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ABSTRACT

Migration appears to be a straightforward act of people moving to a new geographic location, but upon further exploration, it is a complex performance with multiple actors across space. Transnationalism is an aspect of migration that refers to the cultural, social, economic, and political links migrants maintain with their home country across national borders. Foodscapes are the lens to describe the transnational behavior of Mexican migrants to Colorado Springs, Colorado. Foodscapes are places and spaces where one acquires, prepares, eats, and shares food, and gathers meaning from food. This qualitative study involves multi-sited participant observations where Mexican foodstuffs are sold and consumed and individual interviews with twenty-six Mexican migrants. This study demonstrates how these Mexican migrants maintain strong transnational links to Mexico through their foodscapes, even after decades of residence in the U.S and Colorado Springs.
For MY little girl
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Chapter 1

Introduction

Migration is of considerable interest in the minds of scholars, governments, and the public at large. On the surface, migration appears to be a straightforward act of people moving to a new geographic location, but upon further exploration, it is a complex performance with multiple actors across space. The subject of migration has evolved in the literature from a discussion on the practical outcomes of relocation towards depictions of a cosmopolitan transnational migrant who crosses national boundaries and reinforces multiple identities. In migration studies, the term transnationalism “refers to the multiple cultural, economic, political, and social ties that bind migrants across one or more countries” (Samers 2017, 395). Transnational connections persist across national borders in several ways such as remittances or money that a foreign worker sends to their home country, cross-border political affiliations, and regular contact with family and friends in the country of origin. Additionally, building a culturally familiar community while abroad maintains that bond to home while simultaneously creating new lived spaces and experiences.
This research aspires to provide creative insight on Mexican migration to the United States and Mexican migrants’ connection to home through the lens of transnational foodscapes. Foodscapes are places and spaces where one acquires, prepares, eats, and shares food, and gathers meaning from food (MacKendrick 2014). Foodscapes involve both the physical environment and the emotions that food evokes in cultural landscapes. Given the exponential growth of Mexican foodscapes in Colorado Springs, it appears as though the foodscapes created by Mexican migrants serve as a transnational space because they connect them to home while in Colorado Springs. Thus, this research answers the following question: How are transnational Mexican foodscapes in Colorado Springs, Colorado expressed? Through semi-structured interviews with Mexican migrants for narrative analysis, participant observation where Mexican foodstuffs are sold or consumed, coupled with photographs and maps, illustrates the expression of transnational Mexican foodscapes in Colorado Springs.

This research offers a fresh perspective on migration by exploring the ways migrants remain connected to home, attach meaning to and maintain cultural identity through the development of foodscapes. The concepts of transnationalism and foodscapes are employed to describe how Mexican
migrants navigate and uphold connections to home through everyday life across politically, socially, and culturally unique geographic locations.

Furthermore, foodscapes help to continue Mexican culture across national borders. This view will broaden understandings of transnationalism through the analysis of specific Mexican foodscapes like the grocery market, *La Panadería* or bakery, *La Nevería* or ice cream parlor, restaurants, taco trucks, community gatherings, and the recreational soccer circuit. The results of this study will unpack the concepts of transnational foodscapes to offer new insights into the cross-border junctures of Mexican migration to the United States in the geographic and social sciences.
Chapter 2

Review of Literature

Migration is not simply relocation to another geographic place. Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton (1992) describe how migrants build social fields of complex linkages that may be local, national, or transnational, that bond their country of origin and their country of settlement. These social fields or links discussed by Glick-Schiller et al. pave the way for alternative views on how migrants reconcile life across borders. This section will discuss transnationalism and foodscapes as the optics with which to view Mexican migration in Colorado Springs.

Transnationalism

Relocating across political borders is a worldwide phenomenon happening at different scales and for myriad reasons. While seeking opportunities abroad, some migrants choose to cut all ties with home while others keep home country relations alive across borders. Migrants who choose to remain connected are exhibiting transnational behavior highlighted by the “multiple ties and interactions linking people…across the borders of nation-states” (Vertovec 1999, 447).
Early research on transnationalism did not offer a comprehensive, generalizable definition because the area of study was a “highly fragmented, emergent field that lack[ed] a theoretical framework” (Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999, 218). Considering this ‘fragmentation’ and deficiency of theory, this body of research has evolved from a vague to distinct idea based on key conceptual premises (Vertovec 1999). In its theoretical infancy, the term transnationalism mostly described economic and political endeavors of corporations, entrepreneurs, and nation-states (Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton 1992; Portes, Guarnizo, and Landolt 1999; Roberts, Frank, and Lozano-Ascencio 1999; Waldinger 2015; Vertovec 1999). But in a key breakthrough piece, Glick Schiller et al. (1992) defines transnationalism as “the processes by which immigrants [and their descendents] build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement” (1). These linkages are intersectional, “cut across by differences in age, generation, gender, sexuality, religion, [and] class position” (Samers 2017, 101). “These links may also be psychological, involving especially an emotional or imaginative attachment to a people(s) or place(s) of origin” (100). Fraga et al. go further to argue that migrants travel back and forth from their country of origin with a desire to live there once more even if that happens many years in the future (Fraga et al. 2012).
Scholars contend that migrants maintain numerous transnational associations — familial, economic, social and emotional, organizational, religious, and political that cross borders while they become part of the places where they settle.

Additional scholarship describes how migrants build communities and social life across borders (Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002; Massey 1990) and also how migrants use their loyalty ties to create an alternative pattern of migration (Massey 1990; Portes et al. 1999). Studies show that new migrants often rely on migrant enclaves and hometown associations for employment or support in the destination (Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Portes 1993; Roberts et al. 1999). Social networks like those of family, friends, or other community members contribute to transnational migration and offer the most substantial ties to home and abroad (Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Vertovec 1999). Douglas Massey’s theory of ‘cumulative causation’ asserts that each instance of migration from a community makes future migration more likely due to the nature of kinship and friendship structures; Each new migrant creates an alliance of people with social ties to the destination country (Garip and Asad 2016; Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Massey 1990). Having children or other family members in the country of origin, maintaining a property or a business there, and technological advancements in
communications, also aid in keeping transnational linkages alive (Glick Schiller et al. 1992; Massey and España 1987; Skop 2014; Waldinger 2015).

Roberts et al. (1999) examined how the residents of the rural community of San Gregorio, Distrito Federal, México stay connected to home. Many San Gregorians, who have been migrating to Austin, Texas since the 1960s, became legal residents with President Reagan’s Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA Amnesty) of 1986. In turn, women and children also began to migrate to Austin, undoubtedly due to the already strong transnational linkages as described by Massey’s cumulative causation theory. These kinships and friendships assist new migrants in finding employment, housing, and food. There is estimated to be approximately 3,000 San Gregorians and their US-born children residing in Austin. In the reciprocal nature of transnationality, Austin-based Gregorians collect small amounts of money, called a tanda, weekly from a large group of people and gives the money to one member of the group who sends it to Mexico as a remittance. These tandas continue until each member receives their benefit. San Gregorians travel back to Mexico regularly, especially at the end of the year during Feria Anual (Annual Fair), as well as for family commitments and property interests. Their transnational connection has been maintained for decades in this way.
Once a migrant becomes established in the destination country “the tendency may be...To live in a familiar way...” (Greishop 2006, 401). Transnational living in “reality is to create a life that is nearly as like that left at home, while those at home may attempt to help reinforce that tie to home through whatever means they can use” (401). Comparable to the sending of *tandas*, a study in the village of *San Pablo Huixtepec, Oaxaca, México* examines how transnational connections persist through “small family *envíos* or shipments” of goods to family members in California (401). These *envíos* contain food, cultural items, letters, and pictures that create the attachments of those who remain in Mexico and to migrants in California (404).

Availability and enjoyment of cultural foods and goods are a solid reminder of home for migrants whose connections endure across borders. Marte (2007) shared the ways in which Dominican migrants in New York City practice transnationalism through food. Preparations of native dishes like *sancocho* (roots and meat stew) and the national dish named *la Bandera* (beans, rice, meat, and an optional salad of avocado, lettuce, tomatoes, and radishes with lime juice) carry on the bonds to another time and place. These dishes are material and evoke memories of the island for these migrants. Marte described the experience of Elsa who migrated to New York from the Dominican Republic in 1986. She prepares
her *Bandera* with ingredients sourced from local Dominican grocers and direct shipments from her sisters on the island. Seeking out familiar ingredients to make a favorite dish keeps Elsa in touch with her family and cultural roots while abroad.

There are innumerable reasons why people practice transnationalism and as many ways to uphold those cultural ties. Transnationalism is not a single event but an array of networks and relationships that interact on a consistent basis across political borders (see Glick Schiller *et al.* 1992; Grieshop 2006; Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002; Levitt and Jaworsky 2007; Portes *et al.* 1999; Waldinger 2015; Vertovec 1999). In a way, transnational living allows a person to maintain their identity in a different place by offering familiarity and comfort to a new reality (see Arreola 2012; Oberle and Arreola 2008; Grieshop 2006; Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002; Skop 2014; Soja 1996; Vertovec 1999). Cultural familiarity spurred on by migrants social links to the here and there is present in the foods of a person’s origins and are essential building blocks in the construction of transnational foodscapes like the taco truck, the ethnic restaurants, and grocery markets that are prolific across the U.S. (see De la Peña and Lawrance 2011; Gordus 2014; Janer 2008; Mares 2012; Marte 2007; Ruiz 2008; Williams, Keller, and Mussell 1984). Research with Mexican migrants in Alaska
points out that “It is partially through food that places and the people in them are – and become – connected” (Komarnisky 2009, 42). Komarnisky’s study recognizes the fundamental links of transnationalism that food offers migrants who live between the here and there, of destination and origin.

