Traditions, Rituals and Religious Practices of Mexican Americans*, 60, 75.

<sup>558</sup> *Ibid.*, 1, 7.



as a rite of passage to manhood for boys, who learned how to “endure” responsibilities and physical pain.<sup>559</sup> This description presented machismo as advantageous to Mexican Americans, far removed from a motive to commit murder.

The Chicano Social Workers also referred to Echeverría’s supposed reforms against machismo. They believed that the *San Antonio News* should not “confuse the rhetoric of Mexico’s social problems with the culture of Mexican Americans.”<sup>560</sup> It is difficult to deduce what “social problems” they were referring to; as President Echeverría’s liberal reforms targeted numerous areas. However, it is worth noting that the Chicano Social Workers did not contest the media misunderstanding of the speech — that President Echeverría intended to outlaw machismo in Mexico. Instead, similar to the previous broadcasts, they only conveyed their own notions of machismo in order to counter its criminalization.<sup>561</sup>

An edited version of the position paper was published in the *San Antonio News* alongside a response from the editors.<sup>562</sup> The editors agreed that the initial article should have contained “less opinion” and “more objective” reporting. They held that its main shortcoming, however, was not providing a thorough definition of machismo.<sup>563</sup> They stated their intentions were not to “suggest that the only citadel of male superiority is Latin male chauvinism” because it is a “vice shared by all ethnic groups.”<sup>564</sup> Thus, even after their meeting with the Chicano Social Workers and reading their position paper, the editors maintained their dictionary definition of machismo

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<sup>559</sup> Ibid., 1-7.

<sup>560</sup> Ibid. 2

<sup>561</sup> Mexican and Mexican Americans have always been aware of their social, political, and cultural differences. David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 2.

<sup>562</sup> The two articles are: Bernardo Euseste et al, “Machismo Concept,” *San Antonio News*, December 26, 1974; “The News Replies,” *San Antonio News*, December 26, 1974.

<sup>563</sup> “The News Replies,” 6A.

<sup>564</sup> Ibid.

as “a manifestation of male chauvinism and man’s continued denigration of woman,” that was applicable to non-Latina/os as well.<sup>565</sup> The response, though, added a new claim, that the seventeen-year-old himself “attributed his action to ‘machismo.’”<sup>566</sup> This was not mentioned in any previous articles or in the meeting notes from the Chicano Social workers, and therefore, its validity can be called into question. Yet, the editors did promise “increased sensitivity” in future reporting and promised to maintain a “free forum” where readers could write in to express disagreement.<sup>567</sup> The publication of the position paper and the editors’ response was the highpoint of this controversy. Several more meetings between the Chicano Social Workers and editors took place, with no further resolution.<sup>568</sup>

This controversy reveals the extent of the media frame of criminalized machismo, as both the Huntsville prison siege and President Echeverría’s supposed reforms were mentioned in the radio broadcasts and published articles.<sup>569</sup> Moreover, the refusal of the *San Antonio News* to print any retractions indicates how convinced the editors were of the media frame and its application to the murder. These news articles, however, allowed the Latina/o community to discuss, organize, and create a comprehensive response, separating machismo from its supposed criminality and claiming it was an honorable masculinity.

## ***Conclusion***

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<sup>565</sup> Ibid.

<sup>566</sup> Ibid.

<sup>567</sup> Ibid., 9A.

<sup>568</sup> Another meeting between the Chicano Social Workers and the editors of the *San Antonio News* was held on December 4, 1974. Letter from Bernardo Eureste to Julie Ruiz in Juliette Silva Ruiz, “Clarification of the Concepts of Machismo and Hembrismo: Significance for Social Work Practice with Chicanos” (Dissertation, University of Denver, 1975), 241.

<sup>569</sup> Michel Foucault calls this a network of knowledge. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, 28.

In 1974, the English-language press created a media frame that criminalized machismo in Texas. This frame prominently appeared in 1974 during the Huntsville's prison siege to describe Carrasco's irrational behavior including his polite formalities, the difficult negotiations, and his decision to barricade the library with hostages in the first place. Reporters then used this media frame to explain other stories: the mourning of Carrasco's death in South Texas, Echeverría's reforms for women, and lastly, a murder by a teenager in San Antonio. A limit of this media frame is seen in the sparse reporting of speeches by the national director of the U.S. Labor Department's Women Bureau Carmen Maymi. Even though she also disparaged machismo, Maymi received limited press in comparison.

Latina/o journalists actively responded to the news articles of the two crimes. They recuperated Carrasco as a social bandit who challenged unfair and oppressive laws, similar to Gregorio Cortez, Joaquín Murrieta, and other outlaws revered by the Chicano movement.<sup>570</sup> To reclaim machismo from its criminalized media frame, however, was different because there was no prior consensus on its definition. Their approach during the Huntsville prison siege was to only claim it as part of their culture, without explaining specific details. A more coordinated response to the media frame occurred months later when the *San Antonio News* blamed machismo for a teenage murder. While they did not acquire the printed retractions they wanted, the efforts of the Latina/o community developed a stance that machismo was a masculinity that emphasized honor and responsibility. In Chapter Five I turn to popular culture in order to examine the ways in which Latina/os produced their own notions of machismo.

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<sup>570</sup> Paredes, *With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad And Its Hero*; Bebout, *Mythohistorical Interventions: The Chicano Movement and Its Legacies*, 53.

## Chapter Five

### **Macho Latinos in Popular Culture: Authorship and Stereotypes, 1969 – 1978**

Writing for *New York Magazine*, essayist Linda Wolfe published “The Machismo Mystique” an article that outlined how machismo, “like masculinity itself, means different things to different men.”<sup>571</sup> It provided numerous accounts particularly from social scientists including the previously discussed Mexican psychoanalyst Aniceto Aramoni who stated, “The machista treats the woman like a thing, tries to make her feel inferior, good-for-nothing, unless what she is doing is related to serving him, the master, in bed and out.”<sup>572</sup> What differentiates Wolfe’s article from others is her inclusion of Latina/o celebrities. Their responses, though, were embittered. Writer Piri Thomas, author of *Down These Mean Streets* (1967), seemed exasperated by her queries, responding: “Machismo? *Oy vey*.”<sup>573</sup> Latin jazz musician Ray Baretto, on the other hand, provided more insight, retorting, “Asking about it is just like asking ‘When did you stop beating your wife?’”<sup>574</sup> These indignant responses illustrate how machismo was a common, and often tiring, inquiry for Latina/o celebrities. The previous chapters have investigated the ways Latina/o academics, social justice leaders, and journalists negotiated with stereotypical notions of machismo, often creating their own conceptualizations of machismo and

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<sup>571</sup> Wolfe, “The Machismo Mystique,” 62.

<sup>572</sup> Ibid.

<sup>573</sup> Ibid.

<sup>574</sup> Ibid.

its relative importance in Latina/o culture. This chapter thus examines the ways machismo was applied to Latina/os in American popular culture, particularly by Latina/os themselves.<sup>575</sup>

In literature, film, and other media from 1969 – 1978, machismo was mentioned frequently, but mostly as a passing reference. As the goal of this chapter is to analyze works in which machismo is a major theme, I select only those that meet the following three parameters: 1) the word “machismo” or one of its variants appears in the title of a work; 2) the work relates to Latina/o culture; and 3) it was distributed in the U.S. Focusing on examples that only included “machismo” in the title allows for a more sustained analysis because the title suggests that the entire production is about machismo, or at the least that machismo is a major theme. Indeed, I analyze every example that meets the above criteria including three novels that were written by non-Latina/os yet have Latina/o characters.

Popular cultural productions are sites of opportunity for Latina/os to publicly present their notions of machismo for consumption. As cultural theorist Stuart Hall has argued, the struggle for hegemony occurs “in the most complex lines of resistance and acceptance, refusal and capitulation, which make the field of culture a sort of constant battlefield... where no once-for-all victories are obtained but where there are always strategic positions to be won and lost.”<sup>576</sup> Although the stereotype of machismo as violent, chauvinistic, and lustful permeated American popular culture, this chapter argues that most of the examples authored by Latina/os engaged in oppositional strategies by publicly negotiating, presenting, and, most importantly,

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<sup>575</sup> George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), 235; George Lipsitz, “The Struggle for Hegemony,” *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 1 (June 1988): 146–147, 150.

<sup>576</sup> Stuart Hall, “Notes on Deconstruction ‘The Popular,’” in *People’s History and Socialist Theory*, ed. Raphael Samuel (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981), 233.

circulating different notions of machismo for popular consumption as part of an ongoing struggle for representation.

In the first section, I will examine periodicals about professional football quarterback Joe Kapp. Although Kapp was nicknamed “Injun Joe,” he is of Mexican and German descent.<sup>577</sup> Following his 1970 Super Bowl IV loss, Kapp wrote a three-part autobiography for *Sports Illustrated* titled “Man of Machismo.”<sup>578</sup> This served as his new nickname and personal title for years thereafter. Sports writers even referred to his machismo as a possible reason for all of his decisions, including his anti-trust lawsuit against the National Football League (NFL). In Kapp’s autobiography, he claimed machismo was a Chicano characteristic that exemplified toughness, which he performed by charging into the opposing football team for a few extra yards rather than running out-of-bounds as other quarterbacks did. Moreover, he admitted these efforts were to impress his son, setting a good example for him to follow.

The next section will examine television and film examples: a television episode of crime drama *Ironside* titled “The Machismo Bag” (1969) and two western films, *Macho Callahan* (1970) and *Machismo: 40 Graves for 40 Guns* (1971).<sup>579</sup> The episode of *Ironside* is authored by a Latino while the films are not but include Latina/o actors. These screen examples share a similar plot: an antagonistic, violent form of machismo is overcome by an honorable, even righteous machismo/masculinity exemplified by male camaraderie.

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<sup>577</sup> Mark Bradford, “Kapp Scores with Message to Hispanics,” *South Bend Tribune*, August 10, 2005.

<sup>578</sup> Joe Kapp and Jack Olsen, “A Man of Machismo,” *Sports Illustrated*, July 20, 1970; Joe Kapp and Jack Olsen, “A Man of Machismo: Part 2,” *Sports Illustrated*, July 27, 1970; Joe Kapp and Jack Olsen, “A Man of Machismo: Part 3,” *Sports Illustrated*, August 3, 1970.

<sup>579</sup> Don Weis, “The Machismo Bag,” *Ironside*, November 13, 1969; Bernard L Kowalski, *Macho Callahan* (Avco Embassy Film, 1970); Paul Hunt, *Machismo: 40 Graves for 40 Guns* (Harry Novak, 1971).

I then turn to four novels, only one of which is authored by a Latino. Edmund Villaseñor's novel *Macho!* (1973) presented multiple notions of machismo in a hierarchy of bravery. The protagonist struggles to advance through multiple expressions of his machismo until he realizes the fallacy of constantly proving himself through conflict. Instead, he comes to favor another, more honorable form of masculinity at the end of the narrative. This section will then examine three novels written by non-Latina/o authors: *Machismo* by Gramm Hall (1971), *Macho Man* by Peter Tuesday Hughes (1975), and *Cry Macho* (1975) by N. Richard Nash. Unlike the previous examples, these novels depict machismo as one-dimensional: an egotistical and violent antagonism that the Euro American protagonist must overcome. The representations of machismo in these novels suggest that at the time of their publication many Euro Americans still believed machismo was an oppositional and aberrant masculinity specific to Latina/o culture.

The last section will analyze American music by Latina/o musicians. The artists are as follows: accordion conjunto Óskar Hernández y los Profesionales, Texan Chicano rock band Machismo con Matias, conjunto Saoco, Machito with his Afro-Cuban Salseros, and disco musicians Celi Bee and the Bizzy Bunch.<sup>580</sup> With the exception of the last musical group, these Latina/o musicians imagined machismo for themselves, associating it with love, family, responsibilities, musical talent, and other favorable characteristics. Celi Bee and The Buzzy Bunch, on the other hand, employed the stereotype of machismo in their song titled "Macho (A Real, Real One)" (1978), that warned of its deceitful and womanizing intentions.<sup>581</sup>

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<sup>580</sup> This chapter will exclude the works of Banda Macho, a band from Monterrey, Mexico. Their three albums released in the U.S. are mostly Spanish covers of American rock songs with none titled or mentioning machismo.

<sup>581</sup> Celi Bee & The Buzzy Bunch, *Alternating Currents* (APA Records, 1978), APA-77002, 33 rpm.

Even though the stereotype of machismo persisted into the 1970s popular culture, these examples demonstrate that many Latina/o authors disagreed with these notions. Indeed, they publicly responded by creating and circulating their own representations for popular consumption. The characteristics presented by these Latina/o authors vary from fatherhood role models to musical talent, but they share mostly beneficial notions.

### ***The Man of Machismo: Joe Kapp***

Born in 1939 in Santa Fe, New Mexico, Joe Kapp was raised in the working class communities of San Fernando and Salinas, California.<sup>582</sup> His mother was a farm worker and waitress, his father a traveling salesman.<sup>583</sup> His interest in team sports led him to football, where he later went on to accomplish many notable achievements. These included being the first athlete to play in three major championship games: the Rose Bowl, the Canadian Grey Cup, and the Super Bowl. He also co-holds the current record for throwing the most touchdowns in a single game (seven).<sup>584</sup> Following his team's loss to the Kansas City Chiefs in the 1970 Super Bowl, Kapp wrote a three-part autobiography that totaled more than 12,500 words for *Sports Illustrated* titled "A Man of Machismo."<sup>585</sup> To convey Kapp's notions of machismo as toughness and a family tradition, the magazine editors used two contrasting images. The first image appeared on the cover of the magazine and it featured a headshot of Kapp shouting angrily in his football uniform without his helmet. The caption declared Kapp "The Toughest

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<sup>582</sup> *Latinos in U.S. Sport: A History of Isolation, Cultural Identity, and Acceptance* (Champaign: Human Kinetics, 2011), 174; Kapp and Olsen, "A Man of Machismo," 28; Al Stump, "Joe Kapp: Football's Fury," in *Best Sport Stories 1971*, ed. Irving T. Marsh and Edward Ehre (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1971), 92.

<sup>583</sup> Stump, "Joe Kapp: Football's Fury," 98.

<sup>584</sup> *Latinos in U.S. Sport: A History of Isolation, Cultural Identity, and Acceptance*, 205; Jim Corbett, "Joe Kapp Flattered by Peyton Manning's Mention," *usatoday.com*, September 6, 2013, <http://www.usatoday.com/story/sports/nfl/2013/09/06/peyton-manning-joe-kapp-seven-touchdowns-baltimore/2777325/>; Dave Newhouse, "Kapp's Latest Role: Proud Papa," *Oakland Tribune*, October 5, 2006, 1.

<sup>585</sup> Kapp and Olsen, "A Man of Machismo"; Kapp and Olsen, "A Man of Machismo: Part 2"; Kapp and Olsen, "A Man of Machismo: Part 3."



Chicano.”<sup>586</sup> The other image, inside the magazine and next to his article, differed considerably. It showed a smiling Kapp, with his wife and son, walking on a beach in their swimsuits, with the caption,

Gentle, fun-loving Joe Kapp says that fights just seem to come looking for him—but he admits he never backs down. That, adds the Viking quarterback in the first of three parts, is what Chicanos call “machismo.”<sup>587</sup>

These contrasting images of an angry, shouting quarterback with a family man depicted Kapp’s notions of machismo as a willingness to fight if challenged. Metaphorically, this also applied to Kapp’s unique quarterback style. A quarterback’s role is to control the football during plays by either passing it or handing the football to another player. If the play is unsuccessful, the quarterback usually runs out of bounds to stop the game’s timer and ensure his team keeps the ball. Kapp was different. He would instead run down the field and hurdle or tackle the other team’s players to gain a few extra yards.<sup>588</sup> As his coach, Bud Grant, quipped, “Only gringos (North Americans) run out of bounds.”<sup>589</sup>

Kapp discussed his rough play style in his article, attributing it to his heritage. “Maybe this goes back to my Chicano childhood, and machismo,” he contemplated, “Machismo means manliness, a willingness to act like a man, and if a kid didn’t have machismo... where I grew up, he had it tough.”<sup>590</sup> Kapp reminisced how, in the fifth grade, a bigger child called him “a dirty Mexican.”<sup>591</sup> He was so outraged, he fought him, “got in some licks,” but lost.<sup>592</sup> The outcome

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<sup>586</sup> Kapp and Olsen, “A Man of Machismo.”

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>588</sup> *Latinos in U.S. Sport: A History of Isolation, Cultural Identity, and Acceptance*, 205; Dave Anderson, “Mr. Machismo Is Hanging Tough in Exile,” *New York Times*, May 6, 1972, 47; Stump, “Joe Kapp: Football’s Fury,” 95.

<sup>589</sup> Dave Brady, “Kapp’s Fun Game Marred by Finks: Can’t Bridge Contract,” *The Washington Post, Times Herald*, May 3, 1970, D4.

<sup>590</sup> Kapp and Olsen, “A Man of Machismo,” 28.

<sup>591</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>592</sup> *Ibid.*

did not matter to Kapp because, as he reiterated, “that was machismo, not backing down, acting like a man.”<sup>593</sup> In Kapp’s terms, winning was not important to proving machismo. This philosophy was applied on the football field where Kapp believed charging into the other team proved his machismo as well.

Kapp acknowledged that performing his machismo could have its flaws. When he entered his first game as a Minnesota Viking in 1967, it was a grim situation. The other two quarterbacks had been injured by the Los Angeles Rams renowned defense, led by their lineman nicknamed “The Fearsome Foursome.”<sup>594</sup> As the Viking’s last quarterback, rather than playing safely, Kapp leaned over the line and shouted at the opposing team, “All right, you sons of bitches, here I come! Let’s see how good you are!”<sup>595</sup> Kapp lamented this action in his article, “If you consider that the ultimate in machismo, you must also consider it the ultimate in *stupido* [*sic*].”<sup>596</sup> Not only did the Vikings lose the game 39 – 3, but Kapp was sacked eleven times and was described by one sports reporter as “cleat-stomped and half knocked out.”<sup>597</sup> Yet Rams lineman Deacon Jones, future defensive hall of famer and the player who popularized the term “sack,” recalled how shocked the Rams were at Kapp’s perseverance, “He was fighting harder and talking more than ever at the end.”<sup>598</sup>

In the last part of his article, Kapp claimed that impressing his son was an additional motivation for charging down the field. Kapp knew that his six-year-old son J.J., whom he

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<sup>593</sup> Ibid.

<sup>594</sup> Will Graves, *The Best NFL Defenses of All Time* (North Mankato, Minnesota: ABDO Publishing Company, 2014), 16.

<sup>595</sup> Kapp and Olsen, “A Man of Machismo,” 29–30.

<sup>596</sup> Ibid.

<sup>597</sup> Stump, “Joe Kapp: Football’s Fury,” 95.

<sup>598</sup> Deacon Jones and John Klawitter, *Headslap: The Life and Times of Deacon Jones* (Amherst: Prometheus Books, 1996), 9; Stump, “Joe Kapp: Football’s Fury,” 95.

described as believing in “the twin ideals of machismo and victory,” would be watching.<sup>599</sup> “I wouldn’t want him to think his old man lacked machismo,” Kapp confessed.<sup>600</sup> Nevertheless, at the most unfortunate moment, the fourth quarter in the Super Bowl, Kapp believed he failed to uphold his tough image. He was tackled, in what he described as “a clean shot” that separated his shoulder, momentarily left him unconscious, and forced him to leave a game for the first time in his career.<sup>601</sup> Although Kapp stated that “The world ends” when you lose the Super Bowl, he dreaded facing his son as something worse.<sup>602</sup> His fears were warranted, as J.J. was unforgiving, only saying, “Well, Pop... you blew it.”<sup>603</sup> In other words, his son was even more disappointed that his father was injured and could not finish the championship game.

After the publication of Kapp’s autobiography, sports journalists seemed to accept his notion of machismo since they used new titles to describe him including: “Man of Machismo” and “Mr. Machismo.”<sup>604</sup> After the Super Bowl, Kapp refused to sign the Viking’s low-offer contract extension, causing the *Chicago Tribune* to headline their sports story with, “Vikings’ Kapp Feels Machismo Worth Million.”<sup>605</sup> Kapp ultimately signed with the New England Patriots to a multi-year deal. The NFL, however, sought to substitute his contract with a “standard” one instead.<sup>606</sup> He filed an anti-trust lawsuit, in which he argued that if he was not under a contract, he was a free agent and able to sign with another team. The matter took years to resolve, ultimately ending in Kapp’s favor. It also, though, ended his professional quarterback

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<sup>599</sup> Kapp and Olsen, “A Man of Machismo: Part 3,” 24.

<sup>600</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>601</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>602</sup> *Ibid.*, 23–24.

<sup>603</sup> *Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>604</sup> Florence Mal, “Vikings Pass Better With Cuzzo, Says Allen,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 21, 1970, F1; Anderson, “Mr. Machismo Is Hanging Tough in Exile,” 47.

<sup>605</sup> “Vikings’ Kapp Feels Machismo Worth Millions,” *Chicago Tribune*, August 5, 1970, C2.

<sup>606</sup> Jim Murray, “Kapp: He Just Wins,” *Los Angeles Times*, May 1, 1975, 7.

career.<sup>607</sup> Yet, challenging the National Football League by charging into litigation reminded at least one *New York Times* reporter of Kapp's play style. "When the commissioner ordered him to sign the standard player contract," the *Times* reported, "Joe Kapp didn't run out of bounds, either. Machismo."<sup>608</sup> Kapp's notions of machismo revolved around toughness, willingness to fight, winning, and impressing his son. Most salient is that Kapp's ideals reached millions of American football fans, as his autobiography was printed through three issues of *Sports Illustrated* and the subsequent news stories that referred to his "Man of Machismo" title were also published in nationally circulated newspapers. Kapp's heroic machismo, which was celebrated as a positive attribute in the media given his status as a football star, was not the norm in popular media. Indeed, machismo was more often depicted as violent and irrational in the press. However, there are several examples of screen depictions of a different sort of machismo, one that emphasized honor, courage, loyalty, and most of all, camaraderie. I turn to these depictions in the next section of this chapter.

### ***Machismo on Screen***

Unlike the periodicals on Kapp that reached millions, the screen examples discussed in this section are relatively unknown. The television episode from the *Ironside* series is one of 199 episodes that aired over an eight-year period. Moreover, the two western films are currently only available in analog format (VHS/Betamax), and one of them was a low-budget film only screened in selected theaters. Yet, their plots depict notions of machismo that differ from the stereotype of violence and womanizing.

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<sup>607</sup> Ibid.

<sup>608</sup> Anderson, "Mr. Machismo Is Hanging Tough in Exile," 47.

