Introduction

Public Advocacy on U.S. Spanish-Language Radio

On May 21, 2007, Governor Bill Richardson of New Mexico formally announced his candidacy for the presidency of the United States. Notably, Richardson did not declare his intentions in his home state of New Mexico; rather the announcement was made over the airwaves of La Raza (97.9 FM), a Los Angeles–based Spanish-language radio station. To a syndicated listenership of nearly three million, Governor Richardson, in his native Spanish, explained to radio show host El Cucuy ("The Bogeyman"), "Con orgullo, espero ser el primer presidente latino de los Estados Unidos" ("With pride, I hope to be the first Latino president of the United States"). Political pundits either qualified his announcement as unconventional or focused exclusively on his English-language speech given later at the glitzier venue of Los Angeles's Biltmore Hotel.[1]

Governor Richardson's remarks, announced live on Spanish-language radio, set the stage for the contested California primary season

and the public courtship of what the English-language media termed the "Latino vote." Soon after, radio host El Cucuy, along with his Los Angeles–based rival El Piolín ("Tweety Bird") from Radio Nueva (101.9 FM), held interviews with Senator Edward Kennedy, President Bill Clinton, and presidential hopefuls Senators Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama, among other mostly Democratic public figures. In a gesture to include listeners in electoral politics, El Piolín hosted an on-air election in which listeners who were ineligible to vote were invited to cast their primary vote via phone call. Election "results" were then announced ceremoniously over the air on Super Martes (Super Tuesday). Hillary Clinton won. Each of the guests was asked about his or her stance on immigration reform and was reminded that listeners, presumably all immigrants, were tuning in from various places of employment: agricultural fields, fast-food restaurants, construction sites, child care centers, car washes. This overt reference to low-level employment throughout multiple interviews, together with repeated immigration discussions, at times via translators, framed listeners of Spanish-language radio as not just predominantly Spanish but also as working class and overwhelmingly or at least partially legally undocumented. With the U.S. national anthem playing softly in the background, recurrent references were made to the civil rights icon César Chávez and "sí se puede" was chanted in Anglicized Spanish; in effect, U.S. politicians were not courting an actual electoral vote but were playing at being Latino-friendly for popular acceptance by the Latino public.

The use of Spanish-language radio as an advocate on behalf of immigrant listeners, an aural stage for discussing immigration and immigrant-based issues, is hardly new. Loyal listeners of Spanish-language radio know all too well the staged campaign appearances made routinely by politicians from Mexico, Central America, and the United States. Scholars across disciplines have noted with wonderment the record-breaking numbers set years earlier during the Mega Marches of 2006, when millions of Latinos in dozens of cities took to the streets to voice both their disapproval of the Border Protection, Antiterrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act (HR 4437) and to assert their presence in the United States to an unsuspecting English-language media. Those scholars also noted the key role played by Spanish-language radio.[2] Indeed, radio hosts tabled their on-air rivalries

and collectively turned their microphones into public podiums to rally support and attendance. *Los Angeles Times* writer Joel Stein titled his column "500,000 and No One Called Me?," capturing his surprise at the segregated existence between Spanish- and English-language U.S. media.[3] Despite the glossy mainstream press coverage of Spanish-language radio hosts—many of whom were male—these historic marches were orchestrated by a national coalition of community members, labor unions, religious groups, and nonprofit organizations, many of which were headed by women who were largely left out of the credits. These radio activities testify to the mounting significance of Spanish-language radio—its tendency to rely upon the male voice and its unique, interactive, real-time application in Latino immigrant communities that remain, despite booming population numbers, largely excluded from English-language political conversations as full-fledged legal or even consumer citizens.

Over the Spanish-language airwaves, U.S. and Mexican politics are heard as two different forms of broadcasts. In the more traditional (Anglo-U.S.) vein, Spanish-language radio invites politicians to join them over the airwaves in interactive formats that encourage listener dialogue. Spanish-language programming facilitates on-air discussions by using English-to-Spanish translators and by playing the role of on-air linguistic and cultural translator between political institutions and listenerships. But Spanish-language radio has also redressed conventional notions of politics by assigning local resources and service agencies prominent positions within on-air broadcasts with listeners. The latter assists listeners in advocacy and grassroots organizing actions, which are considered of paramount importance to legally vulnerable listeners who are trying to keep abreast of changes in immigration legislation.