Foodscapes

Foodways, foodpaths, and foodscapes are the terminology used in the food culture discourse. The notion of a –scape is used when studying phenomena that are spatially organized and emerge in an array of contexts (see Appadurai 1996; Brembeck and Johansson 2010). In a way “meeting food in different forms seems to create a landscape of foods” (Bent 2011, 210). It is important to underscore that foodscapes are more than a commodity chain of producers, processors, distributors, retailers, and consumers. Foodscapes include everything about the way individuals eat, including how food is acquired, what is consumed, who prepares it, and with whom food is shared based on geography, cultural, social, and economic practices, along with markers of difference such as class, race, and gender (MacKendrick 2014; Mares 2012; Bent 2011; De la Peña and Lawrence 2011). Gastronomist Jean Anthelme Brillat-Savarin introduced this idea of “tell me what you eat, and I’ll tell you who you are” in his 1825 treatise “Physiology of Taste” describing how ways of eating reveal the personality of an individual and their
familial roots (cited in Montanari 2006, 123). In this way, food becomes culture when performed by humans who take the resources occurring in nature and transform them based on place and the cultural perceptions of food (Montanari 2006). Thus, food culture is the intersection of beliefs, traditions, and history that has the capability of forming community, space, and place across transnational borders. In the context of this research, Mexican culture crosses national borders at the same time as it connects the here and there to create a transnational food story.

Indeed, migration involves profound changes in a person’s life, and foodscapes can aid in the transition. Foodscapes serve as a connection to home while upholding Mexican culture as migrants carve out economic and cultural spaces through food in a new environment. Familiar cultural food eases the uncertainty of being in a foreign place (Gabaccia 1998; Mares 2012; Ruiz 2008). Foodscapes map out and establish connections to home in a new country (Gordus 2013; Mares 2012). Migrants create foodscapes as they navigate local place and transnational relations through food shopping, sharing, and consumption (Mares 2012; Marte 2007). Food is utilized to preserve a sense of place and identity, creating a communal spirit based on cultural ideas of belonging (Basch 1994; Itzigsohn and Saucedo 2002; Levitt 2001; Williams et al.)
Some Mexican migrants in the United States create a sense of place from cultural foods that recall the traditional way of life experienced in Mexico (Arreola 2012; Mares 2012; Sukovic, Sharf, Sharkey, and St. John 2011).

Foodscapes of Mexico. Understanding Mexican foodscapes in the U.S. requires some discussion of the Mesoamerican and the Conquest eras in Mexico. Mexican cuisine predates the formation of the U.S. and this food indigenous to its geographic region (Oberle and Arreola 2008; Garip 2016; Gordus 2013). After colonization by Spain, a dynamic regional cuisine developed in Mexico from cultural mixing with the indigenous peoples, differing geographical landscapes, and local agricultural choices (Hinojosa 2009; Pilcher 2012). The U.S. acquired the northern Mexican territories with the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 which played a significant role in the shaping of Mexican food and culture in the U.S. (Gordus 2013; Pilcher 2012; Skop, Gratton, and Guttman 2006). Through conquest and migration, culture and cuisine transformed as the boundaries of Mexico shifted.

Mexican food culture is as diverse as each of its 52 ethnic groups (Long-Solís 2005; Hinojosa 2009; Pilcher 2012). Each region in Mexico has distinctive geography and cornucopia of natural resources that result in original cuisines mixed with Mesoamerican and European fare (Hinojosa 2009, Montaño 1992,
Hinojosa (2009) launched a study to classify the gastronomical regions of Mexico’s 31 states and the Federal District (Distrito Federal or D.F.) to understand the similarities of each region. “La diversidad gastronómica indígena (the diverse food of the indigenous)” is the foundation of Mexican food that later mixed with colonial tastes. With this knowledge, Hinojosa classifies the countries gastronomic regions by flora, fauna, production, and ethnic groups in order to determine regional similarities. With seven regional groups defined, Hinojosa realized that states on the coast and states along the border with the U.S. had many similarities but also many differences due to geography and climate. She recommends that future research should look at each state separately because ultimately they are distinctive from each other. She concludes that “México con su gran riqueza en recursos naturales, tradiciones y costumbres, puede ofrecer una inmensa variedad de experiencias culinarias para todo tipo de visitante (Mexico, with its wealth of natural resources, traditions and customs, it [Mexico] can offer an immense variety of culinary experiences for every type of visitor)” (127).

The regional complexity of Mexican food is described by the federal tourism Secretariat of Mexico (SECTUR) as 18 unique gastronomic routes throughout the nation (Brulotte and Starkman 2014; Secretariat of Mexico, 2019). Unlike Hinojosa’s study, the SECTUR website showcases each state or region in
great detail highlighting their distinct flavors and culinary preparations. These foodscapes are an essential part of what it means to be authentically Mexican. These foodscapes include but are not limited to corn (*maize*), beans, squash, *chile* peppers, tomatoes, and *tomatillos* (small, green, tart fruits with a papery green outer husk). Most notably of Mexican food origins are the cactus paddles (*nopales*) and the fruits of the prickly pear cactus (*tunas*). Also part of these foodscapes is avocado, vegetable pear (*chayote*), *jicamas* (Mexican turnip), greens known as *quintoniles* or *verdolagas*, and seasonal crops like insects, mushrooms, and chokecherries (Long-Solís 2005, 83). Beans, too, are generally served at every meal, either whole, in a liquid broth, or refried and topped with bits of pork cracklings (*chicharrones*) (88). Last but certainly not least, are the ever-present accompaniments in Mexican cuisine, *tortillas* (flour or corn flatbreads) and the countless varieties of hot chile sauce or *salsa* (83).

At the same time, traditions of public eating or street food have existed since the Aztec era and are an extension of family and home, as well as central to the creation of foodscapes (Gordus 2013; Pilcher 2012). Long-Solís (2005) defines street food in Mexico as food and drinks sold on public streets, ready for consumption, prepared, and offered by nonpermanent sellers in city streets ranging from tacos, fruit, *raspados* or shaved ice to heartier dishes like stews
(125). Originating in Mexico City as a convenient and healthy meal for miners (see Pilcher 2012), tacos are Mexico’s favorite street food (and arguably in areas of the United States too). They are eaten any time of day and sold at numerous eateries big and small. Almost anything can be considered acceptable taco filling including various chopped meats, seafood, or vegetables and even rolled tortillas with only a pinch of salt called tacos de nada (Long-Solís 2005, 133).

Mexican markets are permanent locations that sell lo basico (the basics or necessities), especially an abundance of meats, bread, fruits and vegetables and prepared foods (Long-Solis 2005, 1). Other permanent establishments are the taqueria, a restaurant that specializes in tacos but serves all types of Mexican fare; fondas or small restaurants, and locherías or lunch restaurants that serve a type of sandwich called a torta.

Mexican Foodscapes in the United States. Migration from Mexico to the U.S. has seen the establishment of street food, ethnic markets, and restaurants all with a distinctiveness inspired by culture and place. Oberle (2004) describes the carnicería or meat market as “one of the first sentinels of immigrant Mexican settlement...they [carnicerías] transcend their retail role and serve a social and cultural function for nascent Latino communities” (180). As migrants negotiate cultural identity, their foods emerge in the new landscape and become markers
of belonging and familiarity (Komarnisky 2009; Ruiz 2008). It is more likely that
migrants’ culture endures when consumer goods are readily available and
especially as the continuous stream of “people between the U.S. and Latin
America has allowed Latino and Latin American food cultures to remain
cconnected (Janer 2008, 102).” Thus, Mexican foodscapes are an integral part of
the migrant imaginary as food traditions maintained through transnational
migration are preserved and asserted in Mexican cultural identity.
CHAPTER 3

METHODS

Qualitative research is concerned with clarifying ideas about human environments and human experience within an array of theoretical frameworks that answers questions regarding individual experience (Hay 2010). Humanistic geography from the 1970s to the present focuses on the hallmarks of qualitative inquiry such as values, emotions, and intentions in the search to understand the meaning of human experience and human environments. Qualitative research looks to make sense of data that are not easily categorized or have multiple significances. Grounded theory is an approach in qualitative inquiry for developing theory that is supported by data gathered and analyzed through methods of participant observation, interviewing, collection of artifacts and texts (Strauss and Corbin, 1994). Grounding is achieved in this study by beginning with the research question and employing participant observation and interviews to understand how transnationalism is expressed through Mexican foodscapes. The leading text on qualitative interviewing techniques states, “the purpose of the qualitative research interview...is to obtain descriptions of the
lived world of the interviewees with respect to interpretations of the meaning of the described phenomena” (Kvale 1996, 30).

The essence of this research is fleshed out of the participant’s daily lives through semi-structured interviews. Central themes develop from the meaning of what is said as well as how it is said; Body language, facial expression, and tone of voice are some of the nuances of this process. The interviews for this study were conducted entirely in Spanish “providing interviewees the opportunity to express themselves in their native language [and produce] more authentic answers that exhibit subtle nuances” (Welch and Piekkari 2006). As the researcher, I am professionally fluent in Spanish and use it every day in my home with my Mexican-born husband and extended family members, as well as when I am patronizing establishments in the Latino community in Colorado Springs. I not only have a strong grasp of Spanish in all aspects of speaking, writing, and reading the language, but also a solid understanding and respect of Mexican culture. Working knowledge of the target language is an important part of participant observation in this study because the research sites use Spanish in signage, as well as during interaction with employees and interviewees that may not have happened otherwise. This language and cultural proficiency aids in the building of rapport and trust with participants while reducing the likelihood of
misunderstanding or miscommunication. Utilizing the native-tongue of participants is a strength in more deeply comprehending Mexican transnationalism through their foodscapes.

