

The Enduring Sentimiento of Chavela Vargas (with Lorena Alvarado)

[opening music]

00:20 **Juan Llamas-Rodriguez:** Welcome to the Global Media Cultures podcast. I am your host, Juan Llamas-Rodriguez. Today we are discussing the music of Chavela Vargas, and how her later works addressed issues of indigeneity, migrancy and of course, being a queer woman in a predominantly male musical genre. Our guest is Dr. Lorena Alvarado. She's an assistant professor of music and performance in the Global Arts Media and Writing department at the University of California Merced. Her work on contemporary popular Latinx music has appeared in the *Cambridge History of Latino Literature* and the *Routledge Companion to Latina/o Media*. She's also a poet, and her chapbook, *Red Line Lullaby*, was published in 2017. Lorena, welcome to the Global Media Cultures podcast.

01:08 **Lorena Alvarado:** Thank you so much, Juan, for your invitation.

01:13 **JLR:** I wanna start by asking you, could you talk to us generally what your work is about. Why does it interest you? Why do you think it's an important area that needs to be studied?

01:22 **LA:** Well, my work has to do with the performance of emotion in Mexican and Latino vernacular music in general, and I think there's so many things that we communicate not through words. The conveying, how do musicians convey emotion, was something that I was interested in pursuing, I think even before I even thought of myself as a scholar. You know, having grown up in a Latino community, in a Mexican community, here in California, the performance of rancheras in general were a big part of my life. There is a quality of ranchera performance that is really important for a singer to nail, or a musician, and that is sentimiento. That's how it is referred to, colloquially. In an everyday context, "Oh the singer sings with so much... *ganas*."

02:42 **LA:** So much emotion. But that word really is sentimiento, so I was interested in going, investigating... Maybe that's not the right word, but immersing myself in this idea, which I think I was already immersed in.

03:00 **LA:** In doing this work, it's also, there is a political aspect to it and de-naturalizing the relationship between any particular national subject, like let's say Mexican, and a certain way of conveying emotion. So I see it as also undoing that sometimes naturalized binary, and we can see this in the scholarship, or maybe even just in everyday discourse, right? All of what we know is Mexicans are so emotional, or that they're so passionate, or any given. So I'm interested in looking at how this phenomenon is really only possible, it's actually a... From my perspective, from my argument, if you wanna call it that, it's really a multi-media phenomenon that is only possible with the mediations of voice and instruments, music, the body as well. So you put all of these things together and it produces an effect, at any given time, and it sounds... And it's understood in different ways across time. Right? So my work really looks at it from the work of Lucha Reyes, which is more 1940s, 1930s-1940s to now to workers, cultural workers in the present. So that's generally the questions that I'm pursuing right now and I have been pursuing.

05:03 **JLR:** So today we're specifically discussing your article, "Never Late: Unwelcome Desires and Diasporas in Chavela Vargas' Last Works," which was published in *Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory*, volume 26, in 2016. Can you give us a brief history of this article, kind of like where you began working on it, how did the project come about, how did ideas sort of change in the process of researching and writing and all of that?

05:33 **LA:** Yeah, so I started this project, this essay as I was finishing my dissertation. One of my dissertation topics was Chavela Vargas, but I did not necessarily pursue this relationship between her work and age. And I don't know how I came about this idea of late style, I think it was through a colleague or a friend. It always happens in community, right? Knowledge and knowledge making is a community enterprise, I think. And I think, I mean was reading Said as well but in different context, I mean, you're reading Said in the context of Orientalism, or cultural imperialism, but he was also so interested in music, Western music, I mean he was truly a renaissance scholar, a renaissance man.

06:26 **LA:** So this idea, well how could... I was interested in how late style could really dialogue with Vargas' later works because she was recording into her 80s, into her 90s. So that's how this started and at that point, when I was writing, she had her two... She had *Cupaima*, I think that was 2006 and then later... for *Por Mi Culpa*, 2012. So I focused on those two. And it just takes a long time, as you know, research, writing, getting it peer-reviewed, so I'm talking about maybe four years, just give and take,

from the time that I started to... The time it was actually published. That's the sort of history and, of course, I continue with that, and I don't know if that's something we're gonna discuss later, but you know she continued to record after that too. Now for the future project, really, actual book, then I will include the last one that she did, that's when she was 92. So she's just a fascinating figure in that sense. It was popular singers that have long careers are just really fascinating to see the arc of their masterworks.