This book highlights how U.S. Spanish-language radio, across the twentieth century, has capitalized—quite lucratively—on the conversation around immigration. Debates on citizenship in the legal and cultural contexts have long overwhelmed the bodies and livelihoods of Mexicans. As immigrants and communities of color are excluded from the larger American body politic, media and popular culture offer feelings of belonging or inclusion. Spanish-language radio stations, on both commercial and community bandwidths, organize the majority of their daily programming around the ongoing politics of citizenship,

immigration, and the fate of immigration reform. Citizenship refers here not only to the legal recognition of personhood, represented by a U.S. passport, but also to cultural citizenship or the demand of disenfranchisement of communities for full membership in a society, despite cultural, racial, or linguistic differences from the "mainstream."[4] Specifically, Renato Rosaldo, the architect behind the concept of cultural citizenship, writes that "the process of learning vernacular definitions of full to second class citizenship involves the art of *listening* attentively to how concerned parties conceive, say, equity and well-being."[5] While radio programming offers a public space to discuss the challenges and intricacies involved in attaining U.S. legal citizenship, it also provides a familiar sanctuary for listeners to achieve a sense of cultural citizenship.

Indeed, the Spanish-language airwaves mediate the sensitive relationship between Latinos as listeners and the various manifestations of state or government power. Several musical genres, chiefly corridos and banda, heard on Spanish-language radio capture the complexities of crossing the border, including confrontations with immigration border agents, in lyrical form. Américo Paredes, María Herrera-Sobek, and Alicia Schmidt Camacho, among others, have written about the transgressive, gendered trespasses nestled within corrido narratives and the rich oral tradition inherent in Mexican cultures.[6] The defiant refrains of corridos, according to Paredes, reflect the vernacular longing for Mexicans to express their migrant tales of labor and border conflict within a fabled heroic framework. The folkloric tradition of corridos, storytelling, and even chisme (gossip) are all oral, communal practices used to archive the transient experiences of working-class Mexicans and Chicanos.[7]

The broad dispersal of information via radio broadcasts works in similar ways for Mexican and larger Latino communities in the United States. Radio broadcasts and radio sets are closely associated with musical rotations. Yet, for Spanish-language radio, the preponderance of talk-centered shows proves that listeners-turned-callers represent the crux of popular radio show audiences. For example, every major Spanish-language radio network in the United States follows a similar daily lineup: morning radio shows feature rambunctious male radio hosts and a steady stream of caller interaction; noon hour and early afternoon shows routinely feature a structured question-and-answer call-in

format with guest doctors, attorneys, or pop psychologists; and evening shows are dedicated to teary song requests or long-distance saludos (shout-outs) across state and national lines. Within these various show formats, the topic of immigration dominates the on-air conversations. Listeners hear frequent references to la remesa (economic remittances) by morning show hosts, callers ask attorneys about paperwork received from the Department of Homeland Security, guest doctors are asked to "translate" U.S. medical prescriptions into a familiar Mexican context, and female callers seek the support of pop psychologists when dealing with long-distance familial relationships. The public, yet unarchived, nature of Spanish-language radio, together with its anonymity, makes it possible for radio programs to swiftly accommodate fluctuations in immigration law and politics. Often aired live, these dialogues carry elements of an oral tradition long familiar to Mexican and Chicano communities.

Thus, Latino listeners are drawn to radio for more than the musical sounds of homelands left behind; from radio they also seek guidance on how to navigate their newfound social and political lives as immigrants. This easy access to immediate legal information, culturally specific health guidance, and local resources is indicative of the political efficacy of talk-centered programming. Specifically, these on-air exchanges broadcast listeners' migrant sensibilities and highlight their economic and racialized status in the United States. In many ways, on-air dialogues between callers and radio hosts have become a hallmark of contemporary Spanish-language radio, fostering station loyalty precisely because the bulk of the conversations rest on national and transnational matters.[8]

Spanish-language broadcasts along the West Coast have long provided nationalist sustenance for a Mexican-dominant listenership that is yearning for an audible, familiar semblance of "home." The encasing of home within quotations highlights the oftentimes unsettled, emotional, and physical displacements and renewed place making experienced by immigrants and communities of color. According to David Morley, home does not necessarily "signify a physical entity fixed in a particular place, but rather a mobile symbolic habitat, a performative way of life and of doing things in which one makes one's home while in movement."[9] Within immigrant-directed broadcasts, listening to

the radio crafts a distinct aural public sphere where citizenship is not a (quiet) formality tied to pen and paper but a personal subject matter voiced publicly by callers and experienced collectively by listeners. Listening offers not only an opportunity to retreat but also a sense of anonymity for communities dependent on inconspicuous livelihoods.[10] As an acoustic ally, not only do these broadcasts assume callers and listeners are a mix of undocumented persons, legal residents, and people from mixed-status families, but radio hosts and radio programs openly rally in solidarity of their listeners' civil rights, a provocative feat given the recurrent changes in immigration politics.[11]