Participant observation is a qualitative technique that connects the researcher to the human experience “discovering through immersion and participation the how’s and whys of human behavior in a particular context” (Hay 2010, 75). Participant observation and interviews were employed at multiple sites in Colorado Springs, Colorado for this study including restaurants, food trucks, grocery markets, outdoor recreational soccer games, a woman’s group, and a baby shower.

Geographic research also uses photographic images due to the highly visual nature of the discipline (Sidaway 2002). Photographs taken for this study contribute towards a visual understanding of transnational Mexican foodscapes. These photographs “produce and reproduce the [real] and imagined geographies” of the Mexican migrants in Colorado Springs (Rose 2000, 555).

El Paso County, Colorado Springs and the surrounding area are home to nearly 700,000 people, with close to 10% of the population claiming Mexican origins (American Community Survey 2017). Colorado Springs is expanding in
population and each passing year the city adds more migrants from Mexico.¹

United States Census data illustrate where individuals with Mexican origins reside and provide a focus for the geographic area of the study (See Figure 1).

Figure 1: Census Tracts with Research Sites, Map by Jack Hardwick

In addition, this exponential growth of Mexican foodscapes in Colorado Springs inspires the study. Figure 2 shows these foodscapes. The research sites

¹ Data from the 2017 ACS 76,626 Mexican Origin 2011 (most recent data) 60,562 Mexican Origin. (U.S. Census American Fact Finder American Community Survey Figure 1.)
were selected based on availability of Mexican cultural foodstuffs. Sites were also selected based on type: restaurant, food truck, grocery market, and community gathering (Ex. Women’s group, baby shower, recreational soccer matches).

Figure 2: Research Sites, Map by Jack Hardwick

Research Sites in Colorado Springs, Colorado

Map Legend

- Gatherings
- Grocery Markets
- Restaurants
- Select Streets
- Soccer Field
- Specialty Shops
- Taco Trucks
Participants

Purposive sampling was employed in the selection of participants describing individuals who are considered representative because they meet the criteria for the study (Bui, 2014). I selected participants based on their accessibility and availability at the time of the interview, born in Mexico, 18 years of age or older, currently reside in Colorado Springs, and at the above-mentioned research sites. The participants included twenty women and six men from the ages of twenty to eighty from ten Mexican states (see Figure 3) with a employed in restaurants, custodial/housekeeping, and construction (see Appendix A). The time of residence in the U.S. for participants is 11 to 34 years. The time of residence in Colorado Springs for participants is 9 to 30 years.

Figure 3: Mexican State Origin Interview Participants, Map by Melissa Greenleaf

![Figure 3: Mexican State Origin Interview Participants, Map by Melissa Greenleaf](image-url)
Interview Protocol

The interview questions (see Appendix B) measured foodscapes in Colorado Springs as described by the participants. Administration of the interviews was impromptu and took place at the research sites. As the researcher, I established contact with interview candidates through informal, spontaneous conversation or an introduction through a third party. The questions were categorized into a pre-established foodscape interview schedule based on the literature: Obtain, Prepare, Eat, and Share. Within each category are a set of questions specific to each concept. This line of questioning attempted to highlight each area individually, but also build a transnational food story through the experiences of these twenty-six Mexican migrants to Colorado Springs.

Procedures

This study utilized the procedures of participant observation and semi-structured individual interviews conducted entirely in Spanish. The study began with participant observation at the research sites and a pilot test of the interview questions. The test was critical in ensuring clarity and understanding of the questions by the interviewees. The pilot test took place at the 2 Lucho's Mexican Restaurant. Inside the restaurant waiting for my meal, I approached a woman
and her male companion. I explained the purpose of the interview, gave the disclaimer, and the woman agreed to participate. We spoke only Spanish, but she received a copy of the interview questions written in Spanish and English. She asked for a pen because she preferred to write her answers. She was not forthcoming in answering the demographic questions (see Appendix A). The pilot test determined questions needing revisions for precision and content before any further interviews. It is important to note that each subsequent interview offered an opportunity to modify questions for precision because each conversation yielded new insights.

Google Forms was employed to create a concise interview template to capture responses and as a clear reference aiding in the analysis of the replies. Additionally, interviews were recorded digitally and housed in a secure location accessible only to me. The recorded interviews were assessed, and further information was annotated on the corresponding form. Use of the Google Form interview questions eliminated the need for time-consuming verbatim bilingual transcriptions of the interviews. The interviews were assigned a number 1-26 for easy reference in the demographics table during data analysis. The interview number changed to a pseudonym to honor the respondent’s anonymity and to aid in the readability of the interview responses (Appendix A).
Participant Observation. Participant Observation is a qualitative and spontaneous interactive experience as well as, complementary to more structured methods of data collection (Hay, 2010). This form of observation provides the impetus for the creation of the semi-structured interviews not to mention the justification and authenticity of the study. During each participant observation session, I purchased and/or ate food at each location while noting the assumed national origin of patrons by their use of the Spanish language, assessing the cultural environment of the establishment or gathering, and noting what foods individuals purchased and/or ate. Field notes were recorded in a notebook by hand and digitally recorded. Photographs were taken to highlight the elements of the research setting. Observations took place during the day and in the evening on weekdays and weekends. Duration of the observations varied as I had to locate suitable areas to sit/stand in order to conduct the data collection. Observations at taco trucks were conducted milling about the truck or sitting in the back of a vehicle with enormous plates of street tacos lasting approximately 30 minutes on multiple visits. Restaurant observation was a leisurely activity at approximately 90 minutes at each place while observing the patronage, atmosphere, and menu. Observation and interviews took place at the restaurants and taco trucks during peak business hours on the weekends packed
with diners. Observations at the grocery markets involved a brisk shopping trip down each aisle observing the Mexican products available for a duration of 30 minutes during several days of the week and on weekends. The weekly excitement of soccer during summer and fall leagues was a day-long event observing the comradery and patria (patriotism) of the players, and on-lookers, and taking notes about the role of food in this space. Para ti mujer, the women’s group meeting took place during the evening in a nondescript office building and was 4 hours in length and the interviews were individual. The baby shower was a festive and chaotic 1-hour of individual interviews. At the invitation of the hostess of Para ti mujer, interviews were conducted with her family and friends at the baby shower. One interview was performed outside and the remaining inside the home. The baby shower was not an ideal location for interviews due to the commotion, but the information gathered was enlightening and relevant.

Qualitative methods are an excellent way to view Mexican migrants’ expressions of space and place. These methods allow for a deeper understanding of the ways Mexican foodscapes are expressed through transnational linkages. Participant observations at select locations in Colorado Springs paint a picture of a vibrant transnational Mexican community that is maintaining their culture across time and space through food.
Limitations. Although this research indicates that transnational linkages persist through food with some Mexican migrants in Colorado Springs, there were several limitations to this study. The small sample size is a limitation. Locating potential interviewees proved to be difficult because people were unwilling to take part in an interview due to time constraints or impatience with the interview process, some people appeared irritated when approached. When interviews were finally underway, the line of questioning needed multiple revisions for clarity and conciseness. These revisions developed out of the lack of contextual understanding by the respondents; The questions in their original format were too tedious for most respondents. Each interview exposed questions that needed to be expanded, contracted, and refined. A pilot test of the original line of questioning was integral in the revisions but was not enough to reveal all possible faults as interviews often expand and change during the process depending on the individual. Moreover, the questions transformed with each interview, but offered variety if not consistency. It is possible to moderate these limitations with extensive piloting of the interview questions before implementation as well as, selecting participants before the execution of the interviews. In the end, this research depended upon the kindness and cooperation of strangers often after spontaneous interactions. While that kind of
exchange certainly has its benefits, it does limit the generalizability of the
findings.
CHAPTER 4
RESULTS

Participant observations and interviews in this study offer an interesting view of transnationalism. This study upends the singularity of thought embedded in migration theory simply described as movement across geographic space. Transnationalism and foodsceans combine to render a distinctive illustration on the depth and creativity of migration for those performing it and the impact it has on the place of destination. This section describes the results of participant observations, as well as the interview responses categorized by the foodscape paradigm as described in the literature: obtain, prepare, eat, and share.

Participant Observations

The first site was visited to Lucho’s Mexican Restaurant, formally home to Buffalo Wild Wings, owned and operated by a family from Durango, Mexico. The location is in a busy strip mall on the south side of the city serving Mexican fare and a few American dishes like hamburgers and fries. The environment is intimate with less than 20 tables, a patio, and a four stool bar. The space is enlivened by the booming Mexican music played from an employee’s phone playlist through speakers that hang from the upper corners of the walls. Sundays...
bring the karaoke singers in Spanish and English. The décor is decidedly Mexican with photos of Aztec warriors, religious icons like the Virgin of Guadalupe, a newsstand with local Spanish-language revistas (magazines), a map of Mexico, and live plants scattered about the restaurant, as well as tvs with soccer and Spanish-language news. A visit to 2 Lucho’s proves it to be a trendy, always busy hangout for Latinos and non-Latinos alike. As a neighborhood haunt, it is a welcoming place and the employees remember the visitors and are happy to see them return.