07:56 **JLR:** Right. Well, could you give us a little bit of that like what is the arc... What is the significance of Chavela Vargas as an artist in the different contexts that she worked in, and this arc of this very long career, her last album coming in her 90s, but even as you point out, she started late in her life, in her career as well. So can you give us a brief overview of her career and her importance?

08:23 **LA:** Oh yeah, well she's such an icon for so many communities. She is not just one of the ranchera singers although more of a marginalized one, but nevertheless with a very loyal following, and later in her career she also became some sort of a queer symbol as well. Although that's not a label that she carried with her really at any given point explicitly, but I think later on she embraced it a little more openly. This doesn't mean that it wasn't known that she was a queer woman, I mean her... So she arrived to Mexico as a very young teen, as a 15, 16, 17 year old, so younger than a lot of our students in college. She moves from Costa Rica, a country that she never identified with, despite being born there and having a family there, perhaps having to do with the lack of protection, the lack of love, the lack of family really that she experienced.

09:44 **LA:** She experienced abuse, she experienced neglect, which it's something that we see all over the world, these young kids, also rejected because of her queerness. I think at that time, the "rareza" that I referenced, I think I referenced in the article. So like that she made a different life as a young girl, a young woman in Mexico City determined to sing. But of course I'm talking about arriving there in the 30s, late 30s, she recorded her first work professionally in 1961, that's when it... So in between there she was singing, but she was also... She had a lot of odd jobs. She had a clothing store. And I think it's also important to say that she was not just a ranchera singer, she was a versatile performer that also took on Colombian pasillos, or tangos or Spanish songs, Cuban songs if you can recall "Macorina," because it was written by a Cuban Spanish poet.

11:05 **LA:** So I think sometimes we do tend, or we... In general, maybe we might ignore this amazing versatility of hers to go from one genre to another. So she really created her own kind of style, she was in that sense peerless and extraordinary, really on the vanguard, I think of popular vernacular song and very much aligned with the politics of what we would call Nueva Cancion later on in her career because she was interested in exploring the popular of the continent at a time when there were also many influences coming in from... There was rock and roll and everything else, there were also a lot of social movements that I think aligned with her musical project and vision.

12:02 **JLR:** So you mentioned... So she was a very versatile performer, thinking a lot of different genres, but for some reason we've come to think of her very generally, or at least in popular culture associated with ranchera music. Right? And particularly with the ranchera music, but also with her contrast to the mainstream ranchera performers and the mainstream understanding. Could you talk to us about why that was, and specifically also, what was the imaginary of ranchera music, and how does she come in to queer or to contrast with it?

12:39 **LA:** Right. Yeah. Definitely she was a ranchera singer too. And I think that the model of rancheras that she experienced growing up because she would say, "Yo quiero cantar como los Mexicanos..." I wanna sing like the Mexicans. This model was very much exemplified by the singing, by "el charro cantor" of Mexican cinema. So the ranchera really gets developed in the context of cinema. And popular song in Mexico is inseparable from the stage, whether we're talking about theater or whether we're talking about cinema. Because that's where in the 1920s, "teatros de revista", which where these shows, traveling shows, or itinerant shows within the city that featured plays or satires, political satires also featured a singer in between the scenes, I would say, and these were like the emerging, the future ranchera. Songs that were evoking a sort of pastoral Eden in nostalgic terms or in romantic terms, but it wasn't in the 1940s with cinema, that the ranchera gets hyper-professionalized and sung by dashing actors that had operatic abilities.

14:23 **LA:** Like Jorge Negrete, who never wanted to sing rancheras, he wanted to be an opera singer but that's a whole another story. So that's a kind of ranchera, this glamorized charro with a mariachi as a musical ensemble that got promoted and distributed throughout the continent. Throughout the continent, a phenomenon in Argentina, and Colombia, and Peru and Central America. So this is an image that she has, but she totally undoes it. When she begins, she gets rid of the mariachi ensemble, in her opting to singing just with one guitar. At the beginning of her career was Antonio

Bribiesca, it's a very particular sound of the Mexican guitar, and dressed in very particular clothing. So I talk a little bit about that in the article with a sartorial presentation that evoked the campesino culture. Those that tended the land with the "jorongo", "pantalón de manta"...