For U.S. Latinos, Spanish broadcasts have become increasingly politically significant in the context of contemporary debates over English-only state mandates and proposed anti-immigrant legislation. An "accent" or word choice can index a speaker's specific region or locale within Latin America, Central America, or Mexico. For those unfamiliar with Spanish, the language itself carries racialized and classed connotations linked to the bodies of Latinos, most specifically Mexicans.[12] Spanish heard outside the boundaries of the United States is simply recognized as a foreign language, belonging to a different national body. But, Spanish uttered within the geographical United States evokes unwelcoming and at times hostile reactions, with racial, ethnic, "noisy" connotations.[13] Despite legislative proclamations from ten states that English represents our "official" language, the fact remains that the United States is the third largest Spanish-speaking country in the world.[14] Given these circumstances, public radio broadcasts in Spanish (often at high volume) make it difficult for those involuntarily listening to ignore the inherently public nature of Spanish. Hector Amaya daringly argues that Spanish-language media within the U.S. landscape remains marginalized because the political value of its constituents—Latinos, immigrants, and, I would emphasize, those who are Spanish-speaking—carry an unattractive and racialized surplus value.[15]

Because Latinos are marked by race, language, and citizenship, they are often either silenced or disproportionately under- and misrepresented within the English-language media.[16] Many Latinos have sought refuge within the safer, more familiar havens of Spanish-language media produced both in Latin America and in the U.S. communications systems that cater to immigrant-based communities and

have become sites for community building, nostalgia, and advocacy across national geographical boundaries.[17] From birthright citizenship and access to health care to extending immigration agent duties onto local enforcement, not only do campaigns around immigrant-based issues cast Latino immigrants in negative ways but such stories soon go viral in the English-language news press before they are enacted into law. The bad publicity itself tacitly constructs a racialized climate of suspicion that manifests in anti-immigrant legislation in which, for instance, speaking Spanish is frowned upon (anti–bilingual education initiatives), standing outside Home Depot stores is discouraged (local "loitering" ordinances), or one's legal status is questioned based on phenotypic features (Arizona SB 1070). Legal efforts have been made to transfer the state's power of surveillance to citizens, bringing the language, mobility, and bodies of immigrants under renewed scrutiny. The post-9/11 moment, in particular, has ushered in racial and linguistic profiling under the discursive guise of "patriotism" and "national security." These legislative and public-sanctioned "gazes" are heard and disputed throughout different broadcast segments of Spanish-language radio.

Trade magazines credit the astounding growth of Spanish-language radio to the increase in the Latino population, a convenient "cause and effect" rationale.[18] Radio industries routinely tout that Latino listeners (Spanish-dominant or not) tune in to radio an average of three hours a week more than the "average" U.S. radio listener, with an impressive 13.5 percent of all U.S. radio shows now broadcasting in Spanish.[19] (In fact, when given the option of eliminating either the Internet or radio, 67 percent of Latinos surveyed chose to keep radio and oust the Internet.)[20] In 1980 the Federal Communications Commission identified sixty-seven Spanish-oriented radio stations on the air. By 2000, the figure had increased dramatically to nearly six hundred, signifying a near 500 percent increase.[21] The latest, 2009 figures list over one thousand radio stations broadcasting exclusively in Spanish.[22] Since the 1990s, Spanish-language radio stations have unseated their English-language counterparts from number-one standings in major radio markets, including Los Angeles, Houston, Miami, and New York City.[23] Even the airwaves of "nontraditional" Latino locales—such as Salt Lake City,

Utah; Raleigh, North Carolina; and Grand Island, Nebraska—have witnessed this expansion.[24]

The startling institutional growth of Spanish-language radio merits its own exclusive analysis. As a component of that analysis, this book focuses on the connections between Spanish-language radio and periods of troubling anti-immigrant public sentiment. Scholars of ethnic media tend to evoke theories of nostalgia to explain the attraction of non-English-language media outlets to immigrant communities.[25] Radio studies, on the other hand, focusing on the 1920s to 1950s pre-television era, seldom define radio outside the parameters of the United States and English.[26] And still others long for healthier, more diversified representations of immigrants and communities of color on television and film.[27] In light of the proliferation of much pricier "I-technologies" and smartphones, the radio set has been largely ignored by scholars as a modern tool of globalization.