On one visit to 2 Lucho’s, a large group of men in work clothing met for drinks on the patio. It appeared that this spot is a regular haunt for these men to commiserate and relieve the stress of the work day as they were greeted familiarly by staff as they took their spot outside. On another Sunday visit, a bilingual karaoke host played a mix of Spanish and English tunes while attempting to get the mixed crowd of pan Latinos, Mexican-Americans or Chicanos, and an African-American man and his Caucasian counterpart to join in the sing-a-long.

The next restaurant visited was 3 Margaritas located in the east-central area of the city. 3 Margaritas is the usual sit-down style Mexican restaurant with colorful, over-the-top décor remenicent of a tropical beach getaway. They serve
typical Mexican plates geared toward an American palate. 3 Margarita’s is a busy restaurant and weekends find it a packed house with a significant wait time. The clientele skewed Caucasian, at least during my visit to 3 Margaritas and it appeared to be the favorite spot of many American patrons with the only Latinos being the employees. The vibe here was upbeat but obviously geared toward the American imaginary about Mexico, its people, and the food. Colors are vibrant, décor is tropical, and the food, covered in a shiny blanket of orange cheese, lacked the flavor and requisite spice of Mexican cuisine. Employees did not want to engage with me in Spanish at all, even while accompanied by a native Spanish speaker who was prompted by the lack of cultural acceptance to order in English too.

Mauricio’s Taco Shop, a 24-hour Mexican fast food spot, was chosen for its ever-present advertisements on a local Spanish-language radio station. This restaurant has a large seating area and a self-serve salsa bar that contains two styles of red salsa and green salsa, jalapeño and carrots in vinegar or escabeche, and fresh sliced radish and cucumber. The menu is a cornucopia of familiar Mexican plates from enchiladas to milanesa (flat steak) to homemade rice pudding in a refrigerated glass case by the cash register. Mexican zarapes (blanket or poncho) and sombreros (traditional Mexican hats) adorn the walls and above the entrance.
is a placard of the *Niño de Atocha*, a popular Mexican saint, that presides over the establishment and invites prosperity. There are two televisions, one plays Spanish-language music videos and pop culture programs and the other plays the latest soccer match. There is an area cluttered with business cards from a multitude of Latino businesses, as well as the ever-present newsstand with titles like *Imagen Latina* (Latin Image) or *La Voz* (The Voice).

*Mauricio’s Taco Shop* observations pointed out the all-encompassing aspects of this restaurant operated by native Spanish-speakers with enough knowledge of English to accommodate the constant line of Americans buying *carne asada burritos*. *Mauricio’s* enjoys diverse patronage possibly due to the extensive menu, central location, and 24-hour availability.

Food trucks are an increasing presence in the foodscape of the United States. Statistics compiled by IBISWorld (Industry Market Research, Reports, and Statistics, 2019) show the food truck industry reached a revenue of $960 million in 2017. Denver is the nation’s second-most food truck friendly city in the country according to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce Foundation’s annual “Food Truck Nation” report. This mobile food explosion rolls southward along the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains to Colorado Springs where the El Paso
County Public Health lists over 220 licensed mobile vendors some of which are Mexican-owned (elpasocountyhealth.org).

The *La Flor de Jalisco* food truck is a long-time venue for the serious *taco* connoisseur (indeed, I have been patronizing this taco truck for over a decade). The owner is a second-generation Mexican-American whose family is from Jalisco, Mexico. He and his wife and daughters prepare and share steaming, flavorful street *tacos* reminiscent of Mexico from an older model food truck with a faded hand painted ocean theme of a shrimp and an octopus in a *sombrero*. They serve *tacos* of several varieties, *burritos, tortas, and tostada de ceviche* (hard corn *tortilla* with chopped shrimp, onion, tomato, carrot, avocado hot sauce, and lime). The hand-written menu is both Spanish and English. Located in a parking lot near a Neighborhood Walmart and a bustling thoroughfare of the city, *La Flor de Jalisco* is a favorite lunchtime or early dinner option for both Spanish-speaking and other clientele. Patrons eat in their vehicle, at the narrow metal counter attached to the truck, or stand around holding massive plates of juicy *tacos*. 
Figure 4: *Flor de Jalisco* Food Truck and plate of shredded chicken *tacos* with onion, *cilantro*, *salsa*, and a *chile toreado* (fried jalapeño with salt)

*La Flor de Jalisco Taco Truck* is a long-time fixture in Colorado Springs. There is rarely a time it is not busy. Over the years, this taco truck has maintained its identity as authentic which assuredly attracts the ethnically diverse crowd.

Nana’s Bakery is a Mexican *panadería* owned by migrants from *Guanajuato*, *Mexico*. This establishment caters to Mexican cultural traditions of baking. There is an extensive assortment of pastries, cookies, muffins, and bread made fresh daily that can be enjoyed at the lone bistro table or taken home. Their specialty is *Tres Leches* (three milks), a vanilla cake soaked in condensed and evaporated milk and cream topped with whipped cream and gelled strawberries and peaches. These cakes are available every day or can be special ordered for quinceaneras, birthdays, or any celebration. Also sold is a small array of Mexican staples like *tortillas*, dry beans and *chiles*, rice, and bottles of *salsa* and *mole* paste.
Additionally, they sell *tamales* made by women from the *Las Americas Mexican Restaurant* of which Marta from *Veracruz* is an owner.

On visiting Nana’s Bakery there were only a couple of people, Latinos, purchasing Mexican pastries called *conchas* (sweet bread that looks like a seashell with various colored sugar toppings usually accompanied by coffee) and *orejas* (sweet bread in the shape of ears). Nana’s does much business with their *Tres Leches* cakes and distinctive Mexican sweet breads as told to me by the owner, a migrant from Guanajuato.

*Figure 5: Tres Leches* cake for a birthday from Nana’s Bakery

*Neveria Monarca* serves *antojitos Mexicanos* (little Mexican cravings), snacks made with uniquely Mexican flavors not found elsewhere. They serve ice cream, various fruit and *chile* concoctions, specialty drinks, savory snacks like *chilindrinas* (large flour chips that resemble wagon wheels topped with shredded cabbage, sliced tomatoes, avocado, and pickled pork skins called *cueritos*, lime,
and *salsa Valentina*, a Mexican hot sauce). *Neveria Monarca* is a recent addition to the Mexican foodscape in Colorado Springs located on the upper south end of Academy Blvd. in an area populated by Latino-centered businesses.

Upon my visit to this site, the patrons, majority *hispanohablantes* or Spanish speakers, enjoyed snacks with their children while several couples appeared to be enjoying a ‘date night’. There were newsstands, as well as TV’s playing *novellas* (soap operas) and sports. Patrons were mainly Latino-origin, with one Caucasian American male enjoying *antojitos* with a Latina woman. The menus are Spanish only and so were most of the conversations. This visit took place after work and dinner hours when people may have had free time to enjoy familiar Mexican snacks and pass the time with family and friends. During my visit to *Neveria Monarca*, my husband, from *Guanajuato, Mexico*, coincidentally reunited with a second cousin who recently arrived in Colorado Springs from *Guanajuato*. 
Luna Market is an all-inclusive Latino market located in the southern area off one of the city’s main arteries, Academy Boulevard. As one pulls into the parking lot of the market, the senses fix on the three large smoking gas grills filled with whole chickens. The vendor out front of the building cooks and sells meals of pollo asado, arroz y frijoles con cebolla, chile, y salsa (grilled whole chicken with rice and beans, grilled onion and chile, and salsa). There is a man who sells CDs and DVDs in a small shed-like structure on the property. Inside the main building is a grocery market with all variety of produce, spices and dried herbs common in Mexican cooking, bulk rice and dried chiles, a fresh meat and cheese case, an assortment of cooking utensils, Mexican sodas, and candles with pictures of saints. The checkout is chock full of Mexican candies and other treats. Hanging overhead are religious bracelets, necklaces, and key rings as well as, the
popular red Sigue\textsuperscript{2} company phone to send money home. There is also a taquería, serving plates with food sourced from the in-house grocery. The crowning glory of this establishment is the fresh fruit bar that has everything from strawberries and prickly pears (tunas) to drench in lime juice and chile powder. There is a small seating area with booths, as well as tables and chairs that are almost always full of hungry people.

\hspace{1in}\textbf{Figure 7: Luna Market taquería, fresh fruit bar, (in the back of the photo is the meat and cheese case), and seating area}

\footnotetext[2]{Founded in 1996, Sigue achieved a dominant position in the U.S. to Mexico corridor within a decade with the concept of the "red phone" model to meet the needs of the immigrant communities across the U.S. to send remittances home (Sigue.com, 2019).}
Luna Market, a multiethnic food place owned by Koreans, operated by Mexicans and Mexican-Americans, and patronized by all. Luna Market holds a similar place in the food geography of Colorado Springs, as it is one of the only
grocery markets in the area which undoubtedly draws customers of any background because food shopping options are limited³.

*Leonela’s* is one of Colorado Springs most popular Latino markets, also located on the upper south side of Academy Blvd. It is part of a mini strip mall that caters to the Latino community with an insurance agency, liquor store, and jeweler. *Leonela’s* is a grocery market and *taqueria*. They sell Mexican products like food, beauty and cleaning products, and *piñatas*. The highlight of this market is the fresh meat case bombarded by crowds of people looking for the best specialty Mexican cuts. This place is busy! There is a cashiers window of sorts where one can send money to family and friends in Mexico. The *taqueria* is typical with a self-serve *salsa* bar. *Leonela’s* sells cooking utensils like traditional clay pots for beans or *mole*, tortilla warmers, and an array of religious items, even yard decorations. There is a deli with hot and cold prepared dishes. Outside of the market is a vendor selling *duros*, a flour chips that resemble wagon wheels eaten with bottled salsa and lime, and salsa and fruit with *chile*.