15:50 **LA:** So very, a masculine, sort of sartorial presentation. So in doing that I mean and singing rancheras in that way, I think she was also interested in delivering them in a different manner and highlighting the words in a different manner, rereading the ranchera. And I think with her we can listen to these lyrics in a different way. At that point in the '60s, we weren't just listening to rancheras that we heard earlier on in the '40s with the charro cantor.

16:29 **LA:** Those were really rancheras bravias. They were about asserting a Mexican identity, a Mexicano identity. And at that moment, there was already... By the '60s the repertoire had become so rich and so much more varied. And there's masterworks of rancheras by that point, at that time too. Tomas Mendez, Jose Alfredo Jimenez were other writers and those were one of her favorite ones because of that depth of their popular poetry. That's what I would say.

[music: clip from "Un Mundo Raro" (1961)]

17:41 **LA:** So she was really careful in selecting songs that conveyed some sort of anguished defeat, and that's another type of ranchera. The defeat as triumph, the ones that convey a failing relationship or a condition that is miserable. "Oh Gran Dios. ¡Cuánto sufro en la vida!" There's a lot of these complaints. Those were the ones that she favored, and those were the ones that she transformed as rancheras, but also beyond, as lyrical masterworks.

18:26 **JLR:** Right. As you mentioned, she transformed, it was not only thinking about how to change the musical accompaniment, like dropping the mariachi for just a solo guitar, very strategic about picking the specific themes that she was interested in, but then there's also the question of her voice. As you write, there's something about her voice, it's very particular too. And it's not only... And I think part of what you're interested in is that that voice is not the same throughout her career, so it becomes a very particular voice that brings her acclaim early on, and then when you're looking at the later works, it's a different, grainer texturized voice. That again, it's speaking to a lot of the similar themes and concerns, but in a different way. Could you talk to us a

little bit more about that, about the thinking, about her voice in particular and the grain of the voice?

19:28 **LA:** Oh yeah, it's... We talked about versatility. And she had that ability, which I think a lot of ranchera singers have, but the... Within one song, you have to be able to explore the depths of the human condition, if we can call it that. From that anguished, a tortured person that is hysterically in pain to conveying the glorious experience of being in love or living somewhere else, or the anger at the person and declaring your independence from the world. So I think in that voice, her voice... If you can hear the early recordings, she had this very strong vibrato in her voice. She's able to sort of tremble with desire, even whisper it at times. I mean, this is something that's possible with the microphone, this is a very modern sort of reading of a voice.

20:51 **JLR:** Right.

20:52 **LA:** So with that instrument of a microphone... The microphone, something I think we also need to think about how it enhances the voice and the sort of micro-sonic vibrations, 'cause she had a lot of that. She had a lot of that, and they were all very sensual, and it could even be very sexual, right? 'Cause she was singing not just rancheras but boleros and boleros also, they are very sensual, and very sexual types of love songs. And she continues to have this power of vibration later into her career, of course different... The other thing I was gonna say about her voice is how she uses her throat. She can have that soft vibration and whisper and sort of sublime declaration to your ear, but she can also then go to the throat "like this" [vocalizes].

22:04 **LA:** And you hear this in the matter or within the limits of one song, so it's really extraordinary vocal geographies that she explores.

[music: clip from "Paloma Negra" (1961)]

22:40 **LA:** And later, later on, yes, you can hear the age in her song. It's still a potent voice in the last recording, I mean she's not quite singing... It's not a singing album, it's a poetry recitation album, but she does sing here and there, you can hear the throat in a different way, you can hear the throat as words are trying to escape from it and...

[vocalization]

23:11 **LA:** So using sort of this, the top or the top of her throat... Like words are escaping. If you have this image in your mind that words are trying to escape the mouth, but don't quite get out. So, she evoked a lot of these really interesting imagery, vocal imagery.

23:35 **JLR:** I like this idea that you talk about it as vocal geographies, right? It's a way of... It's a helpful metaphor to think about the different places that her voice takes you...

23:47 **LA:** Yeah, and maybe though we could also say emotional geographies, 'cause that's really what the ranchera is; it is a vocal emotional display of geography from that perspective of a ranchera, of human love and human pain.

24:02 **JLR:** Right. And geography also in the sense, it's a journey, right? Every ranchera is sort of the emotional journey of that person's heartbreak. So, it takes you... It literally takes you there... Well, not literally. Figuratively takes you there.