The first example is from a television detective series called *Ironside* that aired for eight seasons (from 1967 – 1975) and was the most watched crime drama in over a decade.<sup>609</sup> Chief Robert T. Ironside, the show’s protagonist, was a twenty-five year veteran of the San Francisco Police who used a wheelchair after having suffered a gunshot wound to his spine.<sup>610</sup> Although a paraplegic, Ironside still serves the police as a special consultant, solving most of his criminal cases in a single episode. To maintain the series as fresh and exciting, the producers hired freelance writers because this allowed them to choose the best scripts, particularly those with themes beyond “crime doesn’t pay.”<sup>611</sup>

One of the scripts, entitled “The Machismo Bag” (1969), told the story of the political activities of Manuel Rodríguez and the New Mexican American Liberation Force (a facsimile to the Chicano movement, including their use of blue berets). As the title suggests, machismo is a main theme of the episode. The Blue Beret members are depicted as violent, egocentric, fatalistic, and patriarchal “machos” who are investigated by law-enforcement officials.<sup>612</sup> This script, however, was not a product of the typical Euro American scriptwriters. It was written by freelance screenwriter William Douglas Lansford, a Mexican American from East Los Angeles who served in the U.S. Marine Corps during World War II and as an Army officer in the Korean War.<sup>613</sup> The episode was thus a critique of the gender politics in the Chicano movement by an older Latino. Through the plot construction, Lansford revealed his preference for the values

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<sup>609</sup> Douglas Snauffer, *Crime Television* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2006), 44–45.

<sup>610</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>611</sup> *Ibid.*, 43–44.

<sup>612</sup> Thomas F. Baldwin and Colby Lewis, “Violence in Television: The Industry Looks at Itself,” in *Television and Social Behavior: Reports and Papers; A Technical Report to the Surgeon General’s Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior*, ed. George A. Comstock and Eli A. Rubinstein, vol. 1 (Rockville, Maryland: National Institute of Mental Health, 1972), 356.

<sup>613</sup> William Douglas Lansford, “William Douglas Lansford - Homepage,” accessed May 13, 2013, <http://www.williamdouglaslansford.com/>.

embodied by the character of Rodríguez's father, a blue-collar working American and a World War II veteran like himself, by juxtaposing them against the confrontational Chicana/o nationalist machismo of the young Blue Berets.

Three scenes in the episode depict the Blue Beret's machismo as irrational and violent, intended to garner antipathy from the viewer. The first is the opening scene in which Chief Ironside's assistant Mark Sanger, an African American, is walking across a university campus, where he comes across a Blue Beret rally. Rodríguez, wearing a beret, stands on the base of a statue surrounded by a crowd of students. His position behind the statue is symbolic of the topic of the rally. The sculpture, more than likely a former college administrator, appeared to have his back to Rodríguez, signifying an avoidance and disdain to his claims of the discrimination experienced by Mexican Americans. However, Rodríguez seems intent on provoking the mostly white crowd of students, as he begins the rally with the following words:

You're not concerned! Why should you be concerned? Why should you enlightened Anglos put yourself out for another culture? For another skin? For another guy's fight, huh? You're all reflecting the apathy and indifference of your own lily-white, well-fed, well-heeled, smug, self-satisfied middle class parents. Your own shriveled up souls and imperialistic upbringing! You professional bigots... [Jeers from the crowd drown him out]

Hearing these opening statements, Sanger draws closer to the rally with a look of concern.

Meanwhile, the confrontation escalates, with a white student yelling, "Why don't you go back to Tijuana?!" Several Mexican American students, not wearing berets, also denounce Rodríguez as an outsider to the campus community. To this accusation, Rodríguez singles out Sanger, "Hey you! Hey man! You black cats got your Uncle Toms right? We've got our Tío Tacos and there's one right there!" The rally then descends into shouts, insults, and shoves, and the last audible lines spoken by Rodríguez amidst the riot are "This is our country!" and "Viva la raza!"

This opening scene establishes the Blue Berets as confrontational and violent, as their leader's inflammatory words incite a riot. The viewer is meant to identify with Sanger's reaction as throughout the rally, the camera continues to show his concern and confusion at what is occurring. College rallies usually have a specific topic or purpose. Instead, this rally seems only intent to insult everyone in attendance.

With *Ironside* set in San Francisco, Lansford, the script writer, more than likely had in mind the political protests on college campuses in the area. For example, students at the University of California – Berkeley had a standoff with administrators over political activity and academic freedom on campus beginning in 1964.<sup>614</sup> The intensity of subsequent demonstrations, including against the Vietnam War, were met by police and National Guard. One protest that resonates with this scene in *Ironside* is the demand for a Third World College, led by the Third World Liberation Front student organization, where departments on Mexican American, Black, and Asian American studies would be led by students, faculty, and members of the respective community.<sup>615</sup>

This depiction of the Blue Berets is reiterated in another scene in which Sanger visits their “Free Library” to question them about their organization and about books on Mexican Americans that have been stolen from bookstores. As he enters, the Blue Berets are busy: Three men crank a mimeograph and collect the copied papers. Two other men and Delores Sánchez, the only woman, shelve books. Their leader, Rodríguez, is behind a desk typing. The interactions and conversations between Sanger and the Blue Berets are hostile from the start. The male Blue Berets grab Sanger and frisk him for weapons. When they release him, another

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<sup>614</sup> W. J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 18–23.

<sup>615</sup> Muñoz, Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement*, 70.

Blue Beret asks “What do you want?” and yet another sarcastically adds, “I think he wants a library card *para los libros africanos*.”<sup>616</sup> Thus, even before Sanger speaks, the Blue Berets show their hostility and make it known that he was not welcome because of his race. Moreover, the use of Spanish furthers Sanger’s (and possibly the viewer’s) exclusion, as he cannot understand what is being said about him, leading him/us to suspect that the Blue Berets could be openly plotting against him. With the title of the episode and the previous scene, these “machos” represent the stereotype: angry, violent, and hostile even before Sanger is allowed to speak his intentions.

Sanger, however, disregards the Spanglish comment. He looks around the room and comments, “If you got a liberation movement going on around here, there are a couple of things missing on your walls... like Martin Luther King, Malcolm X...” However, he is interrupted by multiple Blue Berets who express more hostility: “There’s nothing missing around here! This is our movement! We don’t need you on our walls, or in our hair, or anywhere else!” This exchange reinforces the contradictions that incited Sanger’s earlier confusion at the rally since he was expecting either a political platform for integration with objectives similar to those of Dr. King or a call for cultural nationalism among all Mexican Americans following the ideas of Malcolm X. Instead, the Blue Berets offer neither. They excluded other Mexican Americans at the rally and demean Sanger for his African American heritage. These actions depict them as confrontational toward anyone who was not both Mexican American and a Blue Beret. In actuality, many Chicano nationalists borrowed from Black nationalist organizations, including their clothing styles, titles, and political platforms. Even the phrase “Tío Taco” is a variant of

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<sup>616</sup> Translation: “I think he wants a library card for the African [American] books.”



“Uncle Tom.”<sup>617</sup> Yet, in this scene, the alienating dialogue from the Blue Berets serves to isolate them, alienate viewers, and discourage any empathy they might have felt for these “macho” Blue Berets.

The walls of the Blue Beret library are decorated with numerous cultural images intended to reveal more about Rodriguez’s character. The decorations included a U.S. flag, a Mexican flag, a giant portrait of Che Guevara, smaller ones of Fidel Castro and President John F. Kennedy, various posters of Latin American bullfighters/dancers, and a strange, extraneous poster of a tree with the words “The Studio.” The camera shot of Rodriguez typing behind his desk shows, on one side, a Mexican flag with two spear-like rods crossed above it and on the other side, a rectangular poster whose contents cannot be seen because one upper corner is unattached to the wall and is thus hanging down, with the white backside blocking the image altogether. The unattached poster has a more subliminal meaning. It suggests Rodriguez is unkempt and disorganized, and that he is metaphorically “not viewing the full picture.”

Another camera shot of Rodriguez with meaningful background images occurs when Sanger walks over to the bookshelves. Rodriguez follows him and stands between two decorations: the poster that says “The Studio” and a portrait of President Kennedy. Amid the images of Latin American culture and leaders, both of these images seem out of place. While the “Viva Kennedy” campaign that garnered numerous Latina/o voters in the 1960 election may explain the presence of President Kennedy’s portrait, the “Studio” poster is a mystery, as it is an

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<sup>617</sup> Jeffrey O. G. Ogbar, “Rainbow Radicalism: The Rise of the Radical Ethnic Nationalism,” in *The Black Power Movement: Re-Thinking the Civil Rights-Black Power Era*, ed. Peniel E. Joseph (New York: Routledge, 2006), 219–221.

advertisement for the magazine *The Studio: An Illustrative Magazine of Fine and Applied Art*.<sup>618</sup> Its true purpose on the wall is not revealed until Rodriguez's head blocks part of the text, revealing the phrase "The Stud." This camera shot frames Rodriguez with leadership, especially as he was also adjacent to the portrait of President Kennedy, a beloved (especially to Latinos) martyred president.

Although the male Berets have been active in the scene thus far, Delores Sanchez, the only female Beret member, stands still with a smug look on her face almost as if she were part of the decorations herself. As Sanger guesses the value of the stolen books on the shelf to be over five hundred dollars, indicating grand theft, Rodriguez confirms this "figure" but attempts to bribe him with prostitution by saying, "Personally, the only figure I dig is Delores." Sanger ignores the proposition and asks how the Blue Berets furnished their headquarters as he raises a crystal library lamp into view. Rodriguez, however, angrily presses his offer, saying, "It's murder! You want to see her in a bikini? ¿Eh linda? (Right beautiful?)" During this exchange, Sanchez continues to stand still with a smile, indicating her willingness to comply in the negotiation. Her silence and Rodriguez's frustration implies that this arrangement has occurred before, especially since offering Sanchez's body is the first and only offer Rodriguez makes for Sanger's silence. Moreover, Rodriguez affirms that he is "The Stud" since he personally attests to Sanchez's bikini body. The audience is thus shown a representation of a liberation movement where "machos" are stereotypically hostile, angry, and offer women in their organization to further their agendas.

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<sup>618</sup> Henry Ramos, *The American GI Forum: In Pursuit of the Dream, 1948-1983* (Houston, Texas: Arte Público Press, 1998), 87–88; Ignacio M. García, *Viva Kennedy: Mexican Americans in Search of Camelot* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2000), 92–93.

The end of this scene at the Free Library again depicts the Blue Berets as understanding only violence. Different Beret members yell at Sanger in quick succession, “Chicano power, man! You black cats think you know how to put whitey down! Well you ain’t seen it yet! There’s gonna be a second Alamo with us inside this time! Split! You heard him, go get yourself some chitlins.” Most salient is the Beret members’ repeated exclusion and belittling of Sanger based on his race, racializing themselves in the process. However, hidden among these racial epithets is the fatalistic threat of a “second Alamo,” suggesting they are planning another, even more violent event. Sanger, however, attempts one last appeal, “Look you cats could have something here, something beautiful... Instead, all you’ve got is a bag full of hate... a hate to beat up on those who don’t happen to agree with you.” This plea reminds the viewers of Sanger’s initial comments about Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X, leaders who had strategies and agendas for racial empowerment that Sanger called “beautiful.” Unfortunately, Sanger’s appeal is met with a fist, and he has to fight his way out of the library, affirming that the Blue Berets are angry, thieving criminals with no political agenda whatsoever.

The next scene shows Sanger nursing his head at the police station while Ironside meets with other police investigators over the detained Blue Berets. A police search of the library uncovered not only the stolen books and furniture, but also a stolen cache of government-surplus rifles and explosives. Fearing this could indicate a state-wide conspiracy against the Californian government, Ironside is asked to aid the investigation. He agrees and schedules an interrogation of Rodriguez but is warned by a police investigator, “You won’t get much out of that kid. He is in a real machismo bag... Machismo. It’s a term often heard among Spanish-speaking people, especially those raised in the old country tradition. It means manhood.” Ironside adds, “With a capital M.” “That’s how the kid spells it too, only with all capitals,” Sanger concludes. This

short conversation declared machismo as a foreign and un-American masculinity, something outside modernity since it was from the “old country.” More importantly, this exchange presents a hierarchy of machismo ranked by belligerence: machismo, Machismo, to MACHISMO. It is a subtle reference, yet it conveys that Rodriguez represents an extreme especially since he was storing firearms for his organization.

Rodriguez displays his MACHISMO in the following two interrogation scenes. The first contains a long monologue by Rodriguez in response to Ironside’s question about how Rodriguez feels about his “people,” as more than a million Mexican Americans in California do not wear berets. Rodriguez angrily answers,

I’ll tell you about my people. They’re their own worst enemies! Stupid! Docile! Stultified by tradition! Working always against their own best interests and proud of their stupidity! You don’t have to use a whip on them! You just tell them about honor, tell them about God, and put the stars and stripes in front on them! They’ll put the chains around their own necks... (sigh) I love my people... and I hate them! If I had to I would tear down everything to make them into what they should be... what they have a right to be... as Americans.

Rodriguez’s monologue furthers his egotistical image; he expresses anger and hatred at Mexican Americans for conforming to the United States, conveying that there is no end to his fury, even toward those he wishes to “liberate.” While this angry image of militant Chicana/os may appear far-fetched, the same year that this episode of *Ironside* aired, playwright Luis Valdez critiqued similar unproductive attitudes in his production *The Militants* (1969).<sup>619</sup> The theatre production features two Chicano activists debating who is more militant. It ends with them each angrily shooting each other because they could not agree on their future political activities. Through this

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<sup>619</sup> Luis Valdez, *Luis Valdez-Early Works: Actos, Bernabé, and Pensamiento Serpentino*. (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1990), 91.

tragic outcome, Valdez emphasized the need for activists to set aside internal conflicts and instead commit themselves to productive activities.

At this moment in the plot, the viewer is convinced of the negative portrayal of MACHISMO as its only representation. However, this notion is upended by the introduction of Rodriguez's father. After the livid performances by Rodriguez, it is expected that Rodriguez's father character to act similar to his son. Instead, his father is well-groomed, clean-shaven, and soft-spoken. He is wearing a suit and tie and appears shocked at hearing about his son's activities. When father and son meet during the second interrogation scene, tempers flare as the younger Rodriguez details his father's decorated military service in World War II and how their family experienced a tragedy:

Now Papa, you tell Chief Ironside and Mr. Mark here how much the bank was willing to loan you on that medal when Mama was in the hospital dying and it took everything we had to pay the bills! You tell them how her heart was broken, watching you bury your manhood behind a flunky smile, sweeping other people's floors, cleaning other people's toilets, like a peon! Inferior! Docile! Second-best...

Ironside attempts to stop this disparagement, but Rodriguez continues by shifting his monologue to Ironside, describing him as an example of "the fierce gringo" who "runs this rotten country!" It is Rodriguez's father who finally stops the diatribe by slapping his son across the face saying, "I won't hear you say another word against my country, not from you or any other traitor!" Two police officers run into the room and begin pulling Rodriguez out as he exhorts, "I wish you died on Iwo Jima when you were still a man! I wish you died so that I could've thought that I had a real father instead of a Tío Taco! Tío Taco! Tío Taco! Tío Taco!" This confrontation conveys that there is more to Rodriguez's anger and militancy than just his adherence to machismo. Rodriguez is angry because of the discrimination his family experienced. Moreover, the generation difference between Rodriguez and his father is

unmistakable since Rodriguez Sr. was able to prove himself by serving in World War II, leaving Rodriguez Jr. a legacy that he wants to fulfill through protest and militancy. Ironside explains the situation best by saying, “Manuel Rodriguez is a confused, troubled boy whose anger stems not only from delusion but from unfortunate truths.” Rodriguez, though, seems to hold his father just as responsible for these “truths” because he was “macho” enough to fight as a soldier yet he would not fight against the banks that refused him a loan.

The differences between Rodriguez and his father is settled in the final scene, a standoff between Rodriguez, Jr. and Sr. against the police. Having escaped from police custody with a gunshot wound, Rodriguez, Jr. returns to the library, where he uncovers more automatic rifles hidden in the wall. As he takes the weaponry to the second-story window for his last stand, foreshadowed as the “second Alamo,” the female Beret Sanchez arrives and attempts to dissuade Rodriguez from his plan to die in a shootout. Rodriguez, though, asserts his authority over her, and tells her to leave with, “I’m the man! I’m the macho here!” With police surrounding the library, Sanchez exits to tell Ironside that Rodriguez intends to recreate his father’s heroic stand at Iwo Jima, since his death will prove both his MACHISMO and his claims of U.S. racism. In despair, Rodriguez’s father enters the library and agrees to stand with his son on one condition, “As long as I am here, they will have to fire the first shot.” When Rodriguez attempts to shoot first, his father prevents it, shouting, “I came here to fight, not to murder!”

Ironside, fearing a violent end, orders the police to leave, allowing him to talk with Rodriguez. Once he is alone in the street, Ironside shouts, “You want to talk, I’ll listen. But if you want to be shot down in the street, you’re gonna have to find another place.” Limping, Rodriguez emerges from the library holding a rifle. The background music, which consists of a drum beat and violin, is similar to a military march, while the viewer is shown a montage of

Rodriguez's thoughts, reflecting the entire episode. As the words "Tío Taco!" are repeated continuously, the montage begins with Rodriguez at the rally that opened the episode, happily shelving his books at the Free Library, passionately speaking at his court hearing, and escaping from police custody. The last memory is of Rodriguez's father slapping him. Remembering this scene causes an overwhelmed Rodriguez to yell and toss the rifle to Ironside as he faints. The camera then shows Rodriguez's father in the window, rifle in hand, looking down with pride as his son finally realizes that violence at the rally, before the court, at his interrogations, and at this standoff was counterproductive and not the answer.

Screenwriter Lansford wanted his audience to leave with two lessons: first, that the activism of the 1960s and 1970s by minority communities was a response to racism in America, as mentioned at the opening Blue Beret rally and in Rodriguez's monologues; and second, that the militant machismo he imagined young Chicanos adhered to was a dangerous and violent masculinity. Instead, Lansford provided another male character, Rodriguez's father, who emphasized lawful, honorable, and rational conduct. This strategy of using comparative notions and values to counter the stereotype of machismo is seen again in the other screen examples.

The second screen example I will discuss is the western film *Macho Callahan* (1970).<sup>620</sup> Diego "Macho" Callahan, played by white actor David Janssen, fits the typical bandit and Irishman stereotype of Western characters: violent, irrational, drunken, lawless, cruel, and womanizing.<sup>621</sup> His surname denotes an Irish ancestry while his first name, Diego, signifies

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<sup>620</sup> *Macho Callahan* was re-released as part of the MGM Western Legends series in 2000 on VHS, indicating an appreciation for the film in the western genre.

<sup>621</sup> The character Macho Callahan fits into Charles Ramírez Berg's stereotype of "El Bandido." Berg, *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, and Resistance*, 68; Kerstin Kettman, "Cinematic Images of Irish Male Brutality and the Semiotics of Landscape in The Field and Hear My Song," in *Contemporary Irish Cinema: From The Quiet Man to Dancing at Lughnasa*, ed. James MacKillop (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 154.

Spanish descent, keeping machismo as a characteristic of Latina/o culture. At his side is his companion Juan, a Mexican character played by Mexican actor Pedro Armendáriz, Jr., whose loyalty, compassion, and camaraderie inspires Callahan to change his ways at the end of the film. Unlike in the *Ironside* episode, there is no moment in which machismo is openly discussed. Instead, the viewer is frequently reminded of machismo by Juan's use of the phrase "Hey Macho," which serves as both his greeting and to authenticate Callahan's character as the macho of the film.

The film's press kit offers a definition of machismo. It describes macho as a "stud horse, as translated from the Spanish... the named applied to a man signifies one who is extremely masculine, a rugged, tough and ready guy with a great attraction to women."<sup>622</sup> These characteristics are applicable to many other protagonists of western films; however, the initial reference to an animal, namely, a "stud horse," is unique in that it conveys a sense of animalistic savagery. This notion is also depicted in the film's poster shown in Figure 5.1. The poster features two images with several slogans. The image at the top shows a man shot dead in a duel, while the other, larger image in the center shows a white woman screaming at a man, whose fist is blurred as he is about to strike her. The text at the top reads: "If Macho does this to a man who crosses him... just think what he does to a woman." At the bottom of the poster is the movie title and another phrase, "Loving comes hard... killing comes easy."<sup>623</sup> Implied is how violence is innate to machismo, as the poster suggests how "easy" it is for machos to kill. Moreover, the trope of the damsel in distress, with the phrase "loving comes hard," promises a rape scene to

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<sup>622</sup> Avco Embassy, *Press Kit: Macho Callahan* (Avco Embassy Pictures Corp., 1970), 2.

<sup>623</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.



potential voyeurs, enticing them to see the film. Thus, the film's advertisements emphasized how dangerous a macho can be especially when crossed.<sup>624</sup>

Three scenes in the film establish Callahan's macho character as cruel and self-centered, two of which are displayed on the main poster. The first scene is the beginning of the film; Callahan is serving time in a Confederate prison camp for army desertion. Several confederate soldiers approach a row of small rooms/wooden boxes where prisoners are placed in solitary confinement. The first man released has just served thirty days and is so dazed from his punishment that he cannot speak or even stand, only shaking his tin plate as if asking for food. The second prisoner released falls dead out of the box with cockroaches crawling across his body. The last prisoner is Callahan, who kicks the door open as the soldier unlocks it, knocking him to the ground. The guard rises to his feet, pointing his pistol at Callahan, who protests, "My time was up two days ago!" "You're time is up when I say it's up!" retorts the guard, who threatens to shoot an unflinching Callahan. This short exchange displays many characteristics of Callahan's machismo. He is a tough character, as he is able to withstand the sweat box while other men die, and he is fearless when faced with death. After this standoff, selfishness, another of Callahan's characteristics, is displayed as he is told to return to his tent and "take your friend with you," referring to the first prisoner released. Instead, Callahan leaves his friend to crawl in the dust as he walks away without a second thought.

In the next scene, Callahan and several other prisoners construct an explosive device within a shoebox full of letters. He gives the shoebox to a guard, telling him they were the

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<sup>624</sup> Angela Davis argues a similar point on how the myth of the Black male rapist affects the representation of all African Americans as, "once the notion is accepted that Black men harbor irresistible and animal-like sexual urges, the entire race is invested with bestiality." Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race, and Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 182.

possessions of an executed prisoner. The guard then carries the shoebox to the prison gates where it explodes, blowing open the gates. As a mob of prisoners run toward the opening, Callahan and several others wrestle a horse away from a guard. Callahan, though, takes the horse for himself and rides it to his freedom before the guards begin firing into the crowd. Even though the bomb required the effort of several prisoners to construct and it was a group effort to knock the guard off his horse, at the moment of escape, Callahan again demonstrates how he is willing to leave others behind to save himself. His newfound freedom is not without consequences, as the Confederacy places a bounty on Callahan's life.

In a subsequent scene, Callahan rides to a cantina in search of his friend Juan. As Callahan enters, Juan looks surprised and greets him with "Hey Macho." Callahan, however, is quiet during their reunion, only ordering a few drinks. Juan admonishes this callous behavior, "Hey Macho, you go away and I don't know if you get shot or what. Then you come back and you don't even say 'Hey Juan.'" Callahan reluctantly agrees and toasts him with, "Hey Juan." Juan's name and Spanish accent differentiate him from the other people in the cantina as he is distinctly Mexican. A further distinction is his friendly greeting as the rest of the patrons sit quietly.