The idiom of globalization refers to shifts in the global economy and their profound effects on communications systems, travel, and money and the trickle-down effects on the migration of people, labor, and cultural goods.[28] The media habits of immigrant communities in the United States have become a key site for examining how communities make sense of their newfound lives as undocumented, exiled, and/or refugees in the U.S. Studies, for instance, of Iranians' television viewing habits in Los Angeles, Vietnamese refugees' reenactments of *Paris By Night*, and adolescent Mexican Americans' discussions of Mexican-produced telenovelas highlight that the development of new media and electronic networks is best understood through a range of cultural and media practices. Such scholarly efforts expose how globalization is felt "at home" and used to quell feelings of isolation with those of belonging.[29]

Latinos rely on alternative technologies and affective forums to navigate licit structures for illicit feelings of citizenship.[30] Radio's capability to traverse distance in real time helps sustain a public sphere where discussions of national, racial, and gender identities are constructed and challenged. This has enabled U.S. Latinos to carve their own on-air communities and "counterpublics" (to borrow the famed term by Nancy Fraser).[31] Fraser argues that counterpublics develop via communication practices and mediate relationships between subaltern or marginalized communities and state entities. Specifically, she proposes

that counterpublics function as sites of repudiation and regroupment, a parallel space to circulate oppositional interpretations of identities and desires. As an aural stage, Spanish-language radio allows Latinos the opportunity to retreat and deliberate outside the surveillance of dominant society,[32] and engage emotionally and economically with more than one national body by also affirming their distinct class and ethnic identities.[33]

Radio is generally seen as an archaic medium: communication scholars frequently point to its use in postsocialist or developing countries but do not often address its role within immigrant or communities of color here in the United States.[34] In *Sounds of Belonging*, the literature is reterritorialized to highlight Spanish-language radio's racialized, marginal, yet profitable existence in the United States. I argue that radio's accessibility to working-class U.S. Latinos, coupled with its assertion of Spanish within an English-only, anti-immigrant environment, merits equal recognition to smartphones, the Internet, and the coveted DVR. At a time when visuality overwhelms most media formats (film, movies, television), sound offers a unique platform for a listenership that is characterized by language, class, mobility, and, for many, legal status. Just as the Internet is credited with collapsing public and private spheres by channeling "public" information into the "private" spheres of homes and bodies via pockets and purses, radio offers a unique and comparable productivity and immediacy for underaccounted-for populations. We can understand the relationship among citizenship, media, and globalization for legally vulnerable listeners through the study of Spanish-language radio.

With its predominantly working-class listenership, radio accompanies Latinos to their places of employment. In many ways, globalization's impact on labor has also influenced Latino listening patterns. Liza Catanzarite directs attention to "brown-collar" occupations or the low-level service sectors of work disproportionately filled by immigrants. These positions within the construction, agriculture, and manufacturing sectors are usually those of painters, field hands, and dishwashers.[35] For instance, it is not surprising to (over)hear Spanish-language radio from the kitchens of restaurants, outside construction sites, or on hotel housekeeping carts. It is also common to see Spanish-language radio stations cater to a working-class listenership by advertising their call

numbers and radio personalities at public transit bus stops. The radio stations' listeners are more likely to ride a bus or subway than to drive in a carpool lane to get to work. The very public nature of most Spanish-language radio listening represents a communal and classed form of listening experience that differs markedly from "white-collar" modes of listening, which offer more solitary practices, promoted by commuting in private cars and listening to personal satellite radios, iPods, or Internet broadcasts.

As of this writing, Latinos, who make up nearly 17 percent of the U.S. population, account for 10 percent of all radio listeners, although only 5.5 percent of all U.S. radio broadcasts are presented in Spanish.[36] The latest figures show that nearly 55 percent of Spanish-language radio listeners report an annual income of less than twenty-five thousand dollars.[37] This means that nearly half of Spanish-language listeners earn more and may very well practice different listening habits that might include tuning in to National Public Radio (NPR) or Democracy Now, in addition to the Spanish-language national news show *Línea Abierta*. Conceptualizing Latinos as bilingual (Spanish-English) listeners remains much farther removed from the larger media's imagination of the immigrant, Spanish-dominant consumer.[38] Yet, according to a Pew Research Center survey, a significant share of the second and third generations of English-dominant Latinos choose Spanish when, for instance, listening to the radio and watching television.[39] Latinos, regardless of their dominant language, weave in and out of Spanish- and English-language media.

Spanish-language radio, with its paradoxically anonymous and veiled presence, serves a critical and mass role for legally vulnerable Latinos that other media do not. Television and film do not have the same intimate capability as radio to broadcast live impulsive notices, with little to no trace of its existence. Broadcasting in Spanish has proved fortuitously subversive as the Federal Communications Commission (FCC)—the official watchdog for radio broadcasting—employs a limited number of bilingual employees; this is an instance in which, ironically, institutional racism plays in the victim's favor. Spanish, the very language deemed unworthy of learning by English-only advocates, has made transgressive sound practices possible. As of 2004, the FCC had merely two bilingual staff investigators on its payroll. The low

number of bilingual employees, charged with inspecting complaints filed against radio programs, means that Big Brother remains largely absent from Spanish-language radio.

This book traces how an overwhelmingly Mexican listenership largely characterized by a history of Spanish conquest and colonialism, proletarianization, and political disenfranchisement and, to a great extent, by the language of Spanish has shaped the development of U.S. Spanish-language radio throughout the twentieth century. It joins Félix Gutiérrez and Jorge Reina Schement's 1979 text *Spanish-Language Radio in the Southwestern United States* in asserting that Latinos favor listening to radio for more than its portable and cost-efficient capabilities. Focus groups conducted for this book with thirty-three working-class, immigrant Latina radio listeners revealed that for all but two people, their first purchase in the United States was a radio set. Despite the debut of satellite dishes beaming Spanish-language television channels or Internet offerings of Latino-tailored websites (e.g., "iTunes Latino"), Latinos rely much more than their English counterparts on broadcast radio as a source for news and entertainment.[40]

The discussions in *Sounds of Belonging* focus on Spanish-language radio on the West Coast and, in doing so, concentrate on the Mexican-dominant and growing Central American listenership. Los Angeles represents the number one (and at times number two) radio market in the United States and boasts a 45 percent Latino population. The first widely recognized Spanish-language radio host, Pedro González, began his career in the 1930s with a Los Angelino listenership. Moreover, the first community radio stations in the United States to broadcast in Spanish beamed from California and Washington State. Perhaps most obviously, the proximity to Mexico has led to a dominant number of Mexican-origin Latinos in the region. Thus the orientation in *Sounds of Belonging* is largely based on the radio culture found along the West Coast.

Spanish-language radio does indeed have its own distinct playlists, personalities, and agendas across different Latino communities and regions in the United States. Yet some elements of Puerto Rican and Cuban-led radio in the East and Midwest are similar to those found in radio broadcasting in the West. For instance during the cold winter months, radio hosts in Detroit, Chicago, and New York often provide

the warmer Caribbean temperatures, in a deliberate nod toward many listeners' sunnier recollections of winter. This practice evokes Pat Zavella's notion of "peripheral vision," in which Latino communities maintain a binational perspective based on a sense of marginality experienced by those who have begrudgingly left familiar lands and are not quite settled in their newfound residences.[41] In many ways, radio genres in Spanish for Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Salvadorans, and Cubans cater to this complicated, ambivalent sentiment experienced by migrant or transient listenerships. Also significant is the large numbers of Mexicans calculated within Hispanic (Latino) population numbers, which produces tensions within the Latino population in general. Gina Pérez reminds us that the constant attention given to Mexican-origin communities forces Puerto Ricans, for instance, to "Mexicanize" due to Mexican hegemonic ideals.[42]

While I focus on the West Coast here, there remains much to be done to document Latino radio in other areas, such as Texas, New York, Miami, and Chicago, and the emergence of Spanish-language broadcasting in the "New" Latino South. Despite the dearth of archival tapes, *Sounds of Belonging* encourages fellow media historians, radio enthusiasts, feminists, and ethnic studies scholars to preserve and reconstruct whatever possible. Radio, according to Andrew Crisnell, depicts "an account of what is happening, rather than a record of what has happened."[43] The shift in tense (is/has) reminds us that cultural histories are not only cyclical but often heard and felt through broadcast radio.

As mentioned previously, a study of U.S. Spanish-language radio has not been conducted since Gutiérrez and Schement's *Spanish-Language Radio in the Southwestern United States* was published in 1979. Since that time, we have witnessed a host of new technologies, a change in the demographics of U.S. Latinos, and vast shifts in communications and immigration policy. In *Sounds of Belonging*, I trace different instances of Spanish-language broadcasting from its programming debut in 1922 to the contemporary moment. Doing so has required creative methodologies, particularly in lieu of audio archives and limited secondary resources. A reliance on popular print culture and industry journals, media ethnography, archival work, focus groups, and a self-compiled sound archive of taped radio programming has facilitated the construction of a unique cultural history of Spanish-language radio. This

interdisciplinary, multimethodological investigation not only fills an archival absence, but also enables a more informed and broad-based understanding and cultural use of all U.S. radio systems.

The majority of radio studies by cultural historians have focused on the famed "Golden Age of Radio" from the 1920s to the 1950s.[44] Often these cultural histories depict a rich, and sometimes romanticized, narrative of U.S. radio that tragically ends with the arrival of television. Most of this work centers exclusively on English-language radio with scant attention given to U.S. radio's ethnic, immigrant, and multilingual listenership.[45] In focusing on Spanish-language broadcast, this study opens a new area of inquiry that sidesteps and complicates monolingual and binary black/white cultural approaches to radio studies.[46] Ultimately, the discussions in *Sounds of Belonging* disrupt and complement U.S. radio historiographies that overwhelmingly focus on English-language programming, national programming, and "domestic" audiences. In fact those of us who contribute to radio studies should reconsider calling the earlier half of the last century the "Golden Era" since the contemporaneous era proves that radio is thriving, especially for Spanish-language radio, within the digital era.

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The discussions in *Sounds of Belonging* encourage using radio and sound as a point of departure for studying Latino issues of race, gender, and citizenship. They engage the theories and methods used most prominently in the larger fields of media studies, cultural studies, and sound studies to argue that the feat of listening carries provocative value within a visually saturated society. Over the airways, the voice becomes the stand-in for the physical body of listeners. The intimacy entailed in radio listening, coupled with the inherent anonymity made possible through sound with no image, has proved an efficacious condition of radio for many Latino immigrant listeners. With one's legal status increasingly consequential, sound offers an important site for the vulnerability of listeners. Over the air, radio hosts and listeners make themselves present through their voice and often identify themselves by a first name. Real identities are largely masked by telephone calls, and stories quickly disappear over the ether, important facets of radio

given the racialized post-9/11 era. As immigration law and anti-immigrant racism continue to work through visual vocabularies and tactics, Spanish-language radio has responded through novel uses of sound and speech.

Chapter 1 presents a historical review of radio ads, listings, and program reviews within major newspapers between the 1920s and early 1940s that unveils a transnational and generously funded network of bilingual (Spanish-English) radio programming. A multitude of special programs, with titles such as *Mexican Night*, *Hello South America*, and *Mexico On Air*, occupied coveted evening slots. These radio programs were often featured prominently in columns of the *Los Angeles Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Post*, and *New York Times*. These historical print resources proved paramount, given the absence of any extensive audio archives of Spanish-language radio. I also examine these newspapers to gauge the national political sentiment by analyzing how Mexican populations were portrayed as political subjects.

Tuning into radio programs that featured Latin American geography, folklore, and music became a vehicle for U.S. listeners to simulate exotic travel to distant cultures and lands. Less frequently, radio stations invited politicians, musicians, and the radio-listening public in South America and Mexico to join them over the airwaves in a friendly attempt to showcase U.S. values and customs. The Pan-American Union, a coalition of politicians and businessmen from the United States and Latin America, was instrumental in producing and financing these on-air cultural exchanges under the guise of hemispheric security during wartimes (1910–1948). While these programs boosted trade via commercial sponsorships, they also promoted the era's popular feeling, as Catherine Benamou points out that "to be 'pan-American-minded' was to be a 'good' American in the broader, regional sense of the term."[47]

Chapter 1 also traces the arc of 1920s and 1930s pan-American-influenced radio programs with the rise of U.S.-based, Mexican-led, and more politically oriented broadcasts. The 1920s and 1930s origins of Spanish-language radio on both English and Spanish leading radio shows echo the early era's public struggles regarding whether or not to place Mexicans abroad (as heard and imagined on English-language

radio) or within ethnic U.S. neighborhoods (as staunchly argued on Spanish-language radio). The distinction highlighted how Mexicans located afar on the other side of the border were depicted or even envied as "cultured" while Mexicans in the United States were racialized as unruly and yet-to-be-assimilated citizens. This historical imbalance between U.S. attitudes toward Spanish-speaking residents of Mexico and greater Latin America and Spanish-speaking U.S. residents mirrors contemporary immigration debates. For instance, Josh Kun notes that Americans' perception of Mexicans imagine them living "down there," across the border in Mexico, and certainly not "up here" or even next door.[48]

While Pan-American-sponsored programs attracted English-dominant radio listeners, Mexican-led Spanish-language broadcasts courted Mexican communities residing in the United States, gathering momentum in the 1930s. The United States not only reaped more than half of Mexico's territory in 1848, it also acquired a sizeable Mexican population. Soon after, the turbulent Mexican Revolution (1910–1920) brought an additional nine hundred thousand emigrants north, along with countless others.[49] Radio programs such as *Las Madrugadores* (Early Risers) and *Las Mañanitas* (Mornings) were relegated to the unfavorable early-morning hours, reflecting Mexicans' marginalization within U.S. society.

In the ensuing decades, Chicanos tried to establish bilingual (Spanish-English) and commercial-free radio. In chapter 2, I analyze how the culture movement of the 1960s and 1970s helped set the stage for bilingual radio programming in the 1970s and 1980s. In English-language mainstream media, discussions of excessive population growth were often coupled with immigration debates to create a heightened perception (and fear) of a browning and increasingly bilingual United States. By 1975, the U.S. Census Bureau tallied 11.2 million Spanish-surname individuals, with a vast majority—7.7 million—of Mexican origin. California in particular doubled its Hispanic population between 1970 and 1980.[50] National, racialized discussions on America's "minority underclass" soon followed. Chicano activists in the West established bilingual and bicultural airwaves as a form of signifying their sociocultural positioning as being from neither here (United States) nor there (Latin

America); they claimed their right to both by speaking in Spanish, Spanglish, and English-inflected Spanish on U.S. airwaves.

As deliberate departures from commercial and corporate Spanish-language broadcasts, community stations were introduced; they were seen as accessible, cost-efficient, and belonging to el pueblo (the people). Founders of the first three bilingual community radio stations—in Santa Rosa, California, Granger, Washington, and Fresno, California—credited the era's Chicano and farmworker movements as the ideological driver powering the development of these stations. These rural and agricultural locales were made evident in their farmworker-led radio schedules, notably four o'clock in the morning shift starts, a practice widely adopted today on both community and commercial bandwidths. Perhaps most significantly, the development of bilingual community radio in rural areas should encourage scholars to recast the era's Chicano media movement beyond urban centers to include the media activity of bilingual radio in rural settings.

To capture the larger sentiment of Chicano media activity, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund Archives at Stanford University's Special Collection (1968–1983) as well as the collection of materials compiled by the Comité de México y Aztlán News Monitoring Service, a grassroots group that vigilantly monitored the representation of Mexicans and Chicanos in the English-language mainstream press (1972–1980), remind us of that era's political urgency. In an effort to understand how the FCC and Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) regarded bilingual community radio, I met with several puzzled archivists who could not explain why an official or public record of rural bilingual radio stations did not exist. The absence of an institutional record of these radio stations confirms their marginal, under-the-radar existence.[51] I also pursued "appointment ethnography," wherein researchers schedule and work in conjunction with their participants. Besides conducting interviews with radio personnel, including hosts, volunteers, and listeners of prominent bilingual community radio stations, I found myself passing out leaflets at radio-station-sponsored mariachi festivals, reading listener letters, and shadowing radio sessions.

Chapter 2 also offers a retrospective and often gloomy portrait of these radio stations by comparing funding documents from the 1970s

with their current shoestring budgets. Whereas the 1970s radio operations benefited from foundation funding, Spanish-language community media have increasingly relied on larger public institutions such as the CPB, underwriting fees from corporations, and listener pledges. This three-pronged formula for funding community radio places Spanish-language radio at a financial disadvantage, particularly because listeners, as mentioned earlier, earn an average annual salary of twenty-five thousand dollars.[52] The energy used to motivate community broadcasts in the 1970s and 1980s has largely waned with both the movement's demise and the government's cuts on public broadcast spending.

As community radio struggled to maintain its place on the airwaves, the commercial counterpart of Spanish-language radio has experienced unprecedented growth since the 1980s. Although just 67 Spanish-oriented radio stations were on the air in 1980, the number had swelled to 390 by 1990, to nearly 600 by 2000, and, a decade later, to approximately 1,300 FCC-licensed Spanish-language radio stations.[53] Newfound corporate interest in the "Hispanic consumer" has provided fresh sources of revenue on commercial stations for Spanish-language programming. The 1980s' rechristening as the "Decade of the Hispanic" and the late 1990s as the "Latin Media Boom" both helped generate mainstream (English-language, corporate) interest in all things Latin.[54] Yet, the loss of more vibrant funding for community radio and the increased ad revenue for commercial radio resulted in less communal and more business-savvy, genre-driven approaches to broadcasting.

Both community and commercial radio have capitalized on immigration-themed programming, especially within moments of heightened immigration debates and legislative developments. Programming around the 1986 passage of the Illegal Immigration Reform and Control Act, the 1990s' border enforcement policies and subsequent desert deaths, and the post-9/11 moment all reveal the significance and urgency of Spanish-language programming. Chapter 3 analyzes the emergence of Spanish-language radio's interactive, real-time, talk-based formats and how conversations on immigration have been rendered audibly, and often painfully, since the 1980s. Immigration advocates help Latino listeners navigate increasingly complex immigration laws and provide free access to Spanish-speaking attorneys for Latinos seeking legal residency or dual citizenship. Listeners, a disproportionate

number of them women, call from the private confinement of their own homes and pose intricate legal questions on behalf of family members. The use of the telephone, radio, and satellite technology to disperse critical conversations across great distances, despite the intense backlog at the Department of Homeland Security, demonstrates how broadcasting functions in drastically different ways for legally vulnerable radio listeners.

The analysis in chapter 3 relies heavily on recordings of question-and-answer radio shows aired between 2004 and 2006, ethnographic listening notes taken between 2003 and 2006, interviews with radio hosts conducted in 2004 and 2006, and newspaper coverage of events that have taken place within the past thirty years. Interviews with immigration radio show hosts coupled with over sixty hours of immigration-themed question-and-answer shows demonstrate how the topic of immigration controls most of the broadcasting schedules of many Spanish-language radio networks. Every major Spanish-language radio show in the United States features a call-in show between listeners and a guest attorney. Unsurprisingly, many of these shows are sponsored by Latino-courting honchos, such as Western Union (for sending remittances), AT&T (for international calls), and local attorneys (for legal representation). In *Sounds of Belonging*, I argue that radio's transgressive, anonymous, sonic character lends itself to the act of seeking legal documentation for immigrants without being visually apparent.

Chapter 4 focuses on Spanish-language contemporary radio by examining the commercially lucrative niche of male-led morning radio programs. The combination of talk radio, politics, pop psychology, and racy humor has created a contentious morning genre. Framed as entertainment, these morning programs help broadcast claims of power through a hypermasculine discourse. Susan J. Douglas argues in a similar manner that the popularity of English-language right-wing pundits is indicative of a threatened sense of white masculinity.[55] In chapter 4, I use the famed morning host El Cucuy to illustrate this genre's gender dynamics. Influenced by the U.S. labor market's rising service sector, working-class Latino men may be experiencing what Saskia Sassen has called the "feminization of labor."[56] These gender insecurities contrast with the popular male rhetoric of morning radio. Latinos largely employed as "invisible laborers" and absent within the broader

discussions of U.S. politics and political institutions use radio to form a "disembodied presence," an audible reminder that the voice and the body are difficult to separate.[57] Within this acoustic space, men are not reprimanded for speaking Spanish, being undocumented, or working in feminized labor roles, such as mopping floors or washing dishes. I contend that, confounded by issues of class, race, and citizenship, Latino listeners are refashioned as "anti–girly men" at the expense of Latinas who are relegated to being subjects of linguistic puns through off-color jokes. The popularity of these radio shows is indicative of the troubling gender dynamics of the current transnational moment.

Because radio, in any language, has always privileged a male's voice over the airways, in chapter 4 I deliberately make space for the voices of female listeners. Focus groups of thirty-three immigrant Central American and Mexican women, conducted at a nonprofit adult educational center in San Francisco, California, revealed how women "listen" to broader gender anxieties. Interviews explored focus group participants' thoughts on the linguistic representation of women in these shows, particularly as callers who pose sexual questions. Participants' rich responses documented their own struggles for equal representation both off and on the airwaves. Many of these women characterized El Cucuy's antics as a form of "linguistic violence," with the capability of producing "real" effects on the self-esteem and bodies of Latinas. Their candid responses speak to Nancy Fraser's cautions that subaltern counterpublics can also serve as repressive, antiegalitarian, and undemocratic spaces.[58]

The concluding chapter expands the scope of listening by investigating the institutional practice of "audience surveillance," whereby the media industries track and categorize listeners. Specifically, chapter 5 examines the "audience-making" process, or the means by which audience measurements reenvision listeners as desirable commodities when considering potential advertising revenue. Inspired by Arlene Dávila's 2001 ethnographic study of the U.S. Latino advertising industry in *Latinos Inc.: The Making and Marketing of a People*, this chapter examines how third-party professionals, namely Arbitron, the nation's dominant radio ratings company, use survey data, statistics, and other "objective" modes to craft and sell Latino listeners in exchange for ad revenue. Public strife as reported in trade magazines and business pages

of major presses center on how Latinos are inaccurately "counted" and recognized as listeners within listener surveys. Not so coincidentally, disputes have escalated since the late 1980s and have intensified with Spanish-language radio's exponential growth. At the root of these debates is how Latinos and their Spanish-language and bilingual fluencies are not properly "translated" within listening data methods.

After decades of neglect from audience industries, Spanish-language radio officials finally have more economic clout to challenge the measurement practices of audience surveillance. In particular, publicized conflicts with Arbitron have exposed an archaic, pen-and-paper listening diary operation. Arbitron's debut of the technologically savvy Portable People Meter in 2004 sought to remedy the general underestimation of households of color within listener surveys. Chapter 5 traces how Arbitron's resistance to modifying audience techniques or modes of participant recruitment has resulted in a less linguistically diverse listenership. Given the weight of these audience techniques in computing ratings and revenue, U.S. Spanish-language radio faces an inherent financial disadvantage in comparison to its English-language peers. Most important, these methodologies work to preserve dominant hierarchies of race, citizenship, and language.

Through the use of interdisciplinary methods, the discussions in *Sounds of Belonging* expand the existing media archives and document the practice of Chicano sound activism. Immigration has long been a topic of conversation, a political football used on campaign trails, and a convenient means of explaining many of society's ills. As the language and brown bodies of Latinos are steadfastly policed and surveilled through legally yet racially codified standards,[59] the broadcast sounds of spoken Spanish remind the larger public of its immigrant listener base. The political moment is experienced through listening.