24:19 **LA:** Yeah. But you know what? It could take you there literally too, you know, because there is so... They're reflections too. It's a landscape that reflects and that where we can see ourselves... Right. Any good love song or any good song, I see myself there, I recognize myself there, I recognize my pain there. And that's why it's so important for us in so many ways, music, because we see ourselves.

24:51 **JLR:** Yeah. So let's talk about lateness, because you refer to Chavela Vargas' last works, but you theorized them within the concept of lateness. So you mentioned Said, who's borrowing from Adorno, but then you also sort of take a twist from Said, from Edward Said's version of lateness to think about how does this apply to Chavela Vargas's recording in her late 80s/90s?

25:19 **LA:** So, it's definitely a late work, she is at the end of her career, in her 80s and her 90s. And late style spoke to me as a way to be able to approach it. But of course, the music that Adorno, and the music that Said referenced, and I mentioned this, is very much attached to a different era, a different music. We're talking... I mean for them the paradigmatic figure of lateness, musical lateness is Beethoven. So that's who they are interested, or who they're interested in, not only. I mean, the small, or the very brief essay that Adorno has on lateness, one of them is on late style. And he talks about Beethoven. And Said has at least one book. He also references it in another text

but he has on late style, right? Music and literature across the grain. He applies it also to writers, and to performers, not just to classical musicians per se.

26:37 **LA:** But of course, I needed to... I'm gonna apply this to Vargas. I couldn't necessarily apply it directly as such, 'cause this is popular music. And with popular music, the way that we conceive of music and the musician is very different. I mean if Adorno is really arguing for the autonomy of the artist, and sort of this impersonal, autonomous, non-subjective aesthetic, the art and a person are not the same. That's impossible for me to do. In popular music, there is a different... I have a different approach and we must have a different approach. And in the case of this popular musician, Chavela Vargas, a older queer... Queer in the sense that she queers the popular musical traditions that she adopts. Not that it's her self-identification necessarily. A woman that is not Mexican in the naturalized sense.

27:58 **JLR:** Right.

28:00 **LA:** She's an immigrant after all, from Central America which has historically been subsumed to Mexico, right? And an older woman at that... With all of these characteristics really embodies... That's why I recall Audre Lorde, right? It's those that were never meant to survive.

28:24 **JLR:** Yeah.

28:24 **LA:** And for her, for Audre Lorde, so survival is a sort of more than late style, survival is a connection between Said and Lorde. Where Said says lateness is that... Or late work is at which has survived way too much, way too long.

28:49 **JLR:** Right.

28:49 **LA:** And for Lorde it's... She talks about those that were never meant to survive in the context of Black America, right? With White supremacy etcetera. So the marginal subjects, that's... Well Chavela is very, in many ways, working at the margins, creating a new world and challenging the center, or what we presume to be the center of the subject, of the nation. And she's working from the margins. And she is a subject that historically and still now we want to ignore or to kill off or disenfranchise, right? Talk about the queer Central American migrants subject. I mean I...

29:44 **JLR:** Yeah.

29:44 **LA:** For me, it's what I'm talking about that aesthetic of survival, I guess. Aesthetic of survival in the late work. And those songs constitute throughout her career, I feel a vision that challenges the dominant notions that we have of rancheras, of boleros, of the Latin American popular, of femininity, of masculinity. And she persists as she perseveres through the attacks against her music. I mean attacks... I mean, maybe not literal physical attacks, but discursive attacks, right? Horrible...

30:32 **JLR:** Right.

30:33 **LA:** "Horrible voice." "Oh, this is not gonna work." "You're never gonna succeed," etcetera etcetera.

30:43 **JLR:** Yeah. The whole idea of those who were not meant to survive. It's... It goes from the micro to the macro. It's not only she wasn't supposed to make it in the industry, but also she was a migrant who's not supposed to survive within the sort of nation state... A queer woman who's not supposed to survive under patriarchy so on and so forth. All of those... What is it, nonagenarian?

31:09 **LA:** Yeah.

31:09 **JLR:** When you're 90? Yeah, a nonagenarian who's most likely... Most people aren't getting there. So you're not supposed to survive because you're that old, so all of those levels of how you're not supposed to survive, and yet she does. She persists then.