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³ Other food establishments in the area are fast food, gas stations, a couple of Mexican restaurants, a taco truck only available on weekends and some evenings, and a fellow Mexican grocer, *Ranchito #1*, across the street.
Figure 10: Meat case in Leonela’s

Figure 11: Produce and piñatas at Leonela’s

Figure 12: Taquería inside Leonela’s
Leonela’s, the busiest market, caters to mostly Latino patrons but it is not uncommon to find Americans of different backgrounds shopping here too. The proximity of residential neighborhoods and lack of other grocery markets makes this a multicultural establishment.

Interviews and participant observation also took place at gatherings too. Para Ti Mujer is a nonprofit group located in Denver and Colorado Springs that focuses on helping Latina women heal from traumatic experiences such as domestic violence. There was no food at this meeting but rather many colorful descriptions of food and life in both Colorado Springs and Mexico by participants. Para ti mujer was hosted by a woman from Bolivia but the attendees were Mexican-origin. The meeting took place in a rented office space near the La Flor de Jalisco Taco truck location during the evening to accommodate work schedules. As I interviewed each woman individually in a room separated by a sliding glass door, the hostess entertained the group with mini-manicures and lively conversations. The interviews sparked a group dynamic that led them down memory lane recalling and sharing food recipes from their life in Mexico.

A was a An unconventional research site was employed baby shower, a party for an expectant mother. The shower was held on the south end of town in a densely populated townhome community. The house was overflowing with
party goers, Latino and non-Latino. It was a chaotic environment filled with festivity and joy. Spanish and English were spoken interchangeably with a few people only speaking and understanding Spanish. The food mirrored the diversity of the crowd with offerings from *tamales* to Chop Suey.

Sports and leisure activities also bring people together. Soccer or fútbol is a great equalizer among a multitude of transnational Latino groups in the U.S. Soccer aids in the formation of community, the persistence of national pride and “solidarity with others who share similar geographic origins” (Kleszynski 2013, 108; Price and Whitworth 2004; Shinn 2002; Stodolska and Tainsky 2015). Marie Price (with Courtney Whitworth 2004) discusses Latino soccer leagues in Washington D.C. and how “leagues create a cultural space that is familiar, entertaining…transnational…where immigrants gather to reaffirm their sense of identity and belonging” (168). Price and Whitworth confirm that “soccer leagues offer a much-needed space where recent [and not so recent] immigrants can gather to spend time with co-ethnics, speak their native language, and enjoy cuisine from their native countries” that merges their different worlds (179).

The recreational soccer circuit is a year-round activity in Colorado Springs and a site for my research. *Liga de Fútbol Raza Latina*, a primarily Latino outdoor league in the city plays weekly matches at two locations: Bear Creek Regional
Park and Atlas Preparatory School. My research focused on games at Bear Creek Regional Park in the southwestern area of the City. Bear Creek Regional Park is one of the most frequently used parks in Colorado Springs located in a wealthy area of the city, with 3 miles covering a total of 575 acres. This park has two large flat fields perfect for soccer. Most game days there is a food truck serving tacos with two salsas, red and green, and a variety of Antojitos mexicanos, along with fresh fruit waters called *saguas frescas*.

Figure 13: Bear Creek Park Colorado Springs, Colorado Springs

*Liga de Fútbol Raza Latina* Sunday soccer match

Observations at Bear Creek Park offered multiple opportunities to witness food and recreation bringing people together. This regular Sunday event lasts all day, from 8 a.m. until after 4 p.m. There are games taking place on two fields with masses of spectators and players lining the boundary of the fields. *Liga de*
Fútbol Raza Latina (Soccer League of the Latin Race) is geared towards Latinos but welcomes all nationalities. There is a high level of diversity among players ranging from Caucasian Americans, Kenyans, Nigerians, Eastern Europeans, Middle Easterners, Asians, and Asian-Indians.

During multiple visits, there were many family groups scattered around the fields huddled under shade trees with coolers enjoying food and drink brought from home. An unusual sight to behold in this city park was a small group that had a propane tank and hose, foldable grill top, and a foldable wall-like contraption that they placed around the cooking area to deflect the wind from extinguishing the fire. A giant pot with steam escaping from the lid was on the grill top. A vigilant woman watched the pot while it cooked and then dished bowls of menudo to the other members.

There was a bright yellow taco truck that is hard to miss at the lower field parking lot. It is present on most Sundays and stays busy all day. They sell the usual fare of tacos and Antojitos Mexicanos, drinks, and candy. There is a shave ice machine on top of a giant cooler full of the requisite ice behind the truck. In front of the truck’s order/serve window is a picnic table covered with a 4-post canopy for hungry spectators and players to sit and relax. People hang around the truck and table engaging in multiple conversations at once. Children were running
everywhere with hands full of *paletas* (popsicles) and soda. An occasional non-Latino park user with a dog stopped by the truck for water and to investigate what was on the menu and to check out the action on the field. A few Sundays during summer there was another taco truck that joined the festivities and offered park goers another opportunity to enjoy tacos and other Mexican treats, but their presence was inconsistent.

Figure 14: *Taco* truck at Bear Creek Park

Figure 15: *Taco* truck menu at Bear Creek Park
Participant observations at each research site imparted this study with the visible, interactive element needed to create and validate the interview questions and responses, as well as identify the Mexican foodscapes. These foodscapes illustrate how these migrants are staying connected to Mexico and maintaining Mexican identity in Colorado Springs.

**Interview Responses**

The following results are responses from the 26 interview participants. The responses detailed below are categorized by the foodscapes model of obtain, prepare, eat, and share. These responses reflect the individual perceptions of the migration experience in general and the role food plays in this experience.

**Obtain.** The twenty-six participants discussed where they shop and purchase food in Colorado Springs. The answers were varied and sometimes surprising. All participants obtain food at multiple sites that include both Mexican and American stores. The most visited locations are *Leonela’s*, *Walmart*, and *King Soopers* followed by *Save A Lot*, *Ranchito*, *Safeway* and *Sam’s Club* which are moderately popular among this group. Less visited are the smaller Mexican markets like *Sinaloense*, *La Vaca Chonda*, and *Luna Market*. Surprising locations where participants obtain food are Peterson Air Force Base
Commissary, Sprouts, Whole Foods, and Walgreens. Sandra answered, “I go everywhere, it just depends on where I am and what I want.”

![Figure 16: Bar graph depicting the location of food purchases for participants](image)

Carnicería Leonela’s is the most popular location to obtain food with twenty-one participants shopping here. There is overwhelming agreement that this site sells the freshest and least expensive meat compared to other places in Colorado Springs. Participants discussed the ability to buy Mexican cuts of meat like lengua (tongue), tripe (cow stomach), and flat steak in small portions unlike at American grocery stores. Lupita from Chihuahua says, “The meat is traditional to Mexico and fresh because a lot of people buy there, so the meat circulates and is fresher.” Those who shop at Leonela’s agree it reminds them of home, “It’s like we are at home in Leonela’s, it looks just like a market in my town,” shares Rosa from Guanajuato.
Walmart and King Soopers are a close second to Leonela’s according to participants. Walmart is economical, shopping is fast, and they have Hispanic food products. Walmart is a daily shopping location and “they have Mexican products that you can’t find in other places, and it’s cheaper than the Mexican stores,” says Lucia from Guerrero. Alejandra from Puebla enjoys the quality of the fish and chicken at Walmart, “It is the best quality.” King Soopers is the location for local products, great sales, and quality food. Patricia from Durango likes the fresh produce because it lasts a long time and her husband loves King Soopers.

Participants who shop at Save A Lot agree that it is economical and offers a variety of Hispanic products. They also like the *pan dulce* (sweet bread), produce, and meat. Lorena from Morelos mentioned that many of the employees at Sav A Lot also work at Leonela’s and both stores have the same meat distributor. She says, “I’d rather go to Sav A Lot for meat because there is never a line like at Leonela’s.”

The smaller grocers of Ranchito, La Vaca Chonda, Sinaloense, and Luna Market, are the least visited by participants but remain a vital part of the

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*Ranchito, La Vaca Chonda, and Sinaloense were not part of this study, although I have visited Ranchito and La Vaca Chonda to buy produce, tortillas, other specialty Mexican foodstuffs, and piñatas. I have not visited Sinaloense.*
Mexican foodscape in Colorado Springs. *Ranchito, Sinaloense,* and *Luna Market* each have a *taqueria* (taco shop) and a grocery market where one can enjoy a hot, familiar Mexican plate of food and then purchase items to take home and prepare. Cecilia from *Chihuahua* enjoys *carnitas* (pulled pork) at *Ranchito* and *La Vaca Chonda.* *Sinaloense* is for the *pan dulce* shares Lorena. Sergio from *Guanajuato* enjoys the fresh fruit bar with *tunas* (prickly pears) and *elote* (corn-on-the-cob Mexican style with butter, mayonnaise, parmesan cheese, *chile* powder, and lime) at *Luna Market.* Alejandra from *Puebla* shops at *Ranchito* for “Hispanic products like Mexican rock salt that you can only find in a Mexican store.” The salt that Alejandra covets is from the state of *Puebla.* Salt production in *Zapotitlán de las Salinas, Puebla, México* dates back to pre-Hispanic times and has been an integral source of employment and revenue, as well as a traditional ingredient in local cuisine for the *Popolocas* and their descendants in the *Tehuacán* Valley for over 500 years (Renard and Ortiz 2016).