As Callahan and Juan drink, Colonel David Mountford, a blond, blue-eyed Confederate soldier whose war injuries have left him with the use of only one arm, enters the cantina. He views a bottle of champagne that Callahan reserved and bribes the bartender for it. He intends to share the champagne with his wife, Alexandra, and leaves the cantina to find her. Callahan follows Col. Mountford, shouting in slightly slurred speech, "Hey! You left with my bottle!" Outside, he continues berating Col. Mountford, who ignores him and continues walking away. It is not until Callahan grabs Juan's handgun and tosses it in front of Col. Mountford that he

realizes Callahan will not relent. In quick succession, Col. Mountford walks over to the gun, bends over, places the bottle on the ground, and then clumsily reaches for the gun with the same hand, causing Callahan to draw and shoot him. Unlike the image on the poster described previously, Col. Mountford did not have a gun in hand. Alexandra, his wife, witnesses the dispute and is shown sobbing over her husband's body. There is some hope for justice as an aging sheriff, identifiable by his star badge, walks through the growing crowd. Callahan, however, successfully pleads self-defense, uttering that Col. Mountford stole his bottle and reached for the gun first in their standoff. There is a moment of silence as Callahan asks, "Anybody see it different?" With no protest, Juan and Callahan ride out of town with the bottle of champagne. These scenes reiterate Callahan's "macho" character as scheming, egotistical, and cruel. He provoked the draw with an unarmed, crippled soldier, for his champagne bottle.

Wanting to avenge her husband, Alexandra adds to Callahan's bounty and pursues him with several hired guns. After several unsuccessful attempts to kill Callahan, Alexandra decides to travel by herself to join Callahan and Juan under the pretense that they are headed in the same direction. The group stops at a cabin for the night, where a camera shot of empty bottles on a table suggests that Callahan and Juan have been drinking again. As Alexandra makes one of the beds for herself, Callahan responds, "No need to make up that bunk; we'll use this one." Appalled, Alexandra backs into a corner at this proposition. Juan understands Callahan's intentions and exits the cabin to sleep outside, leaving Callahan and Alexandra alone for the night. As Callahan undresses, Alexandra eyes the fireplace poker and slowly moves over to it. She asks Callahan if he remembers killing a man over a bottle of champagne. Callahan says no and continues undressing. Alexandra, with tears in her eyes, yells, "He was my husband!" and strikes Callahan several times with the poker. Callahan and Alexandra brawl, knocking over

furniture as they kick and punch each other. Both have their clothing torn and are covered in blood as the fight lasts a very long minute and twenty seconds. Callahan, though, gains the upper hand and repeatedly strikes Alexandra until she falls on a bed and lies motionless with her cheeks and mouth covered in blood. With a crazed look and bloody mouth, Callahan pulls on her clothing, exposing one of her breasts. Their clash seems to have aroused him even more, as he removes Alexandra's bloody dress. Unable to defend herself, Alexandra whimpers, cries, and repeatedly shakes her head. What follows is the advertised rape scene that lasts another long minute; it consists of close-ups of a hysterical Alexandra and a menacing Callahan. To emphasize his cruelty, in one camera shot, Callahan licks his bloody lips in obvious enjoyment. This grotesque scene finally fades to black, with the next scene shown is outside of the cabin at daybreak. It is a difficult transition, but the film provides an explanation for the previous night's occurrence with Juan's usual greeting, "Hey Macho." Once again, Juan's greeting centers the film on Callahan's savage machismo, blaming it for the haunting rape scene the viewer just witnessed. Not only is Callahan informed that he killed Alexandra's husband over a bottle of champagne, but he also beats and rapes her in an uncontrollable, macho lust. This scene, though, is the turning point of Callahan's macho character, as he has a change of heart afterwards.

Metaphorically, the morning shot outside of the cabin serves as a "new day," the beginning of Callahan's transformation toward compassion that Juan represents. Callahan, barefoot and in an unbuttoned shirt, holds a bottle of alcohol as he explains to Juan who Alexandra is and how she chased him across two states for revenge. Juan reacts compassionately, "Is she dead? Man, I better go inside and help her." Even though Alexandra increased the bounty and tried to kill his friend, Juan empathizes with her plight and enters the cabin to find her sitting on a bed, barely recognizable. She is clothed but her face has three long

gashes, a black eye, and several bruises, and the top of her blonde hair is covered in blood.

Comparing this image of Alexandra to the previous close-ups, we see that Alexandra was further beaten by Callahan, as the gashes and wounds on the top of her head were not there beforehand. Juan approaches her with a knife saying, “You’re head is still bleeding. And your hair... I’m... sorry, *señorita*” as he begins cutting her hair to dress her wounds. Alexandra, thus far unresponsive, asks “Why didn’t he kill me?” Juan answers, “I don’t know... funny...” This short exchange illuminates the expectation of Callahan’s cruelty since he killed for far less beforehand.

The film continues with a strange bonding among the group, best categorized as a type of Stockholm syndrome. Alexandra, even though Callahan killed her husband, then beat and raped her, stays at the cabin and helps gather supplies for their journey. Juan pleads with her, “You’re a very nice lady. Why don’t you go home? Have a nice beautiful life... and maybe a piano.” Callahan even tells her, “Come and go as you please.” However, Alexandra stays. The only explanation for this behavior is that she is drawn to the story of Callahan and wants to learn more about him since she asks them many questions about their lives. When Juan and Callahan have enough supplies to continue their journey, Callahan offers Alexandra money for a stage coach or a train back to her family. Alexandra, in turn, offers Callahan a golden ring she stole. It is a strange interaction which turns stranger. Callahan refuses the ring, Alexandra claims she does not want it, Callahan tells her to sell it, she tells Callahan to sell it, and Callahan declares, “You’re coming with me!” Even after all of the pain Callahan caused her, Alexandra still attempts to help Callahan escape the bounty on his life by offering him gold. In turn, Callahan is impressed with Alexandra’s resolve, first to avenge her husband then to help Callahan escape, that he demands she continue with them on their journey. Somehow, they are falling in love.

Again, the only explanation for this relationship that the film offers is that she is attracted to his macho character.

The film ends with a shootout where Callahan's machismo is put to the test. A group of twenty men on horseback find Callahan's trail and intend to kill him for the Confederate bounty. During the chase, Juan is separated from the group and finds himself in an open field, where he is easily shot at a distance. Callahan and Alexandra take cover behind several rocks but find themselves surrounded. The bounty hunters surround them and yell that they will move in at daybreak. In a sentimental scene, Callahan and Alexandra spend their last night together expressing their feelings for one another and eulogizing Juan. Alexandra falls asleep as the sun rises. Knowing he has little chance of survival, Callahan kisses her head and runs to his horse, sacrificing himself as he is shot several times. Alexandra awakens to the sound of gunfire and we see her, again, sobbing over a corpse as the film ends. Callahan's sacrifice is an act of atonement for the many ways he wronged Alexandra. It is also his redemption from his cruel "macho" behavior since, beforehand, he would have only thought of himself. In other words, Callahan ends the life and the film no longer a macho.

Comparing Callahan's performance of machismo to the previously discussed character of Rodriguez Jr. in the episode of *Ironside* reveals several similarities. Both characters are violent and act chauvinistic toward women. Moreover, both characters are leaders, with men following their actions and, often irrational, decisions. Lastly, both characters seem to mature from their macho ways at the end of the respective stories as both choose to surrender, one to jail the other to death, rather than continue to fight. The next screen example shares some of these themes especially the maturing away from machismo. This suggests that to both Euro American and

Latina/o authors, machismo was a way to begin character arcs for screen plots, progressing forward until these characters realize the problems machismo creates.

The last screen example is *Machismo: 40 Graves for 40 Guns* (1971).<sup>625</sup> Harry Novak, the director, released over two hundred low-budget “exploitation” films in his career that capitalized on popular Hollywood themes or featured gratuitous sex and violent scenes to sell more tickets.<sup>626</sup> *40 Graves* included all of these. The trailer advertised it as follows:

The first motion picture bold enough to be called machismo. Seven valiant Mexicans fighting for the one thing more important than life, machismo: guts, afraid of nothing but the shame of fear. Riding north to meet a challenge and avenge a wrong. Not since *The Wild Bunch* has there been a movie with the power and adventure of machismo. Struggling against the bigotry of a town. The allure of a woman who might betray them. At war with the savage Americans who vowed their destruction. Making forty graves for forty guns. But at what cost? Their honor? Their lives? Don't miss it! Machismo! Considered the best action film of the year. Don't miss it! Machismo!

This trailer explicitly states its notions of machismo as “guts,” the willingness to use violence, camaraderie, and sex. As mentioned in the trailer, the plot of *40 Graves* centers on seven Mexican bandits riding across the border to kill a larger group of Americans and retrieve a golden cross they stole from a Mexican church. In exchange, the Mexican bandits will receive a full pardon for their past crimes. The reference to the Hollywood blockbuster *The Wild Bunch* (1969) warrants further investigation, as the trailer claimed it also exhibited the “power and adventure of machismo.” *The Wild Bunch* is another western tale of aging outlaws who commit “one last job.” It is renowned for its pioneering use of multiple camera angles, montages, and slow motion to emphasize excessively violent scenes.<sup>627</sup> The only humanizing element in the

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<sup>625</sup> In Australia, the film was released only as *40 Graves for 40 Guns*, indicating the director/publishers believed the term “machismo” was unique to U.S. English.

<sup>626</sup> Gleen Kay, *Zombie Movies: The Ultimate Guide, First* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2008), 88; Ernest Mathijs, *Cult Cinema: An Introduction* (Malden, Massachusetts: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 239; Rob Craig, *Gutter Auteur: The Films of Andy Milligan* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., 2013), 61.

<sup>627</sup> Stephen Prince, “Sam Peckinpah, Savage Poet of American Cinema,” in *Sam Peckinpah's The Wild Bunch*, ed. Stephen Prince (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 2.

film is the camaraderie among the outlaws. As Bishop, one of the characters, explains, “When you side with a man, you stay with him. And if you can’t do that, you’re like some animal. You’re finished!” Novak imagined this camaraderie as a characteristic of machismo, evidenced by its appearance as the main characteristic within *40 Graves*.

To emphasize camaraderie, Novak casts a bandit in the group, named López, to vocally oppose and act against it in three key scenes. In the first scene, the Mexican bandits return to their hideout to count the gold they have stolen from a federal shipment. One remarks with a heavy accent, “The gold is for the men with machismo” as the gold coins are distributed among them. This line is one of two instances where machismo is mentioned in the film, establishing the bandits as machos for their successful heist. However, López uses this opportunity to challenge another bandit, García, over his machismo and share of the wealth by saying, “Oh yeah, then how did he get here?” López is the only bandit to have a black sombrero with a matching black beard and moustache, appearing as the stereotypically irrational, Latino bandit seen in previous western films.<sup>628</sup> His mannerisms further differentiate him from the other bandits. He is the only one grimacing before their golden prize and is standing away from the group as he makes his accusation. García, however, appears as the opposite of López with his clean shaven face and his full *charro* (Mexican horsemen) outfit.<sup>629</sup> García responds to the accusation with an explanation about what occurred at the heist: “I’m not going to kill an unarmed man.” The rest of the bandits agree with García’s decision and tell López to sit down and drink some tequila as his criticism is not important. “What is important then?!” López protests. “For me, my living is *muy importante* (very important)!” López’s overly emotional

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<sup>628</sup> Berg, *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, and Resistance*, 68.

<sup>629</sup> *Charros* are skilled horsemen who perform at rodeos. They were iconic in 1940s Mexican cinema. Cordelia Chávez Candelaria and Peter J. García, “Charro,” in *Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture*, ed. Cordelia Chávez Candelaria, vol. A-L (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2004), 129.



reaction and lack of trust contradicts the group's camaraderie, placing himself and his machismo at the margins. Moreover, his accusation displays his cruelty, as he would have killed the unarmed man to demonstrate he was a macho.

The next scene in which López opposes the group's camaraderie is also set at the Mexican bandits' hideout. López and García's disagreement over what happened at the heist culminates into a fight, with each punching and kicking the other. Knocked down, Garcia throws his knife at Lopez, who dodges the blade. Lopez, though, retrieves it and pushes Garcia up against a tree, mocking him with a smile, "Lopez don't want to fight with these things [*sic*]. I think I'll give it back." Garcia is frozen with fear as Lopez continues berating him, "You're better at the *guitarra* (guitar) than being a macho." Lopez finally relents, saying, "Take back your knife, Garcia" as he throws it into his foot, causing Garcia to fall on the ground in pain. This display of sadistic humor and dialogue further differentiates Lopez from the other bandits: Whereas they have a code of honor amongst thieves, Lopez disdains such camaraderie and fights Garcia intent on humiliating him. Not only does Lopez win, but he unnecessarily injures Garcia and demeans his machismo as a testament to his viciousness.

The third scene in which López contests the camaraderie of the group occurs after a shootout between the Euro American and Mexican bandits. Upon finding the Euro Americans, the Mexican bandits surround and kill several of them, retrieving the golden cross they need for their pardon. However, one of the Mexicans, Juárez, is shot in the chest and is unable to make the long ride back to Mexico. With their prize in hand, the other Mexican bandits have to decide whether to stay and fight again against the forty Euro Americans, who are likely searching for them now, or escape and leave the injured Juárez to his death. Emphasizing their camaraderie, the group agrees to stay over López's protest, "Let's go! We can't worry about Juárez! What

about the rest of us?! We have to get out of here! If we stay here another hour, we'll never make it home!" Angered by their decision to stay, López leaves the group and rides to Mexico by himself, seemingly leaving his friends and their notions of machismo as camaraderie behind.

The final scene, however, redeems Lopez's character, as his expression of violent machismo is transformed and finally matches that of the other Mexican bandits. As López rides through a mountain pass, he views forty Euro American bandits riding toward his friends. He stops and watches with concern as the Americans ride past him into the final shootout. What follows is seven minutes of extreme, bloody violence, with numerous injuries and fatalities occurring on both sides, reminiscent of the final scene in *The Wild Bunch*. Lopez returns to help, killing one Euro American with an axe and shooting another. However, he is shot and dies alongside his friends. The shootout and film end with all of the Euro American and Mexican bandits dead. This is a sad, but not a tragic ending. The Mexican bandits proved their camaraderie and, thus, their notion of machismo by fighting together. Lopez's change of heart attests to this conclusion. He knew there was little chance of survival in the fight between forty Americans against seven Mexicans, but he could not allow his friends to die without him, finally conforming to their model of machismo.

These three screen examples share the same theme of violent, macho characters overcoming their machismo. The one common characteristic among these depictions is camaraderie, as Rodríguez, Jr. and Sr., Callahan and Juan, and the Mexican bandits stay united to face violence and even death. Moreover, the irrational machos all have condescending, even violent, interactions with women in their respective films: Rodríguez offers his fellow Blue Beret member Sánchez as a bribe to avoid legal prosecution, Callahan rapes and strikes Alexandra, and López insults the women who have relations with his friends, accusing them of seduction for

protection. For example, before López leaves the group prior to the shootout, he shouts to his friends, “Fernandez, you’re going to throw your life away for this whore?! Vicente! You have your pick of the señoritas back home!” His accusation and appeals go unheard, again placing López’s at the margins of the group committed to fight and die together if needed.

Similar notions of machismo are presented in the following section which examines novels. Edmund V. Villaseñor’s *Macho!* (1973) is the only example from a Latina/o author. His text depicts multiple notions of machismo competing in a hierarchy through bravery. The other novels, however, were written by non-Latina/os depict machismo as one-dimensional: a pathological, cruel, and lustful Latino masculinity with no redemptive qualities whatsoever. The non-Latina/o authors rely on this stereotype to serve as an antagonism that challenges the Euro American protagonists, advancing its aberrance in the Euro American imagination.

### ***Machismo in Novels***

Novelist Edmund V. Villaseñor differentiated between many notions of machismo in his novel *Macho!* (1973). Unlike the representations of machismo featured in films of the 1970s, his differentiation is not only through camaraderie, honor, or perseverance. Instead, Villaseñor differentiated his notions of machismo through a hierarchy of bravery. Proclaimed as the “first great Chicano novel,” *Macho!* is a coming-of-age narrative about Roberto García, a poor, rural Mexican boy who is the eldest son and breadwinner of his large family.<sup>630</sup> Villaseñor originally titled the novel *A La Brava*, meaning “the brave way,” but concerns over marketing by his

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<sup>630</sup> Villaseñor finished writing *Macho!* in 1970 but received 265 rejections before finding a publisher. By 1973, when *Macho!* was finally published, Tomás Rivera’s *...y no se lo tragó la tierra* and Rolando Hinojosa’s *Estampas del Valle* were published by independent Chicano publishers, meaning *Macho!* was not the first Chicano novel. José David Saldívar, *The Dialects of Our America: Genealogy, Cultural Critique, and Literary History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), 110; Edmund Villaseñor, *Macho!* (New York: Bantam Books, 1973).

publishers convinced him to change the title.<sup>631</sup> By analyzing the novel with its original title and focusing only on Villaseñor's usages of the word *machismo*, we can see that the novel illustrates it as a form of pride in a gender-neutral hierarchy measured by bravery. At the end of the narrative, Roberto, the protagonist, reaches the top of the hierarchy by transcending through two imagined degrees of *machismo*.<sup>632</sup>

The narrator tells us that Roberto's hometown is in a mountainous region of Mexico where men are famous for their *machismo*, "an insane *orgullo* (pride) to do their own personal law of violence."<sup>633</sup> Villaseñor's definition of *machismo* established it as the willingness to commit vigilantism, described as "the code" throughout the text. Furthermore, Villaseñor emphasized the pervasiveness of *machismo* in this region of Mexico, writing that "this area is said to have no children or women. For all people here are *machos*."<sup>634</sup> This description applied *machismo* to anyone from Roberto's hometown, including men, women, and children, establishing it as the first degree of *machismo* in this hierarchy. This is later exemplified when Roberto described his sister Esperanza as "she stood, looking straight back at him... Like a man. *Un macho*. With prideful arrogance."<sup>635</sup> For Roberto, Esperanza's prideful stance is an example

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<sup>631</sup> The novel was first published as a paperback, and major newspapers did not review a book unless a hardcover was available, limiting its readership. Victor Villaseñor, *Beyond Rain of Gold* (New York: Hay House, Inc., 2011), 80; Victor Villaseñor, *Crazy Loco Love: A Memoir* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2008), 390; Villaseñor, *Macho!*, 1973, 51.

<sup>632</sup> In her review of the book, Marta Ester Sánchez referred to an "aura of the *machismo* cult" that submerged other important themes in the plot. Without Villaseñor's later admission that *machismo* was not the intended title, however, she misses the complex ways the text uses *machismo*. Marta Ester Sánchez, "Book Review: *Macho!*," *Latin American Literary Review* 3, no. 6 (Spring 1975): 100. Villaseñor first used "*a la brava*" in the novel to describe how Roberto and the *norteños* would cross the border bravely but illegally.

<sup>633</sup> Villaseñor places these mountains around the state of Jalisco with the state of Michoacán to the south and Zacatecas to the north. Villaseñor, *Macho!*, 1973, 65.

<sup>634</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>635</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

of machismo, affirming it as a gender-neutral characteristic where women and the rest of the villagers are in the first degree of machismo. The second degree belongs to the *norteños*.

The *norteños* are seasonal laborers who work in the U.S. then travel throughout Mexico proudly displaying their American jackets, Levi's, and Texan hats as they fraternize around the cantinas with "money to burn."<sup>636</sup> Villaseñor describes them as "machisimos," a word formed by modifying the word macho with the suffix *-ísimos*, the Spanish absolute superlative, signifying the *norteños* are the most macho around.<sup>637</sup> This hierarchy is further described when Juan Aguilar, a *norteño*, enlists Roberto to join him in his journey for fieldwork in the U.S. with the promise that "You'll be coming back UN MACHO."<sup>638</sup> The border crossing experience is dangerous because thieves and smugglers may scam desperate migrants. Yet, with Aguilar as his companion, Roberto is confident that he will return with U.S. dollars, a sign of his bravery and the second degree of machismo. This is an exclusive group, as Roberto describes the other male villagers, including his father, as not having "the nerve to go north."<sup>639</sup>

The character development of Roberto's father best explicates the difference between the first and second degrees of machismo. Years before the story takes place, the text reveals how he was a great workman of many trades. However, his work habits inexplicably slowed over the years until he eventually came to avoid his duties altogether. Roberto's father instead spends his

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<sup>636</sup> Although the word *norteños* usually refers to the residents of northern Mexico who are culturally different from central and southern Mexicans (in dress, music, and food), the novel defines *norteños* as men who travel to and from the U.S. for seasonal labor. Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 53; Randall McGuire, *Archaeology as Political Action* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 163–164; Villaseñor, *Macho!*, 1973, 33, 48–51.

<sup>637</sup> The word "machisimos" was reprinted in the 1976 Italian translation of *Macho!* However, the 1997 English edition instead used "muy machos," which still denotes the hierarchy of bravery. Edmund Villaseñor, *Macho!*, trans. Carla Muschio (Milano: Jaca Book, 1976), 53; Victor Villaseñor, *Macho!* (New York: Delta, 1997), 43; Villaseñor, *Macho!*, 1973, 33.

<sup>638</sup> Villaseñor, *Macho!*, 1973, 42.

<sup>639</sup> *Ibid.*, 51, 70.

time fraternizing with the *norteños*, drinking, and gambling away what little money his family has.<sup>640</sup> Roberto blames this shift in his father's behavior on the increasing air pollution, which he describes as "something or other that came down the valley in the wind that caused men to grow old and tired before their time."<sup>641</sup> However, there is another reason. As Roberto departs for the U.S., his father discloses his own unsuccessful trip to cross the border. His decision to keep this information a secret from his son suggests Roberto's father feels shame about his failure to earn U.S. dollars and ascend the hierarchy of machismo.

Roberto's father, however, receives a second chance at achieving second degree machismo, as Roberto successfully crosses the border and mails remittances home from the U.S. With this new wealth, Roberto's father attempts to transcend the hierarchy of machismo by acting as "a *norteño*, and bullying the town."<sup>642</sup> While it is left to the readers' imagination how Roberto's father mistreated others, we know that his attempts at claiming the second degree of machismo through intimidation, and not through bravery, failed. Roberto's father is subsequently challenged by a *norteño*, causing him such fright "that he began to drink" again and gambled away the money Roberto mailed home in an effort to prove his machismo.<sup>643</sup> The extent of disrespect for Roberto's father culminated after he won a bet on a rooster fight but was refused his wager by a *norteño*. To collect the money he rightfully won, Roberto's father sells the last of his family's possessions to purchase a gun to collect his winnings by force. Unfortunately, he is killed during the confrontation. Esperanza blames her father for his own death, saying that she was "truly sick of him and all this machismo... Truly, our father asked for

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<sup>640</sup> Ibid., 8.

<sup>641</sup> Ibid., 36.

<sup>642</sup> Ibid., 208.

<sup>643</sup> Ibid., 229.

it.”<sup>644</sup> This dialogue was more than blaming the victim, as her father’s attempt to move beyond the first degree of machismo cost them a fortune and further entrenched the hierarchy of machismo through bravery, as the text presented no other way to reach the next degree.