31:21 **LA:** Yeah. Yeah. Yeah.

31:22 **JLR:** I think, as you pointed out, she thrives, like that renaissance of late in her career is in some ways fully a renaissance, right? It's like the performance in the big venues and the big comeback. When as she points out, she's the *occisa*, she just came back from the dead. "Everyone thought I was dead," but surprise, she's not and she's back stronger than ever then...

31:45 **LA:** Right. People thought she was dead, right, literally. And she jokes about it. But I think... This also reminds me, Juan, that she had a period in her life where she was not on stage for many years. At least, a little over a decade, and the conventional story behind that is because she was drinking with no control. And she, I mean this

was true of her, she did like... I mean, it's part of her "leyenda negra", she calls it. But she was also singing songs in the '70s, that's when she kind of started to fade away. Her repertoire became increasingly political, I mean singing songs by Atahualpa Yupanqui, for example. And Atahualpa Yupanqui was a figure in the '50, '60s really talking about the struggles of the campesino in Argentina, the poverty, the discrimination in the most beautifully poetic ways. Atahualpa Yupanqui is extraordinary. I recommend everybody to listen to it.

[music: clip from "Preguntitas Sobre Dios" (1969)]

33:26 **LA:** She was singing this type of songs too, and it's very much a coincidence that she started to fade away also as she started to embrace these songs too. But when you see really her repertoire, songs that she chose, you can interpret those as sort of the... There is a voice of a subaltern in some way in her repertoire. From "Oh Gran Dios" to "Un Mundo Raro", to Atahualpa songs. And many... I mean it's so rich. But yeah. Yeah, so people tried to kill her off in different ways, censure her in different ways.

34:16 **JLR:** For sure. Yeah, well, let's talk also about this, her political aspect or the bringing in of the subaltern, in not only the songs, but also the musical choices for the songs, right? So you write quite a bit about the album *Cupaima* and how she's bringing in sounds associated with Indigenous cultures, and she does that very purposely, as a way, as you point out to queer, like redo the rancheras that she's originally... So the song, the lyrics remain the same, but just the entire musical accompaniment is different, so how does that change and what is the political project behind that?

34:58 **LA:** It's such a fascinating album, why... To put together those instruments and the ranchera. Now it's probably not as radical in the sense that it's... The guitar is still there as a sort of main sonic leading figure, right? But this doesn't mean though that it does have those transgressive possibilities and elements. So what did it mean to play the rancheras but with these instruments? I think it's a way... One of the many possibilities. I mean for her, we can talk about it in terms of her... How she interpreted it? It was sort of a tribute. It was a tribute. She always credited Native American, native Indigenous communities with her survival. They cured her from a blindness when she was a child. These are stories that she would tell. But clearly, she saw or she identified with indigena communities for a very long time. And she had relationships with them, I mean to the point that the Wixarika of Mexico granted her with the title of Shamana.

Shaman, healer, right? This was seriously something that did happen, there was a ceremony.

36:39 **LA:** This is also part of her legendary biography, but there is a strong element of Indigenous gratitude... Oh no, no. Showing gratitude to Indigenous communities throughout her career and throughout her biography and throughout her discourse. So we can read it also that way to sort of saying, "Thanks, this is who I am too." But it's also a radical way to face or to place genres like the ranchera and the bolero, 'cause the album is also boleros... Two genres that are really... Even though the rancheras evoke, very evocative of the rural world, and the... It's a very much city, an urban phenomenon, musically. So what is a bolero? Very much rooted in the city, in those new cities, new technologies of the '40s or '50s, right, post-war. And it's really about saying, wait... And we're gonna talk about the nation because a ranchera is often identified as a national genre, right?

38:05 **JLR:** Yeah.

38:06 **LA:** It's symbolizing the whole nation. It's a huge erasure of so many other sonic worlds in Mexico, I'm not even talking beyond, in Mexico. It's really a reckoning with the past or the present that we want to annihilate or we have tried to annihilate since the conquest. It's the instruments that prevailed and that were not gone. It's really putting together that indigenous presence and indigenous ancestors, be they Nahua, Wixarika, Zapoteca, Mazateco, with modernity, which is what the ranchera is. Ranchera is a modern genre, very new. Very, very new. And in that gesture, I mean it's like sort of, "Let's face each other again. Let's go back to that encounter between mestizaje and the Indigenous aspects of ourselves that we don't wanna see." So, I think in that sense, it's very much a political album, a political project, right? It's looking at the genealogies that are often denied, and even though some rancheras will evoke lo indigena all through their title or "la indita" or... There is a line by Jose Alfredo Jimenez: "Descendiente de Cuauhtémoc, mexicano por fortuna." He's talking about being the son of the people, and there's a reference to the Indigenous legend's glory.

40:05 **LA:** But maybe there was that kind of reference through, lyrically, but not with the sound, right? And I think one of the most powerful songs that does this in the album is the song "Un Mundo Raro", which has no guitar accompaniment and it's not sung, so it totally divests the music. And it wants us to listen to the lyrics, but the lyrics from a different mouth, not from the mestizo charro, right? But giving those words to a

different mouth, from a different perspective, from a different defeat, and from a different triumph.

[music: clip from “Un Mundo Raro” (2006)]

41:25 **JLR**: Yeah, I think that version of “Un Mundo Raro” is fascinating. It's so well done. And it does all of these things that you've mentioned. And again, the accompaniments here are also late in that sense: they're the sounds that shouldn't have survived, that weren't intended to survive in the Mexican nation state idea of... It's all about mestizaje, and erasing these particularities of the Indigenous communities. Now, it's taking this song and re-introducing them and making it anew... And so you mentioned this earlier, so where have you gone with this research since? So you mentioned now you've also thought about, or are writing about her last album, or thinking broadly more about her career. So what is this research going? Are you...

42:24 **LA**: Yeah. Well, it's a chapter of a book now, right? Which is different from this article, it's different from this, which is so ancient. It's different in the sense that it's including this new... Well, the newer, the 2012 production, *La Luna Grande*, and that is a tribute album to Federico Garcia Lorca, who she also loved, right? And she recites his poetry and we can hear her music in the background, like the guitar plays one of the songs. Let's say it's “La Llorona” or “Un Mundo Raro” with one of Garcia Lorca's works. So it's another extraordinary album and I am including that, but from a... I'm looking at the question of age, but I'm also looking at combined with this issue of saying goodbye. And I'm looking at her sort of despedidas, right? So the chapter has to deal with that, and the cancion mexicana has a lot of despedidas in it. So that's where I'm going with Chavela. I'm gonna explore... I'm working on that. That's a current project 'cause that's part of the larger work. Yeah.

43:58 **JLR**: That's great. Has there been recent developments? That was her last album and then she passed, so I guess not recent developments in her career, but recent developments in general, or new ways that you've been thinking about this work and/or other artists that you're thinking about?

44:17 **LA**: Oh, yeah. There's always more artists. After this, I think maybe that will be the end. There's been so much more work done on Chavela artistically. The documentary just came out. There was also a flamenco performance inspired by *Cupaima*, or it's called *Cupaima*, that debuted in Spain. She had a really close relationship to Spain. We can't talk about her whole life and everything, it's so

interesting, but yes, she had a strong relationship to Spain, musically and otherwise. But yeah, as far as Chavela, I think that article or that chapter might be... I'm just gonna stop there, but that is in conversation with other singers of the ranchera, like Amalia Mendoza or Lucha Reyes. The whole book is interested in the whole question of sentimiento and the rancheras' vocal emotional geographies. That's the project. But I thank you, first of all, for this. I hope that students continue to be safe, to take care of their health, to take care of their visions, because this is the time that we need to get to put our energy and work into creating another version of or another vision for the world, because we need it. And so people like her and people like you all, that are going to provide us with that, with those "otros mundo raros", which we really need right now.

46:17 **JLR:** Yeah. Those new worlds. Yeah.

46:18 **LA:** Yeah. Yeah. Yeah.

[music]

46:24 **JLR:** Lorena, thank you so much for joining us.

46:28 **LA:** Oh, thank you so much for the invitation. It was a pleasure.

[closing credits music]

46:34 **JLR:** This episode of The Global Media Cultures podcast was produced by me and edited by Alan Yu, opening sound by Podington Bear, and closing credits music by Cloudmouth. This project is supported in part by the School of Arts, Technology and Emerging Communication at the University of Texas at Dallas. Global Media Cultures podcast introduces media scholarship about the world to the world. I'm Juan Llamas-Rodriguez. Thank you for listening.