Costco and Sam’s Club have quality food with reasonable prices like “almond milk and wine,” says Patricia. Safeway is for clearance items, the proximity to home, and lack of crowds. A handful of participants discussed shopping at the Peterson Air Force Base Commissary, Sprouts, Whole Foods, and Walgreens. Sandra from *Michoacan* is married to a military man and therefore has
access to the base commissary for its affordability and quality. Isabelle from Jalisco is embarking on a healthier lifestyle and shops at Whole Foods for “good, healthy food.” Sprouts has decent quality and low prices according to Laura from Jalisco. Marta, the restaurant owner from Veracruz, enjoys the produce at the city Flea Market because it is the freshest and most economical.

Prepare. Participants discussed preparing food at home, what types of food, and if there is a traditional preparation for these dishes. Every person in this group cooks at home. Twenty-four respondents shared the variety of Mexican food they prepare for their household, but only two admit to cooking American food that they prepare for children. The participants responded to the questions with great pride and animated gestures that detailed ingredient lists coupled with specific cooking directions and what condiments go with each dish. Some foods like tamales, queso, and mole are prepared in a ritualistic way where many ingredients, cooking methods and tools, and people are involved. This group of interviewees elaborates that what food is chosen to cook and share is more important than how the food is prepared.; Ritual was not a priority.

Most respondents agreed that each region in Mexico has a unique sabor (flavor) and sazón(seasoning) (See Hinojosa, 2009; Pérez and Abarca, 2007). The interviews described the foundation of Mexican cuisine: rice, beans, meat, fresh
salsa, and tortilla. A popular dish among this group is carne asada (cooked meat, usually beef) prepared as a taco. The participants discuss how tacos filled with tongue, pork, chicken, squash, or other vegetable delights are a mainstay in their Mexican foodscapes. Other tortilla-based plates like taquitos (rolled fried tacos), enchiladas, sopes (a thick fried tortilla topped with meat and vegetables), and chilaquiles (open-face tortillas with salsa, beans, meat or eggs, and queso fresco) are common responses. Soups like pozole (hominy with meat garnished with shredded cabbage, chile, onion, garlic, radish, avocado, salsa, and lime), chicken noodle, cauliflower, sopita de fideo (spaghetti soup), and caldo de res (beef soup) are often on the home menu as well. The woman from Morelos makes several types of aguas frescas: jamaica (hibiscus flower), tamarindo (tamarind), and horchata (rice water with cinnamon and sugar).

Guanajuato is geographically located in a fertile valley in central Mexico that contributes to a stunning regional cuisine. The regionally popular guacamayas (a macaw bird in English, is a torta stuffed with fried pig skins and avocado with a spicy salsa of chile arbol and pico de gallo) that is an all-time favorite of Sergio whom states, “I have made them [guacamayas] here [Colorado Springs]. I buy the fried pork skin at Luna market and all the ingredients for the
salsas too. Man, it reminds me of eating at the cart on my way home after work in Mexico.”

Participants also discussed lesser known dishes to most Americans that include: *tortas ahogada* (drowned sandwich, a typical dish from *Jalisco* made with a *bolillo* roll filled with fried meat or chicken or beans drowned in a sauce made from dried *chiles*), *mole*, and *nopales*. Alejandra spoke fondly of preparing *Tinga*, that is popular in her home state of *Puebla*.

*Mole*, pronounced mo-lay, is a traditional sauce that has many preparations including but not limited to red, green, black, spicy or sweet. The foundation of the mole is several types of dried *chiles*, seeds and nuts, spices like cinnamon, anise, and cumin, chocolate, and fruit like raisins that is then served over chicken or enchiladas (Brulotte and Starkman 2014; World Trade Press 2019). The states of *Puebla* and *Oaxaca* take great pride as the originators of mole, but other areas in Mexico also make *mole* sauces. Guerrero has a regional variation of pink *mole* that incorporates beets for its namesake color. The SECTUR (the federal tourism secretariat) designated the gastronomic route to Oaxaca as *Los mil sabores del mole* (The thousand flavors of mole) (Brulotte and Starkman, 2014). Most respondents agree spicy dark mole is the best. This dish accompanies big celebrations like weddings and baptisms or smaller parties for
birthdays andanniversaries. Yadira from Puebla shared how in Mexico when her family had a big party, they always served mole con patas (mole with chicken feet). Mole, like the migrants, encompasses transnationalism because it is a collection of ingredients from the indigenous Americas, African, and European cultures (World Trade Press, 2019).

Nopales are a distinctively Mexican ingredient. Nopales are the paddles from the prickly pear cactus, of the genus Opuntia. With over 850 species across 45 genera, nopales are widespread in Mexico and are the most abundant plant in Mexican geographic and cultural landscapes (Defelice 2004). In her home, Lupita from Chihuahua prepares nopales con chile Colorado y huevo (cactus with red salsa and eggs). Patricia laughed while she described herself as “mas Mexicano de un nopal” (more Mexican than a cactus). This phrase is often thought of as derogatory because it describes an individual who may be ‘very Mexican’ likening them to the ‘very Mexican’ cactus that is so prolific in this landscape. Sergio and Rosa discuss how Guanajuato is the main producer of a variety of prickly pear cactus fruit called a xoconostle used to make flavored water and liquor, salsas, and mole.

A few women remembered that their mother or grandmother taught them how to prepare these dishes. They continue to cook these beloved plates to honor
their loved ones. *Menudo* (a spicy soup made with tripe or cow stomach, onions, tomato, *chile*, and hominy) is one of those dishes that everyone makes differently according to how they were taught according to most participants. It is a weekend dish that “is difficult to make and it makes a lot, so it’s good for large groups or when my sister visits,” says Rita from Chihuahua.

During our lengthy interview in Yadira’s apartment, she prepared an enormous plate of chicken enchiladas and *salsa verde* (green) with *queso fresco* (Mexican crumbling cheese), fresh white onion, and a bit of lettuce on top. Yadira says, “I never eat out. I buy everything I need and cook at home because I don’t trust the cleanliness or ingredients and it’s very lazy [not to cook at home].” It took her less than fifteen minutes to prepare as she already had chicken cooked and prepped in the refrigerator. I was curious about her *salsa verde* preparation of which she was more than happy to give me the recipe that she learned from her mother. She prepared the fresh *salsa* right before my eyes. The *tortillas*, although from a bag, received a bath in a pan of hot oil, making them malleable for rolling and filling them and passing me a plate. As I was enjoying this lovingly prepared dish, she made plates for people who stopped by, two men looking to rent a room, the current roommate, and a friend who was driving her son to Mexico to visit his older brothers and sisters. As she was
cooking and reminiscing about her family in Mexico and the food they made together, Yadira was emotional shedding tears talking about her elderly mother whom she has not seen since she arrived in the U.S. twenty years ago. This experience of preparing, eating, and sharing food with Yadira and the several male visitors “bring[s] back and reconnect[s] memories from homes departed…which are then relived and experienced in the present” (Choo 2004, 206). Yadira is contributing to the transnational social field that connects Colorado Springs to Mexico through her imagination and the foodscapes she creates in her home for family and friends and the mole that travels across space and time directly from Mexico.

Other dishes that participants mentioned are chile rellenos (chiles stuffed with cheese, battered, fried, and topped with salsa), huevos rancheros (eggs on top of tortillas with salsa), barbacoa (barbecued meat), abondigas (meatballs), pork chops or chuleta, Chop Suey that Sandra from Michoacan prepares as an homage to her mother, banana bread, and steamed vegetables. Patricia shared that only in Durango can you eat sweet enchiladas. Her husband craves them in Colorado Springs, but ingredients are different, so they ask family to send them periodically.
According to a Gallup poll conducted in December 2016 of over one thousand adults, 61% state they eat out at least once a week (Saad, 2017). In today’s busy lifestyle, eating out is convenient and inexpensive. Colorado Springs is an excellent example of the variety of food and culture one can enjoy due to the significant military presence and as a burgeoning employment mecca for migrants and American citizens alike.

Discovered during the interviews, migrants enjoy eating out as well as preparing food at home. Participants answered questions about where and why they eat outside of the home. Twenty-five participants said that they do eat out. The responses were varied and demonstrated a great deal of experimentation with the American foodscape. Eight respondents eat out at both Mexican and American establishments. Fast food establishments of McDonald’s, Burger King, Chick Fil A, Chipotle, Wendy’s, and pizza are popular among this group because these are places that offer food that is quick, cheap, and good taste. Casual sit-down dining American style at Texas Roadhouse, Red Lobster, Olive Garden, Famous Dave’s BBQ, Cheddars, Old Chicago, and Chile’s are favorite restaurants for celebratory occasions, customer service, and the salads. Still, the conversation about American foods was not met with the enthusiasm and adoration that was apparent when discussing Mexican food. The Mexican restaurant 3 Margaritas is
a favorite because of the Mexican décor and mariachis. Other common locations for breaking from the American routine, described by participants as a weekly cycle of work and family obligations, are Las Americas, Mariscos Altimar (a Mexican seafood restaurant), 2 Lucho’s, and Pueblo Viejo.

Five respondents say they eat exclusively at Mexican restaurants and the ubiquitous taco trucks (taquero or lonchera) scattered along the South Academy Boulevard corridor. The respondents who eat at the taco trucks describe them by location rather than by name as Patricia says, “We eat at the taco truck by Mitchell High School on Saturdays or Sunday nights. They [tacos] are so good.” Rafael from Guerrero says, “I get tacos by Airport [road] and Academy [Boulevard] near the gas station and Luna Market because it’s the best tacos than other places.” It turns out, this man’s cousin runs this taco truck, and on occasion, he cooks on the truck too. The consensus is that “everybody gets tacos outside” as tacos are the most common food to eat out.

Seven respondents eat at Chinese buffets and restaurants as well as sushi restaurants. During the interviews, I noticed how often these buffets came up over other varieties of ethnic foods available in town. With this interesting information and not a pre-selected question of the interview protocol, I inquired
why it seems that Mexican migrants love Chinese buffets?\textsuperscript{5} Several respondents agreed that it is cheap, everyone gets what they want to eat, and Chinese food uses many of the same ingredients found in Mexican cuisines such as chilis and fresh vegetables.

Two participants say they eat out everywhere because they like to eat. Three participants did not care to elaborate only to say that they eat out due to laziness. One participant never eats outside of their home, and for a good reason, she is a fantastic cook.

Clearly, many respondents enjoy eating outside of the home. The diversity of locations to eat out, breadth of menu choices, service, economics, and laziness bring them out to enjoy food in the foodscapes of Colorado Springs. Some Mexican migrants are busy working-class people who, like their American counterparts, see the convenience, availability, and adventure of eating out as a way to get out of a rut and have an enjoyable time eating out with family and friends. Several respondents discussed how daily life is markedly different in Mexico than in the U.S. and eating out is not a large part of the every day because of cost or lack of available establishments. Participants express how

\textsuperscript{5} For more on the history of Chinese immigration to Mexico see Gonzalez, 2017.
eating out is normal in the U.S. especially when working long hours and caring for a family.

Migrants experience a new geographic and cultural environment that brings with it new ways of doing daily life from learning a language to eating unfamiliar foods. The participants responded to the questions regarding whether or not they have a new favorite food since migrating to the U.S. or Colorado Springs if they enjoy it at home or rather eat out, and why they chose the location. Eight participants say they do not have a new favorite food since arriving in the U.S. and Colorado Springs, but eighteen do. Their responses varied, where some found familiar Mexican food places to be their new favorite and others stepped well beyond their comfort food zone.

Deviled eggs are a favorite for Lorena from Morelos and Marta from Veracruz. Both women were introduced to these little egg confections at a Thanksgiving dinner given by American friends. Marta says, “I really love how Americans celebrate Thanksgiving and how the table looks. This is where I ate the little eggs for the first time, they are so good.” Lorena added, “I’ve never made them [deviled eggs] and I don’t even know how…I only eat them if someone else makes them.”
Fried chicken is a favorite for Lupita, “I love fried chicken and mashed potatoes. I used to work at Country Buffet and that chicken is always good.” A fellow Poblana, Yadira, shares a love of mashed potatoes that she learned how to make at a job, as well as, fried chicken sandwiches that were introduced to her when she worked at Burger King. Additional responses about new favorite foods included: fast food, Chinese food and sushi, pasta, turkey, biscuits and gravy, salads, Mediterranean food, and a fresh food delivery service. There is a mix of preparing these favorites at home and eating out.

Share. Food connects people to place but food also relies on human connection in order to be shared and to move “across space” (Komarnisky 2009,42). Direct connections persist through food sent from Mexico by family and friends with fourteen of the respondents. The remaining twelve do not receive food from home. The items received vary with each response, but cheese, candy, and mole paste are common responses. Komarnisky (2009) describes how these items, and dried chili, are also popular with Mexican migrants in Alaska because these items are permitted to cross international borders and these foods travel well. Other items respondents say they receive from Mexico are dried chiles, tamales, gorditas, pumpkin seeds, and beef jerky. When asked why they receive food directly from Mexico, Lupita says, “[It expresses] affection and for flavor”
and Patricia says she gets food from home because it tastes different or it is not available in Colorado Springs. The state of Morelos uses grains like amaranth and Morelos rice, a mix of palay, whole grain, and polished rice, that Lorena says she cannot find in Colorado Springs and depends on infrequent trips home to acquire.

Lupita discussed at length how her mother sends cheese to her in Colorado Springs. She says that cheese is a tradition made with the highest quality ingredients by the German Mennonites in Cuauhtémoc. Her mother also sends mason jars of preserved delicacies like peaches and chiles, and a treat called pipitoria (sugared peanuts). The women from Chihuahua, Durango, and Morelos agree that the cheese is different in Mexico. Patricia says, “Queso es tu ahnelo” (Cheese is your wish or desire).” The women attribute this to the process of using the full fat of the animals’ milk in the making of Mexican cheese. They also said that the production of livestock as a food source is much less industrial than in the U.S. and therefore healthier and more humane, “They [U.S.] feed the animals the wrong type of feed” says Lorena. Scholars at Universidad Autónoma Chapingo, México studied the artisanal cheese market and production stating, “Los quesos artesanales en México representan identidad e historia, product de la riqueza cultural
(The artisanal cheeses in Mexico represent identity and history, product of cultural wealth) (Garcia, Peralta, Barrera, and Ram 2018, 178).

_Cajeta_ or caramel is a favorite item to receive from Mexico also. Like cheese, _cajeta_ is a luxury food in Mexico. Olga from _Jalisco_ says that most people in Mexico only have the basics or inexpensive and essential items and these foods are a luxury.

Yadira receives _mole_ paste from her adult children in Mexico. When the youngest son visits, he returns with aluminum foil-wrapped packets of _mole_ paste. To prepare, she adds chicken stock and brings the mixture to a boil then eats it over chicken or _enchiladas_. Lorena is a recipient of this paste too. She also receives full dishes like _cochinita pibil_ (pork with a _guajillo chile_ sauce) and _barbacoa_. She says, “The meat [in the U.S.] doesn’t have juice and [they] use too much seasoning, and it doesn’t have the same flavor [as in Mexico].” She goes on to discuss the antibiotics and hormones in the chicken in the U.S. and how when cooked it looks like plastic.

Participants discussed the types of celebrations Mexicans enjoy and what type of food is customarily shared during the festivities. All participants answered this question with similar answers. Christmas, Easter, Mexican Independence Day, and Mother’s Day are the most popular holidays for
Mexicans according to responses. *Michoacános* and other Mexican states celebrate *Día de Los Muertos* (Day of the Dead) with a wide variety of sweet breads depicting skulls and skeletons. Intimate parties like birthdays, baptisms, and anniversaries are a close second celebrated with *carne asada*, *barbacoa*, *mole*, *flautas* (rolled tacos), *tortas*, *birria* (a spicy stew with goat meat from the state of *Jalisco*), *nopales*, and *chilaquiles*. *Velorios* (funerals) are observed with pozole and coffee according to Maria, a 30-year-old *Guerrero* native.

*Tamales* are the traditional Christmas fare perfect to share with friends and loved ones. These holiday mainstays made from a corn-based dough called *masa* layered with any number of meats, cheeses, *chiles*, or fruit and wrapped in a corn husk or banana leaf and steamed. The husk or leaf are not normally eaten but used as a plate for the *tamal*. The making of *tamales* is usually taken on by more than one person, assembly line style as it is a community-oriented task for families and friends. Other popular dishes during the Christmas season are *pozole* and *pavo en guajillo* (turkey in a *guajillo chile* sauce), and a hot drink called *atole* (hot corn and masa-based beverage). Easter or *Cuaresma* is celebrated with *tortas de camarones* (shrimp sandwiches), says Rosa from *Guanajuato*.

Food from almost any country or group is available in most major cities in the U.S., and Colorado Springs has its share of ethnic foods. Mexican migrants in
this city are a growing population and prominent as viewed through foodscapes. One has a choice of many Mexican centered food locations. The participants speak about the significance of finding familiar foods from Mexico in Colorado Springs with much adoration. Nostalgia for the mother country and the family, friends, and traditions left behind are some of the sentiments expressed by the migrants. The consensus among the group is a feeling of pride and joy as well as, the connections that remain intact through this food. Many participants responded with “¡Bien padre! (Really cool!) or “¡Muy bonito! (Very beautiful!)” Cecilia, Lupita, and Rita from Chihuahua say, “Me siento como si estubiera en México. (I feel like I am still in Mexico.)” and “Es la Gloria y el Paraiso. (It is heaven and paradise.)” Others share that it reminds them of their ancestors, loved ones, and country. “La comida Mexicana une la gente (Mexican food unites the people),” says Luis from Michoacan. Yadira shares that she has been in the U.S. for twenty years and is both Mexican and American, and the food keeps her connection to home alive.
Chapter 5

Discussion

Mexican migrants to Colorado Springs, or any other U.S. city, are “anticipated to assimilate U.S. culture, maintain their previous culture, or express a hybrid combination of the two cultures” (Peñaloza 1994, 35). This thesis demonstrates that Mexican migrants to Colorado Springs are maintaining and preserving cultural identity across transnational space through food with little emphasis on assimilation or hybridization even if they are eating American foods once in a while. In Colorado Springs, Mexican migrants have carved out a community within a community through their cultural foodscapes that link to here and there. The establishment of new ethnic communities “increase and broaden social networks and their links between the homeland and the hosting nation” (Ferrero 2002).

Through participant observations at multiple sites where Mexican foodstuffs are sold and consumed and individual interviews with migrants a transnational food story unfolds. The observations and interview responses develop the expression of transnationalism through foodscapes by revealing that these migrants are actively participating and conserving Mexican culture across
borders. The proud retelling of their food stories exemplifies the ‘psychological links’ as discussed in the literature. The transnational links are informed by their ‘real and imagined’ (Soja 1996) foodscapes, as well as the length of residence in the U.S., gender, regional background, and national origin.

**Length of Residence.** Some studies on enduring transnational connections have shown that as the length of time increases outside of the home country, engagement with home does not stop but diminishes over time (Fraga *et al.* 2012; Mouw, Chavez, Edelblute, and Verdery 2014; Waldinger 2008). The length of time participants have lived in the U.S. and Colorado Springs is significant because it shows the participants in this study are not new migrants to the U.S. and have continued their long-term, ongoing relationship with Mexico through the foodscapes in Colorado Springs. The average length of residence in the U.S. for the 25 migrants is 19 \(\frac{1}{2}\) years. The average time living in Colorado Springs is approximately 18 years. The least amount of time in the U.S. is 11 years, held by Rosa from Guanajuato. The least duration of residence in Colorado Springs is 9 years for the same woman. The longest time living in Colorado Springs is 34 years for a Rita from Chihuahua. Luis from Michoacan has lived in Colorado Springs for 30 years. These migrants have spent a long time away from Mexico, some have never returned, and they still seek out the familiar foods of home.
daily, contrary to some of the literature on transnationalism. Like the *San Gregorians*, these migrants are maintaining Mexican identity after decades-long absence from the country. Of the 25 respondents, 14 migrated to Colorado Springs from Mexico and never resided in another city in Colorado or state in the U.S. because they have established roots through friends, family, and job opportunities. Eleven respondents migrated to the U.S. and have lived in other states like Texas, California, Florida, New York, North Carolina, and Georgia, some of the most popular Mexican migration destinations (See Zong and Batalova, 2018) which undoubtedly aids in maintaining connections to Mexico through these social links.

Figure 17: Bar graph depicting Length of Time Living Outside of Mexico (Participant #26, pilot test respondent, was not comfortable with this question)

**Gender.** Participant’s gender informs the results of this study with responses from 20 females and only 6 males. This is due in large part to the
gender norms in Mexican culture where it is traditional that females are responsible for the production of food that is at the forefront of Mexican familial responsibilities (Janer 2008). Males do take part in the foodscape as an occasional grocery-getter or a la parrilla (at the barbeque grill), and as consumers. The men in this study spoke excitedly about Mexican food and culture as they remembered female family members who prepared meals for them in Mexico and now by women in Colorado Springs. This remembering keeps their connection to home alive and “affirms cultural identity and their family history (Janer 2008, 50). Several interviewees, like Yadira, discuss how they cook for male family and friends, especially the single men who do not have family in Colorado Springs. “Women cook for single men in contexts that range from regularly sharing home-cooked meals...to pushcarts and small restaurants that cater to workers [single men] (Janer 2018, 50). Marta from Veracruz fulfills this role as owner of both a Mexican restaurant and a taco truck.

Furthermore, a study of Asian-Indians in Phoenix, Arizona by Emily Skop (2012) describes how traditional gender roles endure and women become, sometimes involuntarily, “the torchbearers of culture...the icon of the perfect Indian woman, preserving culture in the form of religion, language, dress, food, and childrearing, which upholds community integrity” (34). Even as U.S. culture
unavoidably influences migrants’ daily lives, many continue to practice and uphold their original beliefs, traditions, and food.

The twenty women interviewed for this study were enthusiastic “torchbearers of [Mexican] culture” in Colorado Springs as they shared recipes and food stories from home. This pride is apparent with Patricia from Durango when she laughed and said she was “more Mexican than a nopal”. Lupita, married to an American, makes it a point to prepare Mexican dishes at home because she is “tired of pancakes” cooked by her husband. Lupita values her Mexican culture through food and enriches her American family’s life simultaneously.

Regional Origins. Like the regional variations in the U.S, Mexico’s states have distinct geographies, climates, natural resources, and people. This regionality plays a role in what types of foods are valued and how they are prepared and consumed. The interviews validate the regional complexity of Mexican foodscapes in the country and abroad. There were not many responses that were identical unless the respondents had shared origins. The twenty-six participants exemplify the diversity and richness of culture that is unique to Mexico’s geography. The originality and regionality of Mexican sabor and sazón are maintained and cultivated purposefully in Colorado Springs by these
migrants through the shopping, preparation, eating, and sharing of these foods, as well as through memories of home.

**National Origins.** National origins have an impact on transnational linkages depending on the depth of the relationship between the home country and the destination country. In the case of the U.S. and Mexico, there is a long history of interconnectedness due to geographic proximity, political and economic endeavors, and continuous flows of Mexican migrants back and forth across a shifting border for almost a century. The relationship between the two countries persists, for better or worse, through always changing laws and policies concerning immigration practices in the U.S. and the motivators that push migration from Mexico in the first place.

The observable Mexican foodscapes in Colorado Springs established by migrants apprise the results of this study by re-creating a life that is like that in Mexico through grocery markets, restaurants, food trucks, gatherings, and soccer. Lupita from Chihuahua said that Leonela’s looks exactly like the markets she shopped in at home. She goes on to say that the **carnicería** could have been picked up out of Mexico and placed here in Colorado Springs, it is identical. The duplication of Mexican foodscapes on a transnational scale illustrates the continuation of Mexico outside of national borders that maintain their cultural
identity rather than assimilate or hybridize U.S. culture and foodscapes.

Furthermore, traditions of street food are an extension of Mexico and family that is central to the creation of foodscapes and in Colorado Springs as witnessed by the numerous mobile food vendors serving regional variations of *tacos* and other recognizable foods.

Mexican culture and identity are upheld by these migrants when they choose Mexican foodstuffs over American while shopping, eating, and during celebratory occasions which is a continuation of Mexico across borders. These choices are the transnational links to home while maintaining Mexican identity in Colorado Springs. These links persevere across space in large part attributable to the accessibility of Mexican food and other consumer products in Colorado Springs due to a history of migration to this area and the already established social connections and foodscapes. These social connections to family and friends in Mexico facilitate the delivery of the mole pastes, cheeses, and candies that are dependent on that interconnectedness and mobility across space [in order to eat transnationally]” (Komarnisky 2009, 42).

Mexican migrants in Colorado Springs express transnationalism through their specific foodscapes of Mexico. These foodscapes are a source of pride for country and family and an essential link to maintaining Mexican culture across
national borders. These twenty-six migrants are preserving and expanding Mexican culture in Colorado Springs while experimenting with American foodscapes as they reconcile life in this foreign place. The significant lengths of time these migrants have resided in the U.S. demonstrate the continued long-term engagement with Mexico while outside of its national borders. These migrants are not overly concerned with assimilating or combining U.S. culture with their own Mexican culture, at least through food. Although they do recognize and engage in American/Colorado Springs foodscapes, it is evident that these twenty-six migrants prefer to continue Mexico in Colorado Springs linked by their cultural foods “that forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together societies of origin and settlement [that] provides an alternative mechanism through which migrants forge [and maintain] their identities” (Skop and Li 2017). Future research might explore other “strands” and “alternative mechanisms” through which Mexican migrants in Colorado Springs forge their identities. For instance, through the sending of tandas, remittances, envíos, as well as through travel back and forth for celebrations and business, digital communications, or creation of hometown associations across borders like the Liga de Fútbol Raza Latina in Colorado Springs.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


# APPENDIX A

## Participant Demographics

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(Pilot Test)
APPENDIX B

Interview Protocol

1. How old are you?

2. In what state in Mexico were you born?

3. How long have you lived in the U.S.?

4. How long have you lived in Colorado Springs?

5. Where do you shop and buy food in Colorado Springs?

6. Do you receive food directly from Mexico? What? Who sends/brings it to you?

7. Do you prepare food at home? What type of food?

8. Do you eat out? Where?

9. Do you have a new favorite food since you have lived in the U.S. and Colorado Springs? Do you prepare and eat it at home or out? Where?

10. Do you celebrate with specific foods? What celebrations? What type of food?

11. What is the significance of finding familiar foods from Mexico in Colorado Springs?
IRB PROTOCOL NO.: 18-135
Protocol Title: Transnationality of Mexican Foodscape
Principal Investigator: Melissa Greenleaf
Faculty Advisor If Applicable: Emily Skop
Application: New Application
Type of Review: Expedited 6
Risk Level: No more than Minimal Risk
Renewal Review Level (If changed from original approval) If Applicable: N/A No Change
This Protocol involves a Vulnerable Population: N/A (No Vulnerable Population)
Expires: 8 April 2019
*Note, if exempt: If there are no major changes in the research, protocol does not require review on a continuing basis by the IRB. In addition, the protocol may match more than one review category not listed.
Externally funded: ☑ No ☐ Yes
OSP #: Sponsor:

Thank you for submitting your Request for IRB Review. The protocol identified above has been reviewed according to the policies of this institution and the provisions of applicable federal regulations. The review category is noted above, along with the expiration date, if applicable.

Once human participant research has been approved, it is the Principal Investigator’s (PI) responsibility to report any changes in research activity related to the project:
- The PI must submit all protocol, recruitment, advertising, and consent form amendments/revisions to the IRB for approval. The IRB must approve these changes prior to implementation.
- If you are a student, please note that it is required to include the IRB approval letter to the library when you submit the dissertation/thesis.
- The PI must promptly inform the IRB of any unanticipated serious adverse (within 24 hours). All unanticipated adverse events must be reported to the IRB within 1 week (see 45CFR46.103b(4)(5)). Failure to comply with these federally mandated responsibilities may result in suspension or termination of the project.
- Renew study with the IRB at least 10 business days prior to expiration.
- Notify the IRB when the study is complete

If you have any questions, please contact Research Compliance Program Director in the Office of Sponsored Programs and Research Integrity at 719-255-3903 or irb@uccs.edu

Thank you for your concern about human subject protection issues, and good luck with your research.

Sincerely yours,

Melissa J. Benton
Melissa Benton, PhD
IRB Committee Member