When Roberto returns to his village to avenge his father’s death, the villagers treat him differently. They consider him a *norteño* and complement him for he “was not like his father. He was an open soul of a man. He was *un macho*.”<sup>645</sup> The lingering ridicule of his deceased father, as well as his experience in the U.S., causes Roberto to realize the fallacy of constantly proving machismo, which cost his father his life. Therefore, when Roberto encounters his father’s killer and is challenged to a duel, he refuses to fight, as doing so would only continue this adherence to their machismo. Even as his opponent, with a knife in hand, insults him and his family in front of the village, Roberto states “*hacerle caso a pendejos es engrandecerlos*” and refuses the provocation.<sup>646</sup> When other villagers join in and ridicule Roberto by likening him to his father, Roberto declares,

Yes, I’m like my father... He was no coward! He was simply better than all this stupid proof of balls, but... he didn’t know it. So he lived, and died, believing himself a coward. A barfly! A nothing! When he should have died knowing he was one hell of a man.<sup>647</sup>

Speaking as a *norteño*, Roberto has authority to reclaim his father’s character and machismo by praising his prior work ethic and knowledge of trades. This act upends “the code,” placing blame of Roberto’s father’s death not on himself or his alcoholism, but on the villager’s

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<sup>644</sup> Ibid., 230.

<sup>645</sup> Ibid., 237.

<sup>646</sup> Translation: “Paying attention to fools makes them important.” Ibid., 204.

<sup>647</sup> Ibid., 242.

adherence and obsession with proving machismo. In other words, the source of the conflict was machismo itself.

There is another reference to the hierarchy of machismo through bravery in the novel pertaining to union leader César Chávez. When Roberto reaches the U.S., his efforts to find work illegally are impeded by the labor strikes of the United Farm Workers. Villaseñor expresses the *norteños*' negative view of Chávez as "a double-crossing Mexican-American" who stopped Mexicans from bringing money home to Mexico.<sup>648</sup> Juan Aguilar, the *norteño*, reaffirms this thought by accusing Chávez of wishing "to cut our tanates (testicles)! ...That damn *pocho*! He is lazy!"<sup>649</sup> Aguilar's claim that Chávez is after his "tanates" reiterates how the trip across the border yielded more than monetary gains, as the U.S. dollars he usually spends in Mexico prove his machismo to other Mexicans. However, there is more to the *norteños*' disparaging view of Chávez. As described by the narrator,

[Chávez] doesn't drink and swear and have beautiful women pulling at his pants. And any man who does not have this quality of bravura and machismo is not to be respected but to be ridiculed, pushed off the sidewalk of life, and be treated as a slimly little baboso (fool). For to be a macho is to be a man, a man with tanates (testicles), and a man with tanates is proud and can be killed but never destroyed or defeated. For he is his own god. Here. On earth. Where it counts.<sup>650</sup>

This lengthy description presents Chávez as outside Villaseñor's hierarchy of machismo achieved through bravery, particularly given Chávez's nonviolent protests, religious themes, and decision to appoint Dolores Huerta, a woman, as a negotiator for the United Farm Workers.

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<sup>648</sup> Ibid., 227.

<sup>649</sup> Ibid., 139.

<sup>650</sup> Ibid., 227.



The notions of machismo and its degrees seen in Villaseñor's novel are not reiterated in the other selected novels. Instead, these texts, which are authored by non-Latina/os, present machismo as only a malicious, vain, pathological, and cruel Latino masculinity. Moreover, they are all adult-oriented, featuring explicit sex scenes—indicating that the authors associated machismo with lust. The first example is the novel *Machismo* (1971) by Gramm Hall. The story revolves around the relationship of two men in the antebellum South: an American slave owner named Merritt and his Spanish slave Orlando Diaz, who exhibits machismo. The narrative begins when Merritt wins a prized lot of slaves in a card game. When he retrieves his wager at the maritime docks, however, he discovers he has been deceived, as the thirteen slaves left for him are the “cast-offs, the sickly, the dying,” and include a Chinese boy and Orlando Díaz.<sup>651</sup> Captured by pirates, Díaz pretended he was “deaf and dumb,” a display of his “Spanish wit,” to avoid being killed like his shipmates. Instead, he was sold into slavery.<sup>652</sup> Although he claimed, “I speak lettle el ingles, Senor, sin acento” [*sic*] Merritt finds that he is quiet proficient in English when needed and describes him as “a man of culture and possessed a mind of unusual power.”<sup>653</sup> In turn, Díaz describes Merritt in the following way:

To him Merritt was machismo, a man among men; a male of unquenchable virility. Without Merritt his life would have been little different than the slaves whom he worked as overseer. With Merritt he was, also, a man.<sup>654</sup>

Díaz interprets Merritt's ambition to build a profitable cotton plantation from his sickly lot as an example of machismo. In turn, Díaz believes his own machismo is augmented by serving as Merritt's slave overseer, making him feel like “a man.” This productive relationship continues for eight years, during which time Merritt establishes a profitable plantation. Content with his

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<sup>651</sup> Gramm Hall, *Machismo* (New York: Lancer Books, 1971), 48.

<sup>652</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>653</sup> Translation: “I speak little English, Mister, without an accent.” *Ibid.*, 49–50.

<sup>654</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

success, Merritt grants Díaz his freedom through manumission. Yet, Díaz chose not to leave Merritt's side out of loyalty. He believed their relationship was more than one of the master and slave; rather, it was an alliance of ambition and perseverance where, according to Díaz, they could prove their machismo.

Díaz's confidence in Merritt's machismo, though, is affected by a tragedy in the narrative. Merritt's wife had several extramarital affairs and was blackmailed by her lovers, losing most of the plantation's wealth in exchange for their silence. When Merritt learns of this, he is distraught and stricken over the revelation, weakening his work ethic on the plantation. Díaz laments this particular change in Merritt's behavior stating, "it's the one thing I most admire—[his] strength, virility."<sup>655</sup> Left with no alternatives, Merritt decides to start over by murdering his wife, burning his plantation, and building a new one far away from his adversaries. He decides to focus on reproducing and selling slaves rather than crops because importing them into the U.S. was illegal in 1808.<sup>656</sup> Although Díaz believed Merritt lost some of his machismo at this point, he again decided to stay by his side, almost as if the challenge of building another plantation would again prove his own machismo.

The next part of the narrative occurs years later, on Merritt's new plantation, where Díaz's machismo causes conflict and fosters a slave rebellion. Merritt has not yet recovered from the tragic past events. He is described as nervous, hysterical, and "tired of life."<sup>657</sup> For example, when the stud men protest and refuse to procreate, furthering Merritt's slave trade, he fails to resolve the matter. Instead, he appoints a new overseer to manage this rebellious group.

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<sup>655</sup> Ibid., 63.

<sup>656</sup> The narrative cites the U.S. ban on importing slaves in 1808 as the reason Merritt decides to reproduce and sell slaves. Mark E. Brandon, *Free in the World: American Slavery and Constitutional Failure* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 91.

<sup>657</sup> Hall, *Machismo*, 131–135.

Diaz interprets this as a sign of Merritt's weakness and an insult to his leadership, described to the readers as full of "sullen rage."<sup>658</sup> Even though Diaz is still responsible for the barns, planting, harvesting, whelping pens, house slaves, and field slaves, he cannot bear his loss of authority over the stud men. Diaz's loyalty is revealed as only loyal to himself when he schemes to regain his position by inciting a slave rebellion on the plantation. To ensure the plan's success, Diaz interferes with the sale of two hundred slaves. Merritt had already selected the slaves who were "surly, unmanageable... quickest to stir up a rebellion" to sell.<sup>659</sup> Diaz, however, changes the lot at the last minute, keeping many defiant slaves who claimed to have family on the plantation. When Merritt is informed about this, he decries Diaz's "sentimentality," a supposed flaw in his machismo.<sup>660</sup>

Diaz's slave rebellion, though, is a complicated plan. He incites only a few slaves with the hopes that Merritt will first restore his position as sole overseer to stop the violence—an act to satisfy his vain, jealous machismo. Afterward, Diaz plans to kill Merritt and his family, taking the plantation for himself. However, the rebellion is impeded by the other overseer, Merritt's daughter, and other slaves, who convince the rioters that they are burning their only home. Merritt, demented over the violence around him, rushes to confront Diaz over the rebellion. Unfortunately, both are found dead with multiple stab wounds, having killed each other.

The death of Diaz and Merritt concludes their uneasy relationship, as there was no other way to appease the affront to Diaz's machismo except through death. In this narrative, machismo is characterized as virility, cunning, vanity, jealousy, and emotional reactions to being crossed. Diaz's perseverance to prove his machismo through labor and business matters ensures

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<sup>658</sup> Bartra, *The Cage of Melancholy: Identity and Metamorphosis in the Mexican Character*, 161.

<sup>659</sup> Hall, *Machismo*, 158.

<sup>660</sup> *Ibid.*, 159.

his role as overseer. Yet, once he believes his status has diminished, he plays the part of the antagonist, inciting violence in retaliation.

The next example is an adult gay narrative titled *Macho Man* by Peter Tuesday Hughes (1975).<sup>661</sup> The protagonist, Evan Lambert, is a white Californian and aspiring writer who inherits his father's land in New Mexico. The rural ranch is surrounded by the property of the "Spanish-American" Maes family.<sup>662</sup> Lambert's arrival causes a legal boundary dispute because the Maes family claims it is their ancestral land and they harass Lambert by blocking the access road they share. The text is woven with multiple narrative arcs that exhibit Lambert's hidden homosexuality and masochism, a desire described as "to be debased and degraded by his male lovers."<sup>663</sup> The numerous sex scenes that fill this novel are from his past, his present day experiences involving the boundary dispute, a fictional story that he is writing, and his sexual fantasies centered the male Maes family members.

Although the title of the text is *Macho Man*, Hilario, the head of the Maes family, is the only person Lambert refers to as a "macho."<sup>664</sup> He is introduced at a court hearing as a former U.S. Marine. Lambert describes him as handsome and having many "macho features":

Full-fleshed red lips, a shock of curly black hair... fine aquiline nose... over six feet with a muscular body, massive chest and powerful arms... brutish face and cruel black eyes!!<sup>665</sup>

This description suggests it is a combination of his muscular physique and his perceived cruelty that makes him, as per the title, the macho man. To better explicate this to the reader, Lambert

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<sup>661</sup> Peter Tuesday Hughes, *Macho Man* (San Diego: Greenleaf Classics, Inc., 1975). The original book is out of print and difficult to obtain. Thus, I use the e-book pages for citation purposes.

<sup>662</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>663</sup> *Ibid.*, Preface.

<sup>664</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>665</sup> *Ibid.*, 9, 15.

provides a textbook definition of macho as “He-mule, male, male-animal – and macho cabria, he-goat.”<sup>666</sup> This definition adds an animalistic component to the notion of machismo, furthering it as an alluring yet wild masculinity to the gay white male character.

Hilario’s actions outside the court room affirm these imaginings. He frequently harasses Lambert by shooting bullets on his property and leaving threatening voice messages on his phone. After receiving one of these messages, Lambert feels fear and is swept into his first sexual fantasy with Hilario, in which Hilario steps on his chest and strikes him repeatedly with a leather whip. This particular positioning is later described as “the symbol of virile macho mastery.”<sup>667</sup> For Lambert and the reader, this homosexual act does not undermine machismo’s eroticism. Quite the opposite, the description racially positions the macho Hilario as dominant and embodying a sexual essence inapplicable to whites, furthering Lambert’s masochist desire for Hilario to dominate him with his machismo.<sup>668</sup>

Although the novel is short and filled mostly with extended sex scenes, machismo is conveyed as strength, cruelty, and dominance—characteristics that serve as a fetish for Spanish culture by the gay Euro American protagonist. As mentioned, Lambert has intercourse with numerous Spanish and Black characters. However, it was only Hilario whose character exhibited cruelty was described as the macho man, indicating it was a requirement for machismo.

The last novel I will analyze is *Cry Macho* (1975) by N. Richard Nash. In this text, machismo again serves as the main antagonist to a Euro American. Michael Milo is an aging

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<sup>666</sup> Ibid., 9.

<sup>667</sup> Ibid., 65.

<sup>668</sup> Stefanie Dunning provides a similar argument on miscegenation, “Miscegenation does not contribute to a blending of any kind, but rather reifies the notion of disparate racial identity.” Stefanie K. Dunning, *Queer in Black and White: Interraciality, Same Sex Desire, and Contemporary African American Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 12.

Texas rodeo star who specializes in “The Ride-Out,” an event where a wild bronco is ridden until the horse tires or the rider falls. After his scheduled bronco falls ill, Milo can only ride Tabasco, a “sorrel stallion, rough, capricious, with a wild eye” that he always felt anxious about.<sup>669</sup> The Ride-Out is a success and a sensation to the cheering fans until the bronco unexpectedly rears, throwing Milo to the ground, and tramples him repeatedly. Milo is in the hospital for weeks and is fired from the rodeo by his “New York-tailored, Ivy-educated tenderfoot” boss Howard Polk, who knows little about rodeos but has a talent for investments and marketing.<sup>670</sup> However, Polk, knowing that Milo has no friends, family, or savings, offers him a job he cannot refuse. He asks Milo to kidnap his son Rafael from his ex-wife in Mexico for a large monetary reward. Milo decides to take Polk’s deal because the money would allow him to start a new life away from the rodeos.

Upon reaching Mexico City, Milo is relieved to find that he does not have to kidnap and smuggle a child across the border. Eleven-year-old “Rafo” is living on the streets alone and working in the underground cockfight scene. Milo buys Rafo lunch at a restaurant, where he tells him about his father who wants Rafo to live with him. Rafo is unsure of Milo’s offer, but once he hears that his father is Milo’s boss, he imagines him as “a man of the rodeo, of horses, of action, of muscle—a macho man;” a lie sustained by Milo to ensure Rafo’s compliance on their trip back to the U.S.<sup>671</sup> Rafo has only one condition: to bring his pet gamecock named “Macho” on their journey. At Milo’s misgivings of bringing a loud rooster on a long trip, Rafo explains,

You know what this means, macho? It means strong, it means champino! When I first find him he is no good. He run away—he is scared—he is only feathers on the floor. His leg is broken, he is bleeding. He is a coward and everybody piss on him. So I lift him

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<sup>669</sup> N. Richard Nash, *Cry Macho* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1975), 16.

<sup>670</sup> *Ibid.*, 8, 31.

<sup>671</sup> *Ibid.*, 174–175.

up, I take care of him. I say to him, ‘Stand up, you bastard!’ ‘Fight, fight!’ Then one day he fight—he kill a big black rooster. And from that time on, he is Macho! [*sic*]<sup>672</sup>

The symbolism of the fighting gamecock is a metaphor for the narrative’s theme of machismo. Just as the rooster earned his name, Rafo constantly provokes Milo to prove his manhood; a way to learn more about his white American father. These antics immediately annoy Milo, who bemoans how “Everything is macho. Eat a lot, fight a lot, fart a lot. [*sic*]”<sup>673</sup> These retorts, though, cause Rafo anxiety, and he asks even more questions about his father, prompting Milo to tell even more lies. For example, Rafo asks why his father sent Milo instead of coming to Mexico himself. Milo explains that he is busy managing the rodeo and his hundred horses. “A hundred horses? A hundred, a hundred, a hundred? Oh, machismo!” exclaimed Rafo.<sup>674</sup> This exclamation and Rafo’s continuous questions depict Mexicans as obsessed with machismo, both as an aspiration and compliment. Seemingly, an excess of any particular characteristic or property (horses) is praised as an example of machismo.

The imagined Mexican obsession with machismo is reiterated in a cockfight scene. Hoping to win more money to fund their journey, Rafo and Milo enter “Macho” the rooster in a match. The only requirement of the fight is to use long spurs, usually signifying a quick fight-to-the-death.<sup>675</sup> This contest, however, lasts longer than expected. Both roosters first flare, peck, and crow at each other almost as if they were taunting. Once the fight begins, Macho suffers several strikes, causing him to flee and lose one of his spurs. Yet, he turns around to fight again, striking with his only spur, “screaming in pain for vengeance, for more blood and more.”<sup>676</sup> The opposing rooster loses his eye, many feathers, and ultimately, the match. Macho continues to

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<sup>672</sup> Ibid., 126–127.

<sup>673</sup> Ibid., 148–149.

<sup>674</sup> Ibid., 149–150.

<sup>675</sup> D. Brian Plummer, *Adventures of an Artisan Hunter*, Second (Powys, Wales: Coch-y-Bonddu Books, 2000), 32.

<sup>676</sup> Nash, *Cry Macho*, 213.

claw the bloody carcass, crowing “in rage more than victory.”<sup>677</sup> In response to this bloody scene, the crowd reacts positively, cheering and chanting “macho, macho” and congratulating Rafo for his “proud fighter” who has lived up to his name.<sup>678</sup> The cheers from the crowd again present machismo as a celebrated Mexican idea that is demonstrated through fighting, especially with a fierce “rage” that was not satisfied even after killing your opponent.

Milo, however, is horrified at this celebration. As mentioned previously, Milo had been a famous rodeo star for years until he was trampled at a show. The dead rooster reminds him not only of his injury, but of arena sports in general, where fans and athletes participate in acts of cruelty and death. As he laments, bull fighters “wrangle the bull to the ground or stick a knife in its artery. *Olé.*”<sup>679</sup> Milo is troubled because he once enjoyed these kinds of events, playing the role of “Macho the hero. Macho the cruel.”<sup>680</sup> However, in this scene, Milo separates himself from the ongoing celebration, as he abhors the cruelty, finally concluding his thoughts with,

Perhaps that was what it was about: we want revenge not against one another but against death itself. Maybe that’s what the hero’s after: to stare death in the face, to cry courage, cry I’m not afraid of you, death, I kill you every day, cry macho.<sup>681</sup>

Milo’s resolution, the title of this novel, contends that machismo is a daily struggle to prove oneself, an obsession celebrated particularly inside of sport arenas. His distinction between Mexican and American ways of crying macho, though, presents the American methods as civilized and exemplifying skill (i.e., only roping or riding cattle), whereas the Mexican sports celebrate cruelty (i.e., bullfighting or the bloody rooster match). He ends this moment of reflection by realizing he wanted both: “He would have his little machismo—even if that was a

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<sup>677</sup> Ibid.

<sup>678</sup> Ibid.

<sup>679</sup> Ibid., 213–214.

<sup>680</sup> Ibid., 214–215.

<sup>681</sup> Ibid., 214.



ridiculous contradiction.”<sup>682</sup> Throughout the narrative, Milo despises machismo. Yet, he cannot abandon his trade of wrangling, as it is his only way of earning a living. This realization further motivates Milo to complete his task of returning Rafo to his father, since earning the money will allow him to start a new life away from this celebration of machismo.

The depiction of machismo in these novels are dependent on their authors. Similar to what was seen in the screen examples, Edmund V. Villaseñor’s main character matured from his macho tendencies of proving himself through conflict, until he publicly absolved himself of machismo altogether. However, the non-Latina/o authors depicted machismo as a fixed masculinity specific to Latina/o culture, characterized by cruelty, virility, vanity, envy, and in conflict with what the white protagonists embodies. The next section examines musical productions by Latina/o artists where, similar to the other examples by Latina/o authors, they present nuanced depictions of machismo.

### *Latina/o Musicians*

The first example is “*El Macho*” by Óskar Hernández y los Profesionales from their 1970 self-titled album.<sup>683</sup> Hernández was the first conjunto accordionist to perform with the five-row button, chromatic accordion that produced more intricate harmonies than the older diatonic models.<sup>684</sup> The song features these complex rhythms in a slow-paced ballad strummed by a *bajo sexto* (12-stringed instrument) that eulogizes the life of a dear friend called “*el macho*.” The

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<sup>682</sup> Ibid., 214–215.

<sup>683</sup> Oskar Hernandez y Los Profesionales, *Oskar Hernandez Y Los Profesionales* (El Zarape Records, 1970), EZLP-1053, 33 rpm.

<sup>684</sup> Hernández’s performance convinced famed accordionist Paulino Bernal to use the newer chromatic accordion. Max Martínez, “El Conjunto Bernal: Style and Legacy,” in *Puro Conjunto: An Album in Words and Pictures*, ed. Juan Tejeda and Avelardo Valdez (Austin: CMAS Books; Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center, 2001), 101; Manuel Peña, “From Ranchero to Jaitón: Ethnicity and Class in Texas-Mexican Music,” in *Puro Conjunto: An Album in Words and Pictures*, ed. Juan Tejeda and Avelardo Valdez (Austin: CMAS Books; Guadalupe Cultural Arts Center, 2001), 41.

lyrics respond and negotiate with the negative stereotypes of alcoholism and womanizing. For instance, the second verse declares *el macho* was fortunate, winning a little at gambling and having loving relationships. The song, however, makes sure to clarify these were not all womanizing achievements, “*El Macho tenía mujeres / Pero cuatro eran sus consentidas / Abuela, madre, y esposa, y su hija eran su vida*”<sup>685</sup> This verse concedes that the macho may have transgressed in his marital vows but he prioritized his responsibility to the women in his immediate family (grandmother, mother, wife, and daughter). Thus the song eulogizes and argues he is still a family man.

Although an alcoholic, the third verse reiterates *el macho*’s responsibility. It states, “*El Macho era borracho / Pero en su muerte no había tomado / El Macho sí era borracho / Pero no desobligado.*”<sup>686</sup> The song again concedes another stereotype of machismo, admitting that the macho struggled with alcoholism. Yet, the lyrics assure listeners that his death was not alcohol-related, and the macho fulfilled his responsibilities in his final days. Through their song, Óskar Hernández y los Profesionales seemed to converse with the stereotype of machismo, agreeing and disagreeing with some of the characteristics. Regardless, they maintain that even though machos may enjoy drinking and womanizing, there is more to their lives, and they can still be remembered as responsible men.

The next examples are three albums from a Texan Chicano rock band called Machismo con Matias. Chicano rock is a hybrid musical genre that is influenced by rhythm and blues,

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<sup>685</sup> Translation: “The Macho had women / But four he adored / Grandmother, mother, and wife, and his daughter were his life.”

<sup>686</sup> Translation: “The Macho was a drunk / But he was not drunk when he died / Yes the macho was a drunk / But he was not irresponsible.”

Afro-Caribbean rhythms, and rock and roll.<sup>687</sup> The music by Machismo con Matias, in particular, is a fusion of *conjunto*, funk, soul, calypso, and ballads sung in both English and Spanish by the lead singer Matias Muñoz. Although their band name suggests that they represent machismo, none of their songs mention the term. Instead, in their three albums *Machismo con Matias* (1975), *Enamorado* (1976), and *Faces South* (1977), the songs are predominantly about love, with a few about dancing.<sup>688</sup> These include the following themes: falling in love, relationships, heartbreak, and reconciliation. The topics of these songs suggest that Machismo con Matias associated machismo with romance.

Machismo con Matias did record a song titled “Machismo theme,” a song on their second album *Enamorado* (1976). One might expect that this song would reveal their ideas of machismo. However, the song is a funk instrumental featuring keyboard, congas, brass, and an electric guitar with a wah-wah pedal (that produces a scratching “waca” sound similar to the theme of the film *Shaft* (1971)). With no lyrics, listeners can infer that the band believed machismo itself was difficult to discuss; instead, it could only be felt and celebrated through funk. As funk musician George Clinton theorized, “Funk is something that one feels, and everybody has the ability to feel it. The irony is: The more one thinks about it, the harder it is to get the feel of The Funk. It’s just done.”<sup>689</sup> Similarly, even though Machismo con Matias incorporated various genres into their music, to create a theme for machismo, they agreed that

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<sup>687</sup> Deborah Pacini Hernandez, *Oye Como Va!: Hybridity and Identity in Latino Popular Music* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010), 3, 38–40; Rubén Guevara, “The History of Chicano Rock,” in *The Rock History Reader*, ed. Theo Cateforis, Second (New York: Routledge, 2013), 34–36.

<sup>688</sup> Here, I analyze the three albums that feature lead singer Matias Muñoz. After his departure from the band in 1978, both Muñoz and the band produced separate music using the name Machismo. I have been unable to obtain these latter works, but the initial albums allow a thorough analysis of the band’s notions of machismo. Machismo con Matias, *Machismo Con Matias* (Guerra Company Productions, 1975), GCP LP-117, 33 rpm; Machismo con Matias, *Enamorado* (Amen Record Studio, 1976), GCLP-130, 33 rpm; Machismo con Matias, *Faces South* (Amen Record Studio, 1977), GCLP-135, 33 rpm.

<sup>689</sup> Vincent Rickey, *Funk: The Music, The People, and The Rhythm of The One* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), xiii.

only a funk instrumental with Latin rhythms would best convey their “feelings” of machismo to listeners.

The next example is from conjunto Saoco, a Cuban salsa band from New York composed of young musicians who made recordings from 1976 – 1979.<sup>690</sup> Although they were too young to experience Cuba before the 1959 revolution, where political ties with the U.S. were severed, their music played on the nostalgia for Cuba.<sup>691</sup> For example, their first album *Siempre Seré Guajiro* (1976), translated as “I will always be a Cuban farmer,” referred to many places in Cuba, and was even sung in an older style similar to that of Cuban singer Abelardo Barroso.<sup>692</sup> Even during their live performances, band members wore *guayaberas* with red bandanas, traditional Cuban attire, and often featured folkloric dancers.<sup>693</sup> Their second album *Macho Mumba* (1977) continued this theme of Cuban nostalgia.<sup>694</sup> The back of the album explained the title:

Macho Mumba was a tall, ebony black Cuban whose handsome face and muscular body left women breathless. He was also endowed with an incredible sense of rhythm. Every weekend at picnics near a river in the Marianao district of Havana, people would surround him and applaud his drumming, singing and dancing. After a few years, Macho... became a much talked about rumbero... And now the legend of Macho Mumba is perpetuated on disc by Saoco...<sup>695</sup>

Similar to their first album, the band claimed their music was a tribute to Cuba by placing their fictional character, Macho Mumba, in Havana. More significant for this chapter, however, is their personification of machismo as attractive, burly, musically talented, and Afro-Cuban. By

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<sup>690</sup> César Miguel Rondón, *The Book of Salsa: A Chronicle of Urban Music from the Caribbean to New York City*, trans. Frances R. Aparicio and Jack White (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 163.

<sup>691</sup> Ibid.

<sup>692</sup> Ibid.; Saoco, *Siempre Seré Guajiro* (Mericana Records, 1976), XMX 144, 33 rpm.

<sup>693</sup> Agustín Gurza, “Salsa,” *Billboard*, November 12, 1977, 92; Max Salazar, “‘Lo Dice Todo’ Barnburner,” *Musician, Player, and Listener*, November 1, 1977, 14.

<sup>694</sup> Saoco, *Macho Mumba* (Salsoul Records, 1977), SAL 4117, 33 rpm.

<sup>695</sup> Ibid.

imaging Macho Mumba as “ebony black,” a hyperbole, Saoco claims machismo as distinctly Cuban since, from the late 1920s, Cuban nationalism praised its creole and mulatto origins, particularly in art, music, and dance.<sup>696</sup> The representation of Macho Mumba is, thus, racially and nationally different from the other representation, in that machismo signifies handsomeness and musical talent.

On the album, there is a fast-paced and energetic rumba titled “Macho Mumba” that has minimal lyrics. The only lines that describe the character Macho Mumba are: “*El rey de la rumba*” and “*El rumbero mas bravo de Havana.*”<sup>697</sup> The rest of the song is an extensive rhythm with “Mumba” interjected repeatedly. Thus, the song reiterates Macho Mumba’s supposed musical talent, again making the song more about Cuba’s musical scene than machismo.

Another example in music is the album *Mucho Macho* (1978) by Machito and his band of Afro-Cuban Salseros.<sup>698</sup> Acclaimed as the most influential big band of New York Latin style music and Latin jazz, Machito’s Afro-Cubans blended Cuban rhythms with black swing brass. They wrote what many consider to be the first Afro-Cuban jazz song, “*Tanga*,” in 1943.<sup>699</sup> The album *Mucho Macho* (1978) features twenty-four songs that were recorded thirty years beforehand, from 1948 – 1949. None of the songs say machismo in the lyrics or feature it in the song titles, leaving the album as the only place where machismo is mentioned.<sup>700</sup> Having already released collaborative albums with Jazz artists Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie, the

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<sup>696</sup> Robin Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness: Afro-Cubanismo and Artistic Revolution in Havana, 1920-1940* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1997), 1–7.

<sup>697</sup> Translations: “The king of rumba” and “The most spirited rumbero of Havana.”

<sup>698</sup> Machito and his Afro-Cuban Salseros, *Mucho Macho* (Pablo Records, 1978), 2625 712, 33 rpm.

<sup>699</sup> John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States*, Second (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 101; Scott Yanow, *Jazz on Record: The First Sixty Years* (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2003), 329.

<sup>700</sup> Yanow, *Jazz on Record: The First Sixty Years*, 329.

group more than likely chose the album title *Mucho Macho* to emphasize the album was only performed by Machito's Afro-Cubans.<sup>701</sup>

This album title, however, allows an analysis of how the orchestra leader Frank Grillo acquired his nickname “Machito,” as it corresponds with the cultural history of machismo that this dissertation presents. Born in Florida in 1912 but raised in Cuba, he was the fourth child of the family, following three older sisters.<sup>702</sup> Content that they finally had a boy in their family, his parents called him “Macho,” a nickname that he used for about twenty years in Cuba.<sup>703</sup> In 1937, his brother-in-law Mario Bauzá, a clarinetist, convinced Macho to try performing in New York's Jazz scene. Within a week, he found employment as a singer.<sup>704</sup> When Macho tried to start his own band, however, a club owner urged him to change his name. In a 1983 interview, he explained, “In those days, the word macho... was too harsh... so this fellow [club owner], to minimize my problem with the machos, they called me ‘Machito.’”<sup>705</sup> This admission presents a timeline of the public acceptance of machismo in the United States. When Grillo was born in the 1910s, “macho” for Latina/os meant male or boy and was used freely as a nickname. Yet, by the late 1930s, it was a “harsh” word that New York club owners refused to advertise unless a variant was used (“machito” or “little macho”) due to the fear of antagonizing the public. Although Grillo did not elaborate on whom the club owners feared antagonizing (other musicians, club attendants, etc.), we can surmise that their concerns about the “harshness” of the name Macho involved a general fear of provocation. The issue was resolved by adding the suffix *-ito* to the nickname, presenting Grillo as beneath or second to other machos, as

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<sup>701</sup> Scott Yanow, *Afro-Cuban Jazz* (San Francisco: Miller Freeman Books, 2000), 68.

<sup>702</sup> *Latino Americans* (New York: Macmillan Library Reference USA, 1999), 205.

<sup>703</sup> Yanow, *Afro-Cuban Jazz*, 66.

<sup>704</sup> *Ibid.*; Ned Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music: From the First Drums to the Mambo* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2004), 464.

<sup>705</sup> “Miguel Perez Interviews Frank Grillo,” *Tiempo* (New York: WABC, April 17, 1983).

“Machito,” a name that could be safely advertised. This fearful attitude toward machismo changed in the 1970s with Grillo’s album that now proudly celebrated the nickname, *Mucho Macho*. Over the course of Grillo’s career, machismo went from meaning simply male, to a competitive masculinity in the 1930s, and finally to a celebrated masculinity in the 1970s.

The last example in music is “Macho (A Real, Real, One)” (1978) by disco musicians Celi Bee and The Buzzy Bunch.<sup>706</sup> Lead singer Bee is a Puerto Rican from Brooklyn, New York, who recorded four albums in Spanish before turning to a career in disco.<sup>707</sup> The band’s first album self-titled *Celi Bee & The Buzzy Bunch* (1977) reached number three on Billboards dance chart with their song “Superman,” which expressed love for the superhero and increased the anticipation for the film *Superman* (1978) starring Christopher Reeves.<sup>708</sup> Their next album, *Alternating Currents* (1978), contained the song “Macho (A Real, Real, One).<sup>709</sup> Of all the songs analyzed in this section, it is the most popularly consumed, with the album receiving gold records in Venezuela and Tokyo.<sup>710</sup>

Unlike the prior musical examples, Celi Bee reiterated the stereotype of machismo. The first verse states, “Strong, cool, deceiving / He gets into your life / Somehow conceited / Knowing just what he wants / He’s got the macho in his heart / He’s a macho! / A real, real one / Macho!” The verse emphasizes deception, warning listeners of machismo’s seductive abilities. Also, the description of “macho in the heart,” suggests that machismo was innate to some men, particularly as the singer sounds surprised at the discovery (“He’s a macho!”). The second verse,

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<sup>706</sup> Celi Bee & The Buzzy Bunch, *Alternating Currents*.

<sup>707</sup> “Talent: New On The Charts - Celi Bee & The Buzzy Bunch,” *Billboard*, June 18, 1977, 39.

<sup>708</sup> Celi Bee & The Buzzy Bunch, *Celi Bee & The Buzzy Bunch* (APA Records, 1977), APA-77001, 33 rpm; Vladimir Bogdanov, ed., *All Music Guide to Soul: The Definitive Guide to R&B and Soul* (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2003), 831; Glen Weldon, *Superman: The Unauthorized Biography* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley, John & Sons, Inc., 2013), Chapter 8.

<sup>709</sup> Celi Bee & The Buzzy Bunch, *Alternating Currents*.

<sup>710</sup> “Discos: Disco Sound Shifting, But Celi Bee Changes With It,” *Billboard*, February 2, 1980, 40.

though, included a subtle mention of violence, “Lost in his ego / Shining like a superstar / Sensual vibrations / Can hit you any time.” Since Celi Bee sang each line with a pause in-between, the last line of “can hit you any time” sounded as a physical threat, reaffirming machismo as abusive. Thus, Celi Bee and The Buzzy Bunch reiterated the stereotype of machismo with deception, seduction, and violence.

These examples from Latina/o musicians demonstrate how they mostly negotiated and imagined machismo away from the violent stereotype. Óskar Hernández y los Profesionales directly responds to the stereotype of womanizing and drunk machos by claiming they are still responsible men capable of loving their families. Machismo con Matias continued with this theme of love and romance. Conjunto Saoco went further, creating their own fictional legend, giving machismo an Afro-Cuban identity, attractiveness, and an innate musical ability. Machito’s story of his nickname illustrates a chronology of machismo’s acceptance in the U.S. Lastly, Celi Bee and The Buzzy Bunch is the exception as their song adhered to the stereotype of machismo, warning of its seductive and abusive means.

### ***Conclusion***

This chapter analyzed popular culture examples titled with machismo that involved Latina/os. The stereotype of machismo is a predominant theme in these productions. However, most examples authored by Latina/os present nuanced ideas of machismo. In sports, quarterback Joe Kapp defined his idea of machismo as toughness and serving as a role model for his son. In *Ironside*, machismo was an irrational and confrontational masculinity that the protagonist finally realized was self-destructive at the conclusion. Similarly, Villaseñor’s *Macho!* (1973) depicted a hierarchy of machismo in which the *norteños* held the highest rank for their bravery until the



protagonist of the narrative, Roberto, decided that constant conflict was eventually self-destructive, denouncing it in favor of a different, hard-working masculinity. Lastly, the musical examples emphasized multiple notions of machismo as Latina/o musicians believed it signified responsibility, love, and musical talent.

In the late 1970s, however, there is a significant rupture in the cultural history of machismo. Columnist Dolores Prida observed in a 1979 article that “Machismo has by now been glamorized and commercialized, and Madison Avenue can have it.”<sup>711</sup> Although Prida did not elaborate further on how machismo was “glamorized,” her remark points toward a shift in public notions of machismo and commercialism—no longer belonging only to Latina/o culture. The following chapter will provide a thorough analysis of these instances including the popular “Macho Man” (1978) by the Village People.<sup>712</sup>

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<sup>711</sup> Dolores Prida, “Looking for Room of One’s Own,” *Nuestro* 3, no. 5 (June 1979). Reprinted in García, *Chicana Feminist Thought*, 186.

<sup>712</sup> Village People, *Macho Man* (Casablanca Records, 1978), NBLP 7096, 33 rpm.



5.1. The main poster of the film *Macho Callahan* (1970), available in the film's press kit. Author's possession.

## Chapter Six

### **“I want to be a Macho Man”: Appropriating Sensual Machismo in Popular Culture, 1974 – 1981**

In her 1973 article on gendered expectations of Latin American women, political scientist Evelyn P. Stevens paused her analysis to provide a thorough definition of machismo. She defined it as follows:

...a way of orientation which can be most succinctly described as the cult of virility. The chief characteristics of this cult are exaggerated aggressiveness and intransigence in male-to-male interpersonal relationships and arrogance and sexual aggression in male-to-female relationships.<sup>713</sup>

After decades of social scientific research on the topic of machismo (discussed in Chapter Two), it is strange for Stevens to clarify this notion to her readers. Yet, Stevens evidently believed a thorough explanation was necessary because, as she claimed, machismo had “passed into the vocabulary of the general public.”<sup>714</sup> Her footnote provides some clarification to this claim with its reference to interviews from members of the Venceremos Brigade (an organization that sent Americans to experience socialism in Cuba) who spoke of machismo only as male

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<sup>713</sup> Evelyn P. Stevens, “Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo in Latin America,” in *Female and Male in Latin America*, ed. Ann M. Pescatello (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973), 90.

<sup>714</sup> Stevens compared this public use of machismo to the public use of “charisma,” a term coined by philosopher Max Weber to describe a system of authority where leaders are chosen for their exceptional characteristics. Weber’s other categories of authority are Traditional (feudal, patriarch) and Rational-Legal (bureaucracy). Ken Morrison, *Marx, Durkheim, Weber: Formations of Modern Social Thought*, Second (Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 2006), 364–368; Stevens, “Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo in Latin America,” 90.

chauvinism.<sup>715</sup> To Stevens, this abridged “public” definition undercut the years of social scientific research on Latina/o culture. Yet it is difficult to believe only one such use of machismo by members of the general public could have prompted Stevens to publish this explanation. Rather, Steven’s apprehension about the “public” use of machismo points toward a larger trend in the 1970s U.S. English vernacular, where its application was more generalized and, as this chapter investigates, applied to non-Latina/os.

An example of the shifting notions of machismo lies in how journalists described African American professional football player and actor Jim Brown. To *New York Times* reporter Paul Gardner, machismo meant sex appeal and muscular physique, as he emphasized Brown’s “45-inch torso” as part of the popular “‘machismo’ black male.”<sup>716</sup> Joan Ryan of the *Washington Post* agreed with these connotations, evidenced by her description of Brown in 1977 as embodying a “macho-muscular beefcake image.”<sup>717</sup> Lastly, when *Boston Globe* reporter George McKinnon reviewed the Western film *Take a Hard Ride* (1975), he said it included “a posse of macho actors—Jim Brown, Lee Van Cleef, Fred Williamson, Jim Kelly, Barry Sullivan;” a list comprising both African Americans and Euro Americans who had previously starred in other action films.<sup>718</sup> Thus, machismo in the 1970s American imagination was no longer an adverse, chauvinistic masculinity specific to Latino men—It was also appropriated and redefined as a

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<sup>715</sup> Kimberly Springer, *Living for the Revolution: Black Feminist Organizations, 1968-1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 48–49; Carol Brightman and Sandra Levinson, eds., *The Venceremos Brigade: Young Americans Sharing the Life and Work of Revolutionary Cuba* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971), 260.

<sup>716</sup> Other films mentioned by *New York Times* reporter Paul Gardner that represented the “‘machismo’ black male” were *Shaft* (1971) and *Super Fly* (1972). Paul Gardner, “Hollywood Is Crossing the Last Racial Barrier: Black Stars,” *New York Times*, October 6, 1974, 13; Gordon Parks, *Shaft* (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1971); Gordon Parks, Jr., *Super Fly* (Warner Bros., 1972).

<sup>717</sup> Joan Ryan, “Simpson Chases Brown, Specter Chases Simpson,” *The Washington Post*, September 18, 1977, sec. Sports, 84.

<sup>718</sup> George McKinnon, “‘Hard Ride’ at the Savoy,” *Boston Globe*, September 19, 1975, 31; Antonio Margheriti, *Take a Hard Ride* (20th Century Fox, 1975).

masculinity characterized by muscular physique, strength, and sexual virility that this chapter will call “sensual machismo.”

To investigate the cultural appropriation of machismo and its application to non-Latina/os in U.S. English vernacular, this chapter will examine music, product advertisements, and professional wrestling from 1974 – 1981. As in the previous chapter, these examples all have machismo in their title. Preceding chapters have argued that notions of machismo have furthered the racialization of Latina/os. This chapter will test this thesis: I argue that sensual machismo is a hegemonic, hybrid creation for non-Latina/os that selectively draws from the stereotypical notions of machismo, thus retaining some of its negative, racialized connotations.<sup>719</sup> I apply theories of cultural appropriation because sensual machismo is estranged and alienated from the previous notions of machismo.<sup>720</sup> Taking into account the discussions in the previous chapters, we can see a double standard in what theorist Homi Bhabha would call “ambivalence:” machismo applied to Latina/os signified an aberrant masculinity with cruelty, violence, narcissism, and misogyny; yet, as examples presented in this chapter will demonstrate, machismo applied to non-Latina/os had a different orientation, being celebrating as a sensual yet rugged masculinity.<sup>721</sup> In other words, sensual machismo was imagined as alluring and dangerous.

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<sup>719</sup> I borrow Demetrakis Demetriou’s criticism of R.W. Connell’s notion of hegemonic masculinity. Demetriou argues that hegemonic masculinity is not only white and heterosexual but actually a hybrid bloc that draws from many masculinities to reproduce its patriarchal stature. Demetriou, “Connell’s Concept of Hegemonic Masculinity: A Critique,” 337.

<sup>720</sup> I am extending Karl Marx’s theory on appropriated “alienated labor” that states, “*Appropriation* appears as *estrangement*, as *alienation*; and *alienation* appears as *appropriation*.” If applied to culture, Marx’s theory allows an analysis of many masculinities through the complexities of power relations. Karl Marx, *Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (Mineola, New York: Dover Publications, 2007), 83.

<sup>721</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 95.

In the first section, I will examine how American disco and funk artists celebrated sensual machismo from 1977 – 1979. Readers may have already thought of the Village People’s notable song “Macho Man” (1978), which represents the most widespread diffusion of sensual machismo to date.<sup>722</sup> In addition, there are four other contemporary musical productions that also celebrate machismo: “Mucho Macho” (1977) by Macho (Bill Curtis and Richard Cromwell from the Fatback Band), “Mucho Macho” on the soundtrack of *Record City* (1977), “Macho” (1979) by Cameo, and, lastly, Walt Disney’s “Macho Duck” (1979).<sup>723</sup> Although these songs were produced in adjacent years, each centers machismo differently as either sexual virility, muscular bodies, confidence, or toughness. These variations reveal that the artists did not share a consistent notion of sensual machismo; instead, each imagined their own version worth celebrating. Indeed, these examples demonstrate how each musical artist selectively appropriated what they wanted from machismo, emphasizing it for their song.

The next section analyzes the commodification of machismo in product advertisements from 1974 – 1981.<sup>724</sup> The following examples are presented: 1974 Macho wetsuits by Sea Suits, 1976 MACHO adult magazine, 1976 – 1978 Macho fragrances for men by Fabergé, 1977 – 1980 dealer modified Pontiac Firebirds, and 1977 – 1981 light duty trucks from Chrysler Motors Corporation. The advertisements for these products fetishize machismo, offering commodities

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<sup>722</sup> Village People, *Macho Man*.

<sup>723</sup> Macho (Bill Curtis and Richard Cromwell), *Mucho Macho* (Event Records Inc., 1977), EV 251 (1415), 45 rpm; Various Artists, *Music From The Soundtrack of Record City* (Polydor/MVP Records, 1977), PD-1-8002, 33 rpm; Village People, *Macho Man*; Cameo, *Secret Omen* (Chocolate City, 1979), CCLP 2008, 33 rpm; Walt Disney Productions, *Mickey Mouse Disco* (Disneyland/Vista Records, 1979), 2504, 33 rpm. I exclude *I’m a Man* (1978) by Macho because the band was named after lead singer Marzio Vincenzi’s nickname, and *Macho Man* (1979) by M.A.N. because it was produced in Germany. Macho, *I’m A Man* (Prelude Records, 1978), PRL 12160, 33 rpm; Patrik Andersson, “Jacques Fred Petrus,” Biography, accessed November 1, 2013, <http://www.jacquespetrus.com>; M.A.N., *Mucho Macho* (Lollipop Records, 1979), PR 101, 33 rpm.

<sup>724</sup> I borrow Laurie Ann Whitt’s framework of the ways indigenous spirituality is commodified through a process of “appropriating, mining, and redefining.” Laurie Anne Whitt, “Cultural Imperialism and the Marketing of Native America,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 19, no. 3 (1995): 1–4.

with a range of imagined attributes. These features, however, are mostly superficial, suggesting that the label “macho” was meant more to attract sales by furthering the consumers’ fetish of machismo.<sup>725</sup>

The last section will examine the early professional wrestling performances of Randy “Macho Man” Savage, known for his career in the nationally televised World Wrestling Federation in the 1980s and 1990s. This section, however, examines when Savage first created his macho character for regional wrestling shows performed in 1977 – 1981.<sup>726</sup> Savage drew from the many notions of machismo available, as his persona incorporated both sensual machismo and the stereotype of machismo to create an egotistical, misogynistic villain who flaunted his own muscular physique. His character demonstrates that these two different sets of characteristics were not mutually exclusive and, thus, machismo was still considered an aberrant masculinity.

This appropriation and commodification of machismo fits with the “tongue-in-cheek” theme of 1970s pop culture. Journalist Dolores Barclay best described this era as “a giant cauldron of fads, fancies, and fetishes.”<sup>727</sup> From pet rocks, mood rings, sequined jackets, platform shoes, and androgyny, the 1970s “ME generation” enjoyed commodities and styles that transgressed social norms.<sup>728</sup> This chapter thus examines this playful consumerism since sensual

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<sup>725</sup> My analysis is influenced by the works of Jacques Derrida and Walter Benjamin. Since notions of machismo existed prior to these products, I refer to Derrida, who argued that “as soon as there is production, there is fetishism.” Moreover, Benjamin offers an alternative notion of consumption, dependent on the language of the product, since he argues a particular “translation” occurs between the product and the consumer. Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 209; Walter Benjamin, *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings, Volume 1*, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings, Fifth (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), 253–256.

<sup>726</sup> “‘Macho Man’ Randy Savage: 1952-2011: Flamboyant Wrestling Champ,” *Chicago Tribune*, May 21, 2011, 2.8.

<sup>727</sup> Dolores Barclay, “Fads, Fancies, Fetishes: Collage of Trendy ’70s,” *Los Angeles Times*, December 25, 1979.

<sup>728</sup> Kelly Boyer Sagert, *The 1970s* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2007), xii; Barclay, “Fads, Fancies, Fetishes: Collage of Trendy ’70s.”

machismo was carefully constructed for each product. Moreover, a key difference between this chapter on appropriation and the previous chapter, where notions of machismo were applied to Latina/os in popular culture, is the choice of words. Every example in this chapter used the term “macho” rather than machismo. In other words, the fetishized sensual machismo is reserved for “macho” non-Latina/os, while the racialized notions of “machismo” are reserved for Latina/os. Sensual machismo is thus a hybrid creation that centered on fitness, strength, and sex appeal while drawing on the stereotype of machismo as needed.

### ***Musicians Celebrating Machismo, 1977 – 1979***

The Fatback Band’s discography of the 1970s and 1980s can serve as a timeline of how funk music began in rhythm and blues, incorporated disco, and culminated in hip-hop instrumentations.<sup>729</sup> Fatback’s innovations created many dance crazes, such as “Do the Bus Stop” (1975), and was also one of the first bands to produce a commercial rap song, “King Tim III” (1979), released a few weeks before the iconic “Rapper’s Delight” (1979) by the Sugar Hill Gang.<sup>730</sup> This experimentation with new musical genres is seen in “Mucho Macho” (1977), an erotic side project of two Fatback members, Bill Curtis and Richard Cromwell, who produced the funk single under the band Macho.<sup>731</sup> Their choice of the band name underscores that not only did the song represent machismo but the band felt they embodied its notions as well.

The song “Mucho Macho” is almost six minutes long, filled with a funk rhythm, brass instruments, and a woman’s voice groaning and slowly repeating “Mucho macho” as if she were

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<sup>729</sup> Dave Thompson, *Funk* (San Francisco: Backbeat Books, 2001), 245–247.

<sup>730</sup> The Fatback Band, *Raising Hell* (Event Records Inc., 1975), EV 6905, 33 rpm; The Fatback Band, *Fatback XII* (Spring Records, 1979), SP-1-6723, 33 rpm; Sugarhill Gang, *Rapper’s Delight* (Sugar Hill Records, 1979), SH-542, 33 rpm.

<sup>731</sup> Macho (Bill Curtis and Richard Cromwell), *Mucho Macho*.



engaging in sexual intercourse. Written and composed by two men, the song is pornographic; objectifying and simulating female sexual ecstasy for entertainment.<sup>732</sup> Machismo is central to the listener's sexual simulation since the woman gasps "So big!" at the middle of the song, explicitly associating it with penile size. The song then ends with an aural representation of an orgasm where the woman's groans are overlapped with numerous brass instruments. While other funk songs such as New Birth's "Got to Get a Knutt" (1972) and Leon Haywood's "I Wanna Do Something Freaky to You" (1975) included similar erotic audio of a woman's groans, it is brief and concludes their songs.<sup>733</sup> "Mucho Macho," on the other hand, represents a prolonged sexual experience with machismo's supposed sexual prowess.

Although only a woman's voice is heard, the single orgasm aurally represented at its conclusion denotes the sexual experience as heterosexual and male-centric. The sexual revolution of the late 1960s and 1970s allowed many second-wave feminists to openly discuss the myths of women's sexuality including what historian Alice Echols best describes as "the yawning gap between women's sexual desires and standard three-minute, missionary-position sex."<sup>734</sup> A previous song that aurally reflected this new awareness was Donna Summer's "Love To Love You Baby" (1975), which *Time* magazine described as "a marathon of 22 orgasms," lasting almost seventeen minutes.<sup>735</sup> By comparison, the single orgasm at the end of "Mucho

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<sup>732</sup> I borrow Andrea Dworkin's and Catharine A. MacKinnon's comprehensive definition of pornography, particularly how "women are presented dehumanized as sexual objects, things, or commodities." Andrea Dworkin and Catharine A. MacKinnon, *Pornography and Civil Rights: A New Day for Women's Equality*, Second (Minneapolis: Organizing Against Pornography, 1989), 36.

<sup>733</sup> New Birth, *Birth Day* (RCA Records, 1972), 33 rpm; Leon Haywood, *Come and Get Yourself Some* (20th Century, 1975), T-476, 33 rpm; Rickey, *Funk: The Music, The People, and The Rhythm of The One*, 131.

<sup>734</sup> Alice Echols, *Hot Stuff: Disco and the Remaking of American Culture* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2010), 78.

<sup>735</sup> Donna Summer, *Love To Love You Baby* (Oasis, 1975), OCLP 5003, 33 rpm; "Show Business: Sex Rock," *Time Magazine*, December 29, 1975. For a detailed account of the creation of Summer's song, see Jon Stratton, "Coming to the Fore: The Audibility of Women's Sexual Pleasure in Popular Music and the Sexual Revolution," *Popular Music* 33, no. 01 (January 2014).

Macho” seems tame and portrays female sexual pleasure as dependent on males and their machismo.

The way Spanish and English are presented in the song emphasizes sensual machismo’s musical accessibility to many listeners. The phrase “Mucho macho” is distinctly Spanish. Yet, it is repeated by a woman without a Spanish accent, who also exclaims “So big!” and “So sweet!” throughout the song, suggesting machismo and its supposed eroticism is accessible to English speakers. The song’s availability in vinyl records furthers its accessibility, allowing consumers to control, replay, memorize, and remix the sexual experience with sensual machismo.<sup>736</sup> Thus, the song “Mucho Macho” offers an objectified female sexual pleasure and eroticizes machismo for listeners.

Another musical example that shares the same title of “Mucho Macho” appeared on the soundtrack of independent film *Record City* (1977).<sup>737</sup> The film follows a similar plot as *Car Wash* (1976) where customers and employees share comedic dialogue with numerous unexpected celebrity cameos.<sup>738</sup> The soundtrack was produced and arranged by music producer Freddie Perren who, a year before, was rated *Billboard* magazine’s top single producer of 1976 with eight charted records including music from: The Jackson 5, The Miracles, and The Sylvers.<sup>739</sup> The week the soundtrack of *Record City* (1977) was released, *Billboard* recommended it, citing “Mucho Macho” as one of the three “best cuts.”<sup>740</sup>

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<sup>736</sup> Barry Brummett argues that videotaped pornography offers consumers instant control of the characters and their sexual performances since “VCRs never say no.” Barry Brummett, “The Homology Hypothesis: Pornography on the VCR,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 5 (1988): 209.

<sup>737</sup> Dennis Steinmetz, *Record City* (American International, 1977).

<sup>738</sup> Michael Schultz, *Car Wash* (Universal Pictures, 1976).

<sup>739</sup> “A Day In The Life Of Freddie Perren,” *Billboard*, April 16, 1977, 44.

<sup>740</sup> “Billboard’s Recommended LPs,” *Billboard*, November 26, 1977, 99.

The song has a simple disco rhythm with three short verses that admires a stereotypical violent and lustful macho. The first verse warns that the macho seems eager for a fight with, “Mucho macho / He bad / He’ll break your face if you get him mad.” This threat of physical violence in a dance song seems strange, but it adheres to the stereotype that machos are quick-tempered and aggressive. The second verse further aligns with the stereotype by mentioning lust with, “Mucho macho / Ladies man / Hanging out trying to get all he can.” It is not until the concluding lines that the song reveals why listeners should admire machismo: “Mucho macho / Always cool / Cause the macho ain’t nobody’s fool.” Connecting violence and sex with notions of “cool” offers a degree of power and control within interpersonal relations. However, as discussed in previous chapters, this same antisocial behavior was considered culturally aberrant for Latino men. This difference between celebration and racialization is explained through appropriation and the song’s setting: acting macho by bullying is admired only in social settings. It would seem that listeners imagined themselves as the macho, deriving pleasure from a dominant social status. Thus, machismo in this case, is only celebrated in social settings, where aggression provides a dominant social status and the opportunities to pursue sexual encounters.

The next example is “Macho Man” (1978) by the Village People which diverges from the previous musical examples since it signified machismo as meaning muscular physique, fitness, and manly occupations, while paradoxically (and subversively) connecting machismo to a rising gay culture.<sup>741</sup> The band was named after New York City’s Greenwich Village, a bohemian neighborhood in Lower Manhattan that was the center of New York’s gay scene and the site of the 1969 Stonewall riots.<sup>742</sup> Their trademark costumes of a cowboy, Indian, construction worker,

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<sup>741</sup> Village People, *Macho Man*.

<sup>742</sup> The 1969 Stonewall riots occurred at the Stonewall Inn (a popular social site for the LGBT community) in Greenwich Village. A police raid attempting to arrest several patrons was resisted and provoked violent demonstrations throughout the Village. Randy Jones and Mark Bego, *Macho Man: The Disco Era and Gay*

biker, soldier, and police officer were also a tribute to Greenwich where many gay men publicly masqueraded as stereotypical tough male archetypes.<sup>743</sup> This “clone” style is what gender theorist Judith Butler would call a “subversive bodily act” since it undermined the effeminate stereotype of homosexual males.<sup>744</sup> In particular, it contrasted with the popular style of androgyny for heterosexual men, presenting gay “clones” as more masculine.<sup>745</sup> The Village People’s celebration of overly masculine and homoerotic icons thus seemed predestined for the use of machismo.<sup>746</sup>

The song “Macho Man” (1978) was a popular hit, reaching number one on the Billboard disco charts and number 25 on the pop charts, selling a million copies alone in the United States.<sup>747</sup> According to Randy Jones, the “cowboy” member of the group, the song emphasized fitness, giving “all men, straight or gay, a chest thumping anthem to work out to at their gym.”<sup>748</sup> The repetitive lyrics emphasize this notion of physique as the word “macho,” the most common, is said 59 times while “body” is said 49 times, where the singers encouraging listeners to “touch,” “feel,” and “check out” their physique. This penchant for fitness was affirmed at a Macho Man contest hosted by the Village People’s record company, Casablanca records, later

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*America’s “Coming Out”* (Westport, Connecticut: Praeger, 2009), 49–51, 67–68, 86; Martin P. Levine, *Gay Macho: The Life and Death of the Homosexual Clone* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 58.

<sup>743</sup> Shaun Cole, “‘Macho Man:’ Clones and the Development of a Masculine Stereotype,” *Fashion Theory* 4, no. 2 (2000): 128; Levine, *Gay Macho: The Life and Death of the Homosexual Clone*, 5.

<sup>744</sup> Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Chapter 3; Cole, “‘Macho Man:’ Clones and the Development of a Masculine Stereotype,” 128.

<sup>745</sup> Ester Newton, *Mother Camp: Female Impersonators in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 127; Dennis Altman, *Homosexualization of America, Americanization of the Homosexual* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1982), 1–2.

<sup>746</sup> Robert Kellerman, “Village People,” in *The Queer Encyclopedia of Music, Dance, & Musical Theater*, ed. Claude J. Summers (San Francisco: Cleis Press Inc., 2004), 266.

<sup>747</sup> Jones and Bego, *Macho Man: The Disco Era and Gay America’s “Coming Out,”* 86. Kenn Friedman, producer of the Village People, noted how even though the group is the first “gay-to-straight” crossover with their name, costumes, song titles, and lyrics, their music was not popular at gay clubs. Instead, the Village People’s music was heard elsewhere: shopping malls, Las Vegas shows, and theaters. Andrew Kopkind, “The Dialectic of Disco: Gay Music Goes Straight,” *Village Voice*, February 12, 1979; Tim Lawrence, *Love Saves the Day: A History of American Dance Music Culture, 1970-1979*, Second (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 331–332.

<sup>748</sup> Jones and Bego, *Macho Man: The Disco Era and Gay America’s “Coming Out,”* 84.

that year at the first annual Disco Festival in the California Club discotheque in Miami, Florida.<sup>749</sup> Ten male contestants strutted in front of celebrity judges and answered questions about disco music and their “Macho man lifestyles.”<sup>750</sup> Although there is no available record of the complete contest or who was selected as the winner, the selection process reveals how the judges prioritized physical appearance. The mailed applications for entry required a photo of the contestant in a macho man costume and a statement, “in 25 words or less, why they believe that they could be the Number One [*sic*] macho man in America.”<sup>751</sup> The word limit barely allowed two detailed sentences suggesting that the selection committee valued the photo of the entrants more than their statements. Furthermore, questioning the finalists about their “Macho man lifestyles” more than likely meant that the judges wanted contestants who had active lifestyles.

Though different from the previous examples, the Village People’s lyrics reveal their notion of machismo was still related to Latina/o culture through the inclusion of Spanish words. At the conclusion of the song, where the chorus is repeated several times, lead singer Victor Willis, the police officer, breaks from the group to sing, “I’ve got to be a *mucho, mucho*, macho, macho man!” followed by “Talking about a *mucho, mucho*, macho, macho man!” [my emphasis]. These Spanish words are also heard during their 1979 live performance on the Merv Griffith Show, indicating that these are the official lyrics and were even performed in public.<sup>752</sup> Though brief, the repetition of “mucho” in two subsequent lines ensures that listeners hear and recognize these lyrics are in Spanish. It is this brevity and placement at the end of the song that is strange since the song itself is full of repetitive lyrics that total more than 450 words. The choice of these Spanish lyrics seems more like a tribute, affirming to listeners that the machismo

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<sup>749</sup> “‘Macho Man’ Contest at Miami Club,” *Billboard*, September 9, 1978.

<sup>750</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>751</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>752</sup> “Village People ‘Macho Man,’” *The Merv Griffin Show: Las Vegas Special* (NBC, January 5, 1979).

the Village People favored was somehow related to Latina/o culture. Thus, the Village People's song not only drew from the gay scene of New York's Greenwich Village but also referred to the imagined notions of Latino male bodies.

The next example is a funk song titled "Macho" (1979) by Cameo that imagined machismo as confidence.<sup>753</sup> The song is on Cameo's fourth album *Secret Omen*, their first to reach Billboards Top 50 and also their first to reach gold, selling 500,000 copies by December 1979.<sup>754</sup> Their record company Chocolate City was a subsidiary to the Village People's Casablanca Records, thus it is expected that Cameo's song would share their notions of machismo as fitness. Cameo, though, lyrically disagreed with the Village People since they instead emphasized machismo as only confidence.

The song consists of three short verses. It begins with five repetitions of "Macho, be macho" followed by an extended funk rhythm. The band then sings, "You say you think you wanna be macho," leading the listeners into an interest with machismo. The band then explains that, "You got to have that thing about ya / To be funky, and really get down." In other words, having the confidence to dance will prove your machismo. This is reiterated through the simple dance instructions that conclude the song including "Stretch out!" and "Jump up and down and ball up your fist!" This minimal requirement of only confidence to dance generalizes machismo, allowing anyone who participates to claim machismo. Thus, in comparison to the other songs, the more generalized and easily acquired machismo is, the further alienated it is from Latina/o culture.

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<sup>753</sup> Cameo, *Secret Omen*.

<sup>754</sup> Dafydd Rees and Luke Crampton, *VH1 Rock Stars Encyclopedia* (London: DK Adult, 1999), 163.

The last example of sensual machismo in music is “Macho Duck,” a song on Walt Disney’s album *Mickey Mouse Disco* (1979).<sup>755</sup> As the title suggests, the song lyrically and musically imitates the Village People’s “Macho Man” but is instead about the Disney character Donald Duck. Out of the many Disney characters, choosing Donald for a disco song about machismo was intentional. Best described by his creator Carl Banks, Donald is “an unintelligible troublemaker that would find very few roles suitable for his temperament.”<sup>756</sup> His irritability, mischief, and confrontational behavior align with the stereotype of machismo. This includes Donald’s comical portrayal of lust as seen in the film *The Three Caballeros* (1944).<sup>757</sup> There are numerous scenes where Donald chases after women including when Donald visits a beach in Acapulco, Mexico. Piloting a magic *zarape* like a magic carpet, Donald dives at a group of sunbathing women causing them to scream and flee from his literal advances. Moments later, Donald resembles actor Harpo Marx as he continues his chase on the beach until he is finally restrained by other cartoon characters.

The decision to have Donald Duck musically represent machismo may have also been influenced by the previous chart topping novelty song “Disco Duck” (1976) by Memphis DJ Rick Dees and His Cast of Idiots.<sup>758</sup> Called the “Confederate Woody Allen” by *People* magazine, Dees performed numerous novelty songs for his radio programs and appeared in the previously mentioned film *Record City* (1977).<sup>759</sup> He decided to parody disco with a song that tells a story of a man who creates a popular new dance by flapping his arms and clucking like a

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<sup>755</sup> Walt Disney Productions, *Mickey Mouse Disco*.

<sup>756</sup> M. Keith Booker, ed., *Encyclopedia of Comic Books and Graphic Novels*, vol. 1: A-L (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2010), 48.

<sup>757</sup> Norman Ferguson, *The Three Caballeros* (Walt Disney Pictures, 1944).

<sup>758</sup> Rick Dees and His Cast of Idiots, *Disco Duck* (RSO, 1976), RS 857, 78 rpm.

<sup>759</sup> G. Wayne Dowdy, *On This Day in Memphis History* (Charleston: The History Press, 2014), 279.

duck at a discotheque.<sup>760</sup> Adding to the absurdity, Dees had a member from his radio show imitate Donald Duck and sing along.<sup>761</sup> Though intended as a parody, the song reached number one on Billboard, won a People's Choice Award, and was featured in the film *Saturday Night Fever* (1977).<sup>762</sup> Hence, for Disney to produce a disco song about machismo, Donald was the ideal character.

The song "Macho Duck" sounds identical to the Village People's "Macho Man," featuring male singers and repetitive lyrics. For example, the chorus states: "Macho, macho duck / Oh he's a manly sensation / Macho, macho duck / He's a macho, macho duck." The song praises and laughs at Donald's style, dancing abilities and "muscles" but unlike the Village People, the song centers on his toughness instead of fitness. The most repeated line is "Mess with him and your outta luck / He's a macho duck." Disney thus seemed more convinced of machismo as physical aggression, coinciding with Donald's temperament.

Similar to Rick Dees' "Disco Duck," Donald is heard singing along and interjecting throughout the song offering comic relief to his macho characteristics. For example, the singer warns of Donald's quick temper with, "Feathers fly when he gets riled / It's like a pillow fight gone wild." Indeed, Donald is known for his confrontational behavior, yet Disney defused this threat of his machismo by comparing it to a "pillow fight." Another lyric that restates these notions is interjected by Donald, "Easy now toots / Don't ruffle my feathers!" Though spoken enthusiastically and seemingly benign, this request to his female dance partner again aligns

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<sup>760</sup> Bob Shannon, *Turn It Up! American Radio Tales 1946-1996* (Bainbridge Island, Washington: Austrianmonk Publishing, 2009), 93–94.

<sup>761</sup> Ibid.

<sup>762</sup> John Badham, *Saturday Night Fever* (Paramount Pictures, 1977).



machismo with misogyny and patriarchy. Thus, the stereotypical notion of machismo as aggressive against both men and women is conveyed through this comical song.

These examples of sensual machismo in music have many similarities but each emphasizes sensual machismo differently. In order, the songs emphasize sexual virility, muscular bodies, confidence, and toughness. Moreover, half of these songs use the Spanish word “mucho,” correlating sensual machismo with the Spanish language, and by extension, Latina/o culture. Yet, none of these songs portray machismo negatively. The references to violence are presented as more defensive and even comical in the case of Donald Duck. The next section will find a similar pattern where sensual machismo was appropriated for product advertisements to signify toughness, sex, and strength.

### ***Commodification of Machismo, 1974 – 1981***

The first example of commodified machismo is macho wetsuits by a Southern California company called Sea Suits. In 1974, they published two advertisements that featured images of a Euro American man in a wetsuit.<sup>763</sup> The model looks ordinary: typical 1970s shaggy hair, moustache, and not overly muscular. Figure 6.1 is the first advertisement where he is sitting on a rock with a smile as ocean waves crash behind him. The text of the first advertisement speaks more to the Sea Suit brand, emphasizing “quality materials,” “superior fit,” and proudly claiming their macho was “based on a design we manufactured for NASA.” The concluding line hints as to why they chose the name, “Ask for a ‘Macho’ by Sea Suits. It fits where it counts.” Wetsuits are intended to maintain a warm body temperature and provide some protection from scrapes and

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<sup>763</sup> These advertisements were from 1974 periodicals and listed on an online auction website. Author’s possession.

other minor injuries. The advertisement thus promises males that their product was engineered to protect “where it counts,” their genitalia, assigning machismo to the male gender.

The text in their second advertisement, though, reveals that the company had more notions of machismo than male genitalia. Figure 6.2 shows the same diver standing with one foot on a rock. The text reads:

We’re excited about this new suit. Trouble is, it’s hard to describe. It’s great, but simple. We call it “Macho,” because it brings together things you associate with a good man. It’s strong and uncomplicated, has good looks without being flashy, and knows when to be tough, and when to let up. This is the suit we built for Skylab’s recovery team. It had to be a no nonsense kind of suit. If you’re “Macho,” this suit was designed for you.

Most salient are the amount of positive descriptions including “great,” “strong,” and even “good” is mentioned twice. Indeed, the text reads more as an extended definition, convincing perspective buyers how “tough” this product is, connoting its reliability and away from any negative associations. It even insinuates any male can be a macho if they meet similar characteristics of toughness and “no nonsense.”

The next example is MACHO adult magazine, published in 1976, which appropriated machismo to represent anti-feminism. The front cover of their first issue announces this stance through headlines and a partially dressed female model. The woman is brown-haired with pale skin and she holds a stuffed animal pig to her shoulder, like an infant, with a large affixed label that reads “Macho Power!” The pose symbolically reclaims the epithet of “male chauvinist pig,” commonly used by 1960s and 1970s second-wave feminists to describe men who believed

women were less than their equals.<sup>764</sup> A headline at the bottom explains the magazine's purpose that reads more like a disclaimer:

WARNING! MACHO is the magazine for male chauvinists. We believe in male pride. MACHO is earthy, humorous, sexual, and above all—honest. It is edited for open-minded, free-thinking, liberated men... If you're a closet chauvinist... who wants to come out and brave the slings and arrows of outraged feminists... MACHO is the magazine for you.<sup>765</sup>

This lengthy message is meant to convince potential buyers that this magazine provided more than nudity and tales of sexual experiences as other adult magazines offered. Rather, MACHO created a space for anti-feminists to affirm their beliefs with adult content.

While the magazine's title, MACHO, suggests an obvious play on the stereotype of machismo as chauvinistic, there may be another reason the editors chose this provocative title for their adult magazine. The articles in the magazine cite and criticize specific books, magazine articles, and even television interviews by feminists, suggesting that the editors kept an eye on their activities. Hence, it is likely that the title was also a direct response to feminist use and criticism of machismo. In "A Glossary of Terms for the Liberated Women (and everyone else, too)", printed in the *Chicago Tribune* in 1973, journalist Mary McPhee listed three-pages of feminist terminology.<sup>766</sup> Machismo is included and it was defined as, "overweening male pride; sexual fascism."<sup>767</sup> This description demonstrates that machismo was included in feminist literature and debate, signifying oppression. Another example of feminists critical use of machismo occurred a year before MACHO magazine's publication where, in 1975, Mexico

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<sup>764</sup> Sidney Tarrow, *Strangers at the Gates: Movements and States in Contentious Politics* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 165.

<sup>765</sup> *MACHO Magazine*, June 1976.

<sup>766</sup> An example of the terminology from a feminist perspective was "Housework: Something that expands to fill the time available. An average of 99.6 hours per week." Mary McPhee, "A Glossary of Terms for the Liberated Woman: A Glossary of Terms for the Liberated Woman (and Everyone Else Too)," *Chicago Tribune*, February 4, 1973, sec. J38, 40.

<sup>767</sup> *Ibid.*

hosted the United Nations Conference on Women.<sup>768</sup> Betty Friedan, whose book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963) is credited with starting the second-wave feminist movement, made newspaper headlines when she criticized the election of Attorney General Pedro Ojeda Paullada, a male, as the president. “It’s an insult to all women in the world that no Mexican woman could head the conference,” Friedan said adding, “It’s amazing in the land of machismo to even have a women’s conference here.”<sup>769</sup> Friedan’s remarks were reiterated through many U.S. newspapers, including the *Los Angeles Times* which headlined their story with “Mexican Machismo, Feminism Don’t Mix.”<sup>770</sup> Thus, returning to MACHO magazine, it is possible the editors decided to title their publication in a way that signified both their chauvinistic attitude and opposition toward second-wave feminism through machismo.

The editors agreed on the label of machismo with some exceptions. The first page of the magazine featured a “Macho Manifesto” that contained similar content to the front page discussed previously. However, the editors ending the manifesto with, “we might be macho, but we’re not devoid of sensitivity or taste. We intend to be a class magazine, first and always.”<sup>771</sup> Their admission reveals that the editors were selectively appropriating the term macho only for its chauvinistic meanings, since they made sure to emphasize their “class,” “sensitivity,” and “taste;” characteristics not usually associated with machos.

Another example of commodified machismo is Macho, a fragrance for men from Fabergé, which was available from 1976 – 1978 in cologne, aftershave, soap, and deodorant.

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<sup>768</sup> Jocelyn Olcott, “The Politics of Opportunity: Mexican Populism under Lázaro Cárdenas and Luis Echeverría,” in *Gender and Populism in Latin America: Passionate Politics*, ed. Karen Kampwirth (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 39.

<sup>769</sup> Associated Press, “CIA ‘Plants’ in Women’s Groups Feared,” *Independent Press Telegram*, June 21, 1975, A–6.

<sup>770</sup> Stanley Meisler, “U.N. Women’s Parley: Mexican Machismo, Feminism Don’t Mix,” *Los Angeles Times*, July 2, 1975.

<sup>771</sup> “Macho Manifesto: Why Macho?,” *MACHO Magazine*, June 1976, 3.

Figure 6.3 and 6.4 shows the two magazine advertisements: the first used in 1976/1977, and the other in 1978. The first only featured a bottle of Macho cologne, enlarged to cover most of the advertisement. The bottle itself resembled an ithyphallic; evident from the curvature of the bottle's cap to resemble testis.<sup>772</sup> The label on the bottle is another phallic symbol as the word "macho" is vertically printed with the last letter, "o," in the shape of a pentagon. The text of the advertisement reveals how Fabergé drew upon the stereotype of machismo. The headline reads, "Macho. It's b-a-a-a-d." while the body text reads, "The powerful scent for men by Fabergé. Macho is b-a-a-a-d. And that's good." Unlike some of the previous examples that selectively defined machismo away from its stereotype, Fabergé instead capitalized on these conflicting notions by reiterating the stereotype of machismo as overly sexual. Thus, the bottle offered "macho" sexual virility in a bottle.

The second advertisement differed considerably as it referred to sensual machismo. It featured a male torso, whose unbuttoned denim-shirt reveals a hairy chest and a golden necklace pendant with the phallic macho logo. In the model's hands is a bottle of Macho cologne, gripped as if he were about to open it. The headline states, "Macho Musk Oil is mucho macho," while the text at the bottom describes the fragrance as enhancing a male's sexual performance:

Macho Musk Oil for men who want to exercise their natural powers. It takes its cue from your mood chemistry. When your signal is low-key, Macho Musk Oil will be subtle. When you're in high gear, Macho Musk Oil sends the message, unmistakably. Try Macho Musk Oil on your next encounter. After that, you'll never go it alone. There is a time to be a Macho Man.

The advertisement described this fragrance as offering a supplement to a sexual "encounter."

The term "exercise" and the phrase "to be a Macho Man," offers some explanation why Fabergé

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<sup>772</sup> Luca Turin and Tania Sanchez, *Perfumes: The A-Z Guide* (London: Profile Books Ltd, 2008), 304; John F. Sherry, Jr., "Advertising as a Cultural System," in *Marketing and Semiotics: New Directions in the Study of Signs for Sale*, ed. Jean Umiker-Sebeok (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1987), 455.

changed their advertisement. That same year, the Village People released their hit song. Thus, Fabergé decided to emphasize sensual machismo instead of the “b-a-a-a-d” stereotype to garner further sales with sensual machismo’s new theme of fitness.

Other advertisements appropriated machismo to sell automobiles. Mecham Pontiac dealership in Phoenix, Arizona and Chrysler Motors Corporation created and sold “Macho” variants of cars from 1977 – 1981. Indeed, describing automobiles as “macho” occurred years before. For example, automotive journalist Brock Yates titled his 1974 nostalgic essay on American muscle cars for *Playboy*, “The Macho Machines.”<sup>773</sup> In the July 1976 issue of *Car and Driver* magazine, the cover described Chevrolets C-10 Scottsdale light duty trucks as “Macho Short-Bed.”<sup>774</sup> That same year, American Motors Corporation advertised their Jeep Honchos (Spanish for “boss”) as “Mucho Macho.”<sup>775</sup> Unlike the previous examples, American Motors provided a thorough definition of machismo,

Honcho is macho, And that means brawny, powerful and tough. Built for guys who demand more than the average vehicle. A sports pickup that looks extra tough, And acts it! See Honcho at your Jeep Dealer... mucho pronto. [*sic*]<sup>776</sup>

This Jeep advertisement best details the common notions of machismo when applied to automobiles: toughness and horse power. However, an examination of the advertisements of Mecham Pontiac and Chrysler Motors will demonstrate that machismo applied to automobiles acquired more connotations of style and independence.

From 1977 – 1980, Mecham Pontiac dealership in Phoenix, Arizona sold modified Firebird Trans-Am automobiles calling them “Macho T/A.”<sup>777</sup> Pontiac, a division of General

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<sup>773</sup> Brock Yates, “The Macho Machines,” *Playboy*, April 1974, 158.

<sup>774</sup> *Car and Driver Magazine*, July 1976.

<sup>775</sup> “American Motors Corporation Advertisement: Jeep Honcho, Mucho Macho,” 1976.

<sup>776</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>777</sup> David Tom, *The Cars of Trans-Am Racing: 1966-1973* (North Branch, Minnesota: CarTech, Inc., 2013), 168.

Motors, designed the Firebird to sell alongside the Chevrolet Camaro in the 1960s muscle car market.<sup>778</sup> By the late 1970s, increased fuel and emission control equipment reduced the strength in their automotive engines, causing a decline in the sales of muscle cars.<sup>779</sup> To Dennis and Kyle Mecham, two brothers whose father owned the Mecham dealership, this was an opportunity to modify Firebirds, restoring some of their prior horse power, and bring in more customers to their family dealership.<sup>780</sup> Tinkering with their own cars first, the Mecham brothers figured that by tuning the carburetor, recalibrating the ignition, opening the air scoop, adjusting the suspension, and adding in a dual-exhaust system with two catalytic converters produced considerable horse power.<sup>781</sup> A custom paint job with the words “Macho T/A” on the side and rear culminated their modifications as the first Macho displayed on the showroom floor sold in three days.<sup>782</sup> More than four hundred Macho T/As were built and sold until Pontiac retired the 400 series engine in 1980 in favor of the less powerful 301 turbocharged engine, making any modifications for increased performance ineffective.<sup>783</sup>

When asked about his choice of naming his creation Macho, Dennis Mecham recalled it was not about the added horse power. Rather, he claimed:

At that time, macho was the “in” word in the Southwest. Everything was macho. In desperation, I said, “Why not call it Macho T/A?” It was almost tongue-in-cheek. It may not be the best name, but how can you forget it?<sup>784</sup>

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<sup>778</sup> Pontiac’s previous muscle car the GTO did not compare in sales with the popular Ford Mustang. Michael Burgan, *The Pontiac Firebird* (Mankato, Minnesota: Capstone Press, 1999), 11–13.

<sup>779</sup> Darwin Holmstrom, *GTO: Pontiac’s Great One* (Minneapolis: MBI Publishing, 2009), 222.

<sup>780</sup> Marc Cranswick, *The Cars of American Motors: An Illustrated History* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland and Company, Inc., 2012), 195.

<sup>781</sup> Mike McNessor, “Macho Poncho,” *Hemmings Muscle Machines*, October 2008; DKM Design, Performance Inc., “1978 Macho T/A Brochure” (DKM Design, Performance, 1979), 2.

<sup>782</sup> McNessor, “Macho Poncho”; DKM Design, Performance Inc., “1978 Macho T/A Brochure,” 2.

<sup>783</sup> “Mecham Design, Performance - History - DKM Design, Performance,” accessed September 10, 2013, [http://www.mechamperformance.com/m\\_docs/dkm.html](http://www.mechamperformance.com/m_docs/dkm.html).

<sup>784</sup> McNessor, “Macho Poncho.”

Mecham's admission further reveals the popularity of the term machismo in the late 1970s as evinced in this chapter; "everything was macho." While he considered the name unforgettable and humorous, consumers seemed to prefer it. Mecham recalled a disagreement he had with a leasing company who ordered six Macho T/As without the decal "Macho" lettering. Mecham was able to convince them to buy three with the lettering and three without. Customers purchased the cars with the lettering first.<sup>785</sup>

Mecham's claim that he named the car Macho for the name itself is reiterated with its limited use in their 1979 brochure for the Macho T/A. The text lists the numerous modifications described earlier and how each feature improves horse power, control, and/or stability. Machismo is only mentioned in the section that describes the custom paint scheme of "MACHO T/A" that identifies the car "as an entity, a unique item with increased performance characteristics and style [*sic*]" that would "tremendously" add to its resale value.<sup>786</sup> Thus, even though the modifications were intended to increase horse power, the name Macho T/A was meant to signify a different style from other Firebird Trans-Am automobiles.

A similar usage of commodified machismo for automobiles was marketed by Chrysler Motors from 1977 – 1981. The strict fuel and emissions standards that were applied to passenger cars in the 1970s, as discussed previously with the Firebirds, were lenient in comparison for light duty trucks as they were intended for commercial or agricultural labor.<sup>787</sup> Chrysler Motor's

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<sup>785</sup> Ibid.

<sup>786</sup> DKM Design, Performance Inc., "1978 Macho T/A Brochure," 2.

<sup>787</sup> Brent D. Yacobucci, "CRS Report for Congress: Sport Utility Vehicles, Mini-Vans, and Light Trucks: An Overview of Fuel Economy and Emissions Standards," Congressional Research Service, (June 28, 2002), 1–2, The Library of Congress, <http://www.cnire.org/nle/crsreports/RS20298.pdf>.



capitalized on these regulations by advertising their light duty trucks, station wagons, and conversion vans as “Adult Toys,” enticing drivers to travel and experience off-roading.<sup>788</sup>

There are two ways Chrysler Motors applied machismo to their light duty trucks. The first was their “Macho packages” for the Power Wagon (light duty truck) and the Ramcharger (sport utility vehicle) that included: trim decals for the hood, body, and tailgate; painted spokes; two-tone paint; low-luster black-painted bumpers; wide sport wheels; and raised-letter tires.<sup>789</sup> In other words, the Macho package offered a colorful paint scheme. Unlike the decals of the Firebird that explicitly said “Macho,” these decals instead said “Power Wagon” or “4x4.”

The other way Chrysler Motors applied machismo to their light trucks was to change the name of the Power Wagon to “Macho Power Wagon” from 1977 – 1981.<sup>790</sup> This truck series began after World War II where Chrysler Motors decided to continue producing its smaller, one-ton military truck for the civilian market.<sup>791</sup> In their 1978 magazine advertisement for the vehicle, it was described as, “The imposing two-tone machine over to your right is called the Macho Power Wagon and it delivers everything the name implies... inside and outside... with a standard roll bar and full-time four-wheel drive to back it up.”<sup>792</sup> Similar to Mechem, Chrysler Motors appropriated the name macho, but associated it with horse power and style.

The following section will analyze the early wrestling performances of Randy “Macho Man” Savage before his national debut for the World Wrestling Federation in 1985. Savage’s

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<sup>788</sup> Robert Genat, *Mopar Muscle: Fifty Years* (Saint Paul: Motorbooks, 2006), 283.

<sup>789</sup> “Dodge Exhibit Fun For Young And Old,” *New York Amsterdam News*, January 29, 1977; Dodge Trucks, *Dodge 79 Pickup Trucks Brochure* (USA, 1978), 12; Dodge, *1980 Dodge Ramcharger Brochure* (USA, 1979), 7.

<sup>790</sup> The Macho Power Wagon was later featured and popularized in the television detective series *Simon and Simon* that aired from 1981 – 1989.

<sup>791</sup> Mike Mueller, *Classic Pickups of the 1950s* (Osceola, Wisconsin: MBI Publishing, 1999), 26.

<sup>792</sup> “Dodge Chrysler Advertisement: A New Set of Adult Toys From Dodge,” 1978.

macho character was an amalgamation of the many notions of machismo, including its sensual and stereotypical characteristics, to fulfill his role as the villain in wrestling matches.

### ***Randy “Macho Man” Savage 1977 – 1981***

Professional wrestler Randy “Macho Man” Savage is known for his colorful costumes, eccentric hand gestures, hoarse low-voice, and aggressive in-ring wrestling style.<sup>793</sup> He was also the spokesman for Slim Jim jerky in the 1990s shouting “Snap into a Slim Jim!” on television commercials and had many cameo appearances in other media including the film *Spiderman* (2002), the television comedy “Mad About You,” and voicing several animated characters.<sup>794</sup> His popular macho character, though, was not an overnight creation. Rather, it took years of refinement. Through an analysis of two of his early wrestling matches and skits, including his Miss Macho Man Contest, I will show how his macho character is an amalgam of sensual machismo and the stereotype of machismo, proving that these two sets of characteristics were not mutually exclusive and could intersect to create an egotistical, cruel, and patriarchal villain who extolled his physique.

Savage’s wrestling career was a family affair. His real name was Randall Mario Poffo, the son of professional wrestler Angelo Poffo, who began his athletic career playing minor league baseball.<sup>795</sup> In 1973, Poffo performed his first wrestling match but continued his baseball

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<sup>793</sup> Elizabeth A. Harris, “Obituary: Randy Savage,” in *The Obits: Annual 2012*, ed. William McDonald (New York: Workman Publishing Company, Inc., 2011), 463–464.

<sup>794</sup> Randy Savage’s role in the film *Spiderman* (2002) was notable to viewers as his body slam to actor Tobey Maguire was voted the second best “movie body slam” by Vibe magazine’s online poll, losing to Hulk Hogan’s body slam to Sylvester Stallone in *Rocky III* (1982). Ibid.; Brian Shields, *Main Event: WWE in the Raging 80s* (New York: Pocket Books, 2006), 43; “Wrestlemania: Your Favorite Movie Body Slams,” *Vibe Magazine*, May 2004, 80.

<sup>795</sup> Dutch Mantell, *The World According to Dutch* (Lexington: Wayne Keown, 2009), 31.

career until injuries impeded his placement in the major league.<sup>796</sup> Poffo then fully committed himself to professional wrestling performing as several aliases (The Spider, The Executioner, or his real name, Randy Poffo) until 1977 when wrestling promoter Ole Anderson saw Poffo's aggressive, energetic style and called him a "savage."<sup>797</sup> The name fit well and Poffo wrestled as Randy Savage from then on.<sup>798</sup> In 1978, Savage asked his mother to compile a list of nicknames he could use. In a magazine, she saw the name "Macho Man" and put it on the list she gave to her son. Several days later, Savage telephoned her to ask, "What's a macho man?" She replied, "I have no idea."<sup>799</sup> This detail suggests that Savage had, at best, a vague notion of machismo when he decided on the nickname. Moreover, judging from this date and his subsequent costume choices, Savage appropriated the Village People's disco style. Yet, Savage's choice of a villainous character meant he examined more than just 1970s music since his character embodied many of the stereotypical notions of machismo associated with Latino males: arrogance, aggressiveness, and patriarchy.

To perform as the Macho Man, Savage played on the audience's notions of gender. For inspiration, he looked to professional wrestler "Gorgeous George" (George Wagner) an effeminate villain of the mid-1940s to the 1960s who was nicknamed the "Toast of the Coast," "Sensation of the Nation" and "the Human Orchid."<sup>800</sup> With platinum-blond curly hair held up

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<sup>796</sup> Poffo played 289 games in four minor league seasons with a .254 batting average. Shields, *Main Event: WWE in the Raging 80s*, 40; Thomas Neumann, "'Macho Man' Randy Savage Remembered by Former Baseball Teammate Larry Herndon - ESPN," May 20, 2011, <http://espn.go.com/espn/page2/index?id=6571831>.

<sup>797</sup> Larry Matysik, *50 Greatest Professional Wrestlers of All Time: The Definitive Shoot* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2013).

<sup>798</sup> From this point, Randy Poffo will be referred to by his nickname Savage since his brother Lanny Poffo is later included in this chapter. Much of Savage's early wrestling career was pieced together by fans who shared newspapers and wrestling advertisements online after Savage's passing in May 2011. Eric Westlund, "ICW Poffo Universe, Poffo History at Your Fingertips with Video, Pictures Descriptions," accessed March 14, 2013, <http://www.freewebs.com/icwpoffouniverse/randysworld.htm>.

<sup>799</sup> Keith Elliot Greenberg, "The Final Days of Randy 'Macho Man' Savage | Bleacher Report," May 19, 2013, <http://bleacherreport.com/articles/1643969-the-final-days-of-randy-macho-man-savage>.

<sup>800</sup> John Capouya, *Gorgeous George* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 2008), xii.

by golden bobby pins and sequined robes, George walked to the wrestling ring on a red carpet with valets spraying perfume and disinfectant around him to the common graduation theme “Pomp and Circumstance.”<sup>801</sup> The crowd heckled this procession, to which George retorted, “Peasants! You’re all ignorant peasants! You’re beneath contempt!”<sup>802</sup> George would further delay the start of the wrestling match, to the ire of the crowd, by properly folding his robe, removing his bobby pins, tossing flowers to his fans, and spraying more of his disinfectant on the referee and his opponent.<sup>803</sup> His wrestling style was even more outrageous as he taunted, then hid from his opponent, performed several examples of in-ring athleticism, only to pause the match to complain about having his hair pulled.<sup>804</sup> George’s wrestling act sold out numerous shows as fans purchased tickets with the hopes that they would see him lose. This transgressive character inspired other wrestling villains and even boxer Cassius Clay (later known as Muhammad Ali) who, after witnessing a sold-out, hysterical crowd berating George, began to boast how he was the “prettiest” fighter in the world.<sup>805</sup> For Savage, though, he would have to create and perform the opposite of George’s feminized character, the epitome of machismo, which would convince fans enough to pay and see him perform.

Professional wrestlers are hyper-visible performers whose costumes, personality, composure, aggressiveness, and compliance with the rules of the wrestling match alert audience

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<sup>801</sup> Savage would later use “Pomp and Circumstance” as his entrance music to wrestling matches. Keith Elliot Greenberg, *Pro Wrestling: From Carnivals to Cable TV* (Minneapolis: Lerner Publications Company, 2000), 25–26.

<sup>802</sup> Capouya, *Gorgeous George*, xiii.

<sup>803</sup> Greenberg, *Pro Wrestling: From Carnivals to Cable TV*, 26; Greg Oliver, *Pro Wrestling Hall of Fame: The Heels* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2007), 24.

<sup>804</sup> Greenberg, *Pro Wrestling: From Carnivals to Cable TV*, 25–27; Oliver, *Pro Wrestling Hall of Fame: The Heels*, 26–27.

<sup>805</sup> Many of Muhammad Ali’s boasts where he called himself the “prettiest” were published after his victory over British heavyweight champion Henry Cooper and leading to his first fight against world heavyweight champion Sonny Liston in 1963 – 1964. Gene N. Landrum, *Empowerment: The Competitive Edge in Sports, Business, and Life* (Burlington, Ontario: Brendan Kelly Publishing, Inc., 2006), 145; Carrie Golus, *Muhammad Ali* (Minneapolis: Twenty-First Century Books, 2006), 28–29.

members to their role as either the hero (“babyface”) or the villain (“heel”).<sup>806</sup> It is a simple plot of good guy versus bad guy. For Savage to perform as the Macho Man, though, he risked more than just a loss but his metaphoric emasculation as Savage had to prove his machismo in every match.<sup>807</sup>

Savage’s macho performances were popular and impressive spectacles. Professional wrestler Dutch Mantell, who was involved in a feud with Savage when he created his Macho Man persona, described him as “an over-the-top personality and name” that exhibited paranoia and “aggression.”<sup>808</sup> Mantell also noted the popularity of Savage’s new macho character since his matches would “sell out the curtain,” an old wrestling compliment meaning other wrestlers would leave the locker room and join the crowd to watch your match.<sup>809</sup> This account reveals that Savage’s new macho performances were entertaining, unique, and convincing even to other wrestlers.

In one of his earliest recorded matches as the Macho Man, Savage wrestled Rick McCord in All Star Championship Wrestling in 1979 Knoxville, Tennessee where he performed machismo through deception. Introduced to jeers as the International Champion title holder, a fully-bearded Savage wore: a sparkling blue and white robe with the word “Savage” largely printed on the back, a matching blue and white headband, sunglasses, and a gold title belt over his shoulder. In stark contrast, McCord wore only a blue t-shirt over a plain black wrestling leotard. As Savage removed his robe, which he carefully folded and handed to an outside

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<sup>806</sup> Michael Sorkin, “Simulations: Faking It,” in *Watching Television: A Pantheon Guide to Popular Culture* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1986), 164; Angela Carter, *Shaking A Leg: Collected Writings*, ed. Jenny Uglow (New York: Penguin Books, 1996), 335.

<sup>807</sup> Sharon Mazer, *Professional Wrestling: Sport and Spectacle* (Jackson, Mississippi: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), 99–100.

<sup>808</sup> Mantell, *The World According to Dutch*, 30–34.

<sup>809</sup> *Ibid.*

assistant similar to Gorgeous George, he revealed red-colored trunks covered with white stars and the words “MACHO MAN” printed on the back. Savage’s bright, effeminate costume transgressed the audience’s gender norms of a male wrestler, easily depicting him as the villain of the match.

The match began with a lengthy grapple session of headlocks, chin locks, and pins where McCord dominated Savage. Unable to gain the upper hand, Savage resorted to pulling McCord’s hair at least three times to escape the holds. The audience reacted negatively to Savage’s tactics chanting “Macho Man cheats!” The chant continued throughout the match but was loudly heard after Savage, with McCord outside of the wrestling ring, climbed to the top of the ring post and jumped down about ten feet to strike McCord in the back of his head with both of his hands. The audience was stunned, and momentarily silent, until the chant “Macho Man cheats!” began again. The ringside commentator clarified the audience’s horror by stating it was illegal to jump down on an opponent from the top of the ring post while they were in the ring, not outside of it. The match then quickly ended as Savage pinned McCord for three seconds to a chorus of boos since Macho Man, the villain, cheated to win.

Savage participated in an interview following his match where he performed machismo as arrogance and narcissism. Wearing his sunglasses and the title belt over his shoulder, Savage flexed his arm, kissed his bicep, and took the microphone away from his interviewer stating, “the best thing you can do is probably just stand back and let the Macho Man talk, cause there’s nothing you can say that I couldn’t say better myself!” His monologue that followed was pompous, praising himself as “the man with the million dollar robes, the Macho Man, the head of Macho Mania” who was “respected the world over.” Savage concluded by issuing a challenge for the other wrestling championship title because, “I’ve got one [belt] around this beautiful arm,

and I want one around this one.” In comparison to the match where the crowd derided Savage, they were silent with a few noticeable laughs. Rather, the crowd seemed to be listening intently to Savage’s proclamations as if they wanted to learn more about this portrayal of machismo and what Savage planned for the following show. Thus, Savage successfully introduced, performed, and explained his character as representing an aggressive, narcissistic machismo.

A week later, Savage wrestled against Jim Pride where he performed his macho persona again through cheating and cruelty. For this match, Savage wore a different outfit: a black cap with white sparkling stripes and a black robe with a white belt. While not quite the glittering attraction he was before, Savage did have the words “Macho Man” printed on the back of his robe with a large playboy bunny logo. Similar to McCord, Pride paled in comparison wearing only a plain buttoned-up shirt over his wrestling trunks. Hearing his name announced, Savage strutted across the ring slowly removing his robe to a chorus of cheers and whistles from women in the audience. Enjoying the attention, Savage turned toward the crowd. The referee, though, interrupted this interaction by asking Savage to turn around as the match was about to begin. Savage complied, but not before he slowly removed his robe, drawing even more cheers from women. This strange response to Savage’s introduction warrants a moment of analysis since, unlike the previous week, he was lauded for his machismo. The best explanation for this shift is this chapter’s theme of appropriation since machismo as hypersexual was desirable. By this time, Playboy founder Hugh Hefner popularized wearing robes for public events.<sup>810</sup> Moreover, Savage’s striptease perhaps reminded some audience members of the Hollywood Chippendales night club that featured male exotic dancers which opened a few months before.<sup>811</sup> Thus,

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<sup>810</sup> Hugh Hefner, “PJ Max,” *New York Times*, March 9, 2008.

<sup>811</sup> Jon Stratton, *The Desirable Body: Cultural Fetishism and the Erotics of Consumption* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2001), 188.

Savage's nickname, costume, and striptease signified a hypersexual lifestyle that was met with applause.

The match began with no definite crowd favorite as both wrestlers were cheered. In other words, Savage was not performing his villainous macho character well. To garner the mass disapproval from the audience, Savage again resorted to pulling his opponents hair during grapples. The audience, though, did not respond angrily as before. Savage then tried a different tactic by delaying the match. After receiving several punches from Pride, Savage stepped out of the ring and walked around, pretending to catch his breath. The crowd berated him for this obvious stall tactic and urged Savage to return inside the ring. When he re-entered, Savage again pulled Pride's hair, finally turning the crowd against him. To further the audience's loathing, Savage performed acts of cruelty. After striking Pride's head several times, Savage pinned him on the mat as the referee counted to three. Rather than Pride stopping the count by kicking or raising his shoulder, Savage pulled him up on his own, continuing the match. The referee warned Savage and the audience loudly protested. Savage then pinned Pride again, only to pull him up once more yelling, "Not gonna do it no more I swear!" as the crowd roared with disapproval. This wrestling match was no longer a contest; it had turned into a beating. Savage then threw Pride outside the ring for his signature attack. As Savage climbed to the top of the ring post, the audience screamed to warn Pride who was staggering to his feet. Several children even left their seats and rushed to Pride's side trying to warn him of Savage's looming plans. These efforts were all for naught as Savage leaped at Pride, striking him with both of his hands to the anguish of the crowd. The silence that followed was interrupted by Savage who yelled at the camera, "Nobody can do that but me baby! The world champion!" Instantly, the moment of horror turned to laughter as the audience could not believe Savage's ego. The match ended soon



afterwards as Savage finally pinned Pride and celebrated with his title belt to a ruckus in the arena. Overall, this performance revealed a conditional acceptance of machismo. Savage's introduction in a playboy robe was celebrated since it signified sensual machismo. However, once Savage acted cowardly and maliciously, the crowd turned against him and his stereotypical machismo.

Savage's macho character was also central to advertising wrestling shows. Figure 6.5 is an image of Savage printed on a 1980 promotional flyer for a wrestling show in Kentucky.<sup>812</sup> He has an intense, crazed look and is wearing only his wrestling trunks, baring his muscular chest, arms, and neck. In Savage's hands is a title belt which, as stated in his interview beforehand, proved his status as a champion and main attraction. Most salient are Savage's wrestling trunks which depict the male and female symbols of gender. The symbols are aligned in a way to signify sexual intercourse. The male symbol, positioned on his phallus, is pointing toward the circle at the base of the female symbol which is on his hip. Above these symbols are the initials "M. M." for Macho Man. Placed together, this image advertises Savage as a stereotypical macho in an attempt to attract more ticket sales.

Savage was also well aware of the gendered boundaries of machismo. A skit that featured these limitations was the Miss Macho Man contest in 1981 for his family's wrestling promotion called International Championship Wrestling.<sup>813</sup> Savage interrupted the wrestling program by grabbing the microphone from the announcers to declare his plans for a Miss Macho

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<sup>812</sup> "Advertisement Flyer: International Championship Wrestling in Richmond, Kentucky," March 27, 1980, <http://www.freewebs.com/icwpoffouniverse/032780%20icw%20ad%20richmond%20ky.jpg>.

<sup>813</sup> ICW was considered an "outlaw" organization as they were not members of the incorporated National Wrestling Alliance. This led to numerous fights between wrestlers of the two organizations, especially when they performed in the same town, amassing Savage's reputation as a dangerous man among wrestlers and fans. Larry Matysik, *Wrestling At The Chase: The Inside Story of Sam Muchnick and the Legends of Professional Wrestling* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2005), 146.

Man contest. “All the beautiful chicks in the world can write in and they can get involved in the Miss Macho Man contest!” Savage exhorted. With the audience jeering such an idea, Savage used this opportunity to insult them, “None of these people in the studio audience, don’t write in ‘cause you’re all ugly and fat!” Savage then promised to pick the winner next week causing the crowd to continue laughing at the idea of a Miss Macho Man. This pageant, as seen by the audience’s reaction, is considered a hilarious oxymoron: A woman will represent machismo.<sup>814</sup> Savage’s short explanation, though, provided his requirements for contestants: beauty and thinness. Before Savage could give any more details, he was interrupted by two crowd-favorite wrestlers (babyfaces), Ronnie Garvin and Leaping Lanny Poffo (Savage’s brother). Garvin yelled, “Hold everything! We’ve got Miss Macho Man!” and directed the television camera to the other side of the ring where a giant wooden box with “Keep Out” and “Danger” written on the sides was wheeled in. The audience stood to get a better look as Garvin unlocked the box and yelled, “This is Miss Macho Man 1981! It’s all yours! You can look at it! You can kiss her!” as the crowd screamed with excitement. The difference in gendered identifiers, “it’s” and “her,” was enough of a hint to the audience that a comedic spectacle was imminent. Indeed, Savage opened the box to find a strange sight: another wrestler named “Pistol” Pez Whatley, an African American, was bound and gagged in a chair, wearing a white skirt, a stuffed white bra, a white nylon on one of his legs, and a blonde wig.<sup>815</sup> At five feet, ten inches, and 234 pounds, Whatley was a queer spectacle. What followed were several minutes of chaos: the crowd screamed; Savage threatened to attack the pranksters; Whatley bounded out of the box yelling

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<sup>814</sup> Beauty pageants are contentious cultural productions where judges empower one woman to represent an often heterogeneous community. Afia Ofori-Mensa, “Beauty, Bodies, and Boundaries: Pageants, Race, and U.S. National Identity” (Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2010), 6–7.

<sup>815</sup> Pez Whatley was also the first African American collegiate wrestler at the University of Tennessee – Chattanooga. Greg Oliver, “CANOE -- SLAM! Sports - Wrestling - ‘Pistol’ Pez Whatley Dead at 54,” accessed May 29, 2013, <http://slam.canoe.ca/Slam/Wrestling/2005/01/19/903727.html>.

that he was kidnapped; Garvin proclaimed this was the “perfect Miss Macho Man;” Poffo sang “I Enjoy Being a Girl” from Rodgers’ and Hammerstein’s musical *Flower Drum Song* (1958), and finally ended with Savage struggling to release Whatley from his costume.<sup>816</sup>

The Miss Macho Man skit revealed three notions of machismo that Savage and his family’s wrestling organization employed to satirize machismo: (1) a gendered expectation against women from representing machismo; (2) machismo’s object of desire — white women; and (3) the policing of machismo’s aberrant hypersexuality. At the center of this performance is Whatley. Bound and in women’s clothing, he embodies contrasting notions of machismo and feminine beauty, particularly when he tears off his costume, revealing a muscular physique underneath.<sup>817</sup> The audience’s hysterical reaction signifies their approval of this humiliation, seemingly in agreement that drag was the best way to represent a Miss Macho Man. Moreover, Whatley’s unveiling sabotaged the beauty pageant, preventing Savage (the villain) from the joy of selecting a woman to best represent his macho man ideals of beauty. The skit thus ended with machismo degraded, racialized, and kept as male-centric.

The fallout of the sabotaged beauty pageant is unknown since a recording of the next wrestling show is unavailable. However, the show the week after indicates that a winner was selected since Savage was interviewed about his ongoing feud with the pranksters with Miss Macho Man Brenda Britton quietly standing beside him. In the lost episode, Savage somehow selected a Miss Macho Man. Britton is a tall, white, blonde woman with feathered hair similar to

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<sup>816</sup> Nancy Kwan’s song “I enjoy being a girl” in *Flower Drum Song* (1958) celebrates her girlish figure and being desired by men. A film version was released three years later. Henry Koster, *Flower Drum Song* (Universal Studios, 1961).

<sup>817</sup> Professor Marjorie Garber describes drag in theater as “an exploitation of the opposition between construction and essence.” Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing & Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 152.

actress Farrah Fawcett. Her selection transgresses several rigid notions of race and gender seen in the previous satirical pageant. Foremost, a white woman is representing machismo. Her appearance and quiet demeanor, though, contrasts Savage's exuberance and aggression, signifying that she was not the embodiment of machismo, rather Britton was the object of macho desire and, the way the interview went, abuse.

The interview with Savage and Britton updated the audience about Savage's current feud with Garvin and Poffo, but was planned to demonstrate machismo's misogyny. Savage spoke about his plans for revenge as he waved portraits of the prankster. He handed them to Britton and ordered her to tear them into pieces and "toss like confetti." While Savage turned his back to continue yelling threats, an elated Britton instead showed the portraits to the cheering audience and even kissed them. Confused, an irate Savage turned and yelled, "What are you doing?!" Before she could respond, Savage grabbed Britton's hair, pulling her down, causing Britton to scream and crouch into a fetal position while Savage stood over her with handfuls of hair. This scene lasted about two seconds, but it was enough to anger the crowd. Britton, with her head down and hair undone, cowered away from the scene even though Savage tried to stop her by grabbing her wrist. This violent act against a woman reiterated the stereotypical notion of machismo as misogynist and patriarchal. To Savage, this reaction was justified since he was provoked by Britton's attraction to other men. Yet, his affection for Britton was seemingly unaffected as he followed her off-screen appearing to want to apologize for his abusive behavior. Though this performance may sound shocking, a man wrestling a woman was already popularized by comedian and actor Andy Kaufman. In his 1979 touring comedy show, Kaufman

offered any woman a cash prize if she could pin him in a wrestling match.<sup>818</sup> Savage's assault was thus intended to further the audience's loathing of machismo's embodiment since even women were not exempted from macho aggression.

Savage's amalgamation of sensual machismo and stereotypical machismo created a popular villainous character. By performing machismo as aggression, dishonesty, cruelty, patriarchy, misogyny, and constantly flaunting his physique, Savage furthered the audience's furor against him, selling more tickets, and making him a star attraction. For example, in the wrestling matches discussed in this section, the audience was more intent on heckling and berating Savage than cheering for his opponent. Thus, sensual machismo and the stereotype of machismo were both disparaged signifying it, once again, as an aberrant masculinity.

### ***Conclusion***

Writing in 1997, almost twenty years later, sociologist Alfredo Mirandé noticed this discrepancy of applying machismo to Euro American and Latino men. He described it as,

[Macho] has recently been incorporated into American popular culture, so much so that it is now widely used to describe everything from rock stars and male sex symbols in television and film to burritos. When applied to entertainers, athletes, or other "superstars," the implied meaning is clearly a positive one that connotes strength, virility, masculinity, and sex appeal. But when applied to Mexicans or Latinos, "macho" remains imbued with such negative attributes as male dominance, patriarchy, authoritarianism, and spousal abuse.<sup>819</sup>

This chapter demonstrates the appropriation of machismo began almost two decades before.

Yet, Mirandé's observation allows a comparative account to what this chapter revealed. While 1990s notions of machismo focused on corporeal characteristics, the 1970s sensual machismo

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<sup>818</sup> Florian Keller, *Andy Kaufman: Wrestling with the American Dream* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 120; Bob Zmuda, *Andy Kaufman Revealed!* (New York: Little, Brown, and Company, 1999), 113.

<sup>819</sup> Mirandé, *Hombres Y Machos: Masculinity and Latino Culture*, 66.

was ambiguous, standing for much more: anti-feminism, misogyny, negative characteristics, or an alternative style. Thus, 1970s sensual machismo was a hybrid creation, part celebration and part exploitation, selectively drawing upon and reifying the racialized, stereotypical notions of machismo as needed. This process left the racialized notions of “machismo” reserved for Latina/o culture into the 1990s.



Figure 6.1. 1974 Newspaper advertisements for Macho wet suits by Sea Suits. Author's possession.

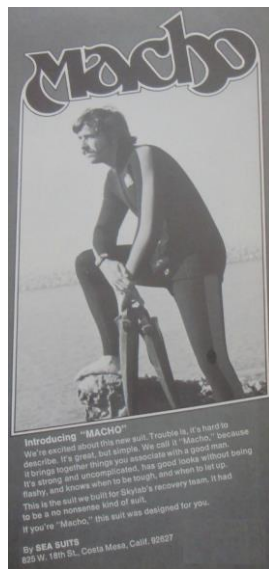


Figure 6.2. 1974 Newspaper advertisements for Macho wet suits by Sea Suits. Author's possession.

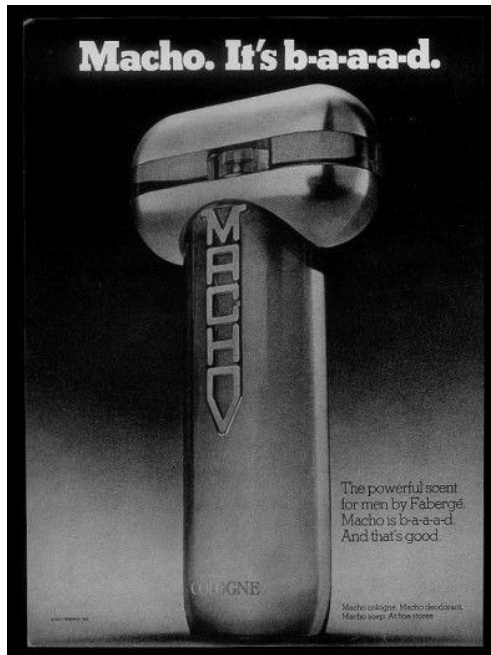


Figure 6.3. 1976/1977 Magazine advertisement for Macho fragrance by Fabergé. Author's possession.



Figure 6.4. 1978 Magazine advertisement for Macho fragrance by Fabergé. Author's possession.





Figure 6.5. An image of Randy “Macho Man” Savage from a wrestling show advertisement in Richmond, Kentucky, March 27, 1980.<sup>820</sup>

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<sup>820</sup> “Advertisement Flyer: International Championship Wrestling in Richmond, Kentucky.”

## Chapter Seven

### Epilogue

In 1984, a video game was distributed to arcades called *Super Punch-Out!!* (1984), a boxing simulator made by Nintendo of Japan, which featured an opponent named Super Macho Man.<sup>821</sup> Figure 7.1 is the Japanese flyer advertising *Super Punch-Out!!* with images of the game in Japanese and English text. The boxing opponents are stereotypical characters cast as champions of a particular nation-state such as Vodka Drunkinski, a drunken brawler introduced as the champion of the Soviet Union, or Dragon Chan, the champion from Japan that looks identical to Bruce Lee. For the United States, Japanese video game designer Genyo Takeda believed machismo was its best representation. Introduced as “The Champion of the World,” Super Macho Man is a tanned bodybuilder, appearing identical to professional wrestler “Superstar” Billy Graham.<sup>822</sup> Placing this arcade video game in context with this dissertation, the amount of representations of machismo produced from the United States made a Japanese video game designer believe it was distinctly Euro American.

The cultural history this dissertation provides offers a similar observation as *Super Punch-Out!!*, the majority of the representations of machismo are distinctly drawn from Euro

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<sup>821</sup> The arcade game featured innovative features: electronic voices, dual screens, and in-game camera flashes that made it one of the few popular arcade titles in the early 1980s. Nintendo, *Super Punch-Out!!* (Nintendo, 1984), Arcade; Mark J. P. Wolf, ed., *The Video Game Explosion: A History from PONG to Playstation and Beyond* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2008), 95; Satoru Iwata, “Iwata Asks : Punch-Out!! Interview,” 2009, <http://iwataasks.nintendo.com/interviews/#/wii/punchout/0/0>.

<sup>822</sup> Brian Solomon, *WWE Legends* (New York: Pocket Books, 2006), 111. Graham began bodybuilding at a young age, winning the Mr. Teenage America bodybuilding competition and appearing in bodybuilding magazines. Billy Graham, *Superstar Billy Graham: Tangled Ropes* (New York: Pocket Books, 2006), 14–29.

American representations. By focusing on the terminology of machismo in U.S. English, an index is created pointing toward a constellation of machismo(s). Beginning within the social sciences, researchers were convinced that machismo explained the perceived aberrant gender roles, patriarchy, poverty, and increasing population of Latin and Latina/o Americans. Another example is the 1974 prison siege by Fred Carrasco where journalists imagined the reason why Carrasco took hostages was to prove his machismo, even though he did not use the word in the eleven-days of media interviews. Most of all, the appropriation of machismo in 1970s popular culture revealed the “troubled fantasies” about Latina/o culture by many Euro Americans, who desired, feared, and willingly appropriated the racialized imagery of machismo for themselves.<sup>823</sup> In other words, machismo could be just as attractive as it was threatening for Euro Americans.

On the other hand, this dissertation depicted numerous instances where Latina/os exhibited an investment in machismo. Indeed, challenging the macho stereotype was a priority for some since they believed that the representation of their culture was at stake. 1960s and 1970s Latina/o academics, activists, and artists negotiated with its stereotypical notions, negotiated with other prominent notions of machismo, or created their own. Thus, this dissertation concludes with a paradox: Imposed notions of machismo have racialized Latina/o culture and, in turn, many Latina/os have responded with their own, often equally racialized, notions.

With additional time and resources, this dissertation will become a book manuscript by adding a new chapter and a new section analyzing the application of machismo to other racialized groups. The new chapter will investigate the ways the social scientific machismo

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<sup>823</sup> Social historian Eric Lott uses the phrase “troubled fantasies” to describe antebellum American minstrel shows that presented African American culture as both threatening and humorous. Eric Lott, *Love & Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 6.

model was applied to Filipinos and Afro-Latina/os who share the history of Spanish colonization. Analyzing these studies will reveal the ways in which the process of racialization through machismo was redeployed for other groups. Furthermore, the new section will investigate the text and response to *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* (1979) by African American feminist scholar Michele Wallace.<sup>824</sup> Her text criticized the hyper-masculinity of 1960s Black nationalism and the responsibility placed upon African American women. The text was controversial, provoking a debate about Black gender roles among academics and political leaders. I will examine this moment to uncover how the term machismo was discussed since Wallace, surmising from her title, believed that “Black Macho” best described the gendered oppression within the African American community.

This dissertation presents a cultural history of machismo(s) from 1928 – 1984. It examined writings and cultural productions from various authors (intellectuals, journalists, novelists, activists, musicians, etc.) to demonstrate how notions of machismo augmented the racialization of Latina/os. In particular, each chapter was in the shadow of the overarching stereotypical notions of male bravado, chauvinism, misogyny, and lust first seen in the writings of 1930s – 1960s Mexican intellectuals. These notions prevailed throughout the twentieth century, provoking debates, discussions, and the creation of alternate, and often racialized, machismo(s).

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<sup>824</sup> Michele Wallace, *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* (New York: Dial Press, 1979).

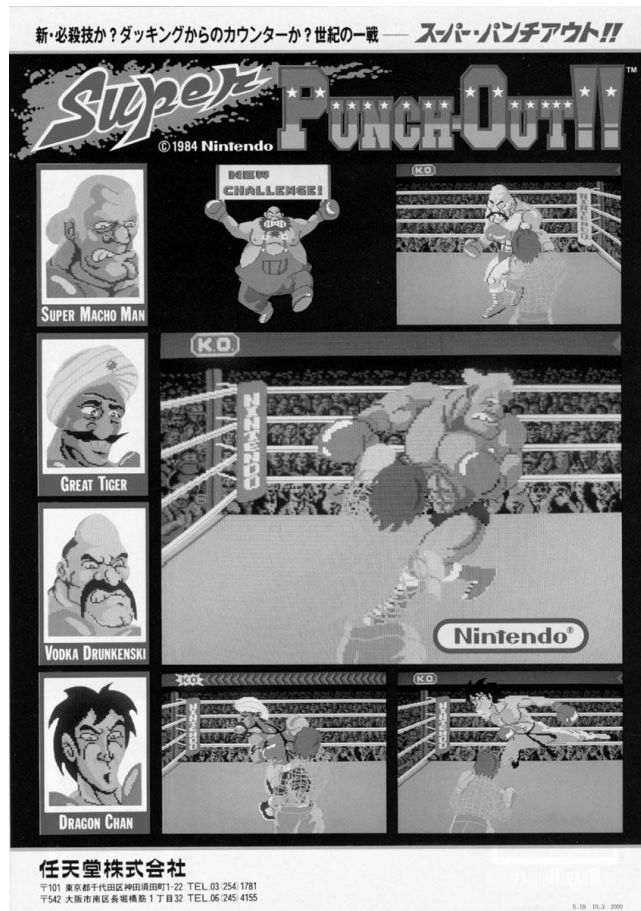


Figure 7.1. The Japanese flyer for the 1984 video game Super Punch Out!!<sup>825</sup>

<sup>825</sup> “Video Game Flyers: Super Punch-Out!!, Nintendo,” *The Arcade Flyer Archive*, accessed January 21, 2015, <http://flyers.arcade-museum.com/?page=flyer&db=eodb&id=3258&image=2>.

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