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Movements in Chicano Music:
Performing Culture, Performing Politics, 1965-1979

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Movements in Chicano Music
Performing Culture, Performing Politics, 1965-1979

by

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Dedication

To the memory of Gerard Béhague (1937-2005),

and to all those who struggle for a better and just world.

Acknowledgements

My experience completing the dissertation was no more difficult than any other doctoral candidate but it took the efforts of many to pull me through to the other side of the degree. I only wish there was more to offer than a brief mention in the acknowledgements; all the same, my gratitude is immeasurable.

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Lastly, I thank my family, close and extended, for their unending patience as I complete the degree. They have been subject to many silences regarding my progress over the years, mostly to spare them the dull details, but they have been ever encouraging and loyal towards my goal of finishing the degree. They have also been generous, and for every potential reason, I cannot thank them enough.

c/s

Movements in Chicano Music:
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More than a confined account of the musical activity of the Chicano Movement, my research considers Chicana/o music of the period as a critical part of the protest music genres of Latin America (eg. *nueva canción, canto nuevo*) and the Unites States (eg. labor/union and civil rights songs). Consequently, although situated squarely within the context of the Chicano Movement, this project necessarily examines the musical yet political links between Chicano musicians and their counterparts in the American labor movement, Civil Rights Movement, and Latin American social movements of the period. Coupled with the mobilization of their own Mexican musical and cultural traditions, Chicano musicians engaged

these other repertoires of struggle to form the nexus of Chicana/o musical expression during the Movement.

By viewing Chicana/o music within this broader lens, my research demonstrates that the complexities of the *movimiento* and Chicana/o political struggle cannot be adequately understood without thinking about how Chicano cultural producers engage a diversity of other race, ethnic, and regional struggles. Rather than assume a homologous relationship between music and identity, my research historicizes musical practices in the context of their struggle for political, social, and cultural rights and resources and the strategies employed by diverse communities working together to overcome the failures of governmental and institutional programs. The creative dialogues and musical exchanges that occurred among Chicano musicians suggest not only forms of ethnic solidarity but also the culturally "hybrid" expressions that shape even nationalist movements. Key to this approach is recognizing the simultaneously global and local character of Chicana/o musical production, where the flows of transnationalism circulated not only ideas, peoples, and sounds, but also political struggles. This project thus raises a number of critical questions about Chicano Movement music and its political import. Ultimately, I suggest that it was the ability to perform authoritatively within the bi-cultural and increasingly transnational space of the Chicano experience that empowered *movimiento* music to express the feelings of autonomy engendered by the Movement.

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Introduction

> Actually we would do well to realize that the old boundaries and borders tend to fade away as people more and more share the same space and more frequently rely on several different existing traditions and create new ones.
>
> —Gerard Béhague 2000: 27)

> Música es pa' agitar. (Music's purpose is to agitate.)
>
> --Alfredo Figuerora[1]

This dissertation is a study of music within a social movement. In this study, I trace the stylistic, and I argue, political, trajectory of Chicana/o musical production during the movement from its cultural base in Mexican musical forms and genres in the early years of the movement (1965-1973) to a broader sound exemplified by American and Latin American folk and popular music styles that was embraced by movement musicians and ensembles from the mid-to-late 1970s. While this history of the music of the Chicano Movement, also referred to as "movimiento music," speaks to the intense intercultural conflict at the base of

American-Mexican relations, it also demonstrates the complex and often contradictory cultural practices at play in nationalist movements and social movements more generally.

The project, based principally on original research, focuses on grassroots, 'folk'-styled musical practices among Chicano musicians, specifically those who actively performed at movement protest rallies and marches. While their contemporaries in Chicano rock (e.g., El Chicano, Malo) and Texas-Mexican orquesta (La Onda Chicana groups like Little Joe y la Familia and Sunny Ozuna) were certainly part of the movement scene -- and others have argued successfully about their political import (Loza 1994; Reyes and Waldman 1998; Peña 1999) – I maintain it was qualitatively different due to the strategic and activist character of movimiento musicians and ensembles that distinguished them from their brethren in the commercial realm. This, however, is not to throw the proverbial baby out with the bathwater; as I differentiate between the folk-based practices of movement musicians, it is clear that popular music was on their minds during the composing and performing movimiento music. Let me provide an example.

Formed during the Chicano Movement, the band Los Alacranes Mojados is widely known for their anthem, "Chicano Park Samba," a song about the inspiring Chicano community take-over of public land in San Diego's Barrio Logan. Over the past three decades, the group has become synonymous with community celebrations and community struggles; for some, their music is the veritable local soundtrack of the barrio. Growing up in San Diego, I had heard of the Alacranes but was slightly more familiar with their front-man, Ramón "Chunky" Sánchez, as he often performed at educational programs for students of color in the San Diego area. Having returned home to San Diego to conduct my fieldwork, Chunky invited me to see him receive a "Local Hero" award from KPBS, San Diego's public television station. In his remarks upon accepting the award, Chunky made a striking comment about Chicano music. He described Chicano music as being "somewhere between Pedro Infante and the Rolling Stones." The audience laughed, and so did Chunky, but he meant what he said. Light-hearted as the moment was, the subtext was serious and he challenged those present, myself included, by saying, "Try and find it. It's in there somewhere."

As the scale of Chunky's continuum suggests, Chicano music is not an easily identifiable category. While his statement suggests that one can find Chicano music at some point between the two extremes, it may be more reasonable to argue that Chicano music exists at every point in between. For Chunky, and most every musician active during the Chicano Movement, Pedro Infante and the Rolling Stones (not to mention everything in between) were part of a lived cultural experience growing up as Mexicans in the United States during the years after the Second World War.

For a musician like Chunky Sanchez, who developed his musical skills playing protest songs, there is, perhaps, a symbolism in the choice of Infante and the Stones. On the surface is the suggestion of a bicultural model, Mexican culture on the one hand and U.S./Western on the other. I, however, believe the continuum must stand for a broader, more significant terrain and here the context of the social movement becomes prominent. The binary of Mexican and American has long represented the inequities of power between the two, whether it be at the level of the nation-state (i.e., the First World meeting the Third World), or the dominant-subordinate ethnic relations that have defined the intercultural

conflict between the two groups within the U.S. since the mid-nineteenth century. As such, the space in between Mexican and American is also the space between history and progress, between tradition and modernity. In the context of the Chicano Movement, as an effort to deal with the inequities of power, it is also the space between the processes of assimilation and resistance, neither process being complete.

One cannot overestimate the larger terrain of popular culture upon which these processes are playing out. Chunky's examples certainly come from the popular culture industries, but what is more important for my purposes are the articulations of meaning by the people themselves, particularly when they are largely defined by their condition as part of racialized, working-class communities. Sitting in between Mexico and the U.S., what Chicanos do with the forms, genres, and styles of popular culture emanating from all sides is emblematic of their cultural struggle to see themselves in world.

While the binary of Mexican and American is revealing, it is insufficient on its own as Chicano Movement musical practices and identity formation had to deal with not only the tension between Mexican and American cultural sensibilities, but also the conjuntures and

disjunctures that attempt to connect Mexican and Latin American and, perhaps most significantly, between Mexican and Chicano political and cultural sensibilities; such understandings move us beyond the suggestion that movement identity politics and cultural production are mere cultural nationalist embodied expressions.

This dissertation, as an exploration of these relationships, interrogates the diverse musical sources and performance practices of movimiento music. It will also reflect on the insurgent structures of feeling that motivated specific musical responses Chicano musicians had between the forces of cultural nationalism and the emergent transnational nature of their local musical practices. As ethnomusicologists, this study, I believe, allows us to explore relevant issues, such as: What are the different registers where music and politics connect? What role does the concept of authenticity play in describing music in a social movement? And, what are the liberating and disciplining aspects of music-making within cultural nationalism?

MUSIC AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

As Tom Turino has demonstrated, folk arts and practices –be they indigenous or diasporic in nature– can be organized as key emblems in distinguishing one group or nation from another and in the conceptualization of new and often militant identities. The Chicano Movement was the recuperation of "their uniqueness as Man, which lay buried in the dust of conquest;" -as playwright Luis Valdez put it- a romantic nationalist sentiment that inspired ethnic Mexican youth to return to their roots. Although keyed ideologically through an indigenous heritage, Chicano practices were materially geared toward the open expression of their Mexicanness, more specifically, the valorization of things barrio and working-class. Music was one of these folk arts and practices, and to the architects of nationalist identity, a source of, what Turino (2000) and others call 'national sentiment,' a sense of belonging to the nation or group.

Music and social movements offer a key space for cultural transformation, as evidenced by studies of music in 20th century struggles, such as the era of decolonization in Africa and the struggles against Latin American authoritarian rule. The historical moment that marks social

movements, however brief, is generally overflowing with creative turmoil that sparks new ways of thinking about who we are. The emergent nature of social movements allows mediums such as music to create spaces for the practicing of new forms of social action. By combining political and expressive resources, social movements contribute to the transformation of cultural traditions. How else does conjunto music transform itself, as Manuel Peña (1999) put it, from "cantina trash to cultural icon?" Eyerman and Jamison (1998) also suggest the relationship between music and social movements to be an example of the knowledge-producing activities, namely "cognitive praxis," that social movements engender via the politicization of knowledge. Examples within the Chicano Movement would be its songs of resistance via their use of historical subjects, themes of liberation, and their increasingly global perspective of a Chicana/o worldview.

The study of music in social movements, however, must not be limited by assuming a homologous relationship between music and identity; that the sounds we hear must directly reflect or represent a group. Historicizing of the past, while symbolically solidifying ties to an essentialist cultural heritage, may also overlook the hybridizing processes

and forms necessary to make the past appealing in the present. Simon Frith (1996) probes these tensions with popular music in the context of globalization around the problem of disparate groups of people producing and listening to music; the creation and construction of musical and aesthetic experiences outside the dyad of culture and place. In the broader context of Chicano music, this begs the question: what is Mexican about Chicanos playing rock-and-roll, rap, or salsa? Or, how do the Mexican folk genres of son, huapango, and ranchera begin to sound Chicano? Perhaps, as Frith suggests, the issue is "not that social groups agree on values which are then expressed in their cultural activities, but that they get to know themselves as groups …through cultural activity" (1996: 111)

BORDERS AND HYBRIDITY

As it stands in between American and Mexican national cultures, Chicano culture is increasingly represented as a "border culture," both literally and conceptually (Alvarez 1995; Anzaldúa 1987; Pérez-Torres 1997). Chicanos have long been subject to the conflicting pressures to maintain or reject 'tradition,' and to embrace or resist assimilation, in the context of their

intense bicultural experience. The extent of this complex hybrid experience is reflected not only in their expressive culture, but also their language practices, political organizations, and sense of belonging. For example, Homi Bhabha (1994: 7, quoting Ybarra-Frausto 1991) speaks of the forms of hybridity that emerge in border zones that denote the Chicano aesthetic of *rasquachismo*, "the utilization of available resources for syncretism, juxtaposition, and integration." However, Chicano culture, like all border cultures, "is not just a place of imaginative interminglings and happy hybridities for us to celebrate. They are equally minefields, mobile territories of constant clashes with the Eurocenter's imposition of cultural fixity" (Lavie and Swedenberg 1996: 15). Thus analysis must take into account the consequences of culture contact and cultural/musical change, as well as explore the dyad of culture and place.

The work of Américo Paredes and many of his students has long suggested that intercultural conflict throughout the Southwest, and Greater Mexico, has engendered an immense amount of expressive culture. This body of work has explored how an entire range of cultural expressive modes and forms – be they stories, songs, jokes, political rhetoric, or conversations – reflects and resolves, on a symbolic level, the

various forms of conflict. My dissertation contributes to the debates regarding aesthetic practices by examining the nexus of intercultural conflict, the conflicts and tensions between the self and society, and the nature of cultural contradiction and their resolution through political struggle, with particular interest to heterogeneous and hybrid practices. Music, like many expressive forms, provides a sense of the symbolically referential nature of identity, through sound and collective memory. Through sounds and texts –and the memory of those sounds and texts— music can act as a conduit between individuals and their cultural sense of belonging. However, due to the shifting nature of Chicana/o identity, a tension exists between within this sense of belonging. Chicano identity and many of its cultural formations have been considered as both 'foreign' (i.e., the 'illegal'), as well as a bastardized version of Mexican culture (i.e., the *pocho*), rather than that of a border culture, interwoven in the realities of both the U.S. and Mexico. Add to this the continually invigorating flows of people, practices, and sounds from Mexico and Latin America. From this tension, the resulting hybrid musical performances form a significant aspect of what it means to be Chicana/o. Perhaps it is the mastery of both American and Mexican –and Latin American— music and

popular performance conventions that becomes an important facet in Chicano struggles for autonomy through expressive culture.

METHODOLOGY

Original research for this project is based on dozens of oral history interviews with movement musicians and activists from California to Texas to Chicago, and the collecting of archival materials from public and private sources. These materials were critical to this study as the secondary literature on this topic is virtually non-existent. Manuel Peña, in *The Mexican American Orquesta* (1999) has provided the most historically and theoretically rich study of Chicano Movement era music, a work that has very much influenced this project. However, his study of La Onda Chicana is focused upon the particular style of Texas-Mexican popular music of the era, not the ideologically-driven music of the broader movement itself. Steven Loza's work on Los Lobos (1992, 1993) is much closer to the material that drives this dissertation, nonetheless, Loza's study is based only upon the one group and is generally concerned with the Lobos' transition from 'folk' to 'popular' music, a period beyond the confines of this study. Joseph Nalven, a Chicano sociologist, published a

short article on movement music in San Diego, California concerned with song texts and identity formation (1975), which along with the 1992 article by Loza are the only published works on movement music. Michael Heisley's (1983) dissertation on farm worker corrido-composers and Pablo Poveda's (1983) master's thesis on the songs of movimiento musician, Jesús "Chuy" Negrete, are the only large-scale studies of movimiento music until this dissertation.

The historical nature of the project precluded any possibility at "participating" although I was able to "observe" a few of the ensembles and musicians who are still performing. On a couple of occasions I was able to perform with one the groups, Los Alacranes Mojados; while I was not able to fully "music" with the interviewees, my own musical identity as a performer of Mexican regional musics (*mariachi* and *son jarocho*) did help in developing rapport with interviewees through a common musical experience (e.g., performance of traditional instruments, knowledge of popular repertoire of songs and genres, performance contexts). More critical, however, was the political dimension of conducting the interviews. The musicians and activists I worked with to conduct my field

work were veteranos of the Chicano cause for more than thirty years. Many of them are still active in community politics, even if they are not performing any longer. Their stories of music-making during the movement are activist testimonies, prized memories not to be handed-over lightly. It was not uncommon for me, during an initial contact to request an interview, to hear pause (and perhaps suspicion) in their voices, and only being able to resolve the conflict by dropping the name of previous interviewees to demonstrate that others had trusted me with their stories. At times, I would have to call back, finding out later that the prospective interviewee had "checked" on me with those with whom I had already conducted interviews. In hind sight, it seemed all the more necessary towards my field work as it demonstrated the vast network of musicians, artists, and activists who worked together during (and after) the movement. Academics, it seemed, were not necessarily popular with all segments of the movimiento generation. It was a process that did not surprise me, however. Previous field work with movimiento musicians revealed to me the guarded nature some have regarding their experiences. This had much to do, I believe, with their general lack of faith in researchers to competently unravel the complex character of their music

and, just as important, their politics, as well as the idea that the researcher may not share their politics and therefore may distort or caricature their political experiences.

The topic of social movements often requires the researcher to reveal, at the very least, his or her political sympathies with the subject. The long-standing concern over 'bias' and 'objectivity' required researchers to demonstrate, at some level, that their sympathies did not color the data. Scholarship over the past twenty-five years has tackled this issue and provided many arguments against a priori notions of 'objectivity', even in the so-called hard sciences. It may go without saying the political sympathies I felt, and continue to feel, with my research topic and work of the people I interviewed. It was not merely a sympathetic relationship; however, as my own student career has been one of similarity with my interviewees as I also worked on and off campus towards issues of social justice, within and beyond the Chicano community. It is an experience felt to be one of continuing the work started, in many cases, by the movement-era generation that makes us my research project. My experience with Chicano student groups and their

work in the community, along with my musical experiences, formed a strong basis for the relationships I had with my interviewees.

The timing of the project further complicated the political nature of the field work. The first oral history interview was scheduled for and conducted on 11 September 2001. Chunky Sánchez insisted that we still meet, to get our minds off the events of the day, if for no other reason. The events of September 11th and the subsequent actions taken by the U.S. government in retaliation were often topics of discussion before and after the interviews. While these conversations were informal in nature, it was clear that the critical eye developed during the years of the movement with regard to the actions and motives of the government was still in practice, and in more than one occasion I felt my responses in those conversations to be judged as a gauge of my own politics. Having lived and breathed in such circles as an undergraduate and graduate student, I felt no need to mask or flaunt my own feelings. What was ultimately being judged was my analysis rather than a position.

Note must be made of the fact that while I argue that the practices I documented as part of movimiento music were to be seen throughout the U.S. Southwest and Chicano communities outside of the region, the vast

majority of the material I provide and groups I worked with reside in California. A demographic explanation suggests that the vast majority of movement musicians and ensembles came from California due to the size of the state. As my narrative will show, much movement musical activity was generated by youth and students. By sheer size, California, with its two large public university systems --the birthplace of Chicano Studies—its historically high ethnic Mexican population and large urban areas, lent itself to generating much larger numbers of movement-geared musicians. On the other hand, relative to other parts of the Southwest, many of these same factors attributed to higher levels of assimilation within the ethnic Mexican community, leading to a movement emphasis in California on culture and identity politics (Muñoz 1989). At the same time, as within many social movements, movimiento music was defined in large part by a shared repertoire and ideology. Thus, the core group of songs sung in Austin, Texas by Conjunto Aztlan was, by and large, the same as those sung by Los Alacranes Mojados in San Diego, California, and the same with Jesús "Chuy" Negrete in Chicago, Illinois. Movement musicians shared songs, original, adapted, and borrowed, swapping them at rallies, national meetings and conferences, and performances, encompassing a

network of Chicana/o artists and activists. While my research may seem California-centric, this dissertation argues for a musical practice that existed throughout the region, a position supported by interviews and archival material.

THE CHAPTERS

Chapter One serves as a primer on the Chicano Movement and within these pages I present a number of the major political events and organizations that shaped the history of the movement, from the farm worker movement to the rise of El Partido de la Raza Unida (La Raza Unida Party), an ethnic-based alternative political party in the early 1970s, to the general social milieu that was the 1960s and '70s. While I do not discuss much musical activity within this chapter, I argue that the political contexts for the emergence of the movement shaped the musical trajectories of movimiento music. The main thrust of the chapter, for example, is an interrogation of the role nationalism played within the political, and ultimately cultural, world of the Chicano Movement. Within this presentation, I also provide some broader historical strokes to situate the social problems movement activists were organizing around, be it the

issues of land and homeland or the shifting terrain of identity in a social movement.

In Chapter Two, I begin to chart the musical practices that define movimiento music. This chapter is focused upon the songs of the farm workers, particularly those of the grape strike of 1965. I argue that these songs, or huelga songs, are significant to movimiento music not necessarily due to their thematic content, important as it was, but rather in the compositional processes and organizing objectives of its practitioners. I will show that the variety of musical styles employed by huelga song composers was emblematic of a Chicano hybrid musical heritage, a musical lesson to be learned and carried forth by movement musicians in the following years. Furthermore, the use of such a varied musical approach was also indicative of the operative use of song towards social change.

The following chapter addresses what I consider the first of two phases of movimiento music, the songs written between 1968 and 1973. In this section, song, like the other expressive arts of the movement (namely murals, poetry, and teatro), was intimately linked with the formation of Chicano subjectivity and Chicanismo, or Chicano cultural nationalism. I

also argue that the form of the corrido, a Mexican narrative song genre, was itself transformed into an ideological expressive vehicle for disseminating the emerging perspective of Chicano politics into the early 1970s. Chapter Three, thus, is where I analyze a number of movimiento corridos and songs to demonstrate the thematic and stylistic material composers utilized.

The fourth and final chapter deals with the second of the two phases of movimiento music. Whereas the songs of the first phase demonstrated a focus upon the political and social themes of Chicano cultural nationalism, and thus, a general musical consolidation around Mexican musical genres and styles, the second phase was emblematic of a broader political and cultural worldview of Chicano politics and culture. I argue that the emergent political ideology of internationalism, or Third Worldism, opened up creative possibilities for movement artists and musicians, space that the artistic arm of the movement may have created for itself. While Mexican cultural forms continued to be significant, they were augmented by creative impulses from two sources: the political imperatives brought forth from Latin American struggles and its protest music, particularly of nueva canción and Cuba's Carlos Puebla, and the

long-standing affinity towards American and Latin American popular musics that Chicanos have felt since before the beginning of the movement (Loza 1994). I demonstrate that just as movimiento music in this second phase became a space of broader musical play, it also became a space of an "uncanny nationalism" (Mariscal 2005), with cultural nationalist and internationalist strains intertwining into a new Chicanismo. In this chapter, I look to the music of Flor del Pueblo, Los Alacranes Mojados, and Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles to demonstrate the varying sounds and political objectives of the second phase of movimiento music.

ABOUT TERMINOLOGY

Terms of self and group identity for Mexicans living in the U.S. have long been a constantly shifting ground, a complex issue for an insider as well as the outsider. Terms are conceptualized and utilized for a varying number of reasons be they political, cultural, social, or national, and invariably in differing ways from one person to the next. To one group, the term 'Chicano'is a political term of identity and is used as such, to another it is but another word for 'Mexican American.' Varying

experiences regarding the perception of "Mexican," as used by non-Mexican in the U.S. (especially in a derogatory manner), has led to the prominence of 'mexicano' in many communities, albeit with the ambiguity is provides about national origin. The terms 'Hispanic' and 'Latino' have become major labels inside the U.S. in the last twenty years and are both widely used and widely criticized from within and without the Mexican population north of the border.

This project is somewhat aided by the stark politics of identity that formed within the Chicano Movement. Like most nationalist movements, common identity was conceptualized as a way to unify the community and thus, in the eyes of Chicano nationalists, 'Chicano' stood for *all* Mexicans in the U.S. and was in many ways a political litmus test for youth, students, and activists, 'Mexican American' signifying a continuation of the accommodating, or non-confrontational, politics of an older generation. This discussion is taken up in more detail in Chapter One. Part of my narrative, however, covers periods prior to the onset of the movement. In an attempt to navigate through these messy waters and avoid any confusion with the political meaning of terms as used during the movement, I use the David Gutiérrez's (1995) notion of "ethnic

Mexican" to denote all people of Mexican origin. Neutral constructs always betray in one manner or another but my usage here is pragmatic rather than theoretical.

NOTES

1. Quote attributed by Chunky Sánchez.

Chapter One

From Mexican American to Chicano: A Brief Overview of the Chicano Movement

> Brotherhood unites us and love for our brothers makes us a people whose time has come and who struggles against the foreigner "gabacho" who exploits our riches and destroys our culture. With our heart in our hands and our hands in the soil, we declare the independence of our mestizo nation. We are a bronze people with a bronze culture. Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in the bronze continent, we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos, we are Aztlán.
>
> --*El Plan Espritual de Aztlán*, 1969

> Ethnic separatism, then, is based upon the reality or myth of unique cultural ties, which serve to demarcate a population from neighbours and rulers; and, as a result, separation became not only an end in itself, but a means of protecting the cultural identity formed by those ties.
>
> --Anthony D. Smith (1981: 13)

Like so many efforts for social justice in the mid-twentieth century, the Chicano Movement was emblematic of its time as young people, in particular, were caught up in the social upheavals that defined what is known as "the sixties." Ethnic Mexicans in the U.S. had been fighting against discrimination for decades. But anti-colonial movements in

Africa, youth rebellion against establishment society at home and abroad, a focused civil rights movement –with an influential Black radical arm– and an increasingly effective anti-war movement provided an opening for a more intensive struggle for change. Within this milieu, the Chicano Movement –espousing a nationalism referred to as *Chicanismo*— arose as an ideological response to material conditions that had placed the community in a position of second-class citizenship, as well as the increasing pressures of assimilation. Chicano nationalism, however, was not a single unified set of political precepts, methods, and goals (Mariscal 2005). More appropriately, it was an ideological field where distinct and, at times, disparate tactics and ideas were employed, stretching from a narrow view of nationalism into coalition building (with Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians, primarily), solidarity work (in Latin America, primarily Cuba, Mexico, Central America), and internationalist ideologies (anti-capitalist, socialist, and Marxist, influenced as well as by radical African authors such as Fanon and Cabral). What this chapter offers is a more expansive discussion of the Chicano experience of cultural nationalism.[1]

As an historical entity, the Chicano Movement has come to mean different things to different people. For some it was a time of pride for the acts of resistance that brought the movement into being as well as for the cultural expressions that emanated from the community. For others it came to symbolize the problems of ethnic Mexicans in U.S. capitalist society, as revolutionary potential turned into a frustrating era of reformism. Being of its time, the movement found itself responding not just to its own material and social conditions but also to the challenges occurring at the global level. Since movimiento music's meaning is intimately tied to the political and cultural expressions of the Chicano Movement, in this chapter, my aim is to examine the emergence of Chicanismo, or Chicano cultural nationalism, as one of the main approaches to Chicano political organizing during the movement. In this chapter, I also briefly outline the development of the major organizations, events, and constituencies that gave the movement its shape. To give depth to this movement narrative, I will historicize the significance of the issues that drove aspects of the movement, ranging from land tenure to identity. This overview of the movement is not intended to be exhaustive; there have been a number of scholarly works, recent and older, that

provide much of the breadth for a more comprehensive account of the movement (Gómez-Quiñones 1990; Muñoz 1989; Mariscal 2005; A. García 1997). This said, the historical scope of the chapter runs roughly from 1965 to 1972, by which time the idea of Chicanismo had been established and the major events shaping the movement had ended.

A PARADIGM SHIFT

In 1966 Roberto Flores came to the University of California, Los Angeles as an undergraduate student. He was one of 13 Mexican American students on campus ("Chicano" had not yet attained its public sense of identity). Born and raised in Oxnard, California to farm worker parents, he too picked in the fields as a kid. As a part of the larger ethnic Mexican community, Flores felt the anger resulting from feelings of discrimination and marginalization. He also knew of the struggles against marginalization from his parents' experience of being fired for organizing packing houses and his own experiences of participating in community organizing efforts.[2]

In May 1967, Mexican American students at UCLA, in cooperation with other Mexican American students and organizations emerging on

other area campuses, founded United Mexican American Students (UMAS) as a state-wide student organization. Two years later there was a follow-up conference at the University of California, Santa Barbara. The intervening two years, however, were witness to tremendous change at the local and global level: the escalation of both the Vietnam War and the anti-war movement, the assassinations of Martin Luther King and Robert Kennedy (among others), the student uprisings around the world – particularly the tragedy of Tlatelolco in Mexico City[3]— and the events occurring throughout the Southwest that form the content of this chapter. According to Flores, by the time of the 1969 UCSB conference, student organizations, and politics more generally, had become much more militant, and the examples of the Black Panther Party and other nationalist struggles provided models for Chicano organizers to emulate. He attributes the paradigm shift between 1967 and 1969 to a shift in identity. "One [perspective] was 'asking' for and what our rights were – the Mexican American approach. The Chicano/MEChA approach was 'demanding' what was ours."[4]

The paradigm shift Roberto Flores recognizes in the transformation of student activism from Mexican American to Chicano was felt in many

sectors of the ethnic Mexican community. The challenge of this transformation for the community, what Juan Gómez-Quiñones (1990: 101) refers to as "the juncture between integration or self-determination" within U.S. society, was fed by the disillusionment from the meager gains made since the end of World War II. The shift to an increasingly militant ethos and praxis was informed by cultural nationalist and independence struggles at home and abroad, ranging from the more radical arms of the civil rights movement to the Cuban Revolution. The struggle for 'self-determination' was often as much a search for national identity and culture as it was an analysis of tactics. In the next section, I consider the emergence of Chicanismo, the rhetorical themes that defined its ideology, and the central figure of Aztlán as spatially/territorially encompassing Chicano cultural nationalism.

NATIONALISM AND CHICANISMO

In his highly influential work, *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson (1991: 6) quotes Ernest Gellner, "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist." This statement seems an apt place to start a discussion of the meanings of

nationalism to the Chicano Movement, not so much for any congruence between Gellner's indictment of nationalism --as some form of fabrication-- and the Chicana/o of the same, but rather to confront the construction of the 'nation' and examine the particular insurgent nationalism that was Chicanismo. Contrary to Gellner's spurious description of nationalism, I seek to follow Anderson's path of viewing the creative processes of Chicanos in the 1960s and '70s imagining themselves as a community, or better, a nation; understanding how they imagined and renewed their social relations, how they fought 'outsider' control and manipulations of their communities, and particularly how central the role of culture would play in their imagination of what ultimately constituted a 'Chicano' nation.

Before laying out the architecture of a Chicano nationalist politics, it is necessary to identify the typical aims, impacts, and processes involved with nationalist movements. Generally speaking, nationalism or nationalist projects refer to two phenomena. One describes the attitudes of a group of people/members of a nation that feel the need to distinguish and express who they are (i.e., national identity). The second refers to the actions that a group takes in order to secure self-determination. While the

first arises out of concern for the projection and perception of identity and common ties within the nation based on shared history, language, and cultural practices, the second revolves around the creation or relation of the state as an apparatus of authority over domestic and international affairs (Miscevic 2005). While distinct, these two phenomena are hardly mutually exclusive. In fact, in many cases of nationalist movements, particularly those of the 20th century, it was necessary that each purpose fervently serve the other. For the purposes of this chapter, the distinction remains important; while the state has the authority given to it by a set of laws it has the ability to enforce, being a part of the nation is bound up in subjective feelings, what Thomas Turino (2000) has termed "national sentiment."

As Anthony Smith (1981) suggests, in the current era, the idea of the "nation-state" is somewhat of a misnomer, reality being more akin to *nations*-state. Many countries are now poly-ethnic in composition and must deal with the often problematic strategies of national integration, processes which may both propel and antagonize ethnic solidarities; inter-ethnic (or inter-cultural) conflicts can be the seed from which social and/or nationalist movements can emerge. Smith observes two general

categories of political separatisms: territorial and ethnic. Movements based on territorial separation have at their center the problem of political boundaries and geography, of which independence movements of the colonial era are telling examples. The rupture late eighteenth and early nineteenth century creole colonies throughout the Americas with the mother-countries was more about geographical distance and Enlightenment thinking than about absolute distinct cultural differences (Smith 1981; Anderson 1991; Turino 2003). Ethnic movements, on the other hand, are based on cultural distinctions (singular or multiple) from those in authority over them. Cultural distinctions, in the form of language, expressive practices, social organization, and history/memory of contact and conflict with the ruling group, can form the core of an ethnic solidarity from which political demands can be made. Smith (1981: 13) continues:

> Ethnic separatism, then, is based upon the reality or myth of unique cultural ties, which serve to demarcate a population from neighbours and rulers; and, as a result, separation became not only an end in itself, but a means of protecting the cultural identity formed by those ties.

The need to imagine Chicanos as 'culturally distinct' facilitated a strong sense of resistance toward the assimilative process within the U.S.

In an important article on this topic within the Latin American context, Turino (2003) outlines the role of music within various nineteenth and twentieth century independence and nationalist movements. He argues that the conception of ideas around the nation and nationalism were not as concrete as they have been made out to be, a significance which has colored contemporary musical activity in such movements. The nation, during the nineteenth century, was conceived in terms of the economic viability of a particular territory and its population rather than in twentieth century notions of common ethnicity, language, and history. For Turino, the more cultural conception of the nation fit the growing populism that defined many twentieth century social movements in Latin America as "the modular processes of post-colonial musical nationalism, especially the 'modernist reform' or folklorization of indigenous and African-American traditions became common" (2003: 169-170). The inclusive nature of the twentieth century culturally-based conception of nationalism, with its efforts to link subaltern groups to the forging the nation, makes cultural production an important feature to the study of the modern nation-state. Chicano cultural nationalism, or Chicanismo, falls well within this conception.

Turino's arguments, however, are based on the nation as a state or tangible republic achieved through independence movements. Further, the state plays a role by enacting cultural policies that support the arts, and by extension, may shape artistic expression to some degree, as is the case in contemporary Cuba (Moore 2006). Chicano cultural nationalism, however, was bound up in resisting the conforming process of American assimilation. It was not a territorial separatist or irredentist strategy seeking land that unified Chicanos would govern, the attempts of La Raza Unida Party in South Texas being an exception (discussed later in this chapter); rather, Chicanismo sought the creation of a nation -Aztlán- which would be a spiritual, cultural, and political homeland for Chicanos, a place from which to re-imagine their place within the world (Anaya and Lomelí 1989). I will speak more about Aztlán in the next section.

According to Smith, it falls to the ethnic intelligencia, as the most "conscious" sector of the middle classes, to mobilize the ideas, images, and most importantly, the people, to enable the potential of the nationalist movement. In the case of the Chicano Movement, the Mexican American middle class, while frustrated by slow progress, were generally offended by the militancy of the younger generation. The political shift taking

place, from Mexican American to Chicano, was occurring among student and youth activists, like Roberto Flores and the students of MEChA, many from humble origins. No doubt, their status as students afforded them time and education, not to mention a ticket out of the military draft, and they could be described as an emergent middle-class, as much as that may have offended their own sense of political identity. Their mobilization, all the same, had to account for the lack of resources, one of which meant taking culture seriously as an asset. To unite the various sectors of the community divided by social class and political outlook, culture, rendered through a romanticist lens, became a language to gloss over the differences and exaggerate the connections. It was the job of the ethnic intelligencia to create the paradigms of knowledge to make these connections real (Smith 1981; Nairn 1977).

THE NATION AND THE FOLK: CHICANO CULTURAL NATIONALISM

Ethnic solidarity and memory can prove to be a powerful force in the face of conflict and in the increasingly urban and technological centers of our modern times. The "return to roots" ethos acts as a salve to heal the social wounds from generations of conflict. Organic metaphors of nature and

regeneration are central to the ethnic nationalist project eager to make the distinctions between "us and them" as clear as possible. On this topic, Anthony Smith (1981: 106) observes:

> Central to the historicist conception is a contrast between urban corruption and decay, and the healing powers of nature. For, if the community, like every other entity in nature, is subject to the laws of growth and development, then its regeneration must be sought in the unfolding of its organic identity, its peculiar nature and character. That identity and character are in danger of being submerged and lost in anonymous cities and their mechanical artificial cultures.

In discussing the social moment of the Chicano Movement, Manuel Peña (1987, 1999) has similarly noted the healing powers of "roots," basing his ideas on the works of Herder, particularly his notion of *humanität* as an ideal state of harmony existing between the individual and the nation (read: ethnic group). Peña (1987: 208) explains Herder's notion, that:

> a nation's true heritage, no matter how distorted or fragmented by outside influences, can nonetheless be reclaimed by returning to the "roots" –that is, by turning to the "folk," who (at least to romantics) tend by their conservative nature to preserve intact the traditions of their forebears.

According to Peña, this romantic nationalist feeling motivated what Phillip Ortego (1971) coins as the "Chicano renaissance," the flowering of

artistic activity within the movement. The valorization of roots, therefore, came to mean not only a celebration of things Mexican but also things barrio and working-class. The Chicano working-class aesthetic of *rasquachismo* that grounded emerging artistic production, offering forms of Chicano everyday life like, "tortillas, tamales, chiles, marijuana, la curandera, el empacho, el molcajete, atole, La Virgen de Guadalupe," as representations of "the hard-core realities of our people" (Valdez, 1972: xv). Among the most significant of these "roots" would be the indigenous root. The quote above of Luis Valdez is his evidentiary litany of the residual culture of the indigenous still present in the barrio. He continues,

> América Indigena is not ancient history. It exists today in the barrio, having survived even the subversive onslaught of the twentieth-century neon gabacho commercialism that passes for American culture. (ibid.)

The spoken and unspoken past between generations would find itself the muse for movement artists as they took over public walls for murals and corralled space for theater, music, dance, and other expressions of Chicano consciousness and social change in the U.S. and the world.

The preservation of the past within a Chicano renaissance, however, was not based on a literal return to the countryside for urban or

rural Chicanos. The "return" was a symbolic act back to the source of their difference, their Mexican identity in terms of skin color and cultural practices. "Brown Pride" was an exuberant slogan written across many placards for marches and rallies throughout the movement. For artists, however, brown pride was expressed through an open and public expression of Mexicanness that had long been the purview of home and family, publicly expressed only in the barrio. It was yet another marker of separation from the Mexican American Generation and their "Faustian pact of whiteness" as noted by Foley (1997). This open articulation of Mexicanness, however, would become the initial part of the nationalist agenda. For Smith, nationalism has the tendency to extend the scope of the community "from purely cultural and social to economic and political spheres: from predominantly private to public sectors" (1981: 19). As Chicanos fought for social change and utilized the cultural sphere (in terms of shared language, practices, and history) to unite the 'nation,' private and latent cultural practices had to become public and manifest to complete the task of unification and to establish a 'seat at the table' in the modern world, in this case, establishing a Chicano vision of America. Did the public articulation of Mexican culture, understood broadly, render

some parts 'Chicano'? Preservation of the past in nationalist movements has typically transformed the past into something new, to make it more appealing and a better fit with the modern and cosmopolitan world. For Turino (2000), these transformations are examples of reformism, the combining of indigenous and 'foreign' elements in order to preserve the past in the cosmopolitan forms and forums of the present.

AZTLAN

The indigenous root also shaped the Chicano conception of homeland, Aztlán. In Aztec history/legend, Aztlán was the place from where the Aztec migrated south in search of their promised land, which they would know by an eagle perched on a cactus devouring a serpent, as depicted on the Mexican national flag. The name Aztec is itself derived from Aztlán (Leal 1989). This ancient connection to the land was understood profoundly by the architects of Chicano identity. The migration south to what became Mexico-Tenochtitlan, present day Mexico City, lent the possibility that the lands to the north, the lands lost in the U.S.-Mexico War, could be Aztlán. The poetry of this interpretation of Aztlán fed the artistic arm of the movimiento for years and, in many respects, still plays a

role in Chicana/o cultural production. Artist Amalia Mesa-Bains remarks on the significance of the concept of Aztlán:

> I think of Aztlán, still to this day, as perhaps the most important premise of the entire movement. It was about a state of being and a place. Every people have a place and so to say you were Chicano without a place is impossible, so the place was Aztlán.[5]

The entry of Aztlán into the imagination of the Chicano nation brought with it the dimension of the mythical, what Anderson (1991) and Fanon (1963) have recognized as the need for ancient claims in nationalist and liberation struggles. The issue, as Fanon has pointed out, is that symbolic gestures should not outweigh the material needs of such movements. Padilla (1989: 114) remarks upon the balance between the symbolic and the material within the Chicano Movement:

> Without heroic dreams and cultural symbols of mythic proportion, however, the material aims of a nationalist movement may lack the spiritual center that sustains struggle.

It was apt that the concept of Aztlán, as Chicano homeland, would make its first appearance within the cultural sphere of the movement at the moment Chicano nationalism begins to take shape. In the document, *El*

Plan Espiritual de Aztlán, the prominence of the first appearance of Aztlán within the movement is telling. Here is the evocative preamble to *El Plan*, written by the young poet Alurista:

> In the spirit of a new people that is conscious not only of its proud historical heritage but also of the brutal "gringo" invasion of our territories, we, the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlán, from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, declare that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny.
>
> We are free and sovereign to determine those tasks which are justly called for by our house, our land, the sweat of our brows, and by our hearts. Aztlán belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops and not to the foreign Europeans. We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the bronze continent.
>
> Brotherhood unites us and love for our brothers makes us a people whose time has come and who struggles against the foreigner "gabacho" who exploits our riches and destroys our culture. With our heart in our hands and our hands in the soil, we declare the independence of our mestizo nation. We are a bronze people with a bronze culture. Before the world, before all of North America, before all our brothers in the bronze continent, we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos, we are Aztlán.

In his discussion of the *chimurenga* songs --"songs of struggle"-- of the Zimbabwean independence movement, Turino notes the historical

power of connecting the 1970s struggle, the Second Chimurenga, with the First Chimurenga, the failed uprisings against the colonizing British in 1896: "Constructing the image of the primordial nation –'we' were here before and will be after- was common to Zimbabwean cultural nationalism" (2000: 212). In song-making and other expressive realms, the device of paradigmatic substitution was employed to provide historical depth to constructions of the nation. In the preamble to *El Plan*, the current struggle, the Chicano Movement, is linked to both the Mexican Revolution of 1910 ("Aztlán belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops," referring to the agrarian reforms fundamental to the Revolution), and the lost lands of the U.S.-Mexico War ("the brutal "gringo" invasion of our territories," referring to Manifest Destiny and Polk's provocation of Mexico into war). An historic and ancient claim to the land, ideologically keyed to an indigenous-based identity, and unified by long-standing cultural bonds, Aztlán as homeland provided a space from which the various strands of Chicanismo could be tied together, offering a public articulation of Chicano subjectivity in the face of long standing Anglo dominance.

In the section that follows, I will recount the major organizing that formed the movement years of 1965-72, a period which marked and cemented the paradigm shift student activist Roberto Flores noted above. Before I start, I want to outline my conception of the history of the movement, divided into three phases: 1) the proto-movement (1965-68) by which the episodic events begin to utilize aspects of a nationalist approach: the public mobilization of cultural forms, the significance of land; 2) the nationalist phase (1968-72) where explicit ideological formations imagine the Chicano nation in a struggle against various oppressive forces, formations which are based on cultural and historical foundations; and 3) the hemispheric phase (1973-78) as narrow Chicano cultural nationalism is confronted by broader ideological imperatives to be more inclusive of parallel struggles within the U.S. and particularly in Latin America. For the following section, the first two phases will be addressed: the proto-movement, discussing the United Farm Workers, the land grant struggle, and the East L.A. Blowouts; and the nationalist phase, extending from the Blowouts to the Crusade for Justice, the Denver Youth Conference, the Chicano Moratorium, and finally, La Raza Unida Party. I also provide two extended discussions, lodge within the narrative, to provide further

historical context for the emergence of the movement. At best, the narrative I provide is partial, as it is not intended as an exhaustive review of the movement; on the other hand, it serves as the stepping off point from which Chapters Three and Four (where my third phase of movement history will be addressed) continue the story of the movement.

A MOVEMENT BEGINS…

Beginnings and endings are often contentious issues when telling the story of a social movement, the Chicano Movement, in some views, being a potentially extreme example. It has been the mission of many scholars working in the domains of a history of Mexican America to document the many acts of resistance and survival committed by this group of people. It is certainly straightforward to claim the Chicano Movement to be a part of the larger social upheaval that was the 1960s and thus find within the decade a starting point for the movement, as I have for this project. Other scholars and movement activists, however, have insisted on dating the movimiento back to precursory struggles, such as the various civil rights organizations formed between 1930 and 1960; or the impact of the revolutionary fervor of the Mexican Revolution of 1910; the spoils of the

Mexican American War (1846-48) with the American occupation and annexation of the northern territories of Mexico initiating the dialectic of conflict (Peña 1999) that exists to this day. For some, precedent for the movement dates back to the clash of cultures when the Spanish arrived on the shores of Mexico's Gulf coast. While this may seem an unproductive rehearsal of Chicano history, adding only hyperbole to the rhetoric of a nationalist movement, we will see how the process of historicization played in the imaginings of Chicano identity during the movement. For a 'forgotten people,' enacting a historical consciousness is a necessary political act, and, as with all social movements, networks of solidarity – historical and contemporary- are always relevant and required.

For my purposes, the date of 1965 will mark the initial bookend for this project, as movimiento music's first seeds were planted and nurtured in the soil of the farm workers' grape strike, with full awareness that episodes significant to the movement may have occurred previously. Episode is a telling word to describe the events of the early years of the Chicano Movement; while historians and activists themselves have later culled together these early events –and others not mentioned here- as part of the narrative of the movement, the events between the years 1965 and

1968 were relatively independent of one another in planning and action. It was the historical logic of their active resistance against similar injustices throughout the Southwest that wrote the narratives like the one I am about to recite. Lastly, while the following may read chronological and thus, linear, it is important to understand that the Chicano Movement, like other social movements, was a fluid, rather than monolithic, phenomenon. Political strategies, different constituencies, expressive forms, and energy ebbed and flowed across a matrix of limited time and resources, opposing political forces which were, at times, violent, and shifting social identities.[6]

THE PROTO-MOVEMENT

UNITED FARM WORKERS

In *Mexican Ballads, Chicano Poems*, José Limón (1992) tells the story of his first steps into the Chicano Movement in the fall 1966. He notes that the student group he joined at UT Austin, like so many across the Southwest, were, in essence, farm worker support groups providing food, clothing, and bodies for the picket lines. The United Farm Workers (UFW), particularly due to their 1965 grape strike that lasted almost five years,

were a central locus for action during the Chicano Movement. The farm worker struggle (to which Chapter Two is dedicated) represented the moral courage to stand up for social change in the specific context of the ethnic Mexican world within the U.S., as it was initiated by those considered the most marginalized within the community. Many were inspired to join or support *la causa* and received their initial experiences as organizers, useful for later work on Chicano issues in urban areas. UFW organizing tactics and philosophies were generally labor union-based (i.e., workers' solidarity, class struggle, etc.) except in one respect – the mobilization of culture. While Chapter Two looks closely at the relationship between music and the UFW, Mexican cultural practices played an incredibly significant role in public face of the union (e.g., the union flag, uses of La Virgen de Guadalupe, predominance of Mexican folk and popular performance genres), stitching together the rank and file as well as connecting with an emerging ethnic consciousness. The emerging ethnic consciousness, however, was coupled with long-held union tactics of solidarity, in this case with civil rights activists from the South, white liberals --some very powerful, such as the Kennedy family-- and, of course, other labor unions. The UFW leadership, César Chávez in

particularly, was adamant that their cause was as a labor union rather than an ethnic social movement, a tension that formed part of the ebb and flow within the movimiento.

LAND GRANT STRUGGLE

Formed in 1963, La Alianza Federal de Pueblos Libres (The Federal Alliance of Free Lands), led by Reis López Tijerina, attempted in 1966 to reclaim the land grant San Joaquín del Rio de Chama in northern New Mexico, as it was considered to have been unlawfully taken from its rightful Mexican owners, according to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The reclamation attempt was more precisely an attempt to establish a legal battleground and public awareness on the issue of land grants. The following year, while attempting to conduct a citizen's arrest of the district attorney of Rio Arriba County for disrupting organizing around the issue, members of La Alianza engaged in a shootout with police at the courthouse in Tierra Amarilla as frustrations boiled over in the some of the first acts of violence in the movement.

SOCIAL WAR AND FOLKLORE IN LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY BORDERLANDS

The end of the U.S.-Mexican War (1846-48) was established in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which provided certain guarantees for the 100,000 or so Mexican nationals about to become American citizens. Among its guarantees were rights to land and property. While the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the U.S.-Mexican War, mexicanos in the United States experienced immense social change in the second half of the nineteenth century: the usurpation of political power from mexicano elites by Anglo newcomers; increasing capitalist expansion; the socially stultifying effects of an Anglo population transfer from east to west; the indiscriminate loss of family lands via settler colonialism; and the violent 'justice' that characterized the region to the beginning of the twentieth century with the innumerable cases of extra-judicial killings on behalf of the Texas Rangers and their U.S. Army counterparts in other parts of the Southwest.

Post-war relations between mexicanos and the newly dominant Anglos were very much predicated by the war as a relationship between the victors and the vanquished with heavy racial and class overtones. At a metaphorical level, José Limón (1994: 15) suggests that "since the 1830s,

the Mexicans of south Texas have been in a state of social war with the 'Anglo' dominant Other and their class allies," a suggestion that can be extended to other parts of the Southwest, although perhaps at a less intense level. Within a generation or two, many land grant holding families found themselves dispossessed of their land, by hook or by crook, with northern New Mexico and south Texas being among the most impacted areas.

Rodolfo Alvarez (1970) periodizes the mexicano cohort of this period as the "Creation Generation," part of his generational schematic of Chicano history. I do not disagree that the subjection of 'the Mexican' in the U.S. begins with this "generation." The term "Creation," however, does not begin to describe the colonial and violent relationship mexicanos had with the state. Mario T. García more accurately terms this cohort the "Conquered Generation" (1989). The battles over the social order of the Southwest continued for decades until, in Gramscian terms, the war of maneuver gave way to the war of position in the early twentieth century. Border skirmishes and 'banditry' were part of ethnic Mexican response to the violence that defined the era. Such frontal attacks could only last so long under the new social order of Anglo domination and Mexican

subordination. As others have suggested, the symbolic realm held promise for a secondary front to mediate the conflict between Mexicans and Anglos.

INTERCULTURAL CONFLICT AND THE CORRIDO

The era of "open hostility," as Américo Paredes (1976) termed the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, was also the high time of a developing expressive culture of conflict between Anglos and Mexicans in the form of jokes, ethnic slurs, stories, and more. In a social world where the institutions of the state were rendered meaningless by their ineffectiveness for a vanquished and racialized subordinate class, the symbolic world of folklore became an important salve to mediate the conflict. One of the more elaborate forms was the Mexican narrative ballad of the corrido (Paredes 1958a&b; Peña 1982, 1999; Limón 1992). As Peña (1999: 14-15) points out:

> in the intercultural drama unfolding historically in the Southwest, the corrido functions as the absolute antithesis between Anglo and Mexican—the symbolic epitome of the most conflictive stage of the dialectic.

Whether described as a 'social barometer,' 'collective diary,' or 'oral newspaper,' the corrido, particularly of the border region, has served to express symbolically a people's account of history, be it of heroic individuals or pressing significant events. Paredes (1958b: 104) suggests that the modern corrido genre itself emerges from the strife of the Texas-Mexico border.

> Border conflict, a cultural clash between Mexican and American, gives rise to the Texas-Mexican corrido. The Lower Border produces its first corrido hero, Juan Nepomuceno Cortina, in the late 1850s. By 1901, ten years before the beginning of the epic period of Greater Mexican balladry [driven by the events of the Mexican Revolution of 1910], the heroic tradition is fully developed in the Rio Grande area in ballads such as "El corrido de Gregorio Cortez."

It was in 1901 that Gregorio Cortez shot and killed Sheriff Morris in Karnes County, Texas. This episode, coupled with Cortez's legendary flight (evading the law –including the hated Texas Rangers– all the way to the border in Laredo), has become a key moment in describing the ethnic Mexican experience in the U.S. in the early twentieth century. The corrido's extraordinary depiction of Cortez dominating his Anglo

pursuers exhibited a status reversal of the harsh binaries that defined mexicano life at the time. Peña (1982: 24) describes the reversal:

> A strong dual contrast is thus being established: one lone Mexican against an army of Anglos; bravery against cowardice. We may be sure that the contrast did not go unnoticed among mexicano listeners.

The social order of Anglo domination and Mexican subordination has thus been turned on its head in the corrido and is particularly powerful with the Texas Rangers as the goat of the story. While Cortez is caught in the end, he surrenders on his own terms and does so for the sake of his people --to save them from the retribution of the Rangers-- demonstrating wisdom along with his other heroic attributes (ibid.). The innumerable daily indignities endured by Mexicans, from the denigrating of their identity (e.g. 'Mesikin,' or 'Meskin, let alone the bevy of derogatory terms, of which 'wetback' represents, Paredes 1978), to the punishing of children for speaking Spanish in school, to the public humiliation of signs bearing "No Dogs or Mexicans Allowed," the hero corrido provided a brief respite from the social order and a powerful, if private, salvo in the war of position between Mexicans and Anglos.

EAST L.A. BLOWOUTS

In the spring of 1968, thousands of high school students walked out of their classes in East Los Angeles, California to protest the city's racist educational system, the high drop-out rate for Chicanos, the lack of Chicano history in the curriculum, and a host of other educational problems. The East LA Blow-outs, as they were called, were student-organized (high school and university) and formed an initiation into activism and leadership. The blow-outs were conducted simultaneously at four Eastside high schools and were later joined by sympathy walkouts in other Mexican American communities in the city resulting in upwards of 15,000 protesting students.

EMERGING MOVEMENT IDENTITIES: FROM MEXICAN AMERICAN TO CHICANO

From the farm worker grape strike in 1965 to the student upheavals in 1968, a particular 'Chicano' public identity was still in process as the episodic nature of the early movement had not yet coalesced into its nationalist phase. Recalling the story of Roberto Flores above, the university student groups helping to organize the blowouts were indicative of the transformation about to take place as they moved from

liberal to militant political identities. At numerous Los Angeles area colleges and universities, chapters of United Mexican American Students (UMAS) had formed by the fall 1967. In Texas, groups such as Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO) were forming at the same time. Similar student groups and chapters of the above began to form throughout the Southwest, including an UMAS chapter at Notre Dame (Muñoz 1989).

These groups were initially products of the previous 'Mexican American' era, emphasizing what Carlos Muñoz, Jr. refers to as "the theme of 'progress through education'" and its concomitant ethos of assimilation. The Mexican American era, or, as Alvarez (1973) and Mario García (1989) propose, the Mexican American Generation, was an emerging ethnic middle-class response to the social marginalization in the aftermath of the era of "open hostility" and the immigrant masses following the end of the Mexican Revolution in the early 1920s. With the founding of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) in 1929, the Mexican American Generation came of age with the rise of the United States' ascension to global prominence, through the Great Depression, World War II, into the Cold War (M. García 1989). The main

precepts of LULAC's goals (e.g. patriotism, assimilation, and citizenship) shaped ethnic Mexican politics (and, in some sectors, culture [Peña 1999]) into the 1960s. The political strategy of assimilation into mainstream U.S. society by the Mexican American Generation moved away from the isolationist tendencies of the previous generation, which were formed by recent experiences of immigration. This meant agreeing to work with and within the system: learning English, being productive citizens, and engaging in primarily Democratic party politics.

Coming of age in the U.S. during some of the most dramatic events of the twentieth century, including the rise of the popular culture industries, the Mexican American Generation saw the need to resolve as best they could the intercultural conflict that was a major roadblock to attaining the 'American Dream' and first-class citizenship. Mediating the conflict had particular racial imaginings, as Mike Davis (2000: 17) succinctly describes:

> Caught in a no-man's-land between ascriptive systems of race and ethnicity, 'Mexican-Americans' in the 1930s through the 1950s expressed the pragmatic preference to be recognized as a hyphenated-ethnic minority along the lines of Polish- or Italian-Americans rather than to become a racialized caste like Blacks or Chinese. Mexican-Americans during the 1940s and 1950s, Foley argues, signed a 'Faustian

> pact with whiteness…in order to overcome the worst features of Jim Crow segregation.'

Attempting to escape the social stigma of 'Mexican,' Mexican Americans enacted a "status reversal" of their own by claiming 'whiteness' as a ploy for social equality. This ploy, however, also required an acceptance of Black segregation, as well as marking a distinction between themselves as Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants (Foley 1997).

By the mid-1960s, the acceptance of English-language dominance, American cultural practices, and open patriotism were becoming common experiences in many ethnic Mexican communities. Regional distinctions did exist; however, as urban Californian communities were more assimilated than their south Texan brethren due to the latter's intimate proximity to northern Mexico. Muñoz (1989: 9-10) suggests that such regional differences explain why identity politics was more of an issue in California than in Texas. By 1967, when ethnic-based student organizations began to be formed, 'Mexican American' and 'Chicano' were interchangeable terms of self/group identification, as seen in the university organization names. 'Chicano,' however, has a different pedigree. The term has been attributed numerous origins, some

contemporary, some ancient; for my purposes, I am concerned more about its usage than its etymology. Limón (1981) has shown convincingly that the term has been in use to denote Mexicanness in informal and private situations. Before the movement, the term existed as 'chicano,' was used only within the community, and could express both positive (nickname) and negative (slur toward the lower classes) attributes.[7] Its usage as 'Chicano,' however, never had wide currency among all sectors of the community, particularly for some factions of the older generations for whom the term was either too culturally-intimate for brash public usage by ethnic Mexican youth and/or was a vulgar and derogatory term absent of the kinds of values being lauded during the movement. The terms 'Mexican' and 'mexicano,' however, could not work for an emerging movement; while Chicanos were Mexicans/mexicanos, in Mexico they were often chided by Mexicans there for their Spanish language facility and/or American cultural habits for which they were often called 'pochos,' a derogatory term meaning a Mexican who has lost his culture. 'Chicano' succeeded because it was cultural-specific to Mexico, carried a working-class/being of the poor (read: oppressed) connotation, and avoided the hyphenated-American identity and politics of the previous

generation. Due to the last aspect, once the term eventually transformed from 'chicano' to 'Chicano,' it became the litmus test for one's political identity.

As the Blowouts began on the streets of East Los Angeles, one could see many signs exclaiming 'Chicano Power' and hear numerous slogans chanting the same feeling. Those chants of 'Chicano Power' were not reflecting any sort of accommodation any longer and the strikes, attempted land take-over, and school walkouts were surely signs that 'working within the system' would no longer work. After the examples set by the farm workers, La Alianza, and now high school students in Los Angeles, it was becoming clear the politics and sense being Mexican American were no longer the operating paradigms.

THE NATIONALIST PHASE

CRUSADE FOR JUSTICE

The Crusade for Justice was founded out of the particular plight of urban ethnic Mexican communities and a frustration with Democratic Party politics (Vigil 1999). The Crusade's founder, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, first experienced political life working within the Denver-area Democratic

Party, after a successful, if short, boxing career. Working within the system, including being appointed head of Denver's War on Poverty program, Gonzales realized the limited vision party leaders had for the ethnic Mexican community. Leaving the Democratic Party, Gonzales founded the Crusade for Justice in 1966 as an independent grassroots organizing effort. The organization embarked on a number of fronts from being a community watchdog over issues such as police brutality, discrimination, and electoral politics to solidarity work with related issues such as the land grant issue in New Mexico. Corky's charisma and organizing skills soon made him and the Crusade the regional, if not national, representatives of ethnic Mexicans in the Southwest. The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, led by Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., invited Corky Gonzales and Reies López Tijerina to be leaders of the Southwest contingent to the Poor Peoples' Campaign due to march on Washington, D.C. in May 1968. After the Poor Peoples' Campaign, Corky and the Crusade became one of the major focal points for the Chicano Movement via an emerging nationalist ideological rhetoric and grassroots organizing. So effective were the organizing efforts of Crusade that they became a major target for police and FBI infiltration and intimidation, a

conflict that led to outright violence between the state and Crusade membership.

DENVER YOUTH CONFERENCE

The major accomplishment of the Crusade for Justice was the First National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference which met in Denver in March 1969. Expecting attendance in the hundreds, more than a thousand young Chicanas and Chicanos (and some Latina/os) from the Southwest to New York arrived for the week-long conference. Organized around developing student militancy, the conference consisted of numerous workshops and discussion sessions, such as student responsibility to the community, women's experiences, Marxism and nationalism, and analysis of the recent events of the movement to date. The conference participants sought to outline a series of resolutions to guide the movement, creating a Chicano political manifesto.

The resulting document was *El Plan Espritual de Aztlán*, commonly held as the most important political statement of the movement. The plan emphasized a nationalist agenda based on alternative institutions and the power of culture. Rebuilding the social condition of the community

would start with taking back its economic and political control, particularly within the schools. The mainstream was to be avoided in favor of community-based alternatives, such as cooperatives or, at a grander scale, an ethnically-based independent political party "since the two-party system is the same animal with two heads that feeds from the same trough." Cultural values were seen as a bulwark to be used against the onslaught of assimilation into the American cultural mainstream. The domain of culture, particularly life, family, and home, was to "serve as a powerful weapon to defeat the gringo dollar value system and encourage the process of love and brotherhood."

CHICANO MORATORIUM

In 1970, at the height of the anti-war movement, Chicanos across the country were conducting their own protests against the war with a national protest scheduled for Los Angeles in August (Treviño 2001). The basis for the protests was the disproportionate death rate for Chicanos in the war while the sons of more affluent families were able to avoid the draft due to financial or political connections. Preparations toward establishing an independent political party, in the wake of activity stirred

by *El Plan*, was planned for after the march in Los Angeles. Tens of thousands marched through the streets of East Los Angeles in the National Chicano Moratorium March. The march ended at Laguna Park where a small bandstand hosted speeches, poems, and music to an audience scene that was as much family-oriented as it was activist. A minor disturbance at the edge of the park was quickly elevated into a 'riot' by the police as hundreds of officers in riot gear charged the park toward the unaware participants sitting around the bandstand. By the day's end, three Chicanos were killed by the police –including the noted Los Angeles Times reporter Ruben Salazar— and dozens were injured in an incident that would bring national attention to the march and Chicano issues. The actions of the police cemented in the minds of many that "for the Chicano, the war is more here [in the U.S.] in the struggle for justice than in Vietnam."[8]

LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY

The Chicano-based independent political party imagined in *El Plan Espiritual* was first put into action in the small Texas town of Crystal City (Muñoz 1989). Echoing the call for cultural/political unity from *El Plan*,

the party name of La Raza Unida (The United People) fit well within the growing cultural consciousness of the period. With the use of "La Raza" instead of "Chicano," there was thought that the party may attract Latino members in the future; the present, however, was dedicated to ethnic Mexicans. The strategy of the ethnic voting bloc served La Raza Unida Party well in small town South Texas, where the high Mexican population provided the masses needed for quick change in electoral politics and marked one of the few times in Texas electoral history when non-whites were in political authority over white minority populations. The Texas La Raza Unida Party in Crystal City, headed by José Angel Gutiérrez, a gifted organizer, had won political power via the elections, but still had to contend with the political power of the white-dominated economy. Challenges aside, the success of Crystal City gave hope for further ethnic based political success in other parts of the Southwest, including urban areas. Corky Gonzales called for a national convention and, in the election year of 1972, delegates from eighteen states met in El Paso, Texas to shape the party and decide upon its leadership. The two significant figures of Gutiérrez and Gonzales, and their desires to be party chairman, made difficult the necessary discussion to structure the party and develop its

ideological stance. In the end, the party, after some minor successes, dwindled back to where it was most successful, in the small town of Crystal City, Texas. Chicano participation in party politics also drifted back to the Democratic Party, where it had previously sought refuge.

CONCLUSION

The events of the initial phase of the Chicano Movement, namely 1965-68, demonstrated that the population could no longer sustain the accomodationist strategies employed decades earlier. The bolder tactics being used post-1965 sought to bring public attention and scrutiny to the social condition of communities from Texas to Colorado to California. The entry of youth into the movement, in the powerful fashion that was the blow-outs, opened the door for more militant methods, in this case, emanating from nationalist ideologies. Chicanismo, with its attention to culture, grassroots initiatives, and repudiation of the mainstream, brought new horizons to the political potential to be achieved via the movement. As Gómez-Quiñones has stated, however, the radical rhetoric of the movement often resulted in modest reform programs. While speeches may have emphasized a symbolic need to 'change' or work outside the

system, specific demands were always made *to* the system. This resulted in "token reforms, representation, and limited mobility" (1990: 144). Furthermore, demands made to the system inevitably would produce a "tighter integration" with the social order rather than the autonomous subjectivity free from "neon gabacho culture" and politics; as Peña states: "Material needs (and successes) triumphed over mythological ones" (1999: 222).

Appraisals of social movement successes, however, must be comprehensive. The criteria must not only be measured tangibly (e.g., land, political positions and representatives, etc.) but also in historical context; against the power of entrenched Anglo political and economic interests, Chicano Movement activists struggled for social change. As Robin D.G. Kelley remarks on African American social movements:

> Unfortunately, too often our standards for evaluating social movements pivot around whether or not they 'succeeded' in realizing their vision rather than on the merits or power of the visions themselves. By such a measure, virtually every social movement failed because the basic power relations they sought to change remain pretty much intact. And yet it is precisely these alternative visions and dreams that inspire new generations to continue to struggle for change."
> (quoted in Mariscal 2005: 14)

In the Chicano struggle for change, the question is, did they change themselves? Over the period from 1965-1972, change did occur as conceptions of ethnic Mexicans in the U.S. shifted from a "forgotten people" to radical imaginings of themselves as "Mexican Americans with a non-Anglo image of themselves" (Salazar: 235) and forward as activists at a global level concerned about human rights and imperialism.

After 1972 and the La Raza Unida Party convention, events of a national scale within the movement were few although activity at the local level remained relatively high through much of the 1970s. A number of reform programs were implemented (e.g., Chicano Studies programs, community representatives on local oversight committees). It was in the 1970s that the 'cultural arm' of the movement was perceived to have ascended as the political events of the movement passed. The decade saw a flowering of activity in expressive culture as *teatros*, art and poetry collectives, Aztec and ballet *folklórico* dance ensembles sprouted up in communities throughout the Southwest. Music ensembles also emerged, and the remaining chapters are dedicated to telling their story. In the next chapter, we go back to the beginning, to the grape strike of 1965, to learn

how the songs of the farm workers sounded the first bell of resistance in the movimiento.

NOTES

1. Chapters Three and Four explore more broadly the musical contours of Chicano nationalist ideology.

2. Interview with Roberto Flores, 7 & 9 September 2002, South Pasadena, California.

3. As in other places around the world, students were demonstrating for social change in Mexico. With the 1968 Summer Olympics scheduled for Mexico City, students used the increased attention to press the government for change. Just days before the start of the Olympics, police and military forces surrounded student demonstrators at an evening rally at the Plaza de las Tres Culturas in Tlaltelolco and began firing. Official explanations stated the firefight was the fault of protesters and only a handful of people died. Eyewitness accounts place the death toll in the hundreds, with the bodies of the fallen disappeared by the government to save face for the upcoming Olympics.

4. See note 2. MEChA stands for Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán, or the Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán.

5. This comment by Amalia Mesa-Bains was part of the documentary *Chicano: History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (1996).

6. I am thankful to Roberto Flores for his comments about the everyday life of social movements.

7. Roberto Flores remarked similarly about the term 'chicano:'

   > If you saw somebody and you had doubts [about their ethnicity]; to see if they were Mexican, you would ask [someone], "¿Es chicano?" It was synonymous with 'Mexican' yet it was more of a street word. It might have been a word that *pachucos* used to utilize; it was more part of their vocabulary. You hardly heard women talking like that.

> It was mostly men, in the street. It was an abbreviation for *mexicano*. But it was one that wasn't used all the time. Even in some circles it was considered vulgar, low language…

8. This comment was made by Rosalio Muñoz in the documentary *Chicano: History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (1996).

Chapter Two

To Sing is to Organize:
The Huelga Songs of the Farm Workers

> A pamphlet, no matter how good, is never read but once, but a song is learned by heart and repeated over and over; and I maintain that if a person can put a few cold common sense facts in a song, and dress them up in a cloak of humor to take the dryness off of them he will succeed in reaching a great number of workers who are too unintelligent or too indifferent to read a pamphlet or an editorial on economic science.
>
> --Joe Hill (quoted in Reagon: 54)

The beginnings of movimiento music can be traced to the formation of the United Farm Workers (UFW) labor union. Demanding just wages and better working conditions, the fledgling union initiated a general strike in 1965 against San Joaquin Valley –particularly Delano-- grape growers, and later a boycott of table grapes -events of unprecedented significance.

> Experienced newspapermen and full-time labor officials say they've never seen anything like it. Certainly the men of the corporations that own most of the huge California vineyards have never seen anything like it. And for thousands upon thousands of Mexican-American campesinos [farm workers],

> who in their wildest flights of fancy may have dreamed it,
> they have never seen anything like it. (Silber 1966)

The determination and moral courage of the farm worker movement would in time receive national attention, becoming a *cause celebe* of the period. More importantly, the UFW inspired Chicanos in urban areas to not only support *la causa*, the farm worker cause, but also to increase the intensity of the struggles around the conditions of their own communities, in effect, motivating the initial phases of the Chicano movement. As the UFW attracted volunteers to its cause in rural central California, including many youth from the urban areas, it also attracted artists and musicians who sought to help organize through artistic means. Although these artistic efforts overlapped in many ways, particularly in the forms of music and theater, they formed the basis for a repertoire of politically-charged songs that would serve not only the farm worker movement but also Chicano movement musicians. Huelga (strike) songs, the songs of the Delano grape strike, would form the next period of musical social critique in the experience of Mexicans north of the border.

This chapter focuses on the relationship of social and musical experience in the context of a social movement, most specifically the

meaning of movement songs, within the farm worker movement of 1960s California. What were the social and material bases for the production of songs within this social movement? What do these songs tell us about the historical moment of their production? What were the relations between movement musicians/performers, audiences, and the political leaders or ideology of a movement? Most significantly, why was song such a powerfully effective vehicle in this moment of historic change?

In this chapter, I document the development of the farm worker protest song repertoire, the huelga song, to historicize the role music played in the early years of the farm worker movement in California, 1965 to approximately 1967. I also address the significance of the writers of huelga songs, from the group based within the *rasquachi* theater group, El Teatro Campesino, to individual huelga singer-songwriters, such as Armando "Solo" Hernández, a farm worker youth from Indio, California in the time of the grape strike of 1965. It is within the meanings imparted by huelga song repertoire and performance that a foundation is established for the emerging musical practices of the Chicano movement.

STRIKE SONGS / HUELGA SONGS

The songs of the United Farm Workers in the 1960s were fashioned out of two historical impulses. The primary impulse was indeed functionalist and immediate; the intent was to write and sing songs that spoke directly of the need for the union and the experience of the farm workers during the grape strike of 1965.

> I felt that the urgency, the need was really strong for us to express our viewpoint, to talk about what our movement was about since there was no music like that anywhere. (Agustín Lira, 2002)[1]

Although the songs were meant to inspire and motivate the farm workers during the difficult times of the strike and forming the union, to write and sing songs was not merely to reflect on the strike, it was also to document and project the meaning of the strike. To sing was, in effect, to organize.

The second impulse was more difficult to define for it relied upon a different and more complicated well of sources, experience, and inspiration – Mexican culture from either side of the border. The UFW found itself bound to the expression of a set of culturally-based social grievances, desires, frustrations, and needs that were coming to a boil by the mid-1960s. The long history of intercultural conflict between Anglos

and Mexicans was finding itself on its most confrontational plane since the raids of Aniceto Pizaña on the Texas-Mexican border or the Zoot Suit Riots in the 1940s (Paredes 1977, Peña 1999, Mazón 1984). It was here that these two impulses converged -a convergence that gave the UFW its historic and symbolic weight- as farm workers, who were, in the eyes of the field bosses, 'docile' Mexicans became striking Mexicans, standing up for their rights as workers and as a people. This link transformed the farm worker movement into more than just a labor movement and thus made the huelga songs of the farm workers into more than just 'strike' songs or protest songs.

Huelga songs were strike songs, labor songs, or union songs, just as those in other labor movements earlier in the century, such as the International Workers of the World (IWW). They were performed on the picket lines, at rallies, meetings, and other union demonstrations. However, since the farm worker movement had impact far beyond the confines of California's agricultural fields, huelga songs were also protest songs, levying a critique targeted at the growers but with a much broader significance and appeal (Broyles-González 1994; Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995; Peña 1999). Rather than being identified by any particular

musical form or attribute, the repertoire was thematically-based, therefore huelga songs were composed, or often times re-adapted, around the issues and themes of the farm worker struggle. In fact, most of the repertoire consisted of adaptations of songs from various sources including church, folk, and popular traditions. Some adaptations were translations of already existing protest songs. For example, the text of the famous civil rights song "We Shall Overcome" was translated into the huelga song "Nosotros venceremos," often times sung in both Spanish and English (Agustín Lira 2002). The oral practice of adapting already existing songs into protest songs has a long tradition in the history of American political music. In fact, the most well known example of this category of song "We Shall Overcome," is itself an adaptation of a song from gospel sources (Eyerman and Jamison 1997; Reagon 1975).

Protest song has played a pivotal role in the maintenance and projection of struggles for social justice (Greenway 1953; Heisley 1983; Eyerman and Jamison 1997). 'Folk' song, more generally, has played a similar role as 'protest song' by highlighting the importance of rooted cultural practices in the arena of social protest. Steeped in oral tradition, African American church repertoire and congregational singing practices

formed the foundation of the "freedom songs" that symbolize the 1960s civil rights struggles in the South (Reagon 1975). The same can be said of the distinct contribution of Appalachian musical traditions to the struggles of miner and textile workers in the early twentieth century and their impact on the "folk music revival" period that followed (Denisoff 1966; Romalis 1999). Furthermore, on the borderlands between the U.S. and Mexico, song -in the form of the corrido- has played a similarly significant role as an indicator of social strife and struggle in the experience of ethnic Mexicans. A narrative ballad extolling the significant events and personages of the time, the corrido has also been a vital vehicle for social and cultural critique (Paredes 1958a/b; Peña 1982; Limon 1992; Flores 1992; Herrera-Sobek 1993; Saldívar 1999) and has been mobilized during numerous periods of ethnic Mexican social unrest and conflict.

The long histories that 'folk' or 'traditional' music cultures provides in the context of social movements is most aptly felt through memory; memories of collective cultural and social experiences, memories of older struggles or social movements. Songs within social movements, as the "mobilization of tradition," are a powerful medium as they foster the "structures of feeling" that motivate and shape a movement's group

cohesion and commitment (Eyerman and Jamison 1997; Williams 1977). In the experience of farm workers in the mid-1960s, it is precisely the processes of song-making that reveal the shifting social and cultural borders of ethnic Mexican musical expression, and further, the active and developing structures of identity formation. Within the complex experience of ethnic Mexicans in the U.S., music was a pivotal expression of both social conflict and cultural hybridity. The repertoire of corridos, the stylings big band/*orquesta* musicians, and the powerfully influential sounds of popular music, to be discussed later in the dissertation, reveal the vast musical territory within which ethnic Mexican youth found themselves. With the onset of the farm worker movement, strikers and supporters who were musicians mobilized within this vast territory appropriating and re-contextualizing songs, sounds, and styles towards the political objectives of the strike. While noting the significance of musical traditions, I am not necessarily interested in the search for origins of the song families that underlie the compositional practices of farm worker musicians. I am, however, interested in what sources these musicians drew upon as examples of the deep roots or "*raza* memory storehouse," reflecting the social power of song in service of social and

cultural survival (Broyles-González 2001). Raza cultural memory played a critical role in the urgent and creative processes of this social movement.

This sense of collectivity and memory is well expressed in the singing of huelga songs on the picket lines, at the Friday night meetings, and other gatherings of strikers and their supporters.[2] Shared knowledge of songs, be they from church or popular sources, helped weave together the experiences of those who comprised of farm worker movement.

> I figured that [the singing] didn't need professional polish because it was a strike. We were singers and we were workers at the same time. That inspired other people that didn't have any training, of course, to jump right in, it was a Mexican thing. Music was the first element. Music was like the water. Music was like the basic solution into which everything floated. With music you can change an environment right away. The power of music is amazing. It has to do with its harmonics. It has to do with just the pleasure of listening to music. But it has to do with the fact that by singing, the human being elevates his behavior to another level and he's emitting these vibrations that impact on people in an emotional way, whether he's a bad singer or good singer – preferably a good singer. (Luis Valdez, 2002)

As a form of 'peoples' music,' huelga songs were an avenue of community formation within the union. Luis Valdez makes the important point of that the singers, and by extension the songwriters, were workers, members of the UFW, strikers – not professional musicians brought in to

entertain on the picket line. One story of the many individuals who became involved in the within the grassroots-based union as a striker and musicians is that of Armando "Solo" Hernández.

ARMANDO "SOLO" HERNANDEZ

Armando "Solo" Hernández grew up in a farm worker family in Indio, California – in the heart of one of the state's primary agricultural areas, the Coachella Valley. At a young age, he started working in the fields with his family. In 1965, his parents first heard of the efforts to organize a farm worker union, as striking workers shouted at them, attempting to coax them out of the fields to join the union. In what was not an uncommon occurrence, opinions were split within the family as to whether they should join the strike. Early on, Solo's mother felt the importance of the strike and convinced Solo to join her in working for the union. His father, on the other hand, felt "you don't bite the hand that feeds you." According to Solo, his mother responded, "Yes, unless they're being unjust with you." His father continued to work in the fields while Solo and his mother joined the strike (personal communication, 2002).

Solo initially began working in the fields to help augment the family income, which was sorely needed. However, he also worked in order to save money to buy a guitar for he had a great interest in playing music. He and his friends were excited by rock'n'roll music of the time, particularly the songs of Ritchie Valens, and they were working to buy instruments to start a band. He already knew how to play guitar from songs his father taught him, mostly of the Mexican popular tradition, such as rancheras. Not long after Solo joined the strike, César Chávez came to Indio on an organizing effort. While there, Chávez asked for volunteers to play guitar and Solo's friends "volunteered" him to play.

> I played [César Chávez] some of the [rancheras] that my dad had taught me. He was my first teacher, my dad. [César] said, "Well, play some of the rancheras. Even though they have nothing to do with the huelga, we want the people to hear them. We want to make some noise so that people can notice us." That was the whole idea. After a while, the shouting and the shouting doesn't do it. You want to offer something a little more, to catch their eye, to catch their ear. And so there were a lot of ranchera songs, you know, "Dos arbolitos," anything that had to do with the rancho, with the campo and all of that, besides "De colores." It worked out and that's what got me close to César. He loved music. He knew the power of music. I didn't know how politically strong, at that time, music was. I really didn't. I learned that from him. He used it as a tool. I was using it as entertainment. He taught me how to use it as a tool. (Solo Hernández, 2002)

According to Hernández, by the time of the grape strike in 1965, song was already a useful organizing 'tool' for the union, including the efforts of the union's leadership of César Chávez and Dolores Huerta. Solo's experience is also instructive about how the union repertoire was forming in the early weeks and months of the strike. Rancheras, particularly those of explicit pastoral themes, were utilized in organizing efforts. Music, however, was considered a 'powerful' medium in articulating the meaning of the movement.

Michael Heisley (1983) suggests the same in his study of two corridistas singing within the farm worker movement. In the only extended study to date on the topic of music within the farm worker movement, Heisley's dissertation addresses the issue of the individual singer and song-writer within a musical community and more specifically within a social movement. Heisley states that we need to pay attention to "the degree to which songs composed about protest movements are the products of an individual's ideas and experiences and not simply reflections of the movement's strategies or chronicles of events" (p. x). At issue for Heisley is the idea that singers/performers are not merely

repositories for the songs of a social movement but active participants in development of repertoires and the meanings of songs and their performances. While my study focuses on the development of the huelga song repertoire, I acknowledge the primary significance of the experience of individual musicians, such as Solo Hernández and others, in shaping the sounds, lyrics, and practice of the huelga song. Yet, any consideration of the huelga song repertoire needs to address the role of the group of artists most closely associated with the farm worker struggle, El Teatro Campesino.

EL TEATRO CAMPESINO

One of the most prominent examples of artistic endeavor in labor organizing was El Teatro Campesino, The Farm Worker Theater. In these early days of the grape strike, the ensemble was a grassroots creative vehicle within the organizing machine that the union was transforming itself into. At its inception in 1965, El Teatro Campesino was a collective ensemble that performed highly improvised skits, called *actos*, which told the story of the living, working, and social conditions of farm workers. The ensemble would relocate in 1967 outside the confines of the UFW to

continue artistically organizing around farm worker issues but also to address larger issues of Chicano culture and identity. They would go on to become one of the premiere Chicana/o performance ensembles to emerge from the Chicano movement.

In the literature on the history of El Teatro Campesino, music has typically been discussed in terms of its relevancy to the theatrical works of the ensemble (Huerta 1982; Broyles-González 1994), rather than as a repertoire and set of practices itself. Music was important yet secondary to the political imperatives and rasquachi stylings of the actos. Still, Broyles-González is correct in her assertion that the creativity of the Teatro, together with the *carpa* tradition,

> be understood as *performance conglomerates* that incorporated heterogeneous performance acts from the repository of Mexican popular: joke-telling, *corridos*, and other musical forms, *declamadores*, comic sketches, marionettes, and so on" (1994: 51, emphasis in the original).

Music was often fundamental to the expressive character of the ensemble's theatrical innovations and enjoyed a symbiotic relationship within the Teatro's conceptualization of the actos. Nevertheless, singing and composing huelga songs were some of the primary activities of the Teatro from the very beginning.[3] Agustín Lira, co-founder of the Teatro

Campesino, comments on the immediacy songs played in the activities of the ensemble.

> **Azcona**: When did the songs that you and Luis [Valdez] and Felipe [Cantú wrote], when did that start happening?
> **Agustín Lira**: 1965. Right away, right away. And it happened during the winter of 1965. The first song that I wrote, followed very closely by other kinds of songs, were right in the heat of the battle. (2002)

El Teatro Campesino, in the early years of the strike, had musical as well as theatrical responsibilities, such as composing and teaching songs to the farm workers for use on the picket lines and at union events, particularly the Friday night meetings.

> We found that certainly anytime that music was needed, we were called upon. We were expected to be there for that, so there was a lot of that. [And] not just on the picket line, but at the meetings, and at the marches, and at the rallies. (Luis Valdez, 2002)

Singing songs on the picket lines had two specific purposes. One was to sustain the strikers during the long hours they spent picketing various ranches. More importantly, songs were organizing tools with which to draw the attention of the scabs and draw them into the union. Solo Hernández's first encounter with César Chávez underscores this concept of the song as organizing tool, "we want the people to hear [the

songs]. We want to make some noise so that [the scabs] can notice us." It was through this strategy on the picket line that Teatro Campesino co-founders Agustín Lira and Luis Valdez first noticed the talent of the late Felipe Cantú, long noted as the "comic genius" of the ensemble. The story is re-counted here by Agustín Lira and Patricia Wells-Solorzano:

> **Patricia Wells-Solorzano**: And [Felipe] would use music too to lure the workers out of the fields. He had been a circus clown and an actor in México and he got up on the flat-bed. I like this story a lot. I heard it second-hand; I wasn't there. He said, "Compañeros! Compañeras! Nosotros!" he said.
> **Agustín Lira**: And firing up the people -he's standing on top of a truck- with a megaphone in his hands: "Nosotros!" And all the campesinos are out there, the scabs are picking in groups, and so you start to see the heads popping up. "Nosotros raza! Nosotros gente! Nosotros!" Everybody thought he was going to take off on this big ol' speech because that's what we were doing out in the fields, trying to talk [the scabs out of the fields]. And he goes, "Nosotros! [then singing a popular Edie Gormé song] Qué nos queremos tanto / Qué la la la la la…" He made everybody laugh out there. Luis and I looked at each other and we went, "Hmm. He's teatro material." So we recruited him.
> **Azcona**: That's how you got him?
> **Lira**: That day we both pulled him out of the fields, Luis and I. And he came and joined us. He started writing songs and performing with us. (2002)

The picket line would become a prime site for the meaning and performance of huelga songs. These songs, recontextualized into the grape strike, complemented the other speech genres already at play: from

speeches to shouting, *gritos* and sloganeering; all of which was aimed toward the goals of winning the strike. The influence of the other verbal genres bled in and out of the songs and their performance. As the story of Felipe Cantú on the picket lines demonstrates, the potentially creative interweaving between speech, shouts, and song locates the picket line as an important emergent site of performance within the strike and the social movement more generally and the place of songs as one of a set of vocal strategies.

THE PEDAGOGY OF THE PICKET

Within the UFW, the everyday activities of the strike were opportunities to develop organizers. In fact, it was a grassroots imperative as there was no money for the strike let alone to allocate funds to formally train or hire professional organizers. Such strategies would have been contrary to Chávez's vision of a union of farm workers, led by farm workers, actually helping farm workers (Griswold del Castillo and Garcia 1995). Even less were there any resources for artists and musicians (personal communication: Luis Valdez, 2002). It was transformation by experience rather than formal classroom pedagogy that distinguished the UFW's

techniques from mainstream labor union, therefore, the picket lines, the Friday night meetings, and other sites of confrontation for farm workers became sites to learn how to organize.

> Already the voices of the picket line were calling out to the workers: "*¡Venga! ¡Véngase! ¡Compañero! ¡Huelga! ¡Huelga!*" To Chavez, the picket line is the best school for organizers. "If a man comes out of the field and goes on the picket line, even for one day, he'll never be the same. The picket line is the best possible education. Some labor people came here to Delano and said, 'Where do you train people? Where are you classrooms?' I took them to the picket line. *That's* where we train people. That's the best training. The labor people didn't get it. They stayed a week and went back to their big jobs and comfortable homes. They hadn't seen training, but the people here see it and I see it. The picket line is where a man makes his commitment, and it's irrevocable; and the longer he's on the picket line, the stronger the commitment. The workers on the ranch committees who don't know how to speak, or who never speak –after five days on the picket lines they speak right out, and they speak better." (Matthiessen 1973, emphasis in the original)

As the above quote suggests, it was there on the picket line where organizing leadership was developed. In the initial years of the grape strike, 1965-1967, the picket line was the front line of the movement. Through the experience on the picket line, one learned the meaning of the movement through the relationships and commitments established primarily during the long hours spent in the middle of nowhere (i.e.,

California's central San Joaquin Valley), on precarious rural roads, with your only witnesses being other farm workers, the scabs, the county sheriff's department, and the goons hired by the growers to scare you off the picket.

> The Teatro evolved from the picket lines; it was a response to the growers' antagonism. There was a need to deflate the threat of the growers, so we improvised, we mimicked them…Our attack was through satire, we had to take the stuffings out of the system. (Luis Valdez, as quoted in Sonnichsen 1983)

The songs of the Teatro, and other farm worker composers, also emerged from the experience on the picket line (Silber 1966; Heisley 1983). The picket became a vibrant site of confrontation, consciousness formation, experience, inspiration, and performance. Union leaders and César Chávez in particular encouraged worker musicians to write songs that directly addressed the strike and the union (personal communication: Armando Hernández 2002; Agustín Lira 2002).

In the early decades of the twentieth century, the International Workers of the World's (IWW) "Little Red Song Book" - intended "to fan the flames of discontent" - is an instructive predecessor of the UFW's huelga songs. Many of the songs of the popular pocket-sized book are

lyric adaptations to popular songs of its day. For example, "The Preacher and the Slave" by Joe Hill is sung to the tune "Sweet Bye and Bye;" "Renunciation" is sung to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne;" and "Onward One Big Union" is sung to the tune of "Onward Christian Soldiers" (IWW 1996 [1923]). "The IWW mobilized the materials of both folk and popular song for the purpose of propagating their highly utopian visions of a collective future" (Eyerman and Jamison: 57). The IWW was, in every way, a "singing movement." The 'mobilization' of the IWW included not only the writing of new songs and adapting of older songs, but also the generation of songbooks for workers to engage in the collective activity of singing, fostering the ideal of the "universal brotherhood of all workers.[4]

These were the underlying tactics involved in the composing and singing of huelga songs. A more subtle and powerful shared imperative through the avenue of song was the educational and empowering practice that song provided.

> Our most important aim is to reach the farm workers. All the actors are farm workers, and our single topic is La Huelga… The Teatro appeals to its actors for the same reason it appeals to its audience. It explores the meaning of a social movement without asking its participants to read or write. It is a learning experience with no formal prerequisites. This is all-important because most farm

> workers have never had the chance to go to school and are alienated by classrooms, blackboards, and the formal teacher-student approach. (Valdez 1966)

In text and in performance, song was praxis, a form of popular education that connected huelguistas not only to each other and the union, but to the necessity of struggle to overcome the obstacles of power, most specifically in the persons of the growers.

> **Luis Valdez**: [on the influence of Bertold Brecht and his political use of verse…] I had one more example to emulate, another political use of music. So I had no problem thinking about taking a traditional ranchera song and rewriting it to work for political purposes. The same thing with translating music from the Civil Rights Movement, "No nos moverán," which we translated within the Teatro and they still use it, you know, "We Shall Not Be Moved." "Solidaridad para siempre," you know, which, again, I re-wrote. "Huelga en general" which I wrote based on a tune I heard in Cuba, a Mexican tune.
> **Azcona**: Do you know what tune that was?
> **Valdez**: No. Someone pointed out the composer [once]. I just heard it. It was a song that they composed in Mexico that they were singing in Cuba and they sang to me and I learned all the words and I began to sing [it] and when I got to Delano I changed half the verses to make it fit into the union. It's a Mexican corrido, not a Cuban corrido. But there's stuff like that, you know. "El picket sign," which is "Se va el caimán." Basically it's a children's song from the Caribbean [Colombia], "The Alligator." [Luis demonstrates the similarities of the verses and melody.] So it became politicized, and again, that's something we sang on the picket lines. I wasn't reaching for "great" music, you

> understand. I was reaching for a way to try to use music as an organizing tool. (2002)

Music was a 'tool' in learning to organize, and as suggested by Joe Hill at the beginning of this chapter, was a more resonating medium to the rank and file than any other form, such as the essay or pamphlet.

SONGWRITING AND THE CRISIS OF TIME

The impending schedule of constantly having to come up with new material was critical to understanding the modus operandi of the huelga songwriters, their sources of material, and the specific historical moment that was the farm worker struggle and emerging Chicano movement. Time was of the essence, particularly within the everyday schedule in the strike. As the musicians of the movement were farm workers/strikers/organizers, there was never enough time to recruit new strikers, seek public support for the strike in the form of donations of food and clothing for the strikers, meet with lawyers or the growers, let alone develop new musical material. Moments such as these reveal the intensity that is the social movement; that the temporal mode takes on a sense of

crisis considering the objectives at hand. Time is experienced through a sort of warp where the most intense resistance is employed by all sides.

Due to the immediate need for songs, songwriters began appropriating other songs – in the vein of the IWW - be they labor union songs, songs from the civil rights movement, church songs, or popular Mexican genres like rancheras.

> We ripped off the songs of the civil rights movement, man. They were not the songs of individuals, though; they were peoples' songs. They were born out of necessity. The point is to do it, to get the message across. My rock'n'roll [huelga] songs were being written as I was playing them. I was really just fooling around. There was the pressure of time that turned "La bamba" into "La huelga." This was out of desperation. (Armando "Solo" Hernández, 2002)

This crisis of time formed the experience of the musicians playing for the farm worker movement by shaping the constraints within which they created songs. Armando "Solo" Hernandez, a singer-songwriter now living in San Diego spoke of his own experience playing on the picket line as a youth in the Indio area.

> I was told to bring my guitar and a sack-lunch, as we didn't know where we'd end up by the end of the day. On the way to this picket or another, they would ask me, "So what new songs do you have?" I wouldn't have a 'new' song and so they would say, "Well, write one," as in now. (2002)

The lack of time pointed toward the general compositional process of appropriation undertaken by the Teatro and other songwriters. The translation of a number of established protest songs was prevalent in the early years of the strike. The IWW standard, "Solidarity Forever" became "Solidaridad pa' siempre;" "We Shall Not Be Moved" was translated into "No nos moverán." With the songs of the civil rights movement, their anthem was appropriated as well with "We Shall Overcome" becoming "Nosotros venceremos." The translations were done 'in the spirit' of the songs and were not necessarily 'literal.' Some songs were sung bilingually, as was the case with "Solidaridad pa' siempre" and "Nosotros venceremos." There was, however, a kind of 'Mexican-izing' of these songs, musically. For example, "Solidarity Forever" was transformed from its march-like beat with the dotted-rhythm in the melody to the ranchera-ish 2/4 polka beat with a straightening of the melody, giving it a rather legato vocal delivery – perhaps more comfortable with those not quite familiar with the song and its 'un-Mexican' dotted-rhythm vocal line.

The appropriating or adapting of already existing sources (e.g., church song, folksong, popular song) into thematic material for the strike

and/or the union activities was already a long tradition in the use of expressive culture within social or labor movements. The process of appropriation was a pragmatic aesthetic choice in terms of the size and selection of the repertoire by using lyrics and/or melodies that were either 'easy-to-learn' or already recognizable. Further, at the picket lines, marches, or rallies where these songs would be performed, the constant repetition that's associated with the style aided in the learning process for the rank-and-file of the union and its supporters.

> What do they say, 'necessity is the mother of invention.' If César Chávez came to you, or any huelguista, and said, "We need songs. We need songs now, now. Qué vamos ir a este rancho y no tenemos canciones." So what's first thing you do? If you're a "church" kind of person, you use their melodies and write down your own words. If you happen to be a "rock'n'roller," an "oldie-but-goodie" guy, you will use that melody. You'll take, I don't care, you'll take "Angel Baby," it don't matter, and you change into a huelga song. Why? Because we need one now. We need one now. We don't have the luxury of time. That's where that came from. "Let's hurry. Let's hurry. Let's get something done. Use that melody. Use that melody." To write an original melody, at least a good one, with original words, that takes a little bit of time. It takes time. Some of these songs were written in a truck on the way to the ranch. By the time you got there, you would just do it. I have forgotten a lot of the songs.
>
> I even wrote a huelga song with "Wooly Bully." He wanted something really fast and I remembered just a little bit. I

> started with, "Uno, dos, one, two, tres, cuatro… [He goes into a rendition of "Wooly Bully" or "Huelga Time!," cutting off half-way through.] You know, and I wrote a song with that. I mean, a lot of these songs I've forgotten but you need to have something there. You needed to entertain the people. I remember that one got us a lot of people because the first thing reaction was they were cracking up, they were just laughing. "What are doing the Sam the Sham and the Pharaohs, man!" Hey, sorry, you know! But then they would join in. [He performs the rest of the song.] And before you knew it, we were surrounded by people, all just having a good time. And once we had them there, then we would start explaining to them about the union, then the serious part came in. But the whole thing was to first get them. And César would encourage me to do that. He says, "I love it when you do crazy stuff like that because that's what gets them out here. Do more crazy stuff like that." I knew a lot of rock songs. I did a lot of the Ritchie Valens [songs] into huelga songs. (2002)

Appropriation was crucial process for the songs of the labor movement, especially the well-known songs of the IWW that define the labor movement repertoire. The civil rights movement similarly appropriated and adapted a number of songs for use at sit-ins, marches, and protests in the South, practices constrained by the scarcity of time (Reagon 1975). Solo Hernández's remarks suggest the mobilization of the vast musical territory that formed experience of ethnic Mexicans in the U.S. and the role individual songwriters had in creating the huelga song

repertoire (Heisley 1983). With the scarcity of time that existed to write songs, many songs that were written were forgotten. Some were forgotten or left to the past because the interest of the author was not maintained (personal communication: Agustín Lira, 2002; Armando Hernández, 2002). Many more were forgotten because the specific incident's that inspired their composition had passed and the song's message no longer had immediate relevance (Heisley 1983; Agustín Lira, 2002). Composing huelga songs under the pressures of time demanded by the strike necessitated efficient songwriting strategies. Two of the more popular of song adaptations are "Huelga en general" and "El picket sign."

Huelga en general[5] (excerpt)	**General Strike**
Hasta México ha llegado la noticia muy alegre que Delano es diferente. Pues el pueblo ya está en contra los rancheros y engreídos que acababan con la gente. Y como somos hermanos la alegría compartimos con todos los campesinos,	All the way to Mexico has come the good news that Delano is different. But the people are now against the ranchers and the arrogant who are destroying the people. And as we as brothers the happiness we share with all the farm workers.
¡Viva la revolución! ¡Arriba con nuestra unión! ¡Viva huelga en general!	Long live the revolution! Long live the our union! Long live the general strike!
El día ocho de septiembre de los campos de Delano	On the eighth of September from the fields of Delano

salierón los filipinos.	the Filipinos walked out.
Y despues de dos semanas	And after two weeks
para unirse a la batalla	to join them in battle
salierón los mexicanos.	the Mexicans walked out.
Y juntos vamos cumpliendo	And together we are accomplishing
con la marcha de la historia	with the history-making march
para liberar al pueblo	in order to liberate the people.
¡Viva la revolución!	Long live the revolution!
¡Arriba con nuestra unión!	Long live the our union!
¡Viva huelga en general!	Long live the general strike!

"Huelga en general" was originally a "corrido" heard by Luis Valdez during a trip to Cuba in 1964. The song documents the emergence of the union, paying particular attention to the role of Filipino workers in initiating the grape strike in September 1965. Julio Rodríguez-Puértolas (1975: 106-07) mentions this song (and refreshes our collective memory as to its origins) –he refers to it as "La huelga de Delano"- in his study of corridos and other songs of the Chicano Movement:

> La raza reacciona, hace protestas, demonstraciones, huelgas. A la cita no faltan los corridos, come este sobre *La huelga de Delano* (recogido en pliego suelto)…Pero aquí ha ocurrido un fenómeno muy interesante. Este corrido se cantaba originalmente en México mismo y estaba dedicado al triunfo de la revolución de Fidel Castro en Cuba, de la siguiente manera [The Chicanos respond by doing protests, demonstrations, and strikes. At these gatherings corridos are always present, such as "La huelga de Delano" (obtained via broadside)…But here has occurred a very interesting phenomenon. This corrido was originally sung in Mexico

itself and was dedicated to the triumph of the revolution of Fidel Castro in Cuba, in the following manner]:

Hasta México ha llegado	[From Mexico has come
la noticia muy alegre	the good news
de que Cuba es diferente;	that Cuba is different;
Ya no hay nadie que la estorbe	For now no one can obstruct her
ni tiranos engreídos	not even arrogant tyrants
que acababan con la gente;	who are destroying the people;
Y como somos hermanos	And as we are brothers
la alegría compartimos	the happiness we share
con toditos los cubanos.	with all the Cubans.]
¡Viva la revolución!	Long live the revolution!
¡Viva la reforma agrarian!	Long live Agrarian Reform!
¡Viva Fidel Castro Ruz!	Long live Fidel Castro Ruz!]

The effect of the Cuban Revolution on mexicanos on both sides of the border had tremendous influence on the musical production of Chicanos during the movimiento and was already manifesting itself in the initial weeks of the farm worker strike of 1965. In tandem with the revolutionary and triumphalist rhetoric of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the imagery and sloganeering that identified these historical periods was also appropriated to politicize the current struggle in the consciousness of the strikers and the scabs.

"El picket sign" was a song adapted along the satirical lines of the Teatro's actos. An adaptation of the internationally popular Colombian song, "Se va el caiman," "El picket sign" utilized its sweet melody and danceable rhythm to such success that the song has since been continually

re-adapted to other struggles, some outside of the Spanish language world (personal communication: Agustín Lira, 2002).

El picket sign[6] (excerpt)	**The Picket Sign**
Desde Tejas a California campesinos están luchando. ¡Los rancheros a llore y llore de huelga ya están bien pandos!	From Texas to California farm workers are struggling. The ranchers, crying and crying the strike has made them spineless!
(Estribillo) El picket sign, el picket sign, lo llevo por todo el día. El picket sign, el picket sign, conmigo toda la vida.	(Refrain) The picket sign, the picket sign, I carry it all day. The picket sign, the picket sign, with me all my life.
Ya tenemos más del año peleando con esta huelga. Un ranchero ya murió, y el otro ya se hizo abuela.	We've spent most of the year fighting this strike. One rancher already died, and another turned into a coward.
Un primo que tengo yo andaba regando ditches. Un día con Pagarulo, otro con Zanavaviches.	A cousin of mine was irrigating the ditches One day with "Pagarulo," another day with "Zanavaviches"

Both "Huelga en general" and "El picket sign" were songs steeped in the lived experience of farm workers and the strike. They recount and document the events, personages, and groups that formed parts of the collective memory of the union, such as the role of Filipinos in the grape strike in "Huelga en general" and struggles with specific growers (i.e., "Pagarulo" and "Zanavaviches"; see Paredes 1993 on ethnic slurs and

joking) in "El Picket Sign." Another genre that dealt specifically with documenting the memory of significant persons and events in a community's history was the corrido.

The corrido had long been a vehicle for social and cultural critique within the ethnic Mexican community. From the "El corrido de Kiansis" to "El corrido de Gregorio Cortez" to the corridos of the movimiento era, the genre has played a pivotal role in symbolically mediating the long history of intercultural conflict between Mexicans and Anglos north of the border. It was particularly the corridos of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) with their heroic themes of revolution and resistance that firmly planted the genre as a uniquely Mexican and powerful cultural medium. The corridos of the revolutionary era were considered by Américo Paredes (1958) to be the genre's "epic period" and they still form part of the greater repertoire of Mexican popular song. Composers of huelga song vastly utilized this genre to locate their expressions of protest and to connect with the vast mexicano membership of the union.

> I was always more attracted, for our purposes, for those meetings, to songs that could grab an audience with their simplicity and their emotional power. The corridos are

> handy in that way because they are really built for that, [they're] vehicles to express "deep feeling," in a lot of corridos – even though its done traditionally in, sometimes, a hackneyed way, to repeat the same verses in the same tune practically. But we had room for spiritual songs. (Luis Valdez, 2002)

Michael Heisley's dissertation addressed the repertoires of two corridistas, Francisco Garcia and Pablo Saludado, working within the UFW. In discussing the strategies of composition employed by both Garcia and Saludado, Heisley reveals that both corridistas vastly utilized tune-borrowing in the composition of their corridos. In essence, they too adapted older musical material for use in the making of new corridos. Many of these corridos reflect what Manuel Peña (1999) identifies as "canción-corridos," as they exhibit formal aspects of both the corrido (i.e., running narrative theme) and the canción ranchera (i.e., use of refrains and musical interludes between verses).

One of the more well known corridos written during the grape strike was "El corrido de César Chávez" by Felipe Cantú of the Teatro Campesino. The song documents the UFW's historic 280-mile march or "peregrinación" (pilgrimage) from Delano to Sacramento in 1966 and was, in fact, written during the march. As the stanzas demonstrate, we can

follow the campesionos from Delano through to the cities of Fresno and Merced on toward the state capitol. According to Michael Heisley's (1983) oral histories with Pablo Saludado, Cantú set the corrido to the tune of "El corrido de Pancho Villa" as Cantú felt there to be an iconic connection between the figures of Villa and Chávez. However, the lyrics are initially adapted from another corrido of the Pancho Villa cycle, "La toma de Celaya." On the one hand, it is an appropriate and unsurprising selection as the march to Sacramento was a "taking" or "assault" (albeit a non-violent assault) on the social borders of life in California's central valley, confronting head on those communities that supported the racialized social order of the times with Mexican on the subordinate side.

> The San Joaquin Valley is full of those limitations of those barriers and those lines that you don't cross. Well, this march crossed them. It crossed them all. It was to me a literal taking of the territory. (Luis Valdez[7])

On the other hand, "La toma de Celaya" is about the defeat of Villa's famed "División del Norte" and the beginning of its decline as a major military power during the long years of the Mexican Revolution, hardly relating to the purpose of the corrido (Hernández, 1996). However, it was the adaptation and recontextualization of musical sources as they were

forged in the struggle of the movement that often relieved songwriters of the lingering meanings of the original source material.

El corrido de César Chávez[8] (excerpt)	**The Ballad of César Chávez**
Un diesyseis de marzo jueves santo en la mañana salió César de Delano componiendo una campaña.	On the 16th of March a blessed Thursday in the morning César Chávez left Delano organizing a campaign.
Compañeros campesinos esto va ser un ejemplo. Esta marcha la llevamos hasta mero Sacramento.	Fellow farm workers this is going to be an example. We will take this march right into Sacramento.
Cuando llegamos a Fresno toda la gente gritaba que viva César Chávez y la gente que llevaba.	When we arrived in Fresno all the people shouted Long live César Chávez and the people he brought with him.
Nos despedimos de Fresno nos despedimos con fé para llegar muy contentos hasta el pueblo de Merced.	We bid farewell to Fresno We left with faith to arrive feeling good to the town of Merced.

The utilization of the corrido tradition was ultimately an example of huelga songwriters drawing on the vast musical reserves that mexicano musical culture offered. Although huelga songs were lyrically written toward the political goals of the strike the use of rancheras, particularly those whose lyrical content was based primarily on the pastoral themes of the rancho and el campo (countryside), as well as the repertoire from the

time of, or about, the Mexican Revolution, formed an additional part of the repertoire. Songs such as "Dos arbolitos, "Alla en Rancho Grande,"La Adelita," and "La persecución de Villa" were identified as part of the repertoire that some farm workers referred to as "canciones culturales" (cultural songs) - the material base of Mexican musical expression that was shared amongst most of the mexicano strikers and that was embodied in traditional genres such as rancheras, boleros, and corridos. Canciones culturales served a larger role of community formation within the Mexican membership of the UFW, as it had in the house meetings of the National Farm Worker Association (NFWA) days of the union. It was based in the collective memory or "raza memory storehouse" (Broyles-Gonzalez 2000), the sustaining mexicano cultural practices that served the survival of cultural identity on this side of the border amid the onslaught of "Americanization" schools, the prohibition of spoken Spanish in various institutions and workplaces, and general cultural denigration.

CANCIONES CULTURALES

Canciones culturales were mobilized as organizing tools not only in the early house meetings of the union but also on organizing campaigns in

non-unionized farm worker labor camps. Agustín Lira tells of his use of song and the guitar in the some of the labor camps he was trying to organize and what songs worked best in these situations.

> One of the jobs that I had in the UFW was to go into the women's labor camps by singing music, and so forth, and once we were in there to begin talking union and to recruit individuals. Usually what we would do was we would get the majority of the people to vote for the UFW, so we were organizers in that sense and that's what I did. I used my guitar to go in and sing… The [songs] that worked really well, of course, was the regular Mexican music, rancheras, boleros; the stuff that people were singing at the time, and then I would sneak in a song of the union. We would close our meetings, for example, inside some of these camps with either "De colores" or "We Shall Overcome" or some other song that would fit the mood at the time. (2002)

As illustrated by the experience of Agustín Lira, canciones culturales or "the regular Mexican music" of the time proved to be an effective tool in organizing campaigns in the labor camps, as well as at other sites from the picket lines to the Friday night meetings. Also demonstrated were the multiple contexts and performance strategies employed by singers of huelga song. Political lyrics were not always necessary nor more successful than the repertoire of Mexican popular music. Performing songs that represented the common bonds of culture, Lira mobilized the songs popular among mexicanos, every now and then "sneaking" in a

song from the union in preparation for talking about the union with the workers. The wide appeal of Mexican popular song, particularly with the ease of its reproduction with the highly mobile solo voice with accompanying guitar, made canciones culturales a significant part of the broader musical practices within the farm worker movement.

The most well known song of the farm worker movement --what some call the "anthem" of the UFW-- has no explicit political lyrics. The folk song, "De colores," has been sung at union events probably since the inception of the movement itself. Although a folk song in nature, "De colores" emerged not in the U.S. Southwest nor in Mexico, but in Spain from the *cursillo* movement of the Spanish Catholic Church in the 1940s. The song quickly made its way to the Americas and was picked up in church by ethnic Mexican Roman Catholics.

De colores[9]	**The Many Colors**
De colores, De colores se visten en los campos en la primavera.	The many colors, The fields dress themselves in colors in the springtime.
De colores, De colores son los pajaritos que vienen de afuera.	The many colors, The little birds that come from afar are multicolored.
De colores, De colores es el arco iris que vemos lucir,	The many colors, The rainbow that we see shining is of many colors,
Y por eso los grandes amores De muchos colores me gustan a mí.	And that is why I love many colors.

Canta el gallo,	The rooster sings,
Canta el gallo con el quiri quiri quiri quiri quiri;	The rooster sings cock-a-doodle-doo;
La gallina,	The hen,
La gallina con el kara kara kara kara kara;	The hen with her cluck, cluck, cluck;
Los pollitos,	The chicks,
Los pollitos con el pio pio pio pio pi;	The chicks with their peep, peep, peep;
Y por eso los grandes amores	And that is why
De muchos colores me gustan a mí.	I love many colors.

Depicting a vivid pastoral image, "De colores" resonated with farm workers and also reflected an aspect of UFW organizing strategies of the time as the union adopted a number of religious symbols as its own. A devout Catholic himself, César Chávez utilized the religious imagery, such as the Virgen de Guadalupe, as symbols of the farm worker movement. The extensive use of such images marked the cultural rather than ideological formation of the union and further established the modus operandi of non-violence that identified the tactics of disobedience that were necessary in the campesino struggle. Nonetheless, the non-political nature of the lyrics made the song's popularity a curiosity to some farm worker musicians (Agustín Lira, 2002) as well as some Chicano scholars (Paredes 1977).

The large-scale use of tune-borrowing, adaptation, translation, and other composing techniques were not the only manners from which huelga songs were created. There were a number of original songs that

were written, mostly by Agustín Lira, although their numbers are dwarfed by the adapted repertoire. The scarcity of time that exists within the context of the social movement, so vividly articulated by Solo Hernández with his example of "Wooly Bully/Huelga Time," was certainly one of the framing parameters for writing of huelga songs. There are differing opinions regarding the ultimate success of specific songs in the struggle. For Agustín Lira, songs such as "Nosotros venceremos," "No nos moverán" "El corrido de César Chávez," and "El Picket Sign" were critical in their power to unite people, particularly under the rather harsh conditions from which the farm worker struggle was waged. However, to others such as Solo Hernández, those songs were not as effective in recruiting new members, particularly scabs, to the union. For Solo, songs such as his adaptations of rock'n'roll tunes and other similar creations that caught peoples' ear, that were enjoyable, were more effective than "Nosotros venceremos" and others of the same style at pulling workers out of the fields.

CONCLUSION

Huelga song would become the first musical maneuver in the struggle of Chicanos for cultural and political rights and resources. It would also be the initial enactment of the Chicano Movement's cultural excavation of its Mexicanness; composers of huelga song breaking the surface into the political potential of rancheras and the already established corridos as forms for protests songs. Culture had long played a crucial role in the lives of farm workers and Mexicans in California (more generally throughout much of the Southwest) for it indelibly marked their difference to mainstream American society by race and class. This difference was often expressed through oppositional voices and forms, just not in confrontational terms. The emergence of the farm worker movement, however, would propel these and other Mexican cultural forms into the open and public spaces, challenging previous notions about 'Mexicanness' and the strength of its cultural practices, practices that would find other voices in the cities in the creation of a new, public, 'Chicano' voice.

These compositional processes and organizational strategies towards the goals of the movement would form the foundation of musical

practices that would emerge from the urban grassroots throughout the state of California. Musicians would take the huelga song repertoire and begin to experiment beyond the '3-chord' realm of the repertoire and begin to develop a style that would find roots in various regional Mexican folk styles, as well as the emerging Latin American sounds of nueva canción, initiating the next phase of movimiento music.

NOTES

1. The great majority of block quotations are taken from the oral histories I conducted during my dissertation research. They are differentiated by quotes from secondary sources as they are marked by the full name of the individual rather than only the surname of the author.

2. Friday night meetings were the weekly informational sessions during the grape strike of 1965 where the UFW leadership remarked on the status of the strike to the union membership. In the early years of the strike, 1965-67, the meetings were critical to the success of maintaining the strike and the cohesion of the membership. "The Friday night meetings were important but not as important as the early years. In the early years, that was the life blood. Without those meetings, there would have been no future. There would have been nothing, because when people don't believe in themselves, they don't struggle. They don't fight." Personal communication: Agustín Lira, 2002.

3. From the liner notes of El Teatro Campesino's 1975 album, *Huelga en General*: "From the very beginning, the heart of El Teatro Campesino has been its music- the songs, the corridos, the cries of anguish and happiness of a working people."

4. El Teatro Campesino also began printing their own songbooks although after their departure from the UFW in 1967.

5. Lyrics taken from song sheet from an El Teatro Campesino songbook, no date. Transcription theirs.

6. Ibid. A recording of this song is available on *Rolas de Aztlán: Songs of the Chicano Movement* CD compilation of Smithsonian Folkways Recordings (2005).

7. Quote taken from the film, "Struggle in the Fields."

8. See note 6.

9. See note 6.

Chapter Three

Movimiento Music:
The Ideological Act of Song in the Chicano Movement, 1968 - 1973

> Without a romantic ideology, there can be no national culture and thus no revolt or nationalist movement.
>
> --Anthony D. Smith, 1981

> Guitars, singers and songs
> silence weapons of oppression,
> inspire a noble people
> to struggle for Our Cause.
>
> --Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales (Los Alvarados, 1974)[1]

Hermano Chicano, no hay que decaer	Chicano Brother, let us not weaken
Busca en tus entrañas al indio de ayer	Look inside yourself for the Indian of the past
Sólo su nobleza, y su humanidad	Only his nobility and his humanity
Te darán las fuerzas, de la libertad	Will give you the strength to gain your liberty

--Enrique Ramírez, 1969

Song, be it "John Brown's Body" from the Civil War era, "We Shall Not Be Moved" from the early twentieth century labor movement, or "This Little Light of Mine" from the civil rights movement, has allowed people to express social critique and cultural commentary in times of crisis. Songs of this sort –and they have many designations: protest song, political song,

propaganda song, et al– are historical entities compacted with social, cultural, and musical significance, revealing as much about the people who sang them as the particular movement of which they are identified.

Music of the Chicano Movement began to surface as the farm worker struggle expanded into the cities and Chicano students, families, and other supporters of *la causa* occupied the frontlines of the growing grape boycott of the mid-to-late 1960s. Picket lines appeared in front of various supermarket chains in city after city in California and would eventually spread to other parts of the country. Urban community organizing around the farm worker struggle soon incorporated fundamental issues that had long troubled the ethnic Mexican community: poor quality of the educational system and the alarming rate of high school drop-outs/push-outs; police brutality; lack of adequate employment, and other types of discrimination. In response to mounting frustrations from the experience of second-class citizenship, the failures of various social programs and institutions, and continued violence against the community, the Chicano Movement emerged into public awareness in the late 1960s, in the midst of the youth-based U.S. counter-culture (M. García 1973, 1989). Although the term 'Chicano' carried different

meanings for different people, to many it represented militancy, confrontational tactics, and deep ethnic pride.

One element in the growth and development of the urban-based Chicano Movement was song and music-making that took the form of a cultural *rescate* or revival. Mexican musical styles and genres, although similarly used within the framework of huelga songs, took on new meaning for Chicana/o musicians, who were predominantly students and young people. Music, like the arts, became a symbolic expression of emergent Chicana/o identity and mediation of the social ills that plagued the community. Politics was central to this new musical expression as Chicano cultural nationalism, Chicanismo, encompassed lofty political goals such as self-determination/autonomy and alternative political organizations, all framed within the reclamation of cultural identity, one "buried beneath the dust of conquest" (Valdez, 1972: xiii).

Movimiento music can be defined by two distinct phases which are intimately related: the songs of the Chicano Movement's early years (1968-1973) and the stylistic innovations of community-based ensembles in subsequent years (1973-79). While the latter will be addressed in more detail in Chapter Four, the current chapter addresses the former by paying

particular attention to the ideological impact of songwriting within the movimiento. The primary thrust to my deliberation will be toward the ideological strokes painted in both verse and musical style within the movimiento. The specific impact of Chicanismo, as understood through the themes of identity, revolution, *indigenismo*, and homeland, was well articulated in the early songs of the movement. These themes chart the political trajectory of Chicano discourse during the movement as song proves itself an important repository of movement politics. This chapter will also explore the particular significance of the corrido form in expressing these themes and why the corrido became the requisite genre. While there may have been general consensus on the thematic material that defined the repertoire, musical style would become an important ground of contestation as musicians began exploring terrains of expressive possibilities beyond what the Chicano Movement offered. What I am suggesting is that in the early years of the movement, nationalist efforts to 'unite' the community had a consolidating political effect on the early songs, thus Mexican musical genres overwhelmingly dominated the stylistic options within the movement. The example of Enrique Ramírez's song, "El quinto sol," I will argue, began to open up

broader stylistic possibilities that movement ensembles would embrace just a few years later. To this end, I am interested in the larger cultural world within which Chicana/o musicians found themselves and how they interpreted the relationships between artistic and political production.

GUERRILLA CULTURAL

In 1971, a group of young Chicano artists gathered in Mexico City for a meeting with their Mexican counterparts to discuss the role of the arts, most specifically theater, in social change.[2] A newspaper article in the Mexico City daily *Excélsior* interviewed many of the Chicanos who attended the meeting; it began:

> The Chicano Movement in the United States utilizes theater, the plastic arts, music, dance, and literature as a form of "*guerrilla cultural*" for the attainment of social change in the entire world… The "guerrilla cultural" which is formed by all "toltecas" (musicians, painters, actors, playwrights, poets, filmmakers, dancers, etcetera) burst into the barrios suddenly, taking over walls, painting murals, developing theater stages, music, dance, songs, and poetry in order to create a consciousness, not just between Chicanos but about the need for social change…(Rodolfo Rojas Zea 1971, translation mine).

The concept of *guerrilla cultural*, or cultural guerrilla war, speaks to the imagination Chicano artists were having not only of their role in the

movement but also the tactics necessary to achieve success. The term also suggests explicitly the continuation of the social war between Mexicans and Anglos begun in the nineteenth century. On the one hand, there is the romantic view of the guerrilla suggesting impassioned, even militant, commitment to the movement's goals of social change. The heightened moment of the late 1960s, with a full-scale war in Vietnam, the assassinations of numerous political figures in the U.S., the arrival of the Black Panthers and their Chicano/Latino counterparts -the Brown Berets and Young Lords- made somewhat more real the romantic notion of 'fighting for the cause.' The varying levels of violence felt by Chicana/o youth –like their peers of color– both structural and manifest, also created many of these feelings.[3] On the other hand, as noted in the *Excelsior* article, there are the operational tactics of the guerrilla as *toltecas*[4] took over public walls for murals and developed resources for the artistic vehicles toward social change. Guerrilla fighters, generally speaking, are noted for how they fight, particularly against conventional armies: being members of the rebel community, they can seep in and out of the general population, striking in unconventional ways when it is to their advantage. The concept of guerrilla cultural similarly acknowledges its social base as

comprising those without great resources of capital to resolve their problems in conventional manners, and who thus turn to more creative solutions to carry forward their movement and struggle.

The concept of the guerrilla cultural affirms two observations articulated most clearly by Tomás Ybarra Frausto: first, that during the Chicano Movement, activists and artists tended to organize themselves through alternative institutions and avoid the mainstream rather than rely on governmental or corporate institutions and practices (1992: 207). The dramatic growth of community cultural centers throughout the Southwest (as well as health clinics, alternative schools, and other forms of community organizing) is an example of the grassroots ethos that was brewing during this period. Cultural centers and similar spaces became the home base for the activities of the guerrilla cultural –fostering artistic activity and, in some cities, there developed active, if not renowned, artist collectives. The second and related observation of Ybarra-Frausto is the significance of rasquachismo to the tactics of these cultural warriors, in both aesthetic and operational manners. Rasquachismo, an "underclass sensibility rooted in everyday linguistic practices and in artistic works put together out of whatever was at hand" (Ibid., 208), recognizes the

creativity born out of the subaltern experience of mexicanos in both their particularly hybridized perspective on everyday life and their ability to find ingenious solutions to their problems. The concept of the guerrilla cultural, therefore, through its denial of conventional training and institutional patronage, drew instead on the knowledge and power from within one's own marginality to discover and take advantage of the resources they could ultimately best control.

The idea of art as a social weapon has a long history and found itself at play within the Chicano Movement. The most significant influence on Chicano artists would be the muralists of post-revolutionary Mexico. Muralists, such as Diego Rivera, José Orozco, and David Siqueiros –known collectively as Los Tres Grandes-- working within the style of social realism, provided a clear example for the broader meaning of their artistic work during the movimiento (Favela 1991). Grounded generally within socialist aesthetics and ideologies, social realism was an arts movement geared toward depicting working class life in a realistic fashion to comment on the social inequities of the day. Social realism, in the work of Los Tres Grandes and their contemporaries, was expressed via an ethos that 'all art is political,' for which they viewed public art such

as murals an optimal vehicle for expression. The idea of all art being political certainly found a receptive audience in young artists engaged in the Chicano Movement. The impact of social realism, of truthful portrayals of the community, of art for the masses, not just the elite, would be influential in many sectors of movement artistic production, such as theater, murals, poetry, poster-making, and music. It was also an aesthetic that would fit as well into the emerging ethos of Chicano cultural nationalism. Furthermore, song, the corrido in particular, would become an effective tool of Chicano musical nationalism.

MUSIC AND NATIONALISM

Music historians have typically treated the idea of 'musical nationalism' as an era or practice of Western art music composition, from the middle of the nineteenth century to the middle of the twentieth century, where art music composers incorporated, to varying degrees, musical or thematic material of a particular country's traditional, vernacular, or 'folk' culture. This was achieved by using or imitating traditional instruments, dances, and/or song forms that identified the 'nation' within orchestral or other art music forms. This style of composition exists beyond the confines of

Europe as it has been in wide usage in North America and Latin America. As is the case with most musicological scholarship, music as an object of study vastly overshadows the social and cultural processes which suggest any sort of nationalist or political identity. While I am certain there may be exceptions to my characterization, I am describing the standard musicological usage of the term "musical nationalism."

With regard to the musical styles and song texts that represent the ideological leanings of nationalist movements, I am convinced by Turino's reclamation of the term musical nationalism to refer "specifically to musical styles, activities, and discourses that are explicitly part of nationalist political movements and programs" (2000: 13-14). Such a definition re-invests in the political matter that makes musical nationalism meaningful as a process of social, cultural, and musical action. It also transforms songwriters and musicians into the activists they felt there were, rather than artists standing outside the fray of history.

Philip V. Bohlman (1988) has noted nationalism as the most extreme example of the ideologization of folk music, or the result of the removal of folk music from its organic functions in small groups and communities into the new forms and meanings of its new practitioners.

> Ideology determines the ways in which time and place collapse and how the musical activities that result from this collapse articulate a specific message to a specific group. Ideologization serves, therefore, as a response that invests even more meaning and symbolism in folk music than it might otherwise convey. (135)

Folk music, be it for labor, social, or nationalist movements, has long been a ripe musical source from which songs are transformed into movement songs. As noted above, it has been the 'folk,' the imagined bulwarks to the relentless march of modernity and conservative tradition-bearers of the regenerative powers of culture that the architects of nationalist identity have typically turned to. Folk arts and practices, be they indigenous or diasporic in nature, have been key emblems in distinguishing one group or 'nation' from another and thus the critical link to the expression of new identities (Azcona 2002).

Within the Chicano Movement, Mexican song forms and musical styles (coupled later with a highly imaginative musical sense of Chicano indigeneity) became the ideologically-charged expressive vehicles for movement musicians. The deployment of cultural forms during the movimiento echoed the role expressive culture was having in social movements around the globe in the mid-twentieth century. Culture was

not merely a medium of communicating the calls for social change, a neutrally functioning arena for radical or revolutionary content; it itself became the terrain for militant resistance. While the songs of the farm workers demonstrated the emergence of the militant effect cultural forms can have (particularly for the recruitment of new members, many of which were ethnic Mexican), huelga song practitioners necessarily left open stylistic space within the repertoire to account for the crisis of time songwriters under which were working. Thus, rancheras and corridos were sung along with country ballads, gospel songs, and the rock'n'roll inspired songs of Solo Hernández. As the guerrilla cultural established itself, however, the cultural nationalist ethos of Chicanismo focused artistic expression within an ethnic Mexican cultural worldview. Murals, poems, actos, and songs depicted a Chicano identity ideologically rooted in the totality of Mexican history and culture from both sides of the border.

THE CORRIDO AND REVOLUTION

One cannot dismiss the context of the Mexican Revolution in the formation of Los Tres Grandes; likewise, it was the insurgent times of the

1960s that created the movement artist and musicians. The figure of the "revolutionary" in the movement, be it iconic battlefield leaders like Pancho Villa or Emiliano Zapata, the anonymous fighters of Villa's *dorados* or their *adelitas*[5] --even the celebrated artists of the post-revolutionary era--would find great traction for movement artists. Depictions of the revolutionary figure, historical and idealized, were prominent in poetry, teatro, and especially murals. Furthermore, the linking of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 to the Chicano Movement provided Chicano cultural nationalists the historical depth to not just contextualize but legitimize their nation-building process. As such, the trope of 'the revolutionary' was constantly deployed in murals, poems, skits, and songs. The era of the Mexican Revolution is also considered the golden era of the genre of the corrido (Paredes 1958; Mendoza 1954) and many corridos from the period are today still very popular.

While revolutionary-era corridos were sung within the huelga song repertoire, it was during the initial phases of movimiento music (1968-1973) that the corrido became an ideological symbol. Like most of the huelga song repertoire, songs, including corridos, were organizing tools and corridos functioned like they had long functioned by documenting

events of the farm worker movement. As we have seen in Chapter Two, the cultural weight of writing and performing corridos was not lost on the musicians of the farm worker movement; however, the particular nature of the farm worker movement as a labor movement primarily precluded the high ideological power Chicano activists and musicians would give the corrido in just a few years.

Two aspects of the corrido served as the basis for its wide usage in the initial phase of movimiento music: Spanish language verses and narrative form. These two aspects were congruent with the two constants that defined much of what was movement music from the late 1960s through the 1970s and beyond. The first constant was an almost exclusive use of Spanish language lyrics, in symbolic gesture of regaining a collectively dispossessed language.[6] Spanish language familiarity widely varied depending upon regional and generational differences (e.g., first generation Mexican born in U.S. vs. third generation; proximity to the border region). Chunky Sánchez, front-man for San Diego-based Los Alacranes, claimed that Chicanos had their tongue "cut twice," in reference to the colonial impact on indigenous languages (the first cut) and the general loss of Spanish by Mexicans in the U.S. via the public

schools (the second cut).[7] In the view of cultural nationalists, however, the maintenance of an ancestral language, particularly one distinct from the mainstream, was rallying call. Through the Spanish language, movement words, whether through speech, poem, or song, became a site to celebrate Chicano distinctiveness/difference.

The second musical constant was a Chicano-based broad definition of the protest song, defined along two vectors: a predominance of Mexican song genres and, more importantly, politically-explicit lyrics. The historical practice of the corrido in reciting from the perspective of the people the weighty issues of the day, be it an unjust incident or the praise of a local hero or leader, made the corrido a genre ripe for usage within the movement. Its unambiguous Mexican identity was not lost of movement musicians either as they were eager for an explicitly cultural vehicle to express, from their perspective, what the Chicano Movement was about. These songs gave a voice of dissent towards the growers, the scabs, the police, the racism, and other oppressive forces felt in everyday life. Via their use of historical subjects and themes of liberation, corridos, now laden with the ideological symbolism as a vehicle of musical nationalism, are also examples of what Eyerman and Jamison (1998)

described as cognitive praxis or knowledge-producing activities. The stories told by movement corridos not only inspired and motivated audiences to become part of the movement, they instructed and taught lessons from the perspective of fellow community members in thinking about the community's history and place in the world.

Within the initial phase of movimiento music (1968-73), the corrido ruled as a genre. While there were a number of songs based on ranchera forms, the majority of songs from this early period were based on the corrido genre, either as adaptations of revolutionary-era corridos, original compositions, or examples of canción-corridos,[8] songs where narrative form may predominate yet aspects of the canción also appear, such as refrains and musical interludes. In subsequent years, the corrido would be challenged as the primary genre movement musicians turned to in order to express themselves; but it always remained one of the most important genres.

COMPOSING MOVIMIENTO SONGS

Early movimiento songs were extensions of the compositional process of huelga songs. In fact, the primary part of the movimiento song repertoire

had always been the huelga songs learned by students and community musicians in the cities, so important was the farm worker struggle beyond the agricultural fields.[9] While movimiento songs were not necessarily written within the immediacy of a strike, they shared with huelga songs a pronounced connection to Mexican music culture. Like their huelga song forebears, the immediate connections that these genres provided between musicians and audiences spoke to the cultural ethos of the day: Mexican songs were being sung publicly not just because they were known but rather because they needed to be sung publicly. In keeping with the guerrilla cultural, songs, like murals, became powerful public expressions of identity and social change.

Furthermore, like huelga songs, early movement songs typically followed a set of performance conventions that were found in protest song traditions, but also had a base in Mexican oral culture. Songs were generally composed for guitar and voice, although this simple convention would erode somewhat in movimiento music's second phase with the establishment of movement ensembles. Songs for guitar and voice allowed for rapid reproduction so audiences and other musicians could participate, learn, and disseminate the song on their own. Such

arrangements also allowed for ease of mobility so there could be song during marches or in unexpected places. While clarity of message was paramount in movement composition, song tempos typically depended upon genre and topic; anthems like "Yo soy Chicano" were spirited and quick, corridos could be more relaxed so the audience could follow the story.

The themes of movimiento songs were necessarily diverse, arising out of a variety of contexts: local struggles, ideological stances, and identity formation. For example, huelga song lyrics were explicitly about the grape strike: the need to organize, the abuses of the growers, and the valorization of union leaders. Having an organization like the UFW around which the movement revolved gave huelga songs thematic specificity and coherence. While there were major activist organizations in existence (i.e. Crusade for Justice, La Raza Unida Party, MEChA, etc.), there was no single organizational entity that tied the various strands of the movement together. This, coupled with the wide geographic expanse of the Southwest, made the thematic terrain of movement songs not singularly about any official position or policy of a organization, or even distinct regional viewpoints, but rather about imagining the emergent

perspective and meaning of being Chicano. While a number of distinct themes can be identified in movimiento songs, such as the valorization of movement leaders, Chicanas in the movement, and the image of the revolutionary, I will posit three over-arching themes that represent both the central tenets of Chicano cultural nationalism and the most popular songs of the repertoire: Chicano identity, the local struggle, and nationalist consciousness.[10] I will then present the example of "El quinto sol," a movimiento song that both rhetorically fits but stylistically challenges the frame of Chicanismo.

CHICANO IDENTITY

The transformation of "Mexican American" to "Chicano" (as discussed in Chapter One) –with its concomitant politics– placed the expression of Chicano identity as a paramount feature of Chicano cultural nationalism. It was both a marker of difference from mainstream white America as well as a signifier of militant politics within the community. It was also a vehicle towards the goal of political unity and thus a very popular theme for early songwriting. I will discuss the theme of identity within first phase movimiento songs through four sub-themes: the

revolutionary/militant, indigeneity, women and gender, and nationalism and song.

The Revolutionary/Militant

Perhaps no song is more identified with the movimiento repertoire than "Yo soy Chicano." Often referred to as an anthem of the movement, the song was written on a bus going to the 1968 Poor People's Campaign in Washington, D.C. The lyrics have been attributed to Juanita Domínguez, a member of the nationalist organization, Crusade for Justice, of Denver, Colorado.[11] With possible exceptions, "Yo soy Chicano" was one of the first movimiento songs to have been penned and definitely the first to have been felt at a national level. It was a song heard at MEChA student group meetings and campus protests, marches and city-wide rallies, and at UFW picket lines.

Domínguez wrote the song to the tune of the well-known revolutionary corrido, "La rielera." The form of the song suggests it is more accurately a *canción-corrido* than a corrido proper, due to the refrain and lack of narrative structure in the verse. However, it is not uncommon for popular songs on the topic of the 1910 Mexican Revolution to be

dubbed "corridos." As we have seen with the huelga song, the adaptation of song lyrics toward a political goal or ideal has been a common practice. Even within the corrido tradition, it was not an uncommon practice to retain melodies and change lyrics in the writing of new corridos.

Yo soy Chicano[12] (excerpt)	**I am Chicano**
Yo soy Chicano, tengo color, Puro Chicano, hermano con honor. Cuando me dicen que hay revolución, Defiendo a mi raza con mucho valor.	I am Chicano, of color, Pure Chicano, a brother with honor. When they tell me there is revolution, I defend my people with great valor.
Tengo todita mi gente Para la revolución. Voy a luchar con los pobres Pa' que se acabe el bolón	I have all my people For the revolution. I am going to fight alongside the poor To end this oppression.

In "Yo soy Chicano," the figure of the cultural warrior is prominent and the imagery is evocative of the sentiment of the guerrilla cultural. As the *guerrilleros* are themselves of the people, the protagonist of the song feels unity with his culture and stands proudly with her people, ready to fight for them. Some of the pre-existing text of "La rielera" describing the revolutionary figure's preparation for battle has been retained and re-contextualized for anticipated Chicano struggles. These verses are examples of the common uses of protest songs, as a tool that encourages movement membership to continue their struggle. However, it is the

verses which mark difference that are more central to the meaning of the song.

Tengo mi orgullo y machismo, Mi cultura y corazón. Tengo mi fe y diferencia, Y lucho con gran razón.	I have my pride and my manliness My culture and my heart. I have my faith and differences And I fight with great conviction.
Tengo mi orgullo, tengo mi fe. Soy diferente, soy color café. Tengo cultura, tengo corazón, Y no me lo quita a mí ningún cabrón.	I have my pride, I have my faith. I am different, I am of brown color. I have culture, I have heart, And no son-of-a-gun will take it away from me.

For ethnic Mexicans in the U.S., speaking a different language, practicing a different cultural heritage, having a different skin color were traumatic markers of difference, from which it was felt mainstream America discriminated against them. As in the shift from Mexican American accomodationist politics to a Chicano confrontational style, the song suggests a similar shift; instead of assimilating to deal with difference, Chicanos should now embrace difference, the cornerstone on which the social movement will be built.

The idea of unity, often referred to as *carnalismo* (Chicano brotherhood), was an important facet to the construction of Chicano identity; the frustrations with the social condition of Chicano communities and the need for social change prompted inspired songwriters to express

the militant message of fighting for such change. Tejano songwriters in particular have been active composing on this sub-theme.[13] "Yo soy tu hermano, yo soy Chicano" by Rumel Fuentes is a fine example of how carnalismo is tied up with Chicano identity. Here is an excerpt:

Yo soy tu hermano, yo soy Chicano[14]	**I am your brother, I am Chicano.**
Dicen que ando alborotando Porque con mi raza quiero despertar. Tanta injusticia me está rodeando Ya no me aguanto, yo quiero pelear.	They say that I am stirring things up Because I want to wake up my people. So much injustice is all around me, I cannot stand it any longer, I want to fight.
Ya estoy cansado de voltear la cara ya mi paciencia ya se acabó juras y rinches son aprovechados y la ley gringa se burla de mi.	I am tired of turning the other cheek and my patience is running out cops and Rangers are disgraceful and the gringo law mocks me.
Yo soy tu hermano, yo soy Chicano. Dame tu mano, vamos a volar. Bien dice el dicho: si sangra mi hermano, Yo también sangro, la herida es igual.	I am your brother, I am Chicano. Give me your hand, let's fly. The saying says it well: if my brother bleeds, I also bleed, the wound is the same.

Indigenismo

Indigenous identity was central to Chicano nationalism and Chicano identity formation as another path to mark ethnic distinction from the Anglo mainstream. This aspect of Chicano identity formation attempted to work against decades of social erasure which divided ethnic Mexicans from indigenous groups. It was also part of the historical imagination

rooting Chicanos to Aztlán rather than the U.S. and was equally a romantic search to develop a heroic past. Chicano visions of their indigenous identity were coupled by American Indian communities and nations engaging in their collective struggle for social change. "America de los indios," written by Daniel Valdez, describes a destiny about to be fulfilled by the downtrodden indigenous of the hemisphere. The song "Tonantzín," written by Delia Moreno, speaks to the indigenous heritage that the young will carry into the future.

América de los indios[15] (excerpt)

Canto del llanto del indio,
Voces del tambor, tocando,
Flautas que hablan con Dios
Me dicen así.

América de los indios
Siglo explosivo llegó,
Ya van bajando los pueblos
Hacia la liberación.

Sangre y fusil y la tierra,
Gritando revolución,
Ya van bajando los pueblos
Hacia la liberación.

Indian America

Song of the cry of the Indian,
Sound of the drum playing,
Flutes that speak with God
Say this to me.

America of the Indians
The explosive century has arrived.
The peoples are moving down
Toward liberation.

Blood and firearm and the earth,
Shouting the revolution,
The peoples are moving down
Toward liberation.

Tonantzin[16] (excerpt)

Tonantzin, reina del sol
Xochil Hermosa
La belleza que adorna
Este bello Aztlán

Tonantzin

Tonantzin, queen of the sun
Beautiful flower
A beauty that adorns
This beautiful Aztlán

Muchacha India Chicana	Young girl, Indian, Chicana
Vivirá para siempre	You will always live
Vivirá para siempre	You will always live
Tu imagen sin igual	Your image is without equal

"América de los indios" is filled with what can be considered a number of clichés about the indigenous: profuse spirituality, pre-modern lifestyle, an intimate relationship with nature, not to mention a musical arrangement full of flutes and drums and devoid of Mexican musical references except the guitar and Spanish lyrics. While the song reveals the erasing potential of Chicano cultural nationalism as indigenous affiliations were generally made with Aztec, Mayan, and other ancient Mesoamerican cultures, rather than contemporary Mexican or even American Indian groups, the message of the lyrics was hemispheric rather than nationalistic. The indigenous imagery of the lyrics, with the requisite themes of resistance, made the song popular among musicians and activists. It was also the centerpiece song to Valdez's 1974 album, *Mestizo*, recorded for A&M Records.

"Tonantzin" was written about a young girl of the same name in Moreno's community in San Diego, California . Says Moreno about this song upon watching the young girl play, "this made me realize that it was all our Tonantzins from the past that are responsible for all our present

generations and (ourselves) and that the Tonantzin of today will be responsible for the future generations."[17] Moreno's perspective was as an older member of the guerrilla cultural and thus an elder whose own experiences served to advise not only in person but also through her songs. It was also an example of the particular way women's compositions discreetly challenged any a priori designations about the musical politics of movimiento songs.

Women and Gender

Women performing movimiento music were about as scarce as women performing other styles of mexicano music. There is not space in this study to address this important topic, but the limited access women had for musical instruction --formal or informal-- greatly diminished the impact Chicanas may have had on movimiento music.[18] Like many of their musical predecessors, most women performing movimiento music were either related to someone else in the ensemble (e.g., brother, father, husband) or singing movement songs within community-based teatro ensembles. Thus, women's perspectives were not adequately represented in the initial phase of movimiento songs. I will briefly consider this

relationship in three ways: songs about women, songs written by women, and a gendered analysis of genre.

Within the movimiento repertoire, there were very few examples of songs about women, the exception being corridos about Dolores Huerta, co-founder of the UFW. Songs may be about specific women leaders or more generally about women's revolutionary potential. "Mujeres valientes" was a popular, if singular, example of songs on the topic.

Mujeres valientes[19] (excerpt)	**The Brave Women**
En el frente de liberación	On the frontlines of liberation
De este pueblo llamado chicano	From this community that's called Chicano
Existen mujeres, lindas y valientes	There are women, pretty and brave
Existen mujeres que saben luchar	There are women who know how to struggle
Existen mujeres, lindas y valientes	There are women, pretty and brave
Existen mujeres que saben luchar	There are women who know how to struggle
Su cultura y origen respetan	They respect their culture and origins
Su color y valor son de bronce	Their skin color and valor are bronze
Princesas meshicas, radiantes de vida	Indian princesses radiating life
Princesas meshicas de porte y faz	Indian princesses in demeanor and face
Princesas meshicas, radiantes de vida	Indian princesses radiating life
Princesas meshicas de porte y faz	Indian princesses in demeanor and face
Son las madres de la raza nueva	They are the mothers of a new people
Son las novias del gran movimiento	They are the sweethearts of the great movement
Son las adelitas, chicanas bonitas	They are the women fighters, pretty Chicanas
Son las adelitas de revolución	They are the women fighters of the revolution
Son las adelitas, chicanas bonitas	They are the women fighters, pretty Chicanas
Son las adelitas de revolución	They are the women fighters of the revolution

The lyrics to "Mujeres valientes" (also known as "Las chicanitas") have been attributed to Miguel Barragán who adapted them to a well-known

song about the Virgin of Guadalupe, "Las aparaciones guadalupanas," itself an interesting adaptation. The lyrics are full of platitudes about Chicana beauty and strength and are as much about their looks as their commitment to the movement. Feminist critiques of the movement have pointedly attacked the patriarchal tendencies of the era (A. García 1997, Segura and Pesquera 1992, Broyles-González 1994). The popularity of the song, however, may suggest it was deemed not so offensive (if at all) during the movement as none of the women I interviewed had any particular opinions on the song.

Masculinity in movement music can be found in attitudes toward particular song genres. Jesús "Chuy" Negrete, a well-known movimiento musician from Chicago talks about the opinions of some nationalists about song genres:

> The people that I was with said: "Look, this is what the Movement needs now. The Movement does not need flowers and pretty songs. The Movement needs contestation, nationalism, awareness music, it does not need your songs about flowers and love, and que "*tanto tiempo disfrutamos*…" [quoting a famous romantic bolero]. That's the way the Denver [Crusade for Justice] people saw the Movement, and even the people in Chicago. You know, I'd go to Denver with what I would call the first latino radical student leaders. They were very nationalistic. They said, you know: "Look, we need this kind of music more."…So,

> the Movement demanded that we pointed to this sort of things. (Poveda 1983: 167-68)

There seems to be a gendering of romantic genres like the bolero ("songs about flowers and love") as something that lies outside of movement priorities. Boleros are a popular genre, without exception, but perhaps this opinion viewed them as belonging more to the middle-class aesthetics of the Mexican American generation (Peña 1999). The sophisticated harmonies and Latin American feel of the bolero, for these cultural nationalists, may have contrasted with the view of the ranchero aesthetics of the Chicano/mexicano working classes. But the above comment did not speak to intra-cultural class rifts; it mentioned 'flowers, pretty songs, and love,' which suggests a gendered perspective on movimiento music. The implication that the movement needs "contestation," therefore, song forms which can express such a feeling points us again towards the popularity of the corrido in the early years of movimiento songwriting.

Masculinist readings of the corrido abound because the genre has long been a lens into the world Mexican men as most composers, performers, protagonists, and listeners are men.[20] In terms of movimiento music and protest music generally, do specific song genres carry more

symbolic weight due to gendered conceptions of the form? While the wide usage of the corrido may suggest this may be so, it was not the only genre in use. Delia Moreno's song "Tonantzín" is a bolero. Another song by Moreno, "Mañanitas de Aztlán," which will be discussed later in this chapter, was written as a *huapango*. Some male composers wrote movement songs in huapango form but few, if any, wrote original boleros as movement songs. Both of Moreno's songs are examples of an expansion of the terrain of movement music because a woman's voice ventured into these new musical spaces.

"Yo soy Chicano" is another song written by a woman. Juanita Dominguez's anthem comes out of a different moment in the movement. Being one of the first movement songs, "Yo soy Chicano" was not yet subject to the consolidating opinion on which genres best serve the movement. Of particularly interest, however, is the line "Tengo mi orgullo y machismo / mi cultura y corazón" (I have my pride and my manliness / my culture and my heart). One possible explanation is that some of the verses may have been collectively written. According to the story of the anthem told to me, it was written on the bus from Denver to Washington (or back). During the trip, new verses by other (male) riders

may have been accepted by Dominguez and thus included in versions shared with others later. The masculinist tendency of corrido narratives, especially revolutionary-themed examples, may have played a part in the collective conception the genre. Also, in 1968, Chicana feminist perspectives had not yet been articulated to neutralize the gender imbalance of power in representing the movement.

Nationalism and Song

Being written by a Crusade for Justice member, "Yo soy Chicano" became a song with deep meaning for the organization. The Crusade for Justice was a leading political entity throughout the movement and one of the more nationalist in the early years. It was at the 1969 youth conference hosted by the Crusade for Justice that "Yo soy Chicano" became widely disseminated as Chicanos from all over the country came to Denver for the almost week-long gathering. As with songs in the oral tradition, over time the refrain of the song had undergone a variation in the second line. Below are examples of the refrain from two sources: the Denver-based ensemble (and Crusade for Justice members) Los Alvarados and Chicago-

based musician Chuy Negrete, who first learned the song at the 1969 youth conference.[21]

Los Alvarados / Crusade for Justice	Chuy Negrete / others
Yo soy Chicano, tengo color, Puro Chicano, hermano con honor. Cuando me dicen que hay revolución, Defiendo a mi raza con mucho valor.	Yo soy Chicano, tengo color, Americano pero con honor. Cuando me dicen que hay revolución, Defiendo a mi raza con mucho valor.
I am Chicano, of color, Pure Chicano, a brother with honor. When they tell me there is revolution, I defend my people with great valor.	I am Chicano, of color, American but with honor. When they tell me there is revolution, I defend my people with great valor.

What appears a minor variation can carry much symbolic weight within a movement. Negrete's own words best explains meaning of the distinction:

> When I went to Denver, the people there said: "Listen, we don't sing 'americano, pero con honor.' We are not americanos, you know, fuck that!" "Yo soy Chicano" was such a powerful song that [it] became for the chicanos of Denver something like the national anthem of the Chicano Movement. When I went there singing "americano," they came up to me back stage and said: "Look, we like your music, but, here, this is the way [it] is supposed to be." These were people from the Crusade for Justice, Corky Gonzalez's group. They changed [the second line] to this: "puro chicano, chicano con honor."…So, "Yo soy Chicano" was the first song I learned about Nationalism. (Poveda: 154)

Asked where the different line in the refrain originated, Negrete did not remember, but as he says in the last line of his quote, it was with the differing approaches to the song more so than the song itself that he became aware of nationalism. Movement politics and Chicano identity were constantly in motion due to minor and major interventions. Small distinctions, such as a line to a song, can speak in multi-vocal ways about regional, political, and gender difference. Ideas about the figure of the revolutionary and militant, Chicano indigeneity, and gender and women's perspectives all shaped the way Chicano identity was imagined by movement musicians and how they spoke to the movement through song.

THE LOCAL STRUGGLE

Movimiento songs were not only excursions into the various facets constructing Chicano identity, as songs of struggle they were also documents of events at the local level and songs of solidarity. The early years of the movement were the most dramatic as the clash between emerging Chicano militancy and institutions of authority brought the movement public attention, sometimes at the national level. The functional uses of song within social movements are a hallmark of the

protest song genre and below are early examples of such songs within the movimiento repertoire. I identify two sub-themes as describing the movement songs of local struggle: Chicano farm worker songs of solidarity and the local corrido.

Farm Worker Movement Solidarity

Chicano farm worker solidarity songs are similar to their huelga song cousins in topic but distinct in context. The issues of the farm worker movement were important to the Chicano Movement not only symbolically but at a material level. Local organizing throughout the movimiento made real the need to work on behalf of the farm worker movement, whether motivated by family histories of working in the fields or urban boycotts of grocery store chains. Solidarity songs on the topic of the farm workers were distinct from huelga songs basically as they were not written by farm workers themselves in the midst of the strike. Many of the huelga songs outlined in the previous chapter, however, were still performed and collected in local movimiento *cancioneros* as movement songs.

The new solidarity songs maintained the same themes and spirit of the huelga song. The "Corrido de Delano" was a song of the Crusade for Justice. It narrates the beginning the farm worker struggle in Central California and expresses the feelings of solidarity by the Denver-based organization. While the farm worker movement was primarily a labor movement, and thus somewhat distinct from the cultural nationalism then defining the Chicano Movement, the example of the farm worker struggle was very much an organizing tool for the movement in the cities. The simple goals of the farm workers, better wages and dignity, and their sacrifice to achieve those goals inspired urban artists, such as those affiliated with the Crusade for Justice, to link the urban struggle for justice with that of the farm workers.

Corrido de Delano[22] (excerpt)

Año del sesenta y cinco
Sesenta y seis, más o menos
Se levantó nuestra gente
En los campos de Delano
Pidiendo mejores sueldos
Pa' trabajar el terreno

Corky Gonzales de Denver
Crusada por la Justica
Chicanos de Colorado
Gritaron vamos a entrar
ayudar los de Delano
Nuestros hermanos de Aztlán

Ballad of Delano

The year 1965
1966, more or less
Our people stood up
In the fields of Delano
Demanding better wages
To work the land

Corky Gonzales from Denver
Of the Crusade for Justice
And Chicanos from Colorado
Yelled, let's get involved
To help those in Delano
Our brothers of Aztlán

Con el estandarte hermoso	With the beautiful banner
De nuestra Guadalupana	Of Our Lady of Guadalupe
Van marchando a Sacramento	They marched to Sacramento
Nuestra gente mexicana	Our Mexican people
A luchar por su derecho	To struggle for our rights
Dios bendito, a ver si ganan	God bless us in victory

La guitarra campesina[23] (excerpt)	**The Farm Worker Guitar**
Oye hermanos campesinos	Listen farm worker brothers
Yo les vengo aquí a cantar	I have come here to sing to you
Que en este pais tan rico	That in this rich country
Aprendimos a luchar	We must learn to struggle
Yo vengo del Imperial	I come from Imperial County
De Coachella y San Joaquín	From Coachella and San Joaquín
Pa' pelear con los rancheros	To fight against the ranchers
Y pa' darles ya su fin	To give them their end
La guitarra campesina	The farm worker guitar
La guitarra campesina	The farm worker guitar
La guitarra campesina	The farm worker guitar
En huelga se levanto	Has risen up in strike

While "Corrido de Delano" narrates the feelings of solidarity between the Crusade for Justice and the farm worker movement, "La guitarra campesina" is more a personal statement of solidarity with the farm workers. Written in huapango form by Ramón "Chunky" Sánchez, the song speaks to his farm worker origins from Southern California's Imperial county and experiences in the fields of the Coachella and San Joaquín valleys. Although a huapango, the song has a subtle narrative

quality as the verses speak directly to the audience due to the use of the first person. Sanchez's experience as a farm worker give authority to his statement of solidarity for he can play and sing to the world about the inequalities of the farm worker life.

The Local Corrido

Corridos have marked significant events to communities at the local, regional, and national level. Tales of heroism and tragedy, conflict and confrontation, all from the perspective of the grassroots have proven the genre as a powerful voice of the people. Rumel Fuentes, a movement corridista from the Texas border town of Eagle Pass, said the following about the genre:

> I see the corrido as a means of exposing evils and injustices and relating the truth about things as they actually happen. The corrido singer, at the beginning of his song will sing: "lo digo porque lo vide" [sic] (I say it because I saw it) or "porque esto sí es cierto" (because this is true). The corrido is the Mexican side of history, the true history. (1973: 8-9)

The following three songs are corridos written about events at the local level during the movement, be it triumph or tragedy. Two of the three deal directly with movement-related events or persons but all three

affected the community in this political context. The first two corridos tell stories of tragedy and violence, in this case, death of young Chicanos at the hands of the police. "Corrido de Luis Martínez" is about the killing of a young Chicano in Denver, Colorado. Martínez was an active member of the Crusade for Justice and his death by a policeman's bullet had a tremendous effect on the organization. Ernesto Vigil, a Crusade leader and author of a book on the organization (1999), dedicated an entire chapter to the death of Martínez. Movements for social justice often have to deal with the deaths of activists and thus the figure of the martyr is common in protest song repertoires.

Luis "Junior" Martínez[24] (excerpt)

El diez y siete de Marzo
Año del setenta y tres,
Mataron a Luis Martínez
Murio peleando en sus pies

Cuando cruzó por la calle
Ese chota lo paró
Y se hicieron de palabras
Y el chota el cuete sacó

Este carnal Luis Martínez
Era de mucho valor
Era un hijo guerrillero
Y también buen bailador

Luis "Junior" Martínez

It was the 17th of March
In the year 1973
That Luis Martínez was killed
He died fighting on his feet

When crossing the street
The police stopped him
There was an exchange of words
And the policeman drew his revolver

Our brother Luis Martínez
Was a man of much courage
He was a warrior son
And also a good dancer

Corrido de Cedillo[25] (excerpt)	**Ballad of Cedillo**
En una noche de julio	One night in July
En un barrio mexicano	In the Mexican neighborhood
Los policias de Austin	The Austin police
A Joe Cedillo mataron	Killed Joe Cedillo
Diesyseis años tenía	He was sixteen years old
Lo tuvieron que matar	They had to kill him
Los policias lo mataron	The police killed him
Causa un pedazo de pan	For a piece of bread
Adiós mi padre y mi madre	Goodbye my father and mother
Mi vida pronto acabó	My life has quickly ended
La bala de ese hombre malo	The bullet of this bad man
Que en mi cabezo quedó	That is lodged in my head

Like Martínez, Joe Cedillo was also killed by a policeman. According to the *corridista*, Rumel Fuentes, Cedillo was a young Chicano from Austin, Texas who was shot in the back of the head running from a store where he had stolen a loaf of bread and some lunch meat (Fuentes 1973). Cedillo's death, like Martínez, was an example of the extreme justice dealt by law enforcement officers upon ethnic Mexicans, the reason for which Fuentes composed the corrido.[26] These examples of manifest violence upon the Chicano community were then only the most recent in a long history of police brutality.

El corrido del Chicano Parke[27]	**The Ballad of Chicano Park**
Mil novecientos setenta	1970
Día 22 de abril	The twenty-second of April
Tomo la raza de Logan	The people of Logan
Sus tierras y sin fusil	Took their lands without arms
A luego llega la chota	The police arrive later
Pa' levantar el mitote	To stir up the gathering
Y a mis queridos hermanos	And of my beloved brothers
Se.los llevaron al bote	They took them to jail
El sacate de este parke	The grass of this park
Tiene muy verde el color	Has a deep green color
Sera porque fue regado	It is because it was watered
Con tu sangre y tu sudor	With your blood and sweat

For years in the 1960s, the Chicano community of Logan Heights in San Diego, California had been asking the city for park space as zoning changes for freeways and junk yards had altered the community's identity. In April of 1970, it was revealed that the piece of land being negotiated by the two parties was not to be a park but rather a police sub-station. Feeling betrayed, community members descended on the land to protest and halt further development of the space. Eventually, the community won their struggle for the park for which the "Corrido de Chicano Parke" commemorates, as seen in the above excerpt.[28] While the ideas that forge nationalist feelings stir people into action at various levels, such struggles take place at the micro level. Song of the local struggle tells

both events that shape the local community's relationship with the nationalist movement and the community's feelings of solidarity with others movements.

CHICANO NATIONALIST CONSCIOUSNESS

Songs that develop nationalist consciousness are typically among the more ideologically-driven examples of the repertoire. While most every song mentioned thus far helps shape nationalist consciousness, the songs under this category address the issues relevant toward the nation-building process. Two themes were central to this endeavor, songs about Aztlán and historical consciousness. Concepts of land and history are subject-forming knowledges that people feel deeply about, particularly in the context of national identity. The ethno-historical experience of ethnic Mexicans have shaped deeply rooted desires and animosities with regard to their place in history of what is now the U.S. Southwest.

Aztlán

As discussed in Chapter One, it has been suggested that the Chicano Movement could not have happened without the concept of Aztlán, the

Chicano homeland.[29] The significance of land and memory play a part in most, if not all, nationalist movements. The evocation of Aztlán was not an irredentist strategy to reconnect the lost northern lands to Mexico but a deterritorialization of the borders that had circumscribed ethnic Mexican life in the U.S. In nationalist terms, emerging nations need a homeland, and this was an indigenous claim to the land.

Corrido de Aztlán[30] (excerpt)	**Ballad of Aztlán**
Desde los campos a los files	From the country to the fields
De los barrios a los pueblos	From the neighborhoods to the towns
Adonde quiera que hay raza,	Wherever our people are,
Declaramos nuestras tierras	We declare our native land
Declaramos nuestro plan	We declare our master plan
Nuestra gente es la raza	Our people is La Raza
Y nuestro pueblo es Aztlán	And our nation is Aztlán
Oye carnal, pon attention	Listen, my brother, pay close attention
Nosotros somos raza	We are the same people
De pueblo del sol	Of the nation of the sun
Aunque vengas tu del norte	Although you come from the north
Y yo vengo del sur	And I come from the south
Unidos venceremos	United we will triumph
Pa' acabar la esclavitud	In order to end our slavery
Ay, ay, ay, ay	Ay, ay, ay, ay,
Al grito de guerra	Our battlecry of war
Para liberar a nuestra gente	We are prepared to liberate our people
Y hasta morir por nuestras tierras	And are prepared to die for our land

Corrido de la caravana de la reconquista[31] (excerpt)

Año de setenta y uno
De los barrios de Califas
26 soldados salieron
Con su destino hasta Tejas

La razón fue declarada
De unir la gente y su plan
Fueron con este mensaje
Por las tierras de Aztlán

Junio de setenta y dos
Se encuentran todos marchando
De Las Cruces hasta El Paso
En forma de protestando

50 millas marcharon
Protestandole a la migra
Pa' que sepan esos rinches
Que con la raza no chingan

Ballad of the Caravan of the Reconquest

The year of 1971
From the barrios of California
26 soldiers left
With Texas as their destiny

The reason was declared
To unite the people with their plan
They left with this message
Through the lands of Aztlan

June 1972
They were all found marching
From Las Cruces to El Paso
In a big protest

50 miles they marched
Protesting against the INS
So that those bastards know
Not to fuck with our people

Mañanitas de Aztlán[32] (excerpt)

Estas son las mañanitas
Mañanitas de Aztlán
Tierra de sol y canto
Que hizo renacer un nuevo sol

Ya está despertando la gente
Hay movimiento en el barrio
La gente se pone en pie
Para empezar nuevo día

Mañanitas de la raza
Mañanitas de Aztlán

Aubades of Aztlán

These are the aubades
Aubades of Aztlán
The land of song and sun
That gave birth to a new sun

The people are awakening
There is a movement in the barrio
The people are getting on their feet
To start a new day

Aubades of the people
Aubades of Aztlan

The preceding examples of movimiento songs describe Aztlán in subtly differing ways, from a populist calling, to a re-conquering of the Southwest, to a spiritual reawakening. The significance of land and memory for ethnic Mexicans in the Southwest, particularly land lost by a host of unspeakable deceptions by los gringos in which ethnic Mexicans are made to feel like foreigners in their own land, makes potent the concept of a homeland such as Aztlán. In an interview for the documentary film *Chicano: History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (1996), author Sabine Ulibarri delivered an explanation of the intimate feeling people had with the land.

> The land was sacred because your parents and grandparents were buried there. Some of your children were buried there. And you would be buried there. So the blood and sweat and tears of generations are filtered into the land. So it is holy. It is sacred, sacrosanct.[33]

The first two songs about Aztlán noted above are about reclaiming the land. In Daniel Valdez's "Corrido de Aztlán," the first verse is a declaration of Aztlán as a Chicano land and, in an example of the guerrilla cultural, the political need for unity to defend the land with the refrain noting the gesture of romantic sacrifice.

The "Corrido de la caravana de la reconquista" is a story of an apparent eleven month journey throughout Aztlán, "to unite the people." It is a journey full of *carnalismo* and confrontation as city by city, state by state, the caravan makes their way to Texas before heading back home to California. The message of *reconquista* is a reclamation not only of symbolic territory but also of real dignity. Delia Moreno's "Mañanitas de Aztlán" is not so much a confrontational call to arms to defend *la patria*, but a wake-up call nonetheless, as it is a *mañanitas*. Aztlán, in Moreno's song, is a place for change and the people need to rise up and make it real.

Historical Consciousness

As a repository of a glorious indigenous past, a brutalized and unjust colonial experience of survival, and a flowering era of potential liberation, the theme of historical consciousness was perhaps the most significant area for movimiento songwriters. It was a vast storehouse of experiences to be interpreted through a nationalist lens and could be rendered through song. It was common for movimiento performers to produce shows on Chicano history interpreted through song. Corridos were important to add historical depth to these performances as their narrative form

engaged audiences ready to hear about Chicano history. While not all songs within this category were composed in the corrido form, narrative depictions of the Chicano experience were the norm as these songs sought to instruct as much as entertain.

Agustín Lira's "¡Quihubo raza!" was a movement song of the same significance of "Yo soy Chicano" in its ability to describe in concise and coherent manner the deceptions that had confronted ethnic Mexicans in the U.S. As the first verse notes, the promises given after the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo were rendered meaningless by the "mentirosos" (the lying Americans); all the more important as the treaty was the initial compact between the state about ethnic Mexicans. The following refrain collapses this complex history into the challenges that Mexicanos have had to face while living in the U.S. ever since, namely the overwhelming power of assimilation. Difference plays a factor here as the unique cultural heritage of the Chicano is made distinct with the oppressive gringo.

¡Quihubo raza![34] (excerpt)

Bueno pues, ¡Quihubo! ¿Cómo les va?
¡Qué lindo día para cantar!
Noticias que han llegado de Nuevo México,
Mil ochocientos cuarenta y ocho,
Pues fue firmado el gran tratado
De Guadalupe Hidalgo,
Prometiendo justicia y libertad
A tierras y terrenos de gente indígena.
¡No hombre, qué mentirosos!
Cuando firmaron el tratado,
Los americanos.

Y el mexicano hacerse gringo,
No puede, ni quiere.
Y el mexicano hacerse gringo,
No puede, ni será.
Porque en sus venas trae la sangre
Chichimeca, zapoteca y de los yaquis,
Xochimilca y de los mayas,
Y en su cuerpo trae la sangre de Cuauhtémoc

De Morelos y Zapata, y el famoso Pancho Villa

What's Up, People!

Well then, hello there! How's it going?
What a beautiful day for singing!
News from New Mexico,
Eighteen forty-eight,
That the great treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo
Was signed,
Promising justice and freedom
For the lands of indigenous people.
No, man! What liars!
When they signed the treaty,
Those Americans.

And the Mexican, to become a gringo,
He doesn't want to, nor can.
And the Mexican, to become a gringo,
He doesn't want to, nor will be.
Because in his veins he has
Chichimec, Zapotec, and Yaqui
Xochimilca and Mayan blood.
And in his body he has the blood of Cuauhtémoc,
Morelos and Zapata, and the famous Pancho Villa

Corrido Chicano[35] (excerpt)

Año de mil ochocientos
Cuarenta y ocho corría
Firmaron dos gobernantes
Y a mi pueblo dividían

De Texas a California
Arizona y Colorado
Nuevo México es la tierra
Que los yanquis nos robaron

Chicanos y mexicanos
No hay distinción de color

Ni de raza ni de sangre
Iguales en opresión

Chicano Ballad

The year of Eighteen Hundred
And Forty-eight came
Two governments signed
And my people were divided

From Texas to California
Arizona and Colorado
New Mexico is the land
That the yankees robbed us of

Chicanos and Mexicans
There is no distinction of color

Nor of race or blood
We are equals in oppression

La sangre de los latinos	The blood of the Latinos
Es guerrilla de siglos	Is the resistance of centuries
Quinientos años peleando	Five hundred years fighting
Contra el cruel imperialismo	Against cruel imperialism

"Corrido Chicano," like "¡Quihubo raza!," is an indictment of the U.S. for the treatment of ethnic Mexicans since 1848. The juxtaposition of Chicano and Mexican as distinct subjects in the third verse distinguishes this song from most of the repertoire where they are generally considered one and the same. While this verse comes to the same conclusion, that it marks the distinction perhaps suggests that the corrido's author was aware of such distinctions in the community and thus felt the need to address this issue. In more direct fashion, however, this corrido likens the century and a half of unjust American society to the five hundred year struggle of the indigenous against the "cruelty of imperialism."

NATIONALISM IN NEW GUISE: ENRIQUE RAMIREZ

While "¡Quihubo raza!" is likely the most well-known song of the theme of historical consciousness, one of the most effective songs of this category is Enrique Ramírez's "El quinto sol." I set this song aside not so much for

its particular lyric, or its compositional history, but rather for the unique musical avenues it foreshadows in movimiento music.

El quinto sol[36]	**The Fifth Sun**
Esta es la era del sol—del quinto sol	This is the era of the sun – of the Fifth Sun
Trajo gachupines con todo y frailes Trajo a Jesucristo y a Richard Nixon Trajo la viruela y hasta la sifilis Y ahora en vez de nahuatl, hablo español	It brought Spanish settlers with friars and all It brought Jesus Christ and Richard Nixon It brought smallpox and even syphilis And now instead of Nahuatl, I speak Spanish
También trajo un vato, llamado Cortez Que con La Malinche, metieron las tres Y de la conquista, y la destrucción Nacieron mestizos, hijos del sol	It also brought a "dude" by the name Cortéz Who with la Malinche really messed things up And from the conquest and the destruction Were born Mestizos, children of the sun
Pero este sol ya se acabó, se está apagando El gringo opresor, ya está temblando Todo el mundo pobre, ya va marchando Cantemos hermanos, al nuevo sol Cantemos hermanos, al nuevo sol	But this sun is finished, its light is dimming The gringo oppressor is now trembling All the world's poor now goes marching Sing my brothers to the new era Sing my brothers to the new era

"El quinto sol" is wrapped in the prevalent indigenist mode of *Chicanismo*, complete with extended references to Aztec cosmology. Like other songs in the category of historical consciousness, the song places the beginnings of Chicano history (and conflict) with the European conquest of Mexico. "El quinto sol" was not only a postcolonial Chicano history lesson; it was also a Chicano reiteration of Johann Herder's romantic nationalist ideology, as the nobility and humanity of the Chicano's Indian past will provide the strength for liberation (Peña 1987, 1999).

President Monroe, te lo prometía	President Monroe he promised you
Que las tierras libres, él respetaría	That he would respect the free lands
Y así prometiendo, no colonizar	And promising not to colonize
Tomó Puerto Rico, Hawaii y Aztlán	He took Puerto Rico, Hawai'i and Aztlán
Hermano Chicano, no hay que decaer	Chicano Brother, let us not weaken
Busca en tus entrañas al indio de ayer	Look inside yourself for the Indian of the past
Sólo su nobleza, y su humanidad	Only his nobility and his humanity
Te darán las fuerzas, de la libertad	Will give you the strength to gain your liberty

Born in Mexico but raised in East Los Angeles, Enrique Ramírez witnessed first-hand the identity conflicts of his fellow Chicano students. The assimilationist strategies in the postwar years of the Mexican American generation were grating against the difficult social realities of ethnic Mexican youth in the 1960s. In Ramírez's words, "minorities were compelled to be as American as you can be, to the extent of disregarding and shedding your own culture in the process."[37] As a student at Garfield High School, Ramirez was present and active with the cultural and political change that was emerging in the late '60s, culminating in the Eastside Blow-Outs of 1968, when thousands of Chicano students walked-out of their high schools to protest the poor conditions of their education. Ramírez learned guitar from his older brother, learning corridos and other Mexican genres but also the rock'n'roll from north of the border. After high school, he began incorporating his musical interests with his desire to organize politically. The first song he wrote was a corrido, "El corrido del

EOP," about the college-level counseling service available to students of color in California. He wrote the song while he was a student at what was then called San Fernando Valley State College (now California State University, Northridge), playing with what was likely the first music ensemble of the movimiento, the student-based Conjunto Aztlán. His next composition, "El quinto sol," was also written during his years at San Fernando Valley State and was, in essence, Ramírez's response to the assimilationist pressures he witnessed just a few years earlier in high school.

Based on the song "Yerbero moderno" made famous by Celia Cruz, "El quinto sol" must have sounded rather distinct from the various movimiento and huelga songs that were prevalent on campuses in the late 1960s. On the other hand, Latin American styles and genres, such as *son cubano* that Ramírez's song is based, were a part of the expanding aesthetic palette of ethnic Mexicans in the US. Such luminary Chicana musical figures as Lydia Mendoza had maintained genres like the tango, bolero, and *milonga* as part of their vast performance repertoire (Broyles González 2001) and Los Angeles was itself a center of activity in Caribbean popular music styles. Historian Anthony Macias (2003) has

traced the active nightlife Chicanos were having in Los Angeles, enjoying the music of mambo, rumba, and Latin jazz, styles that had not yet found their way into the musical imagination of the Chicano musician-activists of this initial phase of movimiento music. At a time when the corrido was the icon of Chicano musical nationalism, "El quinto sol" provided a glimpse into the possibilities of Latin American and popular music.

"El quinto sol," while expressive of Chicano cultural nationalism, was also a part of a larger cultural process that was re-shaping Chicana/o cultural life and movement politics by the early 1970s. The verses are very nationalistic, yet by adapting the lyrics to a Latin American musical sound, Ramírez began breaking down the unspoken barriers shaping the contours of movimiento music. Delia Moreno's songs similarly opened up new avenues as she used the bolero form in some of her songs. The clearly Latin American sound of Celia Cruz's song, not to mention the distinction of it being a "popular music" rather than a traditional genre, would be a starting point from which movimiento ensembles would create their own sound.

In the next chapter, I will chart the next phase of movimiento music as the emphasis shifts from movement songs to movement ensembles. As the movement moved beyond its early years, the influence of political song traditions of Latin America, namely nueva canción and the songs of Carlos Puebla, troubadour of the Cuban Revolution, began to influence the tight nationalist line that movement musicians and artists had been holding for a number of years. I will examine how songs and musical styles were negotiated at the local level and yet with an increasing global sense of the importance of the artistic and political work musicians were accomplishing within the Chicano Movement. The community-based ensembles that formed in different parts of California will be the primary focus for my consideration: Flor del Pueblo of San José, Los Alacranes Mojados of San Diego, and the East Los Angeles-based group, Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles, as their own approach to movement music speaks to the different tactics deployed by movement musicians.

NOTES

1. A verse from a poem written by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzeles, leader of the Crusade for Justice organization of Denver, Colorado. The poem was placed on the back panel of the 1974 album, *El Movimiento Chicano*, by the Denver-based movement ensemble, Los Alvarados.

2. Earlier in 1971, TENAZ (National Theater of Aztlán) was formed as a national network of Chicano theater groups which would organize annual festivals with workshops and performances (Huerta 1971).

3. The distinction between structural and manifest violence is manifest represents physical violence while structural refers to violence that affects in either social or economic types of conflict. Manuel Callahan has been instructive in making clear this difference for me.

4. "Tolteca" can be a reference to the Toltec society of ancient Mexico. In this context, it references an indigenous meaning of the term as "artist" or "artisan." Thus, some artists of the Chicano Movement referred to themselves and peers as *toltecas* individually or formally as particular artist collectives, such as the San Diego-based Toltecas en Aztlan.

5. Dorados was a term referring to the "golden" fighters under the command of Francisco "Pancho" Villa. Adelitas refers to the archetypal women also involved in the Mexican Revolution who not only cooked for the soldiers and care for the wounded but also fought in battles.

6. José Flores Peregrino, personal communication, June 2002.

7. As told to me by Chunky Sánchez, November 2001.

8. Manuel Peña coined the term, canción-corrido, to describe a hybridized genre emerging in 1920s Southwest. Says Peña, "By combining the lyrical qualities of the canción and the narrative structure of the corrido, the canción-corrido captured the pathos of the

everyday life of the common people while evincing a sense of the historical" (1999: 60). Peña also mentions that the genre of the canción-corrido became the most genre of the period when the major recording labels entered the Mexican market.

9. Various cancioneros of the early years of the movement, 1968-1974, categorize or group together songs clearly of the huelga song repertoire and movimiento songs written later and on distinct topics. These cancioneros included those by El Teatro Campesino, El Teatro Mestizo (of San Diego, California), El Teatro de East L.A., and others.

10. For the sake of space, I will only use excerpts from each song.

11. Sonnichsen's (1976) attribution was confirmed by Emilia Alvarado of Denver-based movement group, Los Alvarados (phone interview, 2003).

12. This version of "Yo soy Chicano" is from the 1974 recording of the Denver-based Los Alvarados and the song lyrics booklet (with translation) that accompanied the record. A recording of the song is available on the *Rolas de Aztlán: Songs of the Chicano Movement* CD compilation of Smithsonian Folkways Records (2005). Translation of the lyrics was a combined effort of Russell Rodríguez, Daniel Sheehy, and myself.

13. From Poveda's (1983) extended interview with Chuy Negrete:

> Often times, what I do is I take this song ["Vámonos a pelear a la Guerra" by Juan Tejeda of Conjunto Aztlan of Austin, Texas]…For example, at the beginning of the song it says: "Vámonos a pelear a la guerra / que esta tierra es de nosotros." Now, you sing that to a group of workers in Chicago and they say: "But, what war?" It sounds almost like a Historical Song [one of Chuy's song categories] that somebody sang in 1849. Perhaps in Texas it still makes sense. They may say: "Hey, this is our land." So, the way I use the song…And again, I may be accused of folklorizing

the realities of history, but I'd say: "Look, this was a song that was inspired by those men who fought in 1849. It is sung on the border and has that spirit of struggle." (170)

14. This version of "Yo soy tu hermano, yo soy Chicano" is from the published version of the composer, Rumel Fuentes (1973). A recording of the song by Austin-based Conjunto Aztlan is available on the *Rolas de Aztlán: Songs of the Chicano Movement* CD compilation of Smithsonian Folkways Records (2005).

15. This version of "América de los indios" is from the 1974 recording *Mestizo* by Daniel Valdez. A recording of the song is available on the *Rolas de Aztlán: Songs of the Chicano Movement* CD compilation of Smithsonian Folkways Records (2005).

16. This version of "Tonantzin" was provided to me by Delia Moreno from her own cancionero. The translation is mine.

17. The quote is from the cancionero excerpt provided to me by Delia Moreno.

18. The work of Yolanda Broyles-González, María Herrera-Sobek, Cándida Jáquez, and Debora Vargas, along with new scholars is beginning to address this issue.

19. This version of "Mujeres valientes" is taken from the cancionero of the El Teatro Mestizo of San Diego, California (1973). The translation is mine.

20. See María Herera-Sobek's *The Mexican Corrido* (1990) for a study of woman archetypes in corrido compositions.

21. Personal interview with Chuy Negrete, July 2004.

22. This version of "Corrido de Delano" was taken from the song booklet to their album, *El Movimiento Chicano*. Translation is theirs.

23. This version of "La guitarra campesina" is taken from the cancionero of the El Teatro Mestizo of San Diego, California (1973). The translation is mine.

24. This version of "Luis "Junior" Martínez" was taken from the song booklet to their album, *El Movimiento Chicano*. Translation is theirs.

25. This version of "Corrido de Cedillo" was taken from the collection of Rumel Fuentes's corridos published in *El Grito* (1973). Translation is mine.

26. See note 24.

27. This version of "El corrido del Chicano Parke" is taken from the cancionero of the El Teatro Mestizo of San Diego, California (1973). The translation is mine.

28. The story of Chicano Park was related to me innumerable times, myself being from San Diego. It is a story that has been recounted through song, essay, mural, poem, etc.

29. This comment was made by Amalia Mesa-Bains in the documentary *Chicano: History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (1996).

30. This version of "Corrido de Aztlán" is from a late 1960s El Teatro Campesino cancionero. The translation is part mine, part from a version by Los Alvarados (1974).

31. This version of "Corrido de la caravana de la reconquista" is from the 1974 cancionero of El Teatro Mestizo of San Diego, California. The translation is mine.

32. This version of "Mañanitas en Aztlán" was made available to me from Delia Moreno from her cancionero. The translation is by Joseph Nalven.

33. This comment was made in the first episode, "Quest for a Homeland," in the documentary *Chicano: History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (1996).

34. This version of "¡Quihubo raza!" is from the 1998 recording of Agustín Lira y Alma *Siempre he estado aquí/I Have Always Been Here*. The translation if from the CD liner notes. A recording of the song is available on the *Rolas de Aztlán: Songs of the Chicano Movement* CD compilation of Smithsonian Folkways Records (2005).

35. This version of "Corrido Chicano" is from the cancionero section of an unpublished paper by Juan Tejeda (1999). The translation is mine.

36. This version of "El quinto sol" is from the 1983 recording of Los Peludos' self-titled album. The translation if from the record liner notes. A recording of the song is available on the *Rolas de Aztlan: Songs of the Chicano Movement* CD compilation of Smithsonian Folkways Records (2005).

37. Interview with Enrique Ramírez on 16 September 2002.

Chapter Four

Aztlán and las Américas: Chicano Internationalism and Hybridity, 1974-79

> *Somos uno porque América es una. América, un continente, no un país.* [We are one because America is one. America, one continent, not one country.]
>
> --Fidel Castro, *Second Declaration of Havana*, 1962

> But hybridity is what Chicanismo was ultimately about –if by hybridity we mean a fusion of forms that masks deep structural antagonisms, even as this fusion projects a surface unity.
>
> --Manuel Peña, *The Mexican American Orquesta* (1999: 266)

> There are no borders to Chicano music. You don't have to just sing a corrido to talk about revolution; you can do it many other ways.
>
> --Chunky Sánchez, Los Alacranes Mojados[1]

In the first phase of movimiento music, 1968-1973, the corrido was transformed from cultural practice to ideologically-charged organizing tool for movement musicians. Due to its narrative form, the corrido's ability to express "deep feeling" –as Luis Valdez described the genre[2]— enabled musicians to sing Chicanos back into 'history,' countering the feelings of erasure from the U.S. public sphere. While other forms were

also employed, the corrido was the requisite genre during these early years. By 1974, however, a cursory look at movement *cancioneros* reveals the new sounds of movimiento music. While the corrido was still popular and many, if not most, of the songs of the initial phase are represented in the *cancioneros*, other Latin American songs of struggle were equally significant. Songs from Cuba, Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile filled the pages of *cancioneros* as much as home-grown corridos. The growing influence of political struggles in Latin America, internationalist political sentiments among Chicanos, and popular music styles, American and Latin American, played a part in defining this shift.

The movement cancionero was most often the product of a community teatro ensemble, both for members (in order to learn songs featured in an acto) as well as for the community (as a document of the songs). In San Diego, California, the most important teatro ensemble during the movement was Teatro Mestizo. Teatro Mestizo was the theatrical arm of a multi-disciplinary grassroots arts collective, Toltecas en Aztlán, and was among the frontline movement artists in San Diego's *guerrilla cultural*. The Toltecas home was the recently acquired (water tower) in San Diego's Balboa Park, transformed into the Centro Cultural

de la Raza. The Toltecas also had artists, musicians, and dancers among its ranks, thus was able to pull on a variety of talents for Teatro Mestizo.[3]

In 1974, Toltecas en Aztlan and Teatro Mestizo published *Cantos Rebeldes de las Americas*, a collection of movement song texts illustrated by Tolteca artists. The collection contained a vast number of movements songs, referred to as "canciones del pueblo chicano," the category also included huelga songs as they had always been considered part of the same repertoire. For example, many of the songs considered in Chapter Three can be found in the *Cantos Rebeldes*. *Cantos Rebeldes* was very much a product of a cultural nationalist movement, of the guerrilla cultural that was the charge of the artists. However, the details demonstrate a shift in effect. The title exhibits a vision of Chicanos not only in Aztlán but in "las Américas." This reference is reinforced by the cover image of the cancionero which pictures a Chicano 'rebel singer,' standing with guitar in hand in front of an image of the globe with the western hemisphere prominently facing outward.

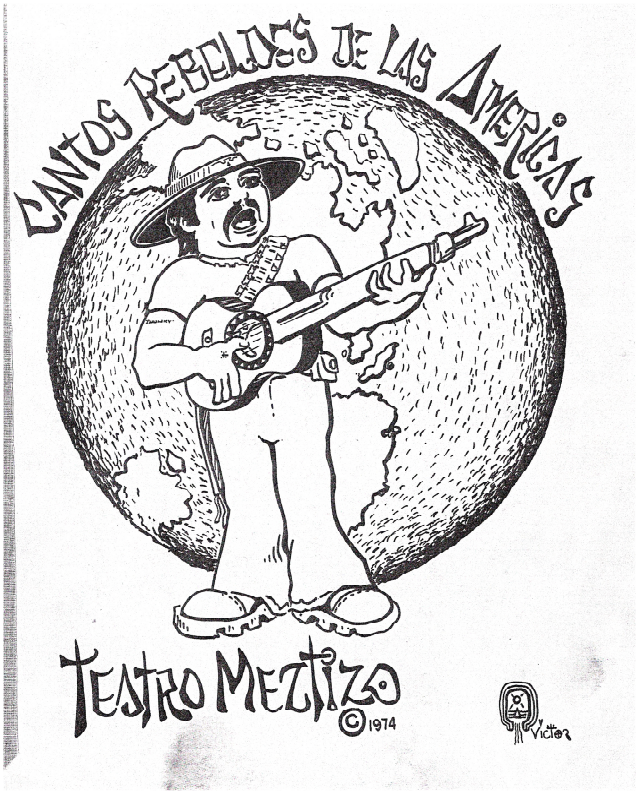

Figure 1. Cover of *Cantos Rebeldes de las Américas* (1974).

The juxtaposition of nationalist and internationalist images, words, and songs from *Cantos Rebeldes* reveals just how significant the artistic arm of the movement was able to bridge the tension between music, culture, and politics within the movimiento. Songs and musical styles outside a Chicano/Mexicano musical world were becoming a part of the growing movimiento repertoire. At the same time, *Cantos Rebeldes*, and other cancioneros published/distributed at the same time, represent the

beginning of a shift as the song/corrido –as the locus of movimiento music activity— would give way to the ensemble and Latin American popular and protest musics.

In the introduction to the collection, "El Canto Rebelde," the author (El Mestizo)[4], depicts the movement as a revolutionary moment; the voice of the people finally being heard as they remove the *mordaza* [gags] that have kept them from expressing the pain of oppression.

> It is to this day that the peoples of the Amerikas, have ripped off the mordaza [gag], and the echo of revolution followed by liberacion [liberation] is heard from the highest mountain in Peru to the lowest flatland in Arizona…Por fin [Finally] our people are singing of the maldiciones [evils] of this monster which turns our hearts into rock and our minds into machines. El Canto de Liberacion [The Song of Liberation] will not make the will of revolution, for the will has always been in our corazones [hearts]. El Canto Rebelde [The Rebel Song] will only open the heart and let this will out to open more corazones to the love for a revolution who time has come.

The songs of *Cantos Rebeldes* are divided into four sections: Chicano (19 songs, including huelga songs), Mexico (4 songs), Latin America (19 songs), and Cuba (10 songs). While certainly not claiming to be an exhaustive collection from the period, *Cantos Rebeldes* reveals the broader imagination of the movement song that was first heard in Enrique

Ramírez's "El quinto sol." Cuban and South American songs and styles had, in fact, shaped some huelga songs, "El picket sign" being the best example. Also, Carlos Puebla's homage to Ernesto "Che" Guevara, "Hasta siempre," was immediately popular in the late 1960s and was found in El Teatro Campesino cancioneros of the time. As noted in the previous chapter, however, these songs had not yet attained or were not composed with the ideological weight that later songs (and styles) would be. The number of songs within the Latin American and Cuban sections, in relation to the Chicano section, suggests a great amount of respect and solidarity for the struggles from which those songs emerged. The violence and repression out of which many of these songs were written represented in the eyes of some movement musicians a 'radical' facet that was not yet realized in the Chicano context.

This chapter investigates the shifts that occurred between the first and second phases of movimiento music; the examination will occur at three levels: from Mexican musical culture to Latin American music; from song-based to ensemble-based; and from the tension between political identity of the music and cultural identity of politics. Was Chicano cultural

nationalism, which sought to establish itself, in part, on the cultural distinctiveness of Chicanos, no longer the guiding force for movement artists? What was the meaning of the ascendance of Latin American musical genres and styles within the Chicano Movement? Was the shift due to a parallel shift in Chicano movement politics, from predominantly cultural nationalist to emerging internationalist? Was it a decentering of cultural nationalism and/or a shift towards a new cultural politics? What did the musical activity of community-based ensembles say about the state of Chicano protest song within a social movement? Through a consideration of the ensembles Flor del Pueblo of San José, Los Alacranes Mojados of San Diego, and Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles (all of California), I demonstrate that movimiento musicians were able to offer a nuanced perspective of the different political ideologies confronting the movement by drawing upon both their political motivation to contribute to the movement and the Chicano experience of music-making. The Lobos, in particular, challenged notions of what is "political" in movimiento music with their performances of Mexican regional music traditions. While music of the Chicano Movement began to speak in more definitive ways to its relationship within the world –at least the world in

struggle in Latin America— movimiento music of the second phase suggests that Chicano cultural aesthetics, or the hybridizing processes occurring within the ethnic Mexican culture in the twentieth century, were also at work.

CHICANO INTERNATIONALISM

In a recent essay on Chicano Movement poster-making, George Lipsitz (2001) notes the "hidden history" of the movement as told through poster art. Posters were made throughout the movement serving as visual announcements of upcoming meetings, concerts, and demonstrations; as documents commemorating the Chicano struggle, such as to the memory of Ruben Salazar, the Chicano journalist killed during the 1969 Chicano Moratorium march in Los Angeles; as well as vibrant expressions of the idealism and cultural nationalism of the movimiento. There were posters ridiculing anti-immigrant sentiment; others warning of the dangers of pesticides for farm workers and consumers; and, of course, expressions of Chicano pride. At the same time, there were also posters idolizing Che Guevara; announcing events towards American Indian-Chicano unity; anti-Vietnam War sentiment; and Sandinista solidarity. Says Lipsitz,

> They evoked the Movimiento Chicano in all its rich complexities and contradictions, a movement both nationalist *and* internationalist, class conscious *and* culturalist, reformist *and* revolutionary. (2001: 169; emphasis in the original)

Movement poster art had much in common with the songs that filled the cancioneros mentioned above as these songs also served as an index of the emergent politics of the movement. The thematic topics of movement songs generally shared the imperatives of poster art: "to attract attention, communicate clearly, and encapsulate a complex message in a compressed form" (Lipsitz, 170). Equally, the production of movement posters was similar to that of movement/huelga songs: neither extensive training nor virtuosic ability was required thus mass distribution was possible as others beyond the artist/songwriter could easily reproduce the work.

For Lipsitz, the expansive political terrain mapped out by the themes and topics of movement poster art are expressive examples of the "revolutionary nationalism" noted by George Mariscal (2005) and they counter the obscuring evaluations of post-movement scholars which have viewed such political activity as merely a product of "nationalism" or identity politics (Fregoso and Chabram 1990). While there was no

denying the powerful feelings the cultural nationalism of Chicanismo was able to inspire, the work of artists within the movement suggests an equally powerful ideological effort to think of the Chicano struggle for rights and resources as part of a broader struggle for social justice.

> The internationalism, class consciousness, and solidarity with struggles for social justice among other aggrieved groups manifest in these posters reveals that the movement was an effort to convince people to draw their identity from their politics rather than their politics from their identity. (Lipsitz 2001: 176-77)

Like movement poster art, movimiento music after 1973 revealed a "hidden history," an internationalist sensibility that sought to expand the creative and political horizons that circumscribed Chicanismo, from Aztlán to *las Américas*. The most conspicuous example Chicano internationalism in movimiento music was the adoption of repertoire and style of both Latin American *nueva canción* and the songs of Cuban *trovador*, Carlos Puebla. As the cancioneros reveal, these songs of struggle from Latin America took Chicano musicians into musical frontiers, traditional and popular, that began to reshape the contours of movimiento music. New ideas about songwriting, the inclusion of new instruments,

and a broader political perspective marked the shift in music of the Chicano Movement.

Movement politics and Chicano identity were constantly in motion due to competing visions/ideologies at the minor and major level. Social movements often are defined by the dynamic field of experiences of its participants; the highs of accomplishments, the frustrations of internal politics and interference by the state, the hopes and dreams of the masses. This dynamism often must allow for contradiction as ideas change and are exchanged or internal rifts must be acted upon separately from movement goals. At the individual level, Mariscal notes the movement of Luis Valdez's political leanings over the years of the movement:

> Luis Valdez, for example, was capable of expressing solidarity with Cuba and Viet Nam in the long poem "Pensamiento serpentine" and in the Teatro Campesino's antiwar actos, but insisted nevertheless that the Chicano political agenda was tied to some autochthonous belief system separate and distinct from the ideologies that confronted U.S. imperialism in those distant countries. "Moctezuma has more to teach us than Marx," a young Luis Valdez once claimed. (55)

A more revealing example of the dynamic dimensions of movement politics was via the experience of women within the movement. Chicanas struggled against the reproduction of patriarchal social relations

throughout the movement but these internal struggles did not trigger a mass exodus of Chicanas. In a short essay first published in *El Grito del Norte*, a movement publication based in New Mexico, Betita Martinez summed up the perspective that shaped the activist/revolutionary Chicana perspective:

> …women should and can be revolutionaries at every level of the struggle. They should struggle against sexism without fear, but within the context of our whole struggle as a people. We will not win our liberation struggle unless the women move together with the men rather than against them. We must work to convince the men that our struggle will be come stronger if women are not limited to a few, special roles [cooking, clerical, cleaning]. We also have the right to expect that our most enlightened men will join us in the fight against sexism; it should not be our battle alone.[5]

Just as the movement brought the private world of Mexican culture into public articulation, Chicana feminists publicly discussed previously unmentionable subjects like rape and sexual oppression. As one scholar put it, "If the aim of the Chicano Movement had been to decolonize the mind…the Chicana Movement decolonized the body" (Gutiérrez 1993). The efforts of Chicana feminists made sure women's experience and leadership received their due attention both within specific organizations

and more generally within the ideological debate of the movement (Martínez 1973).

Broader political imperatives, such as coalition building and solidarity work with other oppressed groups, such as Blacks, American Indians, or different Latin American contingents, were increasingly espoused by movement politicos. Chicano-based organizations with leftist rather than nationalist positions began to appear on the landscape as well as small Latin American enclaves, displaced by authoritarian rule in their home countries, both bringing with them internationalist politics. In the Chicano context, I refer to internationalism as an inclusive conception of Chicano struggle that embrace solidarities with contemporary struggles abroad, from Mexico to Vietnam, ideas that may or may not be directly influenced by socialist ideology but conceive of Chicano working-class and racialized experiences as part of larger global processes. Political possibilities that existed outside the "*mi raza primero*" [my people first] "narrow nationalist" perspective –which left little room to work with anyone– made Chicano internationalism an attractive avenue for social change.

While Chicano cultural nationalism and internationalism seem to be two disparate approaches within the movement, I agree with Mariscal's assessment that there was more of a dialectical than oppositional relationship between the two. As discussed in Chapter One, it is most productive to view Chicano cultural nationalism as an ideological field of possibilities rather than a single unified set of ideas. At times, narrow views of nationalism prevailed with internationalist approaches and coalition-building tactics standing a distant second; other times, broader conceptions of the Chicano struggle in global context were more appealing.

In this same vein, it is significant that we do not view Chicano political thought during the movement as a shift from 'immature' cultural nationalism to a 'more mature' internationalism. Nationalist thought, historically speaking is ambiguous at best. As Benedict Anderson, Tom Nairn, and others have pointed out, one of the paradoxes of nationalism is the imbalance between the social power of the idea of the 'nation' and the vacant theoretical basis for such power. Nairn's (1981) explication of this ambiguity is telling:

> So, there are two kinds of nationalism. The main, essentially healthy sort we applaud in Indo-China and Mozambique; and the derivative, degenerate sort we oppose in, for example, the American working class, Gaullism, the Chilean *Junta* and so on. It is this difference which explains the 'irrationality' of some nationalist phenomena. While the mainspring of nationalism is progressive, these abusive versions of it are regressive, and tend towards the encouragement of social and psychological atavism, the exploitation of senseless fears and prejudices, and so towards violence.
>
> Without for a moment denying that these political and moral distinctions are justified, and indeed obvious, one is none the less forced to point out that the *theoretical* dimension attaching to them is quite mistaken. The distinctions do not imply the existence of two brands of nationalism, one healthy and one morbid. The point is that, as the most elementary comparative analysis will show, all nationalism is both healthy and morbid. Both progress and regress are inscribed in its genetic code from the start. This is a structural fact about it. And it is a fact to which there are no exceptions: in this sense, it is an exact (not a rhetorical) statement about nationalism to say that it is by nature ambivalent. (347-48)

Mariscal (2005) has made a similar distinction regarding the ideological grounds Chicanismo has come to represent. Referring to the "healthy" and "progressive" aspects of Chicanismo, he uses the term "revolutionary nationalism," reserving "narrow nationalism" to refer to the "morbid" and "regressive" directions of the insular, "*mi raza primero*" crowd. For Mariscal, the narrow nationalist position

> took the various features of a constructed 'mexicanidad' (e.g., language, skin color, etc.) as litmus tests for group inclusion, enforced rigid notions of the family and patriarchal control, and at times could move dangerously close to a separatist program. (44)

Conversely for Mariscal, revolutionary nationalism, also known to as "Third Worldism," referred to activity that ranged from coalition-building and opportunities for solidarity to anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist theoretical frameworks. It must be said that narrow nationalism here is not another term for Chicanismo or cultural nationalism generally but rather for the regressive forms that ultimately sprouted from it.

> An uncanny mixture of cultural nationalism and diverse strains of Marxist thought, the language of Chicano/a internationalism could often surface in the rhetoric and actions of individuals and organizations that post-Movement scholars have too often over-simplified as 'nationalist.' (46)

Indeed, the idea of revolutionary nationalism for Mariscal is to capture the particular political idea Chicano internationalism attempted to realize, an idea that has been obscured in retrospect.

While Chicano internationalism exhibited through movement music takes place after the initial rumblings of the guerrilla cultural, an internationalist effect upon movement politics, conceived broadly, has its

roots in the years just prior to the grape strike of 1965. In 1964, Luis Valdez and Roberto Rubalcava, with a group of Chicano students at San Jose State College, went to Cuba as part of a delegation from the Progressive Labor Party.[6] Upon returning, Valdez and Rubalcava issued a report of their trip, "Mexican American Statement of Travel to Cuba," in which they link the revolution in Cuba with a colonial analysis of the ethnic Mexican community within the U.S.[7] Even earlier than the Valdez-Rubalcava trip, Elizabeth "Betita" Sutherland Martinez had traveled to Cuba in 1959 –the first year of the revolution's success—to experience the socialist government first-hand (Mariscal 2005). Chicano intellectuals were also debating and organizing under internationalist perspectives in the mid-1960s (Segade 1978). Chicano anti-war organizing, much of it centered around the moratorium marches throughout late 1969 and 1970, was the largest venture of Chicano internationalism. These anti-war activists were motivated to organize based on both the general feeling amongst American youth to end the war but equally by discriminatory practices within the military that placed youth of color in dangerous frontline regiments and, therefore, resulting in disproportionate casualties and deaths amongst Chicanos. Arguments based on the Chicano struggle

for rights and resources were equated with similar struggles elsewhere, be it Southeast Asia, Mexico, Europe, and the U.S. South. The global vision of the Chicano began to take place well before the mid-1970s when certain organizations began to have agendas based solely on internationalist views.

NUEVA CANCION AND CARLOS PUEBLA

By the early 1970s, two constants defined much of what was movement music: first was an almost exclusive use of Spanish language lyrics, in symbolic gesture of regaining a collectively dispossessed language; the second, a Chicano-based broad definition of the protest song, along two vectors: a predominance of Mexican song styles and, more importantly, politically-explicit lyrics. As argued in the last chapter, the example of the corrido provided for movement musicians a powerful form of expressing themselves musically, culturally, and politically. These songs gave a voice of dissent towards the growers, the scabs, the police, the racism, and other oppressive forces felt in everyday life. They are also examples of what Eyerman and Jamison (1998) described as cognitive praxis or knowledge-producing activities, via their use of historical subjects, themes of

liberation, and their increasingly global perspective of a Chicana/o worldview.

By the mid-1970s, it was the time of artist collectives and the desire to create relevant social art found Chicanos writing, painting, and singing themselves into an American consciousness they had long be made to feel outside of. Poetry collectives, such Los Cuatro (Denver) and Atlantis (Austin), muralist/art collectives, such as Toltecas en Aztlán (San Diego) and the Royal Chicano Air Force (Sacramento), in addition to numerous community teatro ensembles, were being founded throughout Southwest. Just as an earlier group of activists made their way to Cuba to experience the revolution first hand, Chicano artists made their way to Mexico to experience the cultural traditions they were drawing upon first hand.[8] In the early 1970s, however, with the development of authoritarian rule in much of South America, Latin American struggles became very relevant to Chicano musicians and the movement. Nueva canción and the songs of Carlos Puebla provided an opportunity for Chicano musicians to maintain one of the bases for Chicano protest song (Spanish language protest lyrics) while augmenting the other (adding Latin American music to a Mexican

musical sensibility). It was an expansion also felt in other quarters of movement art.

The New Song Movement of South America was a highly influential artistic endeavor whose impact was felt intimately in the struggles, accomplishments, and tragedies that defined Latin American political life in the 1960s and '70s. Artists, such as Violeta Parra, Victor Jara, and Inti-Illimani (from Chile), Atahualpa Yupanqui and Suni Paz (of Argentina), Daniel Viglietti (Uruguay), and others became known in many parts of the world for their music as well the struggle in their home countries. The roots of nueva canción are found in the emergent interest with traditional folk musics in different countries of South America, particularly Chile. In Chile, Violeta Parra was the first of many musicians who began collecting, promoting, and performing traditional musics on Chilean radio to counteract the flood of American and European commercial popular musics then dominant. The journey of valorizing Chilean culture eventually became intertwined with the country's political life as many of the adherents to nueva canción, most of which were young people, allied themselves with the presidential campaign of the Unidad Popular candidate, Salvador Allende, a party with leftist/communist

leanings. When Allende won the election of 1970, it was seen by many a victory for the left in Latin America and nueva canción identity was tied up with these politics. On 11 September 1973, Chile's military conducted a *coup d'etat* resulting in the assassination of President Allende and other political opponents, including artists like Victor Jara. The years of repression after the coup were felt musically as nueva canción was outlawed and many of its most famous practitioners were exiled.[9]

Jane Tumas-Serna (1992) suggests that it is difficult to define nueva canción as a singular musical style. Musicians from various South American countries endeavored to sing songs of struggle in the tumultuous years of the 1960s and '70s. While their output was indicative of the Hispanic/mestizo musical heritages that is generally shared within the hemisphere, the folk, rural, and indigenous musical stylings of the under-classes at times better define the musical production of certain artists (or artists from a certain country) and inform us as much as local and national styles and genres as about nueva canción. Nueva canción, therefore, is best understood within the political context out of which it emerged and for Chicanos, it was this political context as much as the

music that motivated Chicano musicians to embrace the songs and sounds of their Latin American brethren to the south.

Within the imagination of movement artists, the Cuban Revolution of 1959, most specifically in the persons of Fidel Castro and Ernesto "Che" Guevara, deserves additional attention. A survey of movement and post-movement Chicano expressive culture finds the figure of Che standing as a symbol of Chicano militancy, real and imagined. Che's likeness, beret, words, and history are now a part of Chicano expressive culture and can be found in community murals, performance and theater pieces, poems, and music recordings –a political and cultural expression Mariscal refers to as the "Chicano Che." He notes that U.S. ethnic Mexican youth of the mid-twentieth century found themselves immersed in the Cold War ideologies of the day, particularly the 'evil' that was communism. The actions of Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and the Cuban Revolution generally –in the context of the ethnic Mexican experience in the U.S.– created an opening in the eyes of the Chicano Generation to question U.S. Cold War perspectives.

The desire for social change, in a small yet influential group of thinkers and activists like Martinez, Valdez, and Rubalcava above, saw the Cuban Revolution as "an alternative model to the North American system in which they no longer believed." The antagonistic relationship that existed between Cuba and the U.S. in the years after the revolution did not hurt the militant imagination about Cuba beginning to form in Chicano activist circles. Thus, rally chants such as:

Fidel, Fidel, ¿que tiene el Fidel que los americanos no pueden con él?	Fidel, Fidel, what is it about Fidel that the Americans can do nothing about him?

became popular and relevant to Chicanos. Indeed, movement activist and singer, Jesús "Chuy" Negrete, has noted that at movement parties, he would sing this chant and substitute the names of party attendees (Poveda 1983: 214). Negrete also stated he would play with a polka beat "because this is what La Raza likes." Che's assassination in 1967 precluded any deep relationship between himself and Chicano activists. However, Che (with Castro) stood as contemporary icons of a Latin American revolutionary tradition in the same way Mexican Revolutionary heroes

Emiliano Zapata and Francisco "Pancho" Villa were historically important for Chicanos.

In Cuba, the arrival of Fidel Castro in Havana on 1 January 1959 marked the success of the Cuban Revolution. In the turbulent years of the 1960s and '70s, the figures of Cuba (nationally), Fidel, and especially of Ernesto "Che" Guevara, became icons of revolution and social change in various parts of the world. Within Cuba, the success of the revolution (and end of the Batista dictatorship) inspired many songs praising the change (Moore 2006). Of these songs, it was the songs of Carlos Puebla that made him one of the more recognized musicians of the early years of the revolution. With his quartet, Los Tradicionales, Puebla wrote numerous songs hailing the revolution, its figures, and ideals. His most famous song, "Hasta siempre," inspired by Che's farewell letter of 1965, became an international anthem for radical political circles in Latin America and beyond. The song was among the earliest Latin American songs added to the movimiento repertoire without adaptations to the lyrics.

Like nueva canción, the songs of Carlos Puebla are based on the songs of 'the people,' a sort of *son-guajiro*, as Moore describes them.

Unlike nueva canción, the songs were not *new* interpretations of previous styles and genres suddenly made relevant in a new social and political context, rather, Puebla's songs were very much within the *trovador* tradition of the period, its nationalistic verses being the distinction. As Moore describes,

> Puebla performed in cafés and other intimate venues in the style of turn-of-the-century *trovadores*, creating a sound intended primarily for listening rather than dancing. He was a master at textual improvisation; this was the single most important factor contributing to his popularity. His lyrics could be humorous, poking fun at opponents of the revolution ("Mucha cordura" [Much Wisdom], "La OEA es cosa de risa," [The OAS (Organization of American States) Is Laughable]), or stern but were unswervingly nationalistic. (2006: 60)

Of all the Latin American composers Chicano musicians drew upon, Carlos Puebla was by far the most popular. The uncompromising politics of his verses, the targets of various symbols of American imperialism, and the idealism of revolutionary struggle made the songs of Puebla immediately popular to a Chicano repertoire striving to achieve the same. The early (pre-movement) trips to Cuba by Chicano activists provided a political link for movimiento musicians and artists but not the cultural link that would open up the boundaries of movement music. This would

come from the interest by Chicano activists of solidarity with parallel struggles and be realized by their participation in the Venceremos Brigades and travel throughout Mexico, Cuba, and other parts of Latin America. Through these efforts, Chicanos also made impressions upon Latin American artists as composers such as Suni Paz and Carlos Puebla wrote songs of solidarity specifically to the Chicano cause.[10] A dialogue being established, the music of Carlos Puebla and nueva canción artists would directly influence the sound and politics of movimiento music.

ENSEMBLES

Between 1965 and 1973, at various times there were less than five music ensembles active within the movement. Performances of movement songs previously, outside of these ensembles and their teatro counterparts, were not ensemble-based but rather gatherings of guitarists and singers, which was effective enough as song texts were the musical focal point rather than the intra-group dynamic of musicians.

By the mid-1970s, ensembles became organic extensions of the work being done with movement songs. Indeed, ensembles more generally can be conceived as the music culture in microcosm as they are

the frontline, the collective at its most basic level. Just as cancioneros began to reveal the expanding repertoire of movimiento song, the public face of movement music shifted from singers and guitarists to ensembles. By extension, just as the ensemble overtook the movement song, the ensemble recording project took the place of the cancionero.

In his book, *Subcultural Sounds*, Mark Slobin (1993) considers the ensemble within what he calls "micromusics," the music cultures of the subaltern. Slobin suggests that we think of ensembles in two broad categories: bands and affinity groups. "Bands" consist of professional and semi-professional performing units that serve a paying audience, much like the generic Western sense of the word "band." "Affinity group," for Slobin, is a different phenomenon and refers to "charmed circles of like-minded music-makers who are drawn magnetically to a certain genre that creates strong expressive bonding" (98). Examples of bands are too numerous to specifically define but include commercial pop acts and dance bands (i.e., conjuntos, klezmer groups, and salsa bands) at the local level on upwards. The "affinity group" is much more particular. Slobin uses the example of New England-based fife and drum corps, a practice that has a strong sense

of identity with family traditions of participation, its own rituals and hierarchies, and little commercial appeal at the local or mass level. In this particular case, one who plays within these ensembles becomes an "Ancient," a practitioner of this "ancient" American heritage.

For Slobin, the relationships that define ensemble interactions are what define the ensemble. For bands, the relationship between musician and audience is most significant, particularly in the context where success in performance is predicated upon the pleasure of the audience. Members of the ensemble work together in strategies specific to their music culture, to maximize the experience of the audience and therefore open up the potential for more gigs. Slobin refers to this process as "banding." With affinity groups, such as the fife and drum corps, internal relationships are very pronounced and much weight is given to the commitment to maintain the tradition, (i.e., to become an "Ancient"), something Slobin calls "bonding" as opposed to banding. The strength of the bonds created result in activity such as members being "buried in uniform."

The socio-cultural context of the movimiento, particularly the international network of musicians and activists dialoguing with Chicano

musicians –everyone learning songs from one another— suggests that movimiento ensembles fit well into Slobin's idea of the affinity group. There was rarely a commercial aspect to these ensembles, thus participation was based out of a committed interest in the music and the movement subculture; "bonding" was very much a part of movement ensembles. While audience interaction was important, it did not affect the music-making or interaction between ensemble members, contrary to "banding," where audience interaction was paramount. On the other hand, movement ensembles were structured like bands and into the 1980s, as the cultural arm of the movement waned, the existing movement ensembles became more akin to Slobin's "band" than the affinity group they started out as.

There were no strict models for the movement ensemble and as such, Chicano musicians did not feel constrained by the definition of the ensemble, be it those performing traditional music from Mexico or American pop and rock. In relatively few years, movement ensembles featuring stand-up bass, acoustic guitar, congas, and *jarana jarocha* were not uncommon; the hybrid practices that shaped much of Chicano music were now evident in ensemble formations. While guitarists and singers

were still central to ensembles, role players, like bassists and percussionists, were needed. Friends from the top 40 or popular music scene often filled such roles and brought with them a broader musical experiences. Just as there was a feeling of freedom in constructing the movement ensembles, musical styles outside of the Chicano/Mexicano worldview became part of the musical terrain as the ensemble brought to movimiento music a larger cast of actors. The Chicano cultural aesthetic of blending their varying cultural influences into a form that speaks to Chicano identity is very much at play, even in the ideological world of the music of the Chicano Movement. Let's consider three movement ensembles in detail: Flor del Pueblo, Los Alacranes Mojados, and Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles.

Flor del Pueblo[11]

Flor del Pueblo, of San José, California, was one of the major movement ensembles in the state. The group was organized around a family-based core: brothers Pancho and Felipe Rodríguez, their sister, Deborah, and their cousin, Eduardo Robledo. Friends from the neighborhood and school/university filled out the group but the family core defined Flor.

Their two and three-part vocal harmonies gave Flor a distinctive sound among movement ensembles, particularly important as singing was a central feature of movement music. However, Flor's passionate embracing of the protest song repertoires of Latin America was the musical and political facet to their sound that distinguished the group.

The Rodríguez family is originally from Texas, their father is from West Texas and their mother is from the Rio Grande Valley. Their parents met and married in San José, where their children were born. The family was Baptist and the parents played in a church-based quintet, and Felipe and Deborah grew up singing hymns in church services where they developed an ear for harmonies. According to Deborah, being Baptists, she and her brother did not listen to much Mexican music growing up. They did listen to Texas Mexican music, however, the big bands their father favored and the conjuntos their mother liked. Not knowing the vast ranchera and bolero repertoire, Flor del Pueblo did not perform 'traditional' Mexican music, as Deborah referred to rancheras and boleros. Their cousin, Eduardo, knew these songs, as he did not grow up Baptist, and would perform them with the group in more social than movement settings. Eduardo grew up listening to Mexican music at home but also to

American pop music. He and Felipe would listen to the Beach Boys and Beatles and imitate their vocal harmonies. The cousins learned guitar as well in their teen-age years and Eduardo expanded into folk music scene of the era.

The Rodríguez family knew César Chávez as a young man working for the Community Services Organziation, an early California-based Latino civil rights group. When Chávez started organizing farm workers in the 1960s, the family became deeply involved, supervising the boycott committee in San José. Chávez asked them if they would move to Delano, the UFW headquarters, to help the union, and the family agreed; Pancho was already heading up the boycott in Boston. Working within El Teatro Campesino was a natural step for the Felipe and Deborah. Their cousin, Eduardo, joined the Teatro as well and worked with the group extensively. In 1974, Eduardo returned to San José to attend college. His cousins, Felipe and Deborah, had already returned for similar reasons and were active within Chicano student organizations. Daniel Valdez, also from San José, had left El Teatro Campesino and had taken over the San José State College teatro group, Teatro Urbano; Felipe and Deborah were active members. By the time Eduardo returned to San José in 1974, it was

felt they should do music primarily as there were many teatros but very few music ensembles. Thus, Flor del Pueblo was founded in 1975.

The first members of Flor del Pueblo were Felipe and Deborah Rodríguez, Eduardo Robledo, and Ben Cadena, a neighborhood and university friend who played bass and guitarrón in popular music and movement circles. Ben played guitarrón with Daniel Valdez for a televised concert on KCET in Los Angeles, and with Teatro Urbano, but also played electric bass with Chicano and Cuban dance bands in the Bay Area. Pancho returned to San José and joined the group as well, bringing with him a great interest in Cuban music which influenced the sound of Flor. Pancho, unlike his siblings, did not sing, he played percussion in the group. Pancho's primary contribution to the group, however, was based on his extensive political work, within the UFW, the Venceremos Brigade, and the movimiento generally, meant that he was often the member who spoke to the audience about movement politics and the group's music. He had a developed internationalist perspective on Chicano politics and Flor's performances were an opportunity to bring these ideas to the public.

Flor's music was an avenue for Chicano internationalism as well. Pancho introduced the group to the music of nueva canción and Carlos Puebla. Ben Cadena had played Cuban music with other groups before joining Flor and thus brought some musical expertise. Around 1976, Flor joined forces with another movement group in San José, Alma de Sol, all remaining under the name Flor del Pueblo. Alma consisted of Enrique Castillo, his (then) wife Yolanda Pérez, her father Ramiro Pérez, and percussionist Clay Shanrock. Clay was an experienced percussionist specializing in Afro-Caribbean music, making the foray into Caribbean musics a real possibility. While corridos and huelga songs formed an important part of the repertoire of Flor, it was the songs of Latin America that made their musical performances distinct from other groups. Says Felipe Rodríguez: "We began to do songs, not just of Chicano music but also focusing on the struggles of Latin America, which was pretty relevant at that time, especially in Chile." While the songs of Victor Jara and Violeta Parra formed part of the repertoire, it was the songs of Carlos Puebla that made a large impact upon the group.

While internationalism formed the musical approach of Flor del Pueblo, gender was an important factor as well. Flor del Pueblo was a

group that was defined by women members. Women were certainly active participants in the music of the movement but it was often anonymous since the teatro had long been the stage for their participation. Music ensembles offered feature roles to its participants and thus Deborah Rodríguez and Yolanda Pérez-Castillo were among the more well-known Chicanas in movimiento music scene circles. Before joining Flor, Yolanda was already an active musician. She played often at movement events in the greater Bay Area and joined the band that accompanied Daniel Valdez for his KCET concert, "America de los Indios," on guitar, voice, and percussion. Being the youngest in the group, both women were left to deal with the decisions of the men but they did shape the sound of the group in significant ways. Deborah speaks to how she sought out songs about women and thus the songs from Latin America were important to her. "This music had prominent women composers; there were more songs about women and it was a great resource." Among the composers/performers by Deborah mentioned are Suni Paz and Mercedes Sosa of Argentina and Violeta Parra of Chile.

On their 1977 independent recording, *Música de Nuestra América*, Flor demonstrate the hemispheric influence on their sound and

commitment of their politics. The two sides of the LP represent two aspects of their sound: side one was all original material or arrangements; side two featured songs from Cuba and Latin America. The Latin American songs incuded: Anibal Nazoa's "El punto y la raya," "Culebra" by Suni Paz, "Zamba de Che" by Rubén Ortíz, and two songs by Carlos Puebla, "La mujer" and the group's signature song, "Soy del pueblo." Although they are not represented on the album, Flor also sang movement and revolutionary-era corridos and huelga songs. The commitment to Latin American protest genres speaks to the politics of the ensemble and its vision of a recording project that represented their internationalist perspective. While other ensembles also performed Latin American genres, *Música de Nuestra América* was an opportunity to introduce these songs of solidarity to Chicano audiences.

The similarities in name aside, "Soy del pueblo" became the anthem of the group because of the themes represented in the lyrics. The song is about a singer who identifies completely with his community and feels the obligation and joy to be their voice in song.

Soy del pueblo[12] (excerpt)	**I Am of the People**
Yo canto porque el presente no es de pena, ni es de llanto, por eso es que cuando canto, canto lo que el pueblo siente.	I sing because the present is not for sorrow, is not for crying, that's why when I sing, I sing what the people feel.
(Estribillo) Soy del pueblo, pueblo soy. y a donde me lleve el pueblo voy.	(Refrain) I am of the people, I am the people. where the people take me, I go.
Como cantar es mi oficio, yo canto el esfuerzo duro, de construir el futuro con alegre sacrificio.	Since singing is my profession, I sing the tough effort of building the future with happy sacrifice.
Por el pueblo voy pasando, y oyendo su sentimiento, lo recojo y al momento se lo debo algo cantando.	I go among the people, and hearing their feeling, I gather it in at the moment, I owe them something in my singing.

The inclusion of Alma de Sol into Flor just prior to the recording filled out the sound of the group, which consisted primarily of guitars, voices, and bass. The members of Alma, as well as Pancho Rodríguez, brought percussion into a prominent role within the ensemble and facilitated the performance of Cuban songs, such as those by Carlos Puebla. The songs of Puebla featured a quartet of players (Los Tradicionales): Puebla on lead vocals and lead guitar accompanied by rhythm guitar, bass or *marímbula*, and second singer playing maracas (Moore 2006). The large ensemble that was Flor reproduced Puebla's songs with Eduardo Robledo and Felipe Rodríguez playing melody on guitar, Yolanda and Ramiro Pérez on

rhythm guitar, Clay Shanrock and Pancho Rodríguez on percussion, Enrique Castillo on bass, and Deborah Rodríguez singing, pairing up with various members of the group as most everyone could sing lead vocals and harmony.

On the track for "Soy del pueblo," the group records a faithful version of Puebla's original, the differences being an arrangement for a slightly larger ensemble. Instead of a single melodic line playing the introduction on the guitar, Flor's version has two guitars playing in parallel harmony. Harmonies occur in the vocal as well as Deborah, who sings the first line of the verse solo, is joined by Eduardo for a two-part harmony on the second line, with Felipe adding a third part for the last two lines of the verse and the chorus. The singing arrangements were particular to the group as Felipe and Deborah's skill at vocal harmonies offered them this unique sound amongst movement ensembles. Also particular to the group was the percussion arrangements of Clay Shanrock, as is evident at the end of "Soy del pueblo." At the completion of the final chorus, instead of returning to the introduction, which is typically played between verses, the guitars and bass drop out and the percussion is left revealed, starting a new rhythm distinct from the *son*

guajiro of the original. The percussion begins playing the relatively complex rhythms of *guaguanco*, an Afro-Cuban music style based predominantly on percussion. Over the *guaguanco* rhythms, Flor sings one more chorus but in a staccato triplet form rather than the more lyrical original.

While not necessarily blending Chicano/Mexicano and Cuban forms, the addition of the guaguanco represents the playfulness Chicano musicians felt with Latin American music genres and styles. Movement ensembles were also influenced by the sounds of their contemporaries. Most groups were based out of their hometown but the heightened activity of the movement meant traveling around one's home state, around the Southwest, and even internationally for festivals, conferences, and meetings. The song "Poco a poco" is a composition by Eduardo Robledo in the form of the huapango. The use of the huapango form was a nod of appreciation for the music of a movement group from Southern California, Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles, of whom more will be said later. "Poco a poco" itself was a popular song as it was covered by other ensembles (most notably Conjunto Aztlan of Austin, Texas who performs

it in the South Texas huapango style) and was also published in *Sing Out!* Magazine in 1976.

Poco a poco[13] (excerpt)	**Little by Little**
Siempre dice mucha gente que este mundo no va a cambiar la justicia no es pa'l pobre y jamas tendremos libertad. Yo les digo compañeros solo hay que trabajar. Todos unidos en la lucha este mundo vamos a cambiar.	Many people always say that this world will not change that justice is not for the poor and we'll never have freedom. I say to my companions all we have to do is work for it. All together in the struggle we going to change the world.
Yo les digo, yo les digo mis amigos doy estos consejos poco a poco, poco a poco poco a poco se va muy lejos	To them I say, to them I say my friends, I give this advice little by little, little by little step by step we'll go far.

Typical of the huapango style, the song is in a triple meter. Huapangos, however, are defined by metric ambiguity meaning that one can feel both the 3/4 triple meter and the 6/8 duple meter, creating a rhythmic tension that makes huapangos (and their cousins in the various son traditions of Mexico) raucous traditional dance genres. While the rhythm is pounded out by rhythm guitars and bass, the melody is provided by a cascading guitar arpeggio punctuated by chords. "Poco a poco" was Flor's only venture into Mexican regional musics; their sound drew most heavily on the canción and corrido as these genres gave greater salience to their vocal

stylings. More significantly, the canción and corrido were powerful forms of social critique and political mobilization, two criteria that well define the musical and political production of Flor del Pueblo.

Los Alacranes Mojados[14]

Los Alacranes are today a cultural icon in the city of San Diego, particularly to the Chicano communities and barrios throughout the area. Formed around the year 1975, the group and their songs are considered synonymous with the city's Chicano community's struggle for rights and resources. They have played throughout the state of California and the Southwest and continue to perform, having recorded five albums over the last thirty years. And they are known almost entirely by their front man, lead singer and rhythm guitar/jarana player, Ramón "Chunky" Sánchez.

In 1965, the year of the grape strike in Delano, California, Ramón Sánchez and his brother Ricardo were high school-aged youth living in Blythe, California. Blythe was then, and still is today, a small farming town in the middle of the Sonoran Desert, sustained by the Colorado River, which divides California from Arizona. The Sánchez family came to Blythe from the Mexican state of Sonora, located just south of the

border from Arizona. Ramón and his brothers and sisters were born and raised on the American side of the border. In 1965, as the United Farm Workers initiated their famous grape strike, Ramón Sánchez was forming a high school band, The Soul Patrol. Like many youth throughout America at that time, Ramón and his friends were infatuated with the sounds of urban Black America emanating from the TV and radio airwaves and the recordings of Motown, Stax-Volt, and Atlantic Records. On the other hand, he also grew up hearing family renditions of the songs of Mexico's famed ranchera singers, such as Pedro Infante, Jorge Negrete, Amalia Mendoza, and Lola Beltrán and it was at home among family that he and Ricardo first learned to the play the guitar.

After high school, Sánchez left Blythe for San Diego State University (SDSU); Ricardo would follow him to San Diego just a couple of years later. It was in San Diego that he would encounter the Chicano Movement, on and off campus, as a musician and an activist. He joined the fledgling student ensemble, La Rondalla Amerindia de Aztlán, a guitar ensemble dedicated to performing huelga and movement songs. Under the direction of SDSU Chicano Studies professor, José Villarino,

Amerindia was a vehicle for student musical and political expression. Villarino recalls the beginning of Amerindia:

> [About 1970,] we had a little gathering [of students] and we started singing farm worker songs. We called ourselves La Rondalla Amerindia de Aztlán and we traveled up and down the state supporting César Chávez from Sacramento all the way to Calexico. The whole idea was to keep them in school and at the same time do something for the movimiento.

By the summer of 1970, San Diego had established itself as one of the more significant locations of movement activity. While there was no major political organization based in the city, it was a site of intense community action and artistic expression. The take-over of public lands for what would become the Centro Cultural de la Raza and Chicano Park, in open opposition to the city government, was seen as a landmark event within the movement as a whole. The establishment of the Centro Cultural also provided a home for a variety of busy local artists. San Diego was home to two important artist collectives: Congreso de Artistas Chicanas de Aztlán (CACA) a muralist/painter collective, and the above-mentioned Toltecas en Aztlán and their Teatro Mestizo. Chunky, a member of the Toltecas, became active within Teatro Mestizo after

graduating from San Diego State. One of Chunky's responsibilities within Mestizo was organizing a cancionero, the previously discussed *Cantos Rebeldes*. Sometime between 1974 and 1975, Chunky, with his brother Ricardo already in San Diego, recruited former Amerindia guitarrón player Marco Antonio Rodríguez, and new Centro Cultural director, Enrique Ramírez, to form Los Alacranes Mojados.[15]

The musical repertoire of Los Alacranes was based on movement songs, but ventured beyond these confines as well. While the corridos and movement songs always remained a central aspect of the ensemble, the experience of the former Amerindia members (Chunky and Marco Antonio) meant that the bolero would be important too. Amerindia director, José Villarino, was a specialist of the bolero having performed the genre in *trios románticos* for years before coming to SDSU. In Mexico, the *rondalla* ensemble is known for its renditions of romantic songs, particularly the bolero. Villarino chose the *rondalla* format to direct his cadre of student guitarists, as it allowed him no limits to the numbers of members –unlike a mariachi, a trio, or other traditional music ensembles— and he could also teach boleros in addition to the movement songs. For a movement musician like Chunky Sánchez, the bolero had

political potential, albeit more symbolic than musical; according to Chunky: "pochos singing in Spanish is political!"[16] The struggle to regain Spanish language skills, which was an important aspect of the guerrilla cultural in California, forms the basis of Chunky's comment, one experienced through a lifetime of performing Mexican and Chicano musics. The bolero, in this case, remained intact and did not need the adaptation of political lyrics as was typically the case for other Mexican genres; therefore, for many musicians coming out of the Rondalla Amerindia, "Sabor a mí" was as much a part of the repertoire as revolutionary corridos and other movement songs. Its use is reminiscent of Agustin Lira's "canción cultural," the singing of popular Mexican songs to spark the interest of potential recruits to the farm worker union.

Like many of their contemporaries, Latin American protest songs were also embraced by Los Alacranes and became critical parts of the group's repertoire. They played the songs of Carlos Puebla and Daniel Viglietti along side those of movement corridistas and their own compositions. In addition, American popular musics were fundamental to the music histories of each of Los Alacranes and thus would find an outlet in their music. "Somewhere between Pedro Infante and the Rolling

Stones," is how Chunky enjoyed describing the musical style of Los Alacranes. Of course, he felt this about Chicano music generally, within and beyond the music of the movement. The three crossroads: movement corridos, Latin American protest songs, and American popular music find each other in the music of Los Alacranes.

Los Alacranes recorded two albums in the 1970s: *¡Levántate Campesino!* (1975) with Los Mascarones in Mexico, and *Rolas de Aztlan* (1979).[17] Both albums are similar as they showcase the string-based ensemble that is Los Alacranes, a guitar and voice-driven sound rhythmically punctuated by the guitarrón, a more focused and potent approach than that of the days of Amerindia. The main melodic element of Los Alacranes, like Amerindia, is the requinto, a high-pitched guitar used prominently in the Mexican trio romántico whose melodies ring clearly over guitar and bass accompaniment. Over a short period of time, however, Ricardo Sánchez learned numerous other instruments, such as the mandolin, the Cuban *tres*, and the (piano) accordion, which provided diversity in the group's sound.

The song selection for the albums was similar as well, featuring corridos revolucionarios, popular rancheras and boleros, Latin American protest songs, and original compositions.

¡Levántate Campesino! (1975)
"Canción de los teatros rasquachis"
movimiento song (Chuy Negrete)
"El barzón"
popular ranchera
"Persecución de Villa"
revolutionary-era corrido
"Corrido del bracero"
movimiento song (Chuy Negrete)
"A desalambrar"
nueva canción (Daniel Viglietti)
"Revolución raptada"
by Los Mascarones
"Expropiación"
by Los Mascarones
"¡Levántate campesino!"
by Los Mascarones
"El picket sign"
huelga song (Luis Valdez)
"Bandera roja"
huelga song (Eduardo Robledo)

Rolas de Aztlán (1979)
"El corrido bracero"
movimiento song (Chuy Negrete)
"Ahora somos felizes"
popular bolero
"Hasta siempre"
by Carlos Puebla
"La guitarra campesina"
movimiento song (Chunky Sanchez)
"Tierra de los pueblos"
movimiento song (Mario Aguilar)
"El quinto sol"
movimiento song (Enrique Ramirez)
"El Trilingual Corrido"
movimiento song (Chunky Sanchez)
"Sabor a mí"
bolero
"Estrella del oriente"
Conchero (Aztec dance) song
"Chicano Park Samba"
movimiento song (Chunky Sanchez)

While the Mexican and Chicano examples are more numerous, there are several Latin American selections on both albums. Considering the various song genres that formed the Alacranes repertoire, it is clear the Latin American selection was evident, considering the connection with the *Cantos Rebeldes* cancionero.

In "El Trilingual Corrido," the Alacranes provide an example of the shift occurring in movement song. The song is based on the corrido genre and the text speaks to its audience by asking them to understand the Chicano struggle by understanding the Chicano experience in the labor force, in the educational system, and with the legal system. The prominent instrument of "El Trilingual Corrido" was the accordion, an instrument well known to ethnic Mexicans via the enormously popular music styles of norteño and conjunto (of northern Mexico and Texas, respectively). The accordion in California was not new, but had likely only made rare appearances within movement music, as the guitar was very prominent among the youthful movimiento music circles. In Texas, the accordion was prominent among the groups that performed movement songs, Conjunto Aztlan (of Austin) being among the most well-known groups.

"El Trilingual Corrido" is in many respects a continuation of the movement song/corrido of the initial phase of movement music. The narrative of the song recalls the corridos whose texts inform the historical consciousness of the movement.

El Trilingual Corrido[18] (excerpt)	**The Trilingual Ballad**
Ese hermano que no entiende, Come and sit aquí conmigo. Let me tell you en mi canto Lo que es su enemigo.	That brother who does not understand Come and sit here with me. Let me tell you with my song Who is your enemy.
I was born aquí en Aztlán Y mi barrio fue Califas. Aunque tú seas de aquel lado Las costumbres son las mismas.	I was born here in Aztlán And my neighborhood was California. Although you are from the other side The customs are the same [as Mexico].
Me forzaron a la escuela Para aprender el inglés. Now they all call me a pocho Porque lo hablo al revés.	In school they forced me To learn English. Now they call me a fake Mexican Because I speak Spanish poorly.

Over a waltz-based rhythm, Chunky and his brother Ricardo sing in parallel harmony, well within the broad stylistics of Mexican duet singing. The use of the Mexican-based accordion style also recalls the relationship between the corrido and accordion-based ensembles, strengthening the cultural tie between the movement song and its Mexican heritage. However, the text, with all the orthodox elements of movement song, suggests the approach to movimiento music was shifting.

As the title of the corrido states, language plays an important part of the song's identity. In the text, we see the use of Spanish, English, and a mixture of the two, *Spanglish*. The text excerpt demonstrates the significance of the song: the use of English. Since the composition of "Yo soy Chicano," movement songs had virtually all been in Spanish, both as a

marker of Chicano cultural distinction within the American landscape and as a symbolic gesture to recapture their disposed language. Chunky's use of English, however, should not be understood as the breaking of an unspoken ethnic taboo. Rather, Chunky was referencing an idiomatic use of language familiar to Chicanos. According to Susan Gal, "code-switching is a conversational strategy used to establish, cross, or destroy group boundaries" (as quoted in Slobin 1993: 85). Slobin and Peña, among others, have found code-switching to be a useful method of analysis within subaltern music cultures, of which I have more to say later in this chapter. Chunky's gesture towards the multi-lingual world of Chicanos suggests that movimiento music was beginning to express musical possibilities outside the musical nationalism that had defined the early phase of movement music.

The song, however, that distinguished Los Alacranes as a major movement ensemble, was "Chicano Park Samba." In this epic song –as it lasts over six minutes, much longer than the typical movement song— the Alacranes tell the story of the struggle to establish Chicano Park in San Diego's Barrio Logan. Anyone who has visited this humble park of

murals sitting beneath the Coronado Bridge, or seen the documentary film telling its story, understands its meaning to the community in San Diego and within the movement at large. "Chicano Park Samba" is unlike any movement song that preceded it. Its almost entirely in English, is not based on any Mexican musical genre, and features percussion. The song is an example of the broader intersections between movement music and popular music.

Chicano Park Samba[19] (excerpt)

In the year 1970, in the city of San Diego	
Under the Coronado Bridge lied a little piece of land,	
A piece of land that the community of Logan Heights	
Wanted to make into a park.	
A park where all the *chavalitos* could play in	[kids]
So they wouldn't have to play in the street	
And get run over by a car.	
A park, where all the *viejitos* could come	[old people]
And just sit down and watch the sun go down in the *tarde.*	[afternoon]
A park where all the *familias* could come,	[families]
And just get together on a Sunday afternoon	
And celebrate the spirit of life itself.	
But the city of San Diego said,	
"*Chale*! We're going to make a highway patrol substation here, man."	[No!]
So on April 22nd, 1970,	
La raza of Logan Heights	[the people]
and other Chicano communities of San Diego got together,	
And they organized,	
And they walked on the land,	
And they took it over with their picks and their shovels,	
And they began to build their park.	
And today, that little piece of land under the Coronado Bridge	
Is known to everybody as Chicano Park.	
¡Órale!	

It began in 1970,
Under the Coronado Bridge,
En mi barrio, in San Diego, [In my neighborhood]
Where my people began to fight
For Chicano Park, for Chicano Park.
Under the bridge…

The guitar arpeggios that open the song are the first hint of a different stylistic approach. The arpeggios soon give way to the main feature of the song, the melody played on the marimba. The marimba held no particular meaning for the group; Chunky bought the instrument by chance for twenty dollars at a swap meet in San Diego, liked the sound, and incorporated it into the song. Playing the marimba in parallel thirds and sixths, Chunky remains within the broad Hispanic musical universe of Latin America. The marimba, the soft strumming of the guitar and subtle yet present conga give the song a pan-Caribbean sound. The marimba in Latin America is often located in the northern end of Central America, including Mexico's Yucatan peninsula and Veracruz. Chunky's playing, however, does not specifically refer to these marimba styles, which can feature multiple performers on a single instrument and complex dance rhythms. Chunky's marimba is more characteristic of the Latin-tinged sound of certain rock bands of the 1970s, most specifically Santana. This is not to suggest Santana or other similar bands used the

marimba, but rather that the Latin sensibility they evoked through their fusion of Afro-Caribbean percussion and blues rock, a hybrid of Black and Latino aesthetics, was also at play –in a far subtler fashion— in "Chicano Park Samba."

The music of Flor del Pueblo and Los Alacranes, like the vast majority of movement ensembles, was based around the protest song. The song itself took numerous forms: corridos (original and revolutionary-era), lyrical adaptations to traditional forms like rancheras and boleros, cover versions of Latin American protest songs, and original compositions. What all these forms had in common were the political messages carried by the song texts; musical genre and style had great meaning as well, but forms that accentuated lyrical content were the most prevalent. As was said earlier, the addition of Latin American genres and styles complemented the modus operandi of movimiento song, which was based on 1) Spanish song texts and 2) political song texts. Thus, the stylistic expansion of movimiento music in the mid 1970s opened new musical vistas, but the main thrust of the protest song remained vital. Overtly political songs, however, are just that, political songs, not necessarily an appealing genre

to the masses. Some movement musicians were not completely convinced *movimiento* music needed to be defined by political, sloganeering song texts.

A rally in Los Angeles in the mid 1970s exposed this tension further. The musicians who related this story to me did not recall the specifics of this rally, yet it had to be of some significance as musical groups were invited from throughout the state. Let us consider the two ensembles that were present. One was Flor del Pueblo, considered above. Like other movement ensembles, Flor del Pueblo performed the core of the movement repertoire. What distinguished Flor was their embracing of the songs of nueva canción and Carlos Puebla from Cuba. Their internationalism reflected the emerging internationalist politics within the movement. Within the context of a mid-1970s movement rally, the music of Flor del Pueblo epitomized Chicano protest song.

Flor del Pueblo finishes their set and the next group to play was Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles. As the Lobos were setting up –with the sound and message of Flor del Pueblo still wafting in the air— Lobos member, Francisco González, steps up to the microphone and says to the crowd, "Just so you know, we don't play political music." Without a

doubt, this was a peculiar thing to say at a movement rally, but this statement revealed a tension that defined an important aspect in the relationship between music and politics in the Chicano Movement.

Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles[20]

From East L.A., Los Lobos was one of the most active and popular groups of the period. Although now critically-acclaimed for their rock music, the members would tell you that Los Lobos, the rock-n-roll band, is not the same group as those five Chicano youth who sat around listening to their parents' records of Mexican music. It was there that their subtle intervention into movement politics began. Neighborhood and high school friends, Los Lobos –who were basically a group of guitarists playing in various garage rock bands— steeped themselves in the sounds of huapango and son from the huasteco and jarocho traditions of eastern central Mexico.

Although they shared with their protest song-singing contemporaries the memories as children hearing Spanish language radio booming throughout the house, the Lobos sought out the sounds of their parents' record collections and the challenge the music posed to them as

musicians. Listening to their parents' records of ranchera singer Miguel Acéves Mejía, of huapango and son jarocho by Los Nacionales de Jacinto Gatica and Conjunto Medellín, and others, Los Lobos began learning Mexican popular and regional folk music, all the while slowly dropping the rock and funk music they had grown up playing. "We just wanted to play something for our mothers," said Francisco Gonzalez, a founding member. He continues, "It was a way for us to show them that we cared about [Mexican] music." Little did they know when they started listening to these records that they would find something that would define them like they could not have imagined. "We fell in love with the musicality, the challenge that it was to play this music. As musicians, we appreciate that challenge," said Lobos member, Louie Pérez, about this initial period. The shift in the musical aspirations of the members of Los Lobos was distinct from their contemporaries in other ensembles; most other ensembles were formed by former student musician-activists whereas the members of Los Lobos were semi-professional musicians before starting the group. To understand this process better, I will consider the experience of group founder, Francisco González.

Francisco González is a Chicano, born and raised in East Los Angeles, who has been a musician most of his life. Like the other members of Los Lobos, he was well-versed in the music of soul and rock music of the period. During the flowering of the Chicano Movement, this musical background began to pose problems for González. "One of the things I always felt so uncomfortable with was the fact that I was a chameleon, I could play anything." Feeling the need to connect music with the ideas of the movement, he began to explore the history, culture, and performance of Mexican music. "I didn't know anything about my own [Mexican] music. That was a big embarrassment to me" (Reyes and Waldman: 148).

As much as identity was conceived within the movement in modernist terms of recuperating something 'lost' –on the part of the self and the collective— it was performed in terms of a constructed category. The self, as it interplays with the collective, is responsible for putting into action its conception of the collective identity. As Giddens (1991) states,

> The self is not a passive entity, determined by external influences; in forging their self-identities, no matter how local their specific contexts of action, individuals contribute to and directly promote social influences that are global in their consequences and implications. (2)

The self as a socially constructed category, what Nikolas Rose (1997) refers to as an "assembled self," strategically geared to order various parameters of life, I believe represents González's dilemma for the self he was conceptualizing, manifesting itself through music, was one that brought together elements from Mexican, American, and Chicano cultural sources. The 'return to roots' for González (and Los Lobos), influenced as it was by the Chicano Movement, always maintained strict allegiance to their identity as Chicanos. This strict allegiance, however, must not be understood in "narrow nationalist" terms. Up to this point, González's experience is one shared by most within the movement, an important point to note. For González and the Lobos, their distinction from their movimiento music brethren is that their approach was not as student activists but as experienced musicians, albeit in rock and Top 40 music. They merged at the moment Latin American styles were beginning to proliferate; their 'search,' however, was not for new forms of protest song, it was for an exploration of Mexican forms as accomplished musicians. Their disciplined focus upon performing things musically "Mexican" was not an exclusionary value; to the contrary, it was a commitment towards demonstrating the powerful effect of everyday culture within ethos of the

social movement. For González, leaving behind his "chameleon" self and turning fully to the world of Mexican music was "his own act of rebellion or solidarity" (Reyes and Waldman: 148).

Describing the politics of the Lobos in relation to the other groups active during the Movement, González offers this analysis:

> The difference between us and them is that they would use the music as a medium to espouse the politics. With us, music was the politics. …what we were doing and how we were doing it.

Where other Chicano musicians went either toward mainstream rock and popular music (with or without political overtones), or to straight-ahead protest music in the style of Pete Seeger, Joan Baez, or nueva canción; the guys went for straight-ahead Mexican regional music. To them, it wasn't about the 'message,' it was about the 'music,' as no one was playing this music. Of course, lots of people were playing 'traditional' music, mexicanos and Chicanos alike. For the Lobos, no one in their scene was making the leap from garage rockers to performers of Mexican music, linking up culture to the broader *ambiente* of the movement in this particular way. Little did they know how important this change would be.

Los Lobos, however popular, were criticized by other movement musicians for not being political at all because, while they played Mexican music, they did not perform Chicano or other protest genres (i.e., corridos, nueva canción). This charge underscored the contested nature of political and artistic production in the movement. Even groups committed to protest genres like Flor del Pueblo had to deal with the divisive issues of who's 'more revolutionary/political,' both from within and outside the group. Los Lobos's politics were not about the confrontation and declaration of the protest song but the meaning of reclaiming culture as musicians and the transformation of the self. But this transformation set off by Mexican music did not betray their Chicano identity, which meant maintaining their appearance as bearded hippie youth, sometimes wearing Pendletons to gigs, "we looked like Credence Clearwater Revival," said one member. They also purposefully did not speak Spanish at gigs, while some of them could not speak Spanish anyway, the point was not to hide from their Chicano roots in their exploration of Mexican music.

The Lobos, like most movement ensembles, consisted of a motley group of guitars, basses, voices, and other instruments, predominantly

strings. González and David Hidalgo were the group's multi-instrumentalists (e.g., guitars, jarana, requinto jarocho, mandolin, violin, and González also on harp); César Rosas and Louie Perez played rhythm and lead guitars, jarana and *vihuela*; and Conrad Lozano played upright bass and guitarrón. Everyone sang but it was González and Rosas that sang most in the early days. For Lobos fans, new and old, the track "El canelo," off their first album, the independently recorded LP, *(Just Another Band From East L.A.)*[21], represents the iconic early Lobos sound, with the requinto jarocho plucking out the melody along with its rapid guitar and jarana accompaniment. The arrangement of this son jarocho is generally based on the recordings of jarocho musician Jacinto Gatica. While the Lobos version is comparatively 'straight,' mostly due to Lozano's dedicated 3/4 rhythm on the guitarrón, the track is highly energetic, very much within the son jarocho style.

Steven Loza, in his analysis of this track (1992), suggests that son jarocho "as incorporated into [the Chicano] movement was transformed from a regional stylistic marker (associated primarily with Veracruz) into one with an entirely different set of associations and meanings" (190). The new meanings for Loza place the son jarocho in a romantic nationalist

framework ("a nostalgic yearning rurality") as well as a symbol of "united Chicano resistance" to American cultural hegemony. I agree that at the surface level, movement political sensibilities framed the music of Los Lobos within the guerrilla cultural, but this analysis does not distinguish between the meanings of the stylistic differences between the Lobos and other movement ensembles whose music also fit within a nationalist sentiment. I submit that it was the particular musicality of the Lobos, within the traditional styles of son and huapango, which excited audiences. The technical musical proficiency of the group as instrumentalists, coupled with the improvisational aspect of the son jarocho, in the words of Loza, "affected not only the performance of the son jarocho, but also the manner in which it was heard and evaluated by Chicanos" (191).

HYBRIDITY IN CHICANO MUSIC-MAKING

During the Chicano Movement, it was the processes of music-making that revealed the shifting social and cultural borders of ethnic Mexican musical expression, and further, the active and developing structures of Chicana/o identity formation. Within the complex experience of ethnic

Mexicans in the U.S., music was a pivotal expression of both social conflict and cultural hybridity. The repertoire of corridos, the stylings of conjunto and norteño artists, and the powerfully influential sounds of soul, rock'n'roll, and various Caribbean popular musics reveal the vast musical territory within which ethnic Mexican youth found themselves by the mid-1960s. In other words, it was very common for Chicano Movement musicians writing and performing Chicano protest songs to be intimately familiar with The Beatles, La Sonora Mantancera, and Motown. From the onset of the farm worker movement to Enrique Ramirez's song "El quinto sol" and on to the movement ensembles of the mid-to-late 1970s, musician-activists mobilized within this vast territory, appropriating and re-contextualizing songs, sounds, and styles towards the political objectives of the movement. The creative dialogues and musical exchanges that occurred among Chicana/o musicians suggest not only forms of ethnic solidarity but also the culturally hybrid expressions that shape even nationalist movements.

As we have seen above, the music of the movement ensembles exhibited a sense of hybridity that only rarely emerged within the movement songs, but bloomed within the movement ensemble. Mexican

styles and forms were still important, and in some groups central, yet the realization of a Chicano internationalist politics opened musical possibilities that were already existent within the world of Chicano popular culture. The fusion of the traditional and the popular, the American and the Latin American –be it in a single song or a group's repertoire— is fundamentally a particularly Chicano style of music-making. From the *pachuco* boogie of 1940s Los Angeles, to the rock-ranchera stylings of Texas Mexican orquestas, to the Latino rock sounds of the 1970s and beyond, hybrid music-making has long been a central facet of Chicano music. The appearance of this process in movimiento music is not surprising, but how do we account for it within the particular context of the social movement?

A relevant and useful tool is Tom Turino's idea of cultural reformism. In his work on music and nationalism in mid-twentieth century Zimbabwe, Turino (2000) suggests that cultural reformism was part of the emergent nationalist agenda among the middle-classes. Cultural reformism, or the cultural side of modernist reform, refers to the idea that for a fledgling nation/state to exist on the international arena, the best of local or regional traditional culture must be synthesized with

the best of cosmopolitan and modern life-ways and technologies. Examples of cultural reformism would include national dance companies interpreting indigenous dance forms or art and popular music composers adapting traditional songs and genres. Zimbabwean society was more ethnically complex than the Chicano Southwest, and Zimbabwean nationalist leaders and political parties undertook the complex process of nation-building having to navigate the cultural traditions of numerous indigenous populations.

Cultural reformism, for Turino, was also a mechanism to respond to what he refers to as the "twin paradoxes of nationalism:" where a nation-state needs a unique identity (expressed via local cultural emblems) to distinguish itself from other nation-states, otherwise it is threatened by non-recognition; at the same time, a nation-state's need for a unique identity (based on local cultural emblems) gives rise to local cultural groups within its borders to also make nationalist claims. Cultural reformism offered an avenue to balance the needs and threats within the 'twin paradoxes.' The preservation of the 'traditional,' however, often comes at a cost, of which Turino clearly exposes:

> The local elements selected tend to be surface features –an instrument, a costume, a song or dance form. But the distinctive local meanings, modes of practice, group organization, pedagogy, ethics, and aesthetics that underpin indigenous artistic practice are typically *not* considered among the features thought by reformists to be 'most valuable,' and thus are usually systematically ignored. (107, emphasis in original)

In the case of Zimbabwean music during the nationalist years, rather than emphasis being placed in the local meanings and practices of indigenous arts, it was placed on Western music literacy and concert performance. The preservation of cultural traditions within a changing society at times resulted in a "pan-tribal" fusion meant to represent the multicultural indigenous world of Zimbabwe.

This process played out within ethnic Mexican society as well but, I would argue, not during the Chicano Movement, but rather in the previous generation, the Mexican American generation. Musical forms underwent a process similar to cultural reformism as orquesta music blended big band jazz and ballads with polkas and boleros. The Mexican American middle class found this modernized expression of, in their case, biculturalism, palatable as opposed to the 'backwards-looking' traditional sounds of conjunto (Peña 1999). While the Mexican American generation

was not ideologically nationalist, it was very active and relatively successful in the field of civil rights; as much as it embraced American culture, this generation had a critique as well. During the Chicano Movement in Texas, the orquesta underwent a transformation into *la onda chicana* with the inclusion of rock and soul elements, signaling a parallel influence that affected movimiento ensembles. As upwardly-mobile as the university students who filled the ranks of the movement were, they were not guided by a cultural reformist agenda of a Zimbabwean or Mexican American form. While preservation of cultural practices was paramount, living within the United States, there was no view that this could only occur within the modernist synthesis described above.

The study of la onda chicana, on the other hand, provides another example in analyzing hybridity in movement music. Manuel Peña looks to sociolinguistics and the study of bilingualism in constructing his model to understand the musical fusion that defines the orquesta tradition. Mark Slobin (1993) had similarly called upon ethnomusicologists to look at sociolinguistics, principally code-switching, for a model in the study of the interaction of music cultures. As a border people, bilingualism is an important facet of the everyday life of ethnic Mexicans. Peña takes

bilingualism as a model to form his own analytical framework, "bimusicality," which explains the specific manner musical code-switching occurs in the orquesta. Suggestive of a bi-cultural experience, the musical resources for orquesta are the urban jazzy stylings of American big bands and the traditional and rural polka ranchera. Both musics figured in the repertoire of the orquesta, the question is how much and to what extent did they mix?

Orquesta musical performance, in its early days, existed as two separate, coordinate sets: one big band numbers, the other of polka-rancheras. The musics existed side-by-side but remained intact or 'authentic.' In the same way, a person who is bilingual separates 'properly' speaking English from speaking Spanish; this is referred to as coordinate bilingualism, or coordinate bimusicality in the orquesta context. Over the years, orquesta musicians, influenced by cultural change and new musics, began mixing the two musics; compositions started to sound both jazzy and Mexican and some artists mixed the two until a new style was formed, la onda chicana. The bilingual analogy is compound bilingualism, or Spanglish.

In movimiento music, the bimusical/code-switching model proves useful. As more than two music cultures are in play (i.e., American popular, Mexican traditional, and Latin American popular and protest musics), I will use the term code-switching, but the spirit of Peña's notion of bimusicality is still relevant. The idea of coordinate code-switching is evident in the performance of Latin American protest genres (nueva canción and the songs of Carlos Puebla) as, in many instances; they remain intact in the style and form of the original. These songs complemented the already established collection of Chicano and Mexican forms that defined movement song. The Latin American songs musically diversify the repertoire, but also stand as symbols of solidarity and a commitment to a broader view of Chicano politics. Their inclusion in movimiento music paralleled the inclusion of other stylistic elements as well.

Popular music styles have long been a part of social movement song writing and, in the case of the Chicano Movement, "El picket sign," based on the Colombian popular song "Se va el caiman," can arguably be the first example in this context. "El picket sign," along with Enrique

Ramírez's "El quinto sol," beg the question of whether song adaptation is any form of code-switching and I would argue not, rather it being another form in which popular music is a resource for social movement musicians, going all the way back to the Wobbly/IWW days. In "Chicano Park Samba," however, we have an example of a song composed and intended as a movement song but, conversely, with different lyrics, may fall within the world of popular music. By the mid-1970s, the music of Chicano rock bands, like their La Onda Chicana brethren, had taken a more political sensibility than was expressed a few years earlier. I cannot say that "Chicano Park Samba" is an example of musical code-switching – compound or coordinate—in the same vein as Little Joe y la Familia's "Las nubes," though few exist at that stylistic level.

The Alacranes, nonetheless, did achieve a synthesis nonetheless between popular and protest styles, and perhaps this is where musical code-switching reaches its limit within movimiento music. The hybrid nature that generally describes much of ethnic Mexican musical practices in the U.S. was evident as well in the music of the Chicano Movement. Ethnic nationalist movements can, for strategic purposes, be inward-looking and conservative in their expressive practices and, to a certain

extent, this has explained the early years of movement song. The emergence of the ensemble and the importance of Latin American protest genres, however, re-opened a historically rich vein of music-making, one that arguably influences Chicano popular music to this day.

NOTES

1. Interview with Chunky Sánchez, 2001.

2. Interview with Luis Valdez, 2002.

3. Interview with Chunky Sánchez, 2001.

4. Chunky Sánchez was "El Mestizo."

5. Excerpt from essay "The Women of La Raza," reprinted as the liner notes to the album *Brotando del Silencio/Breaking Out of the Silence* by Suni Paz (1973), Paredon Records [Smithsonian Folkways Records P-1016].

6. Interview with Luis Valdez, 2002.

7. The 1964 trip by Valdez and Rubalcava pre-dates the emergence of the Chicano Movement and thus uses the term, "Mexican American" to describe the community, much in the same way Roberto Flores and the UMAS students of California used the same term.

8. Many of the individuals I interviewed told me of travels, usually via brief trips, to Mexico and Latin America to meet other young artists and activists also engaged in social struggle or local master artists and musicians to better learn the tradition.

9. Much of the section on nueva canción was informed by the work of Nancy Morris, Jane Tumas-Serna, and Cassie Shook.

10. Through the efforts of the Cuban government under Castro, artists and activists from throughout Latin American, including Chicanos, came to Cuba to conference and share experiences. Chicanos who attended such gatherings brought the story of the Chicano cause to Carlos Puebla who wrote at least one song dedicated to their struggle, "Canto al Chicano." Suni Paz had moved to the U.S. from South America, just

before the turmoil hit her native Argentina. Living in the U.S., she became intimately aware of the problems facing Chicano and other Latino communities, and wrote many songs of solidarity for Chicanos as well as performed numerous huelga and movimiento songs.

11. Material for this section was collected via a series of interviews with the members of Flor del Pueblo, specifically: Eduardo Robledo, Pancho, Felipe, and Deborah Rodríguez, Ben Cadena, and Richard García.

12. Translation of "Soy del Pueblo" is by Daniel Sheehy. A recording of the song is available on the *Rolas de Aztlán: Songs of the Chicano Movement* CD compilation of Smithsonian Folkways Records (2005).

13. Translation of "Poco a poco" is mine.

14. Material for this section was collected via a series of interviews with Ramón "Chunky" Sánchez as well as numerous informal conversations with the different current and former members of the group, including: Ricardo Sánchez, Enrique Ramírez, and Pepe Villarino.

15. This is the same Enrique Ramírez who wrote "El quinto sol."

16. "Pocho" is a derogatory term used to refer to Mexicans who have "lost their culture," (e.g., difficulty with the Spanish language, lack of understanding of Mexican history and popular culture). The term is generally used by Mexican nationals towards Mexican Americans (used generically).

17. Los Mascarones were a popular performance ensemble who played a critical role in the development of Chicano teatro performance. There were known for their "choral poetry" and musicality. There were important not only in terms of artistic performance but also the expression of political thought and critique through performance. An expansion of this project will pay close attention to the full impact of this ensemble.

18. Translation of "El Trilingual Corrido" is mine.

19. A recording of "Chicano Park Samba" is available on the *Rolas de Aztlán: Songs of the Chicano Movement* CD compilation of Smithsonian Folkways Records (2005).

20. Material for this section was collected via a series of interviews with Francisco González and Louie Pérez.

21. A recording of "El canelo" is commercially available on *Just Another Band from East L.A.* (Hollywood Records).

Conclusions

> Contemporary Chicano music represents an incongruity. It responds and corresponds to the musical landscape of postmodern North America and Latin America, yet it also moves toward an affirmation of a distinct Chicano cultural identity. It moves both with and against popular musical movements. --Rafael Pérez-Torres (2000: 206)

> Speaking from the interstices between commercial culture and the new social movements, Chicana/o musical culture and its political work offers us invaluable bottom-up perspectives on the terrain of counterpolitics and cultural creation at the beginning of the twenty-first century. --Victor Hugo Viesca (2004: 735)

I have come to the end of this dissertation but it would not be accurate to state that after 1979 movimiento music dissipates in the winds of the Reagan era. This dissertation, however, was not only the story of movimiento music but also the Chicano Movement itself. As I stated in Chapter One, it is difficult to set dates for the beginning and end of complex, wide-ranging phenomena such as social movements. The Chicano Movement, for many, endures to this day; for others, it waned

after the large-scale political events of the early 1970s. For my purposes, I use the year of 1979 to mark the recording of the Los Alacranes Mojados album, *Rolas de Aztlán.* It was not the first movimiento recording and in the years after this album, more recordings of movement music were completed. Its release in 1979 does mark the end of the decade within which the majority of movimiento music activity (and recordings) occurred. The dates that circumscribe this dissertation were never intended to be rigid but do hold up to the historical record.

Before taking up the topic of movimiento music post-1979 and its historical import, I wish to reflect on the movement itself and its historical meaning. The movement marked a political and cultural transformation among ethnic Mexicans in the United States; that the transformation occurred at the same time youth in many parts of the world, especially the U.S., were similarly calling for social change marks the particular meaning of the movement. The Chicano Movement was neither an independence movement nor an irredentist movement. Rather, it was very much of its time and well within the confines of the broader civil rights movement, and in this sense, it was very much an American social movement. Its brand of nationalism, however, was an attempt to carve out a culturally

autonomous space in the face of the pressures of assimilating into the American mainstream. It was in this emergent space that movement arts, including movimiento music, played its part.

According to Gómez-Quiñones (1990), the movement was defined by the "juncture between integration and self-determination" (101). If there was a singular success of the movement, it was the claiming of a Chicana/o identity. An insider term that was brought out to the public sphere –it has always been a contentious term, even in the days of the movement— 'Chicano' came to mark the specific Mexican experience to be found on the northern side of the border. That we can now publically speak of a Chicana/o identity –although its one of many terms claimed by ethnic Mexicans— more than twenty-five years later is speaks to some of the accomplishments of the movement. It is not so much a success due to the survival of the moniker of the movement but rather the idea of an alternative sense of self and community within the U.S. The idea of a Chicano identity was a counter-narrative opposed to the European-based immigrant narratives that had long prescribed the process of assimilation in the U.S., and marked an "alter-Native" American experience (Gaspar de Alba 1998). The cultural renaissance that formed the artistic arm of the

movement was incredibly effective at mobilizing thought around the turn in identity –from Mexican American to Chicano— and the expression of new cultural horizons of an ethnic Mexican world in the U.S.

The movement can also claim its part in the social upheaval that changed the U.S. in the 1960s, in terms of the Vietnam War, battles against discrimination and economic exploitation, and, in terms of organizing, the power of coalition-building with groups within the U.S. and internationally. Also, an emphasis on higher education from students brought the field of Chicana/o Studies formally into being along with a proliferation of Chicana/o Studies programs and departments throughout the Southwest.

This said, it is worth mentioning the movement's "insufficiencies." Social movements have their contradictions and the Chicano Movement was no different. The biggest issue may have been just how "nationalist" was the movement. Gómez-Quiñones (1990: 142) states that rather than the movement being "cultural nationalist," it was more an example of "ethnic liberalism." This was due to the incongruence between separatist rhetoric and liberal reform demands. Instead of seeking to realize one form of autonomy or another, movement political demands were

addressed to the system itself, thereby constituting an even tighter integration between ethnic Mexicans and the American mainstream; in Gómez-Quiñones's eyes, the movement was not a nationalist movement but a "culturalist" movement (146). While I agree that, materially, Gómez-Quiñones is correct, cultural nationalism did shape the movement, it just was not the only ideological force doing so. Furthermore, the autonomous spaces carved out by artists, as well as activists –mostly through community centers organized around the arts, education, and health—were formed out of the feelings of *voluntad* shaped by manifestos like *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*. At the formal or institutional level, critics like Gómez-Quiñones are correct, at the grassroots level, their critiques fall short.

Ironically, many post-movement scholars have come to infer the movement a failure due to its nationalist identity. Carlos Vélez-Ibáñez (1996) has referred to the movement as the "Chicano Cultural Convulsive Transformation" movement. Chicana feminists have quite correctly critiqued the patriarchy and sexist attitudes of movement leaders and representations but have laid the problems in large at the feet of Chicanismo, rather than the regressive elements that always accompany

nationalist movements (Segura and Pesquera 1990). David Hayes-Bautista (2004) recites a brief history of the movement only to consistently undermine it by noting his seemingly generalized view that Chicanos did not speak Spanish and therefore their political program was suspect, as well as numerous condescending anecdotes representing the (narrow) nationalist viewpoint. As Mariscal (2005) has noted, narrow nationalist views –based on rigid notions of skin color, language skills, a deep sense of patriarchy, rather than one's politics— did exist and, in some circles, endures to this day. It is one of the disappointments of the movement's legacy and may be partially responsible for the ideals of the movement not reaching a wider audience as some may have felt put off or unimpressed by its practitioners.

Hayes-Bautista does bring up an important point, how many actually participated in the movement? His suggestion of "fewer than thirty thousand" (49) seems well off the mark. While I cannot state definitively any evidence to the contrary, neither did he. Ernesto Vigil (1999) states that between twenty and thirty thousand Chicano protesters marched during the Chicano Moratorium in East Los Angeles, an event that Hayes-Bautista includes in his guestimation, even though he gets the

year of the march wrong, poor form for a self-claimed "participant-observer" of the movement. The Chicano Movement was, by most accounts, a phenomena centered on student and youth organizing. However, as central as students were, they did not hold the center alone. Movement leaders, like Corky Gonzales and Reis López Tijerna, were heads of community-based, rather than student-based, organizations, and there were countless local examples throughout the Southwest.

It is always difficult to judge social movements in quantitative terms. They are, by definition, a minority opinion –a small group of people bringing a big idea for social change to everyone. What is to be considered is how significant is the idea and did it have lasting effects. Without a doubt, the Chicano Movement was a significant event, even if most ethnic Mexicans did not eventually wish to be called "Chicanos." Furthermore, the forces of the status quo with which movement activists had to confront were too great to expect monumental change in such a short period of time. For this reason, it is not uncommon to hear from some movement activists that the movement is still active, although no longer in the dynamic phase that was the 1960s and '70s. Why the decline in this dynamic phase? There could be several reasons: burnout by

movement activists and artists; the need for stable lifestyle for a generation of students about to have families; the turn in the general political atmosphere with the coming of the Reagan era. Gómez-Quiñones (1990) offers a meaningful opinion on the lack of an explicit analysis on the part of movement organizations and leaders that would explain the condition of the community and offer a view of the future as a short-coming of the movement. One aspect that has not been generally offered is the effect of political repression. Police infiltration of student and community organizations made it difficult for such entities to organize over the long-haul. There were also political trials, arrests, and killings (Muñoz 1989; Vigil 1999). Another explanation could be that there was, in fact, no decline at all. A generation of Chicano student and youth activists, starting in the mid-1970s, went on to become teachers, professors, social workers, politicians, health workers, and so on, integrating into the system, but from an experience that would be more attentive to the needs of the community. In this sense, the movement perhaps proved reformist, not revolutionary, but necessary work was being done.

Song, in this milieu, had a profound impact. As has been the case in many other social movements, song provided the forum for collective experience as the act of singing brought people together. This was most evident on the picket lines of the UFW's grape strike, as well as their subsequent direct actions. The collectivity engendered through song also made its presence felt in movement circles within organizational meetings, rallies, and marches. Over time, movimiento music itself transformed from the collective feeling of song to increasingly nuanced – and personalized— sounds of ensembles, expressing not only movement political thought but also an emergent Chicano aesthetic sensibility that traversed the borderlands of Aztlán and the Américas.

Chicano Movement music was protest music, not commercial music, at least in the American sense. Its appeal was its un-commercialized nature, one based on organic roots of shared history; part of the nationalist critique was the embracing of 'tradition' over the "neon *gabacho* commercialism that passes as American culture" (Valdez 1972). Of course, in other social movements, 'tradition' was not, by definition, without commercial appeal. In fact, the international side of movimiento music came about in part due to the commercial recordings done of Carlos

Puebla, nueva canción, and other protest artists. One movimiento artist did have the opportunity to record under a major label. Daniel Valdez recorded his album, *Mestizo*, for A&M Records in 1974. That same year, also for A&M Records, Joan Baez recