

‘You’re gonna need someone on your side’: Morrissey’s Latino/a and Chicano/a fans

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‘His music is the soundtrack of my life, he reaches my innermost thoughts and fears and aspirations and longing. For a long time, I felt isolated and alone. Only Morrissey comforted me’ - *Passions Just Like Mine*, (Koch, 2010)

‘What appeals to me most about Morrissey is his look on life... how there can be a depressing side but still find hope and live life to the fullest I guess’ - *Passions Just Like Mine* (Koch, 2010)

Abstract:

This article examines the relationship between Morrissey and his Latino/a and Chicano/a fans. We focus in particular on the emergence of a distinct hybridized fan sub-culture in Los Angeles (routinely referred to fans and others as ‘Moz Angeles’). Within media discourse (including print media and numerous documentaries), Morrissey’s status as a second-generation Irish immigrant in the U.K.; his sexual ambiguity and use of queering strategies; his (lapsed) Irish Catholicism; his interest in rockabilly; his ‘Ranchera’-like singing style; his incorporation of Latino/a and Chicano/a themes in his lyrics; as well as his positioning as the ‘outsider’s outsider’ have all been cited as reasons for his appeal to a growing number of Latino/a and Chicano/a fans in L.A., the US and elsewhere.

Taking the agentic fan as our starting point, we offer a critical account of the contours of this fan sub-culture. Having introduced Morrissey we focus on the origins of the ‘Moz Angeles’ phenomenon in 1990s Los Angeles. We discuss Latino/a and Chicano/a fan practices in detail, locating our understanding of Morrissey’s appeal in terms of the wider political economy of Latin American and Mexican immigration to the U.S. Our article is

based upon a combination of close critical reading of fan texts, observation, and participant observation of fan events. We read 'Moz Angeles' and what Hidalgo (2016, forthcoming) defines as 'Mozlandia' as examples *par excellence* of an imagined creative fan community where g-localization is strongly in evidence. We interpret Latino/a and Chicano/a fan practices as an audiotopia in which fans express multiple forms of resistance.

Key Words: Morrissey, The Smiths, Fans, Fandom, 'Moz Angeles', 'Mozlandia', Latino/a, Chicano/a, Immigration, G-localization, Audiotopia, Transcultural, Resistance.

Introduction

As leader of The Smiths, as a solo recording artist, and more recently as a novelist, Morrissey is arguably one of the most important and influential figures within the history of popular culture. Reflecting his iconic status, a growing number of scholars have attempted to explain the fan cultures and cultural practices associated with the singer. (Devereux, Dillane and Power, 2011) This work has included an ethnographic account of a Morrissey concert (Devereux, 2006); an analysis of religious and other discourses within fan narratives concerning The Smiths and Morrissey (Devereux, 2010; Maton, 2010); a fan pilgrimage, recreating Morrissey's own fan pilgrimage to James Dean's home in Fairmount, Indiana (Hazard, 2011); fan reactions to some of the singer's more controversial statements regarding immigration and race (Snowsell, 2011); fan performativity in the shape of tribute bands and tribute nights (Devereux, 2010, Jacobsen and Jeffrey, 2011) as well as an examination of his sometimes fraught relationship with the fan site Morrissey-Solo.com (Giles, 2013).

In this article Morrissey's fandom is explored further with particular reference to the emergence of a distinct Chicano/a and Latino/a¹ fan sub-culture in Los Angeles in the early 1990s. We focus on the Morrissey fan communities in Los Angeles, or 'Moz Angeles,' a unique fan formation that emerges from a confluence of events that take shape around temporal, geographic, and ethnoracial contours.

One key to understanding 'Moz Angeles' as a distinctive fan community is to view Morrissey as an oppositional popular music icon who has made his home in Los Angeles, a historically and predominantly Mexican city. Morrissey also chose Los Angeles in which to perform several pivotal concerts in his career; these professional milestones reaffirm the central role of Los Angeles and its fans to Morrissey's considerable solo career successes. Furthermore, we also understand Los Angeles as 'a city where incessant movement of populations across the globe, and across town, registers particularly strongly. In the wake of collective hardship, displacement, and loss, these movements have also created new opportunities for affiliation, identification, and alliance' (Lipsitz 2007: 266). In examining this example of fandom, we will explore more fully some these the historical and contemporary

contexts for the formations of these ‘affiliations, identifications, and alliances’ created by Morrissey and his Chicana/o-Latina/o fans in the U.S. and more specifically, in Los Angeles.

In a landmark television interview in August 2015 with US news personality Larry King, Morrissey addressed his popularity in Mexico. King: ‘Why Mexico?’; Morrissey: ‘I don’t know. It’s a beautiful thing.’ Morrissey proceeded to explain his Mexican fans’ ardour in terms of their ‘passion’ and love of music.² Morrissey has made similar statements elsewhere about his Mexican and Latino/a fans in the U.S. and across Mexico and Latin America, attributing their seemingly unique fandom to passion and emotion. While it is fair to say that most Morrissey fans are passionate and emotional - not just the Mexican and Latino/a³ ones - King’s question to Morrissey about this particular fan base, and Morrissey’s response (‘I don’t know’), captures the ineffable nature of what is often referred to as ‘the Latino/a-Mexican Morrissey fan connection.’ We view Latina/o Morrissey fandom, particularly as experienced in Los Angeles, less as a mystery and more as an illuminating case study in transcultural fandom. Our use of the term ‘transcultural fandom’ follows Chin and Morimoto who state:

... transcultural fans become fans because of affinities of affect between the fan, in his/her various contexts, and the border-crossing object. [...] we eschew the term ‘transnational,’ with its implicit privileging of a national orientation that supersedes other – arguably more salient – subject positions. Rather, we favor the term ‘transcultural,’ which at once is flexible enough to allow for a transnational orientation, yet leaves open the possibility of other orientations that may inform, or even drive, cross-border fandom. (2013: 93)

In doing so, we are interested in the particular ways in which Los Angeles Chicana/o and Latina/o fans of Morrissey express their ‘affective investment’ in the Manchester-born singer, everything from his music and lyrics to his politics and personal style, and what such fan investments reveal about transcultural subjectivities in borderland contexts. Latina/o Morrissey fandom in this view sheds light on the ‘more salient subject positions’ of Chicanas/os and Latinas/os as cultural citizens, global subjects, political agents, activists, artists, workers, consumers, and community builders rather than gangbangers, criminals, government freeloaders, ‘illegal immigrants,’ and any other damaging racist stereotype of Latinos/as commonly circulated in the mainstream US news media.

While we look at Morrissey fan communities in and across the U.S.-Mexico border region – or “Mozlandia,” as Hidalgo (2016, forthcoming) describes this larger transcultural Morrissey fan base across the borderlands – we focus on Los Angeles as a city unique in its relationship to Morrissey and in terms of its level of fan activity. The sheer size of Los Angeles and its environs; its status as a global city; its historic ties to Spain and later, Mexico; its majority Mexican-Latino/a population; its status as the second largest Spanish-language media market in the U.S.; its relevance as a key Morrissey site (milestone performances, his residence); its large and active fan bases that emerged concurrently with

Morrissey's solo career; and a host of other layered historical, cultural, social, and political contexts combine to give rise to 'Moz Angeles', a unique landscape of transcultural Latino/a Morrissey fandom.

While the advent of 'Moz Angeles' has attracted significant levels of media commentary which attempts to explain exactly just *why* Morrissey attracts high levels of devotion from his Chicano/a and Latino/a fans – much of this media commentary rehearsing the all too familiar pathologising discourses concerning fandom and this category of fans in particular – it has failed to adequately explain this fan subculture, choosing instead to focus on what is perceived as fan 'obsessiveness' and 'fanaticism.' As fan studies scholars we view fandom using a much more positive (but critical) lens. Taking fan creativity and agency as our starting point, it is our intention in this article to offer a more critical and nuanced account of 'Moz Angeles.' We find that the Chicano/a and Latino/a fan subcultures associated with the singer are marked by strong participatory, performative and g-localizing dimensions. Furthermore, we argue that this fan subculture, as it exists in Los Angeles, is best understood by reference to the intersections of class/gender/queer/ethnic identities and through the liminal status of the Chicano/a and Latino/a communities throughout the U.S. in general. While we celebrate fandom (and particularly its *resistive* dimensions) we strongly hold that a political economy lens offers us the best opportunity to reach a critical and deeper understanding of fandom and fan practices. Our article contributes to the field of fan studies by examining these phenomena in the wider and critically important contexts of the political economy of migration and the liminal status of many of these fans.

First, we begin by introducing Morrissey. Having briefly summarized his career to date and noting the key concerns within the singer's creative output, we discuss the growing amount of scholarly interest which the singer has attracted. Second, we detail fan practices within 'Moz Angeles' and 'Mozlandia'. Third, we describe the emergence of 'Moz Angeles' in the early 1990s. While 'Moz Angeles' may be understood as being rooted in specific geographical locations (in the greater Los Angeles area) or drawing membership from specific 'gangs' (e.g. various Moz Krew chapters), we argue that 'Moz Angeles' is best understood as a more fluid imagined community.

The Importance of being Morrissey

As leader of The Smiths and as a solo-artist since 1988, the second-generation Irish singer Morrissey continues to attract a devoted transcultural fandom (see Devereux, Dillane and Power, 2011). Widely acknowledged as a complex, multi-layered (and sometimes reluctant) icon, the singer has become the focus of a growing body of academic research which seeks to make sense of his significant contribution to popular culture (see Bracewell 2009; Campbell and Coulter 2010; Deranty, 2014; Devereux, Dillane and Power, 2011; Greco, 2011; Hopps, 2009; Martino, 2007; Renyolds and Press, 1995; Stringer, 1992; Zuberi, 2001). Adopting a broadly critical left-wing perspective, Morrissey's often radical pronouncements on the political establishment (and on George Bush, Margaret Thatcher, and the British

Monarchy in particular) animal rights, corporate greed, vegetarianism, and gender and sexuality have seen him provoke heated argument and debate amongst cultural commentators and his many fans. (White) British working class life as well as an array of queer icons (most notably Oscar Wilde and James Dean) loom large in the Morrissey imaginary, although his more recent recordings have extended their focus by engaging with a wider range of themes including specific Chicana/o and Latino/a concerns. By Chicana/o and Latina/o concerns, we mean those political, historical, and cultural issues that are specific to these groups' distinctive and collective histories in the US. In our current era, these issues include immigration, institutionalized racism, border 'security', educational inequality, and ruling class ideologies that perpetuate economic injustice. Morrissey has directly addressed the more specific concerns of gang violence and police brutality in both Chicana/o-Latina/o and black urban communities in songs such as 'First of the Gang to Die' (2004) and 'Ganglord' (2006). In his song 'Mexico' (2004), Morrissey sings about the detrimental impacts of sweeping neoliberal trade legislation such as NAFTA on poor, brown communities throughout the Texas-Mexican border region – 'I can taste the hate in the Lone Star State.' In addition to these songs, several passages in Morrissey's *Autobiography* (2013) attest to the singer's connection to his Chicana and Chicano audiences in places such as Fresno, California, and El Paso, Texas.

An oft-cited reason why Morrissey is particularly interested in Chicana/o-Latina/o issues is because of his personal history as a second-generation Irish singer born in Manchester, England to working class Irish immigrants. Morrissey's 'Irish Blood, English Heart' (2004) resonates with U.S.-born fans of Mexican descent as a song about embracing and struggling with a split national and cultural identity. In what could be read as a statement of solidarity, act of political protest, and expression of affinity based on his immigrant heritage, Morrissey displays the Mexican flag on stage as he did recently at concerts in New York, San Diego, and Los Angeles. During his headlining set at the FYF Fest 2015 in Los Angeles, Morrissey, backed by three Latino band members – guitarist Jesse Tobias and keyboardist/guitarist Gustavo Manzur from Austin, Texas, and bassist Mando López from East Los Angeles, California – told the crowd not to vote for Donald Trump, incorporated Spanish lyrics and Latin music stylings into some songs, and proclaimed Los Angeles to be his home. In the current political climate that sees Donald Trump, a racist and specifically anti-Mexican presidential candidate, gain in voter popularity across the US, it means something affirming for a white UK-born global music icon like Morrissey to openly proclaim his love and support of Chicana/o, Latina/o, and Mexican fan communities on both sides of the border in these particular ways. These examples and expressions of Morrissey's political and personal alignments with US Chicana/o and Latina/o communities befit a singer who has consistently championed the underdog and criticized social inequalities throughout his musical career.

Morrissey sings, typically in the first person, about depression, suicide, failed relationships and relationships that will never happen. He sings about the dispossessed, the long-term unemployed, the disabled, welfare mums (see Power, Dillane and Devereux,

2015) and the lonely. The displacement experienced by immigrants has also been explored. There has been a recurring focus on themes associated with gay sub-culture. He has written about boxers, gangsters, football hooligans and skinheads. Songs are written invariably from the point of view of the outsider.

In addition to writing carefully crafted poetic songs, which are rich in literary allusion (and irony), Morrissey's overall appeal to his fans in general rests, arguably, on his ability to combine a sense of the 'authentic' (which of course is in itself a construct) and the ambiguous within his creative outputs. Much of the authenticity which fans repeatedly refer to in reference to explaining Morrissey's overall appeal is based on his creative use of social realism and his commitment to dealing with themes which are often rendered invisible within a popular culture setting. This is most in evidence in the myriad of references to working class/blue-collar experience. As well as writing about geographically specific themes (focused on his own Irish Catholic Immigrant upbringing in Manchester) his lyrics and soundscapes express classed feelings of loss, alienation and *anomie*. As the perennial outsider, Morrissey's songs speak directly to the disenfranchised and the disenfranchised. He is, in Power's words, 'a raconteur of the marginalized' (Power, 2011:100).

Morrissey's use of ambivalence/ambiguity comes into particular focus when we consider how he engages with questions of gender and sexual identity. While queer themes are strongly in evidence, (see for example Dillane, Power and Devereux, 2014), Hawkins notes that the ambiguity in evidence in his songs and associated imagery means that both gay and heterosexual fans are allowed to 'address the complexity of their own sexualities and desires' (2002: 75). The points about Morrissey's sexual ambiguity and the homoerotic desires expressed in so many of his songs, from Smiths-era tracks like 'Hand in Glove' and 'The Headmaster Ritual' to Morrissey's solo songs 'Picadilly Palare' and 'Dear God Please Help Me', are particularly salient when we look at the ways in which queer Chicana/o-Latina/o fans appropriate Morrissey's image, music, and words in the service of their own homoerotic desires and expressions. One example of this special queer bond between fans and Morrissey is the short play and soon-to-be screenplay, *Whittier Boulevard* (2012, 2015), by Michael Patrick Spillers. *Whittier Boulevard* features Morrissey as a prominent figure of inspiration and salvation for Vic, a young queer 'East Los trans-but'ch' who needs her father's permission to begin testosterone treatment. Morrissey, specifically the song 'First of the Gang to Die', serves as the means by which Vic convinces her father to support her gender transition. Vic quotes Smiths song lyrics and shows her father pictures of Morrissey, who provides a model of masculinity the young butch aspires to embody.

Another example of the queer Chicano/a-Latino/a connection to Morrissey is contained in the song 'Gay Vatos in Love' (2010) by the critically acclaimed Los Angeles band Ozomatli. Billed as a song about 'equal rights,' *Gay Vatos in Love* (vato is Chicano slang for 'dude' or 'homeboy') was conceived and written as the band's response to California's controversial 2008 ballot initiative, Proposition 8, which sought to 'eliminate the right of same-sex couples to marry' by amending California's State Constitution.⁴ The song opens with the verse, 'Gabby and Mando walkin through the park/Lookin for love in the protection

of the dark/Club Cobra, a temple in the night/The more I hear Morrissey, the more I feel alright/Gay vatos in love.’ With this lyric, Ozomatli places Morrissey alongside other markers of queer, racialized cultural icons particular to Mexican and Latino/a immigrant and Chicano/a communities, such as Mexican singer and balladeer Juan Gabriel, also famously evasive of questions directed at his sexuality. Together, these examples of Spillers’s play and Ozomatli’s song acknowledge Morrissey as a significant cultural icon whose queer-friendly music and alternative expressions of masculinity affirm his status as a significant cultural icon for gay, lesbian, and queer Chicanas/os and Latinas/os.

Morrissey manages to sing from a range of viewpoints that address both male and female subjects. In songs such as ‘Sheila Take A Bow’ he manages to shift gender positions mid-song; in others, such as ‘I Can Have Both’ his use of ambiguity allows him to create open polysemic texts. Sometimes it is not altogether clear whom exactly he is addressing. In recognising this ambiguity, Hubbs (1996) stresses the variety of ways in which Morrissey’s audience can read his songs and points out that whilst gay fans have no difficulty in decoding the gay discourse inscribed in Morrissey’s work, many heterosexual fans do not adopt a so-called ‘queer’ reading of his texts.

Morrissey’s refusal to be classified in terms of one specific sexuality (see Dillane, Power and Devereux, 2014 for an elaboration) and his ability to sing from a range of gender perspectives (male to male; male to female; female to male; female to female) serves to create an ambiguity and fluidity in which a wide range of fans can see themselves. In doing so, Morrissey’s creative output and his concerts deviate significantly from the usual patriarchal – or so-called ‘cock rock’ aspects of rock ‘n’ roll culture. As Devereux (2006) argues, Morrissey’s concerts are places where many male fans can express the complexities that have come to typify masculinity in the early twenty first century.

Moz Angeles, You are too hot: Morrissey’s Los Angeles

We look to Los Angeles for the language we use
London is dead, London is dead, London is dead
I’m too much in love – Morrissey, ‘Glamorous Glue’ (1992)

Los Angeles, you are too hot – Morrissey, ‘First of the Gang to Die’ (2004)

There’s a reason they call it ‘Moz Angeles.’ –80s club promoter, *L.A. Weekly*,
Jan. 28, 2015

We now provide a framework for understanding the origins of what Morrissey and his fans call ‘Moz Angeles’. We begin by defining Los Angeles in terms of its geo-political and historical formations and its predominantly Chicana/o-Latina/o populations. We then plot a timeline of key professional milestones in Morrissey’s solo career that occurred in Los

Angeles in the 1990s and early 2000s, which we hold contributed to the creation of ‘Moz Angeles’ in imagined and material terms. We conclude this section by examining the unique landscape of Chicana/o-Latina/o Morrissey fandom as it currently exists in Los Angeles and its environs. We argue that ‘Moz Angeles’ as a distinctive Chicana/o-Latina/o fanscape⁵ can best be understood as a fan ‘audiotopia,’ or a ‘space within and produced by a musical element that offers the listener and/or the musician new maps for re-imagining the present social world’ (Kun 2005: 23). In this way, we hold ‘Moz Angeles’ as such an ‘audiotopia’ as a fluid and transcultural imagined community of active fans – many of whom are politically, socially, culturally, and otherwise marginalized as outsiders – who create intersectional spaces of identity and belonging through Morrissey and his music.

As the epigraphs above indicate, songs such as ‘Glamorous Glue’ (1992) and ‘First of the Gang to Die’ (2004) serve as reminders of Morrissey’s long-term relationship with and affinity for Los Angeles. In these songs, the singer expresses his fondness for Los Angeles in terms of love (‘I’m too much in love’) and desire (‘You are too hot’). Such declarations reveal the extent to which ‘Moz Angeles’ is predicated on Morrissey’s personal and professional relationship to the city that the second-generation Irish singer has called, and continues to call, home.

Los Angeles, California, is a global city in Southern California with a population of over ten million people. Immigration and migration patterns in the 1840s, 1910s, 1980s, and 2000s, as well as generations of native-born Angelenos of Mexican and Latin American descent, have secured Los Angeles as a predominantly Latina/o town – currently fifty percent of the 10 million population, which includes a sizable Mexican-born and Mexican-descent population.⁶ Historically, culturally, and demographically, Los Angeles is a majority Mexican city: it was once part of Mexico as El Pueblo Nuestra Señora La Reina de Los Angeles.⁷ Morrissey understood that much about Los Angeles when, in his *25Live* concert in 2013, he greeted the Hollywood High School audience with a resounding ‘VIVA MEXICO!’ We acknowledge these historical ties to Mexico⁸ in considering how contemporary Los Angeles, in its ethnic, gender, and economic diversity, becomes ‘Moz Angeles’.

A series of events from June to November of 1991 spurred what came to be termed ‘Mozmania’ in Los Angeles,⁹ marking Morrissey’s first visit to Los Angeles as a post-Smiths solo artist. Morrissey played his first US solo concert – sold out in a matter of minutes – in Los Angeles at the Forum, located in the south L.A. suburb of Inglewood. While in Los Angeles, Morrissey made his first US television appearance on *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*, which introduced L.A. and a nation to the former Smiths member as a solo artist singing rockabilly-styled songs from his album, *Kill Uncle*.¹⁰ Morrissey also recorded a live EP, *Morrissey Live at KROQ*, during this Los Angeles visit. Now a collector’s item, the EP marks the first time Morrissey recorded with his new post-Smiths solo touring and recording band assembled for the 1991 *Kill Uncle* tour. Recorded at the iconic Capitol Records Building¹¹ for the KROQ radio station, the EP also features recordings of fans who called the station during Morrissey’s visit to leave messages for their beloved singer. The session was

hosted by an expatriate DJ from Britain, Richard Blade, who played no small part in introducing Morrissey's music to Los Angeles via KROQ.¹²

In November 1991, Morrissey would return to Los Angeles to play his third solo US concert, this time at UCLA's Pauley Pavilion. That concert would end in what the *Los Angeles Times* called a 'melee.'¹³ These events in 1991 hailed the Los Angeles arrival of Morrissey as a pop icon, larger than life, and capable of moving fans and inciting their fervent devotion just by showing up. Thus, Moz Angeles is born, and it is to grow exponentially over the next three decades with more significant Morrissey-related events, including his relocation and residence in the West Hollywood section of Los Angeles from 1997-2004; his 1999 *iOye Esteban!* (Hey, Steven!) Tour; and the recording of his 'comeback' album, *You Are the Quarry*, in Los Angeles in 2004.¹⁴

Another recent career milestone also marked in L.A. was the *25Live* concert at Hollywood High School in March 2013. Described as a 'homecoming'¹⁵ for Morrissey, the Hollywood High show celebrated Morrissey's 25th year as a successful solo artist. The concert is a testament to his staying power as an artist who calls Los Angeles home and his fans 'Latino hearts' (Morrissey, 2013: 415). Who are these fans, these Chicanas/os and Latinas/os who claim Morrissey as 'one of their own'? Generally speaking, these fans are outsiders and misfits, misunderstood heterosexuals and out-and-proud queers; they are working class children of immigrants from lands ravaged by U.S. economic policies and war; and they are first- and second-generation Chicanas/os and Latinas/os who grew up speaking English, yet feel culturally alienated in the U.S.

A brief look at the political landscape from the 1990s to the 2010s will help shed light on the fraught status of Chicanas/os-Latinas/os living in the U.S. and therefore illuminate the new 'affiliation[s], identification[s], and alliance[s]' (Lipsitz 2007: 266) that are forged in and through Morrissey fandom. These years are marked by racist, voter-approved anti-immigrant legislation in states such California and Arizona that specifically target immigrants from south of the Mexican border. From 1991-1999, conservative Republican Governor Pete Wilson shepherded three of California's most discriminatory laws, passed by predominantly white voters, that negatively and disproportionately impacted Latinos/as and other immigrant populations of color: Proposition 187 in 1994 (banned health care and other public state services to perceived 'illegal aliens'), Proposition 209 in 1996 (banned affirmative action), and Proposition 227 in 1998 (banned bilingual education in public schools). We cannot underestimate the collective impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA) on migration from Mexico and Central America since NAFTA's ratification by President Bill Clinton in 1994 and the passage of CAFTA by George W. Bush in 2005.¹⁶ In 2008, California voters passed Proposition 8, a state constitutional amendment that sought to deny gays and lesbians from marrying. Most recently in Arizona, conservative Republican Governor Jan Brewer passed State Bill 1070 (2010), the most controversial and stringently anti-immigrant legislation to date, while in Texas, school boards adopt conservative textbooks that shape an anti-immigrant, Anglo-Texan-centric public school curriculum.

As of 2014, official sources such as the US Census Bureau cite the number of Latinos/as living in the U.S. at 54 million; however, even cursory glances at local, state, and federal political offices, as well as heads of culture industries, reveal the decidedly white majority that continues to wield power and maintain an unjust system undergirded by interlocking systems of 'white heterosexist capitalist patriarchy' (hooks 2000: 4). The contemporary neoliberal policies of legalized discrimination towards Chicana/o-Latina/o groups, mentioned above, are rooted in much longer histories of colonial occupation, militarization, and police brutality in the US. As such, these laws designed to criminalize a disproportionate number of Mexican and Latino/a immigrants, as well as to maintain colonial educational practices for those generations born in the U.S., indicate that the Chicana/o-Latina/o population increase has not necessarily translated into political power or participation. A poem written by Los Angeles Chicana and Morrissey fan indicates as much: 'we work our lives away in UPS trucks, as perfect receptionists, in community college for eight years' due largely to decades (and centuries) of structural injustice.¹⁷

Given these histories as outcasts, outsiders, 'aliens,' and criminals, it comes as no surprise then that many Chicanas/os-Latinas/os in the U.S., particularly across the U.S.-Mexico border region, turn to new forms of cultural resistance, occupation, and self-determination. Zavella theorizes the role of music in general, and more specifically musicians and audiences, as a medium of 'cultural citizenship' for disfranchised Mexican immigrant workers in the U.S.. Using the example of the Norteño band, Los Tigres del Norte, and their mostly Mexican immigrant audiences, Zavella describes the dialectic and mutually transformative exchange between and among the audience (fans) and performers:

thus, audience members – whether U.S. citizens of varied ethno-racial backgrounds, authorized residents, or undocumented migrants – who may have little in common materially or socially may find the consumption of certain types popular culture enables them to feel a sense of cultural citizenship, a process of self-making and contesting nation-states' regimes of surveillance, discipline, and control. Cultural citizenship also includes transnational dimensions as subjects claim the right to perform identities, languages, or traditions from foreign cultures in public regardless of their legal status in the United States. Hence a sense of belonging is forged through cultural expressions, which become the basis for coalition building and agitation for social justice. (2011: 192)¹⁸

Popular on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border, Los Tigres del Norte are an internationally renowned, multiple Grammy Award-winning band from San José, California, with roots in Mexico. The band is famous for their corridos,¹⁹ Mexican narrative ballads about society's underdogs, outlaws, and oppressed. Los Tigres del Norte is just one example of many bands that write and perform popular music that appeals to Spanish-speaking Mexican and

Latino/a immigrants in the U.S. and thus creates critical space for the forging of ‘cultural citizenship’ (Zavella 2011: 192) amongst their audiences.²⁰

In this light, we hold Morrissey, a ‘champion of the “Other”’ (Power, Dillane and Devereux, 2012: 375), as a musician who, like Los Tigres del Norte, participates in the co-creation of a transcultural ‘cultural citizenship’ of belonging amongst his Chicana/o-Latina/o fans in the US. Whether at a live concert or in other fan-produced musical spaces, Morrissey – with his ‘50s guitar’ sound (Vértiz, 2014), ballads like ‘Mexico’ (2004), flamenco guitar riffs (strongly in evidence on his most recent album *World Peace is None of Your Business* (2014), and melancholic musical stylings – fits rather seamlessly into the musical soundscapes that characterize ‘Latin’ music for Latinas/os in the U.S., Mexico, and Latin America. This is not to suggest that Morrissey unproblematically incorporates ‘Latin/Mexican’ sounds in his music; indeed, we could devote a whole other essay about how Morrissey appears to be one more example of a white U.K. musician appropriating ‘exotic’, ‘multicultural’, or ‘foreign’ musical elements for exploitative purposes. Morrissey’s genuine commitment to sing out for those who are otherwise disregarded or criminalized within mainstream culture (see for example his songs ‘Slum Mums’; ‘Teenage Dad on his Estate’ or ‘Interesting Drug’) is not without its risks however. While ‘First of The Gang To Die’ serves to narrate the experiences of a Chicano gang (replete with much queering) we concede that the possibility also exists for the song to be mistakenly read as a text which in fact serves to pathologize the Chicano community.

Rather, here we might more productively consider Morrissey, like Los Tigres del Norte, Ozomatli, and so many others, as a ‘border artist’ in understanding his appeal to so many English-speaking and bilingual Chicanas/os and Latinos/as, particularly those in Los Angeles specifically and the US more generally. In her 1993 essay, ‘Border Arte: Nepantla, el Lugar de la Frontera,’ Gloria Anzaldúa writes:

The Mexico/United States border is a site where many different cultures ‘touch’ each other, and the permeable, flexible, and ambiguous shifting grounds lend themselves to hybrid images. The border is the locus of resistance, of rupture, implosion and explosion, and of putting together the fragments and creating a new assemblage. Border artists cambian el punto de referencia [trans: they change the point of reference]. By disrupting the neat separations between cultures, they create a culture mix, una mezcla in their artworks. (177)²¹

Understanding Morrissey as a ‘border artist’ in Anzaldúa’s terms compels us to recognize the complex and innovative ways in which he and his many US Chicana/o and Latina/o fans ‘mix cultures’ and ‘change the point of reference’ in a ‘permeable, flexible, ambiguous, fragmented’ borderland existence. In this light, we understand US Chicana/o-Latina/o Morrissey fandom as an example of ‘cultural citizenship’ that is forged through collective

and individual hybridized practices of agency and self-determination in an otherwise hostile social and political border environment.

For example, in Morrissey's "First of the Gang to Die" (2004), Chicana/o fans of Morrissey may more readily identify with it as an English-language, Mexican-style corrido about a young vato named Hector, thereby assigning the song a new status.²² Other fans may hear 'Irish Blood, English Heart' and connect with Morrissey's split-identity: Mexican Blood, American Heart, as seen on t-shirts²³ worn by fans at his concerts in Los Angeles and throughout the US Southwest. Such fan responses to Morrissey's music in these borderland contexts can be viewed as 'enactments of Latinidad' (García 2013: xix), or ways of being Latino/a in the US. Indeed, 'To be sure, one becomes Latina/o only within the geographical and political economic borders of the United States' (Paredes 2009: 23). Thus, rather than view Chicana/o-Latina/o Morrissey fandom as simply an embrace of U.S. notions of Anglo- and Eurocentrism, we encourage an analysis of Chicana/o-Latina/o Morrissey fandom on its own terms in all its wonderful borderland complexities and transcultural formations.

Therefore, theorizing 'Moz Angeles' in terms of an 'audiotopia' helps us to focus on it as a 'musical space of difference, where contradictions and conflicts do not cancel each other out but coexist and live through each other' (Kun 2005: 23). Kun describes 'audiotopias' as:

sonic spaces of effective utopian longings where several sites normally deemed incompatible are brought together, not only in the space of a particular piece of music itself, but in the production of social space and the mapping of geographical space that music makes possible as well. (23)

Kun's concept is highly productive here in many ways both in terms of thinking about the musical spaces of Morrissey's music and the fan practices created and enacted in these 'audiotopias.' Kun allows us to see the reciprocity, the mutual affinities formed and co-created by both the musician and the listener/fan. It also emphasizes the transformative capabilities of music, the ways it brings together seemingly divergent or incompatible objects, like Morrissey and Chicanos/Latinos/Mexicans, in the creation of 'new maps for re-imagining the present social world' (Kun 2005: 23).

Fans re-imagine their place in a world that otherwise criminalizes, oppresses, or marginalizes them. They create new maps that place them in the center and as co-creators of transgressive space, as in the song 2010 song 'Gay Vatos in Love,' by Los Angeles band Ozomatli. The reference to Morrissey and his music in the opening lyric – 'The more I hear Morrissey, the more I feel alright/Gay vatos in love' – highlights the role of 'hear[ing] Morrissey' and his music in queer Chicano/Latino fans' re-creation and re-mapping of a queer Los Angeles, thereby demonstrating the formation of an 'audiotopia' as a viable space, however fleeting, for enacting expressions of queer desire and other spaces where 'gay vatos' can feel at home.

We will now discuss other fan practices that constitute ‘Moz Angeles’ as an audiotopic space that effectively ‘re-imagin[e] the present social world’ (Kun 2005: 23) through participating in various Morrissey/Smiths-themed events, social media sites, and other fan-created musical spaces.

Viva Mozlandia: Chicano/a and Latina/o Fan Practices in Los Angeles and Beyond

Whether real or virtual, ‘Moz Angeles’ and ‘Mozlandia’ are best seen as participatory fan communities which evidence high levels of performativity and localization. The many tribute bands in the greater Los Angeles area and beyond (such as The Sweet and Tender Hooligans); regular tribute nights (including Morrissey and Smiths Karaoke events) and dance nights (such as the Moz Disco); as well as the annual Smiths/Morrissey Convention are all concrete examples of where fans congregate. Fans communicate online via the usual social media networks such as Twitter and Facebook and on fan generated sites such as Mozzerians of The World and Morrisseysolo.com.

The fan convention in Hollywood is an important event in the annual fan calendar where fans can meet, purchase hard to get merchandise, participate in quizzes, sing karaoke (momentarily ‘becoming’ Morrissey), and see Morrissey/Smiths tribute bands perform. At the fan convention and other tribute band shows, the practices from ‘real’ Morrissey/Smiths shows are re-enacted in the shape of fan stage invasions, touching ‘Morrissey’s’ hand and bringing him flowers. A common fan practice is for the audience to sing along to many the songs performed at tribute band shows. Smiths and Morrissey classics such as ‘There is a Light that Never Goes Out,’ ‘Suedehead,’ and ‘First of the Gang to Die’ become collective performances of unified and visceral fandom in the co-creation of a fan audiotopia (Kun 2005).

The emergence of Moz Krew chapters in East L.A. and in other U.S. states is further evidence of a fan sub-culture that is strongly participatory. Written in Old English script, one of their t-shirts states “Moz Krew Westside: From L.A. to the South Bay.” Like the Moz Krew, which also has chapters in East Los Angeles, San Diego, San Antonio, and Las Vegas, other Morrissey fans’ appropriation of Old English script on t-shirts and other products functions on multiple levels. It may immediately and perhaps too easily evoke a hegemonic colonial European aesthetic with its associations with official documents like royal decrees and diplomas. However, within U.S. Chicana/o barrio contexts, the use of Old English script as an aesthetic choice is grounded in traditions of Chicano street gang lettering and street art. As Ong writes, ‘Because of its aura of authoritativeness and strength, Old English is popular among many Chicano-style artists’ (2010: 119).²⁴ This helps to explain the prevalence of Old English style lettering on ‘Chicano-style’ Morrissey fan-produced t-shirts and other art, de-centering it from Old England and centering it instead in Chicano aesthetic practices. It is also worth mentioning here that one of the more popular Morrissey official tour t-shirts, copied by many, spells out the singer’s name in Old English lettering.

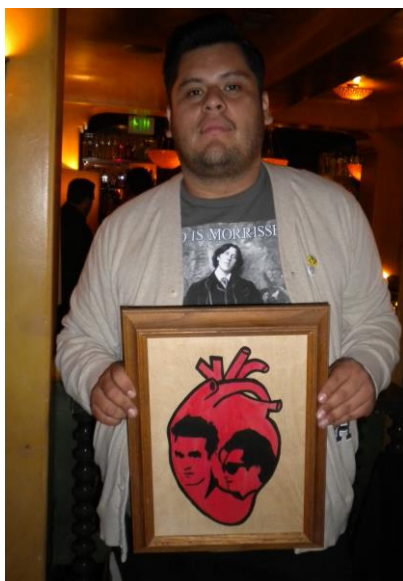
In terms of how fans style themselves, tattooing (of Morrissey's image and of song lyrics that have personal resonance, most notably from 'There Is A Light') is a key feature, as is the quiffed hairstyle. While a wide range of Morrissey looks are in evidence at any given Morrissey-Smiths event, the Rockabilly look associated with Morrissey's career in the early 1990s is particularly dominant in Chicana/o-Latina/o fan communities in and around Moz Angeles. Aesthetically and sonically, the Rockabilly look and sound resonates with 'rebel' aspects of 1940s and 1950s cultural practices associated with urban Mexican Americans and Chicanas/os in WWII- and post-WWII-era US culture. The highly gendered fan stylings that dominate Morrissey fan scenes in and around Los Angeles are marked by such working class 'vintage' or 'retro' fashion choices from the 1940s and 1950s. Feminine fans often invoke a Betty Page-1940s Pachuca²⁵ look with bangs curled under or hair done up, sharp eye-makeup, and painted red lips and nails, while masculine fans favor a James Dean-Elvis Presley-Ritchie Valens amalgam that emphasizes pompadours and sideburns, neatly pressed shirts and Levi's jeans.

We can see g-localization in evidence in the decision by some tribute bands to translate Morrissey's lyrics into Spanish. Fans have appropriated and localized Morrissey's image and associated artwork. For example, one poster, signifying perhaps Morrissey's outsider status, reconstructs him as a Latino Gangster. One fan-designed t-shirt has changed the song title 'Irish Blood, English Heart' to 'Mexican Blood, American Heart,' while another places Morrissey under the words, "Sigo siendo el Rey" (I'm still the king), a reference to the refrain from the popular Mexican ranchera song, 'El Rey,' made famous by José Alfredo Jiménez. A growing amount of fan-generated artwork represents Morrissey in terms of Latino/Chicano iconographic imagery, including Morrissey figured as La Virgen de Guadalupe and as a mariachi. Fans have also written poetry (Vertiz 2014), plays, and prose that take Morrissey, especially his lyrics, as inspirations for their own creative tributes. We can look to the world's first Morrissey theater festival, Teatro Moz, held in November 2014 in Boyle Heights, East Los Angeles, as well as the work by queer Chicana poet, Verónica Reyes.²⁶ These and other fan-produced cultural objects comprise an archive of fandom, uniquely expressed in gendered and racialized terms through Chicana/o-Latina/o artistic practices, in Moz Angeles and beyond. Furthermore, these hybridized, transcultural fan expressions – from fashion choices and hairstyles to poetry and teatro – provide further evidence of these new forms of cultural expression and self-determination in the geographic and imagined spaces of the US/Mexico borderlands.

While Los Angeles/"Moz Angeles" is arguably the 'motherland'²⁷ of U.S. Latino/a-Chicano/a Morrissey fandom, many other cities across the US feature vibrant Latino/a Morrissey fan scenes. Cities such as Dallas, San Antonio, and El Paso, Texas, as well as Las Vegas, Nevada and San Diego, California, boast Morrissey/Smiths tribute bands, fan clubs, Moz Krew chapters, and dance nights. In Brooklyn, New York, a transplanted California Chicana organizes a bi-monthly 'Mexican Morrissey' dance night with her associate, an immigrant from Mexico City.²⁸ New York City also has its own Smiths/Morrissey tribute band and the celebrated DJ event, 'Oscillate Wildly.'

Morrissey’s U.S. tour stops in the 1990s and 2000s are another reliable indicator of the new faces of Morrissey fandom: ‘There are no Caucasian faces’ (Morrissey 2013: 414). Since the *iOye Esteban!* tour in 1999 – the tour that took Morrissey to Latin America and Mexico for the first time as a solo artist, thus signaling to his critics that he had a new audience²⁹ – Morrissey continues to play concerts in cities throughout the US, including frequent shows in cities across California, Nevada, Arizona, and Texas, and Utah with large, if not majority, Mexican & Latino/a populations.³⁰ Notably, three current members of Morrissey’s touring band and co-songwriters – Jesse Tobias (guitars) and Gustavo Manzur (keyboards, guitars) from Texas, and Mando López (bass) from East Los Angeles – are people of Mexican or Latino descent, a fact that no doubt further endears Morrissey and his music to his legions of Latino/a and Chicana/o fans across the U.S./Mexican borderlands.

Figure 1:



Artist Dino Pérez³¹ at the Morrissey and Smiths Convention, Hollywood, California, April 2013. Photo by Melissa Hidalgo. Used with permission.



Promotional Flier for L.A.-based Sheilas Take a Bow: An Ode to Morrissey and the Smiths, March 2015. Courtesy of promoters. Used with permission.

Conclusions

While some might argue that the shift in his own musical style is simply market or commercially driven, we read Morrissey’s interest in Latino/a and Chicano/a concerns in a more positive light. Just as those who make up ‘Moz Angeles’ and ‘Mozlandia’ demonstrate devotion to their idol, his commitment to Latino/a and Chicano/a experience is returned to the fans in his many statements about Moz Angeles and Mexico in particular, best summed up in his ‘I wish I was born Mexican’ comment to a crowd of ecstatic fans in Las Vegas in 1999.

In critically examining the emergence of a distinct fan sub-subculture, our article adds to understandings of fandom and fan practices, particularly as expressed in and through the fluid imagined community of “Moz Angeles.” Doing so underscores the g-

localizing tendencies and affective dimensions of popular culture and demonstrates how fans are best understood in terms of their agency and creativity. It stresses how investigating fandom is a key to understanding more about cultural practices and identity formation in the contradictory, complex conditions of the U.S./Mexico borderland region. In doing so, we recognize the inherent danger of simply adding to the exoticization of Morrissey's Chicano/a and Latino/a fans which is present within media discourse. For us, the key to understanding Morrissey's appeal lies in recognizing and engaging with the material conditions in which the Chicano/a and Latino communities live in the United States. The nexus between Morrissey and his Chicano/a and Latino/a fans, we argue, lies in his capacity and genuine commitment to speak out for the disenfranchised and the excluded, and especially in these fans' capacity to re-imagine their place in the world through Morrissey, his music, and each other.

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Notes:

¹ 'Chicana/o' (gendered '-a' feminine and '-o' masculine) is a politicized (leftist, progressive) person born in the US of Mexican parents/grandparents. Alarcón writes, 'In the 1960s, armed with a post-Mexican-American critical consciousness, some people of Mexican descent in the United States recuperated, appropriated, and recodified the term Chicano to form a new political class' (1990: p. 183). Not everyone in the US born of Mexican descent identifies as 'Chicana/o,' favoring other terms of identification such as 'Mexican-American,' 'Hispanic,' or 'Latino/a.' 'Hispanic' was invented during the Nixon presidency in the 1970s as catch-all term to denote Spanish-speaking voting blocs, and during the 1980s, it became associated with conservative politics and mainstream values—some say the opposite of Chicano/a. 'Latino/a' is a US term of pan-ethnic identity that includes 'Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cubans, and Central and South Americans' (Gutiérrez 2011: , p. 200). According to Gutiérrez (2011), 'Latino [was] unknown as an identity in the United States much before the 1970s' (198). In the US, Chicanas/os and Latinas/os are often tethered together, the terms used interchangeably though not always appropriately so. See Sánchez (1993), Fregoso (2003), Paredes (2009) Gutiérrez (2011), Zavella (2011). In this essay, we recognize the distinction between the terms 'Chicana/o,' 'Latina/o,' 'Mexican' and 'Mexican-American,' and we will use them accordingly and with specificity.

² Interview with Larry King, 19 August 2015. West Hollywood, California. Aired on hulu.com and ora.tv.

³ We want to highlight the often mistaken ways in which ‘Mexican,’ ‘Latino/a,’ and ‘Chicana/o’ are often conflated. We use Mexican to describe fans in Mexico and to refer to the nation of Mexico. We use Mexican American and Chicana/o to denote those fans born and raised in the US of Mexican heritage, who generally speak English as a first language, and generally did not immigrate to the US. We use Latina/o to denote those fans born and/or raised in the US of Latin American heritage (Central and South America, including Mexico). In this essay, we focus primarily on the Chicana/o, Mexican American, and Latina/o Morrissey fan communities in the greater Los Angeles region. Also, we are aware of age-old stereotypes that brand Mexicans and Latinos/as as ‘passionate’ and ‘emotional’ to a fault, as in the Latina spitfire and the fiery tempered macho, and we work against these stereotypes in our analyses without evacuating their critical worth.

⁴ Proposition 8, before it was declared null and void by the federal courts, created a new amendment to the California Constitution which said, ‘only marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in California.’ (<http://ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php>)

⁵ In her forthcoming book, Hidalgo discusses what she calls ‘fanscapes,’ or landscapes of fandom. Such a formulation augments the geographic and social mappings of fandom as it emerges in and through specific spatial, temporal, and cultural contexts.

⁶ As we will see in the next section, the numerical dominance of Latinas/os in the US has not necessarily translated into political power, and because of recent anti-immigrant legislation passed in states such as Arizona, Latinas/os in the US remain second-class citizens.

⁷ Los Angeles was founded by a settlement of Spanish catholic missionaries in 1781. Los Angeles and the California territory fell under Mexican control when Mexico won its independence from Spain in 1821. Mexico and the US went to war from 1846-1848; Mexico lost California and over half its territory to the US under the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe. Two years later, Los Angeles was incorporated as a municipality, which helped usher California into statehood and thus part of the US in 1850. Significantly, the Irish San Patricio Brigade fought for Mexico against the US during this war that saw Mexico lose half its territory to the US. Mexico’s colonial relationships to Spain and then to the US, as well as the Irish San Patricio connection, provide rich parallels for understanding Ireland’s colonial relationship to England and the historical parallels between Mexico and Ireland. Therefore, Chicanas/os’ experiences in the US connect to Morrissey’s own position as the son of Irish immigrants living the colonial power, England. This brief sketch of the history of Los Angeles reminds us of its colonial past and helps us to understand the imperialist legacies that continue to impact social, cultural, and political life in California and the US Southwest more generally.

⁸ Morrissey’s song, ‘Mexico’ (2004), also reminds us of his affinity for Mexico and his awareness of racial and economic injustices that especially plague the US (‘Lone Star state’) and Mexico border region.

⁹ See ‘.A. Flashback: June 1991, When Mozmania Swept the Southland.’

<http://www.laweekly.com/music/la-flashback-june-1991-when-mozmania-swept-the-southland-2408723>.

¹⁰ Morrissey performed ‘Sing Your Life’ and ‘There Is a Place in Hell for Me and My Friends’ on the *Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*, June 14, 1991. Morrissey’s rockabilly interests and stylistic ties

to Los Angeles Chicana/o-Latina/o fans will be more fully explored in Hidalgo's forthcoming book, *Mozlandia: Morrissey Fans in the Borderlands* (Headpress UK, 2016).

¹¹ Morrissey would return to the iconic building to dally on its rooftop with Pamela Anderson in a promotional video for his 2014 album, *World Peace is None of Your Business*.

¹² Richard Blade continues to play an active and prominent role in the lively 'New Wave/80s' scene in and around L.A. as a DJ and host of events such as the Morrissey and Smiths and Depeche Mode conventions held annually in Hollywood.

¹³ See 'Pop Singer Morrissey Blamed for Melee.' *Los Angeles Times*, Nov. 3, 1991.

http://articles.latimes.com/1991-11-03/local/me-1598_1_pop-singer. Morrissey also writes about this fan 'riot' in his *Autobiography* (2013: 243).

¹⁴ We can refer to the UK Channel 4 documentary, *The Importance of Being Morrissey*, to hear Morrissey discuss his relationship in exile to Los Angeles. He also writes about his relationship to L.A. and Mexico in his *Autobiography* (2013).

¹⁵ Jesse Tobias, guitarist in Morrissey's band, penned the liner notes to the DVD of *25Live*.

¹⁶ The John Sayles film, *Lone Star* (1996) represents the 'Us (Anglo)-versus-Them (Mexican)' public school curriculum debates. Most recently in 2014, a Republican majority Texas Board of Education approved the use of controversial new textbooks in history and social science classes. NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), passed by Clinton in 1994, created a free trade zone between Canada, the US, and Mexico. Over a decade later in 2005, Bush signed the contested CAFTA (Central American Free Trade Agreement) into law, a trade agreement modeled on NAFTA that extends US corporate free trade privileges to the Central American nations of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua, the law's first signatories. The Dominican Republic was included in 2007 (creating CAFTA-DR), while under the Obama Administration, Costa Rica signed on in 2009.

¹⁷ See Vértiz, 'A Lover's Letter to Morrissey' (2014) at www.vertiz.wordpress.com.

¹⁸ Zavella draws from Rosaldo and Flores's 1997 formulation of 'cultural citizenship' in their essay, 'Identity, Conflict, and Evolving Latino Communities: Cultural Citizenship in San Jose, California.'

¹⁹ See Américo Paredes (1958), *With His Pistol in His Hand*, for a classic account of the corrido, and María Herrera-Sobek, *The Mexican Corrido: A Feminist Analysis* (1990) for a Chicana feminist account.

²⁰ Los Tigres del Norte made history and headlines recently for their GLAAD (Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation) Award, which recognized their 2014 song, 'Era Diferente' ('She Was Different'), about a budding young lesbian relationship. 'Era Diferente' joins Ozomatli's 2008 'Gay Vatos in Love,' as one of the few songs that document, advocate, and celebrates LGBT/queer life in Mexican and Mexican American communities on both sides of the border. See <http://www.advocate.com/arts-entertainment/music/2015/03/21/los-tigres-del-norte-are-making-gay-norte-o-history> and <https://www.billboard.com/articles/columns/latin-notas/6509475/tigres-del-norte-era-diference-glaad-awards>.

²¹ Full citation: *The Gloria Anzaldúa Reader*, ed. Ana Louise Keating. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009: 176-86.

²² Morrissey's music has often been compared to Mexican-style rancheros (romantic ballads) and corridos (narrative ballads that champion the underdog). See <http://soundcheck.wnyc.org/story/soundcheck-mexico-loves-morrissey-live-radiolovefest/>.

²³ The premiere Morrissey and Smiths tribute band from Los Angeles, Sweet and Tender Hooligans, prints the slogan 'Mexican Blood, American Heart' on its merchandise. José Maldonado, the band's lead singer, also known as 'The Mexican Morrissey,' comments that one of the band's best-selling T-shirts is the one printed with 'Mexican Blood, American Heart.' See 'Obsessed: The Mexican Morrissey,' www.i-D.vice.com. The slogan itself, 'Mexican Blood, American Heart,' has another history steeped in Chicanos' military service in the US armed forces. See B.V. Olguín (2002), 'Sangre Mexicana/Corazón Americano: Identity, Ambiguity, and Critique in Mexican-American War Narratives' in *American Literary History* Vol. 14, No. 1, p. 83-114.

²⁴ Deanna Ong, 'Biters Among Kings.' In *The Writing Disorder Anthology*, ed. C. E. Lukather. Los Angeles: The Writing Disorder, 2010. Accessed via Google Books.

²⁵ 'Pachuca' refers to Chicana/Mexican American women zoot-suiters during the 1940s. See Ramírez, 2009. Catherine S. Ramírez, *The Woman in the Zoot Suit: Gender, Nationalism, and the Cultural Politics of Memory*. Durham and London: Duke UP, 2009.

²⁶ See Verónica Reyes, *Chopper! Chopper! Poetry from Bordered Lives*. Pasadena, CA: Arktoi Books, 2013.

²⁷ Attributed to Camilo Lara of Mexrrissey, Lara told the Los Angeles audience, 'We are in the motherland! We came from Mexico—but it seems like you all came from Mexico too!' See *Los Angeles Times*, 'Morrissey with trumpets and taco T-shirts: Mexrrissey rocks the L.A. Regent.' <http://www.latimes.com/entertainment/arts/miranda/la-et-cam-morrissey-mexrrissey-rocks-the-regent-los-angeles-20150512-column.html#page=1>.

²⁸ Marina García-Vásquez co-founded Mex & the City, a 'global Mexican' community art and politics collective based in Brooklyn, New York. <http://mexnthecity.com>.

²⁹ In his *Autobiography*, Morrissey writes, 'My new Latino hearts are lost on the know-alls, those self-appointed fusspots and the pernicky chickenshits' (2013: 415) who disdain him, and whom he disdains, in his native UK.

³⁰ For example, Morrissey played as many shows in Texas recently as he played in Italy, a country also intimately connected to Morrissey personally and professionally.

³¹ In 2014, Dino Pérez was commissioned by Goldenvoice to create artwork for a promotional Morrissey tour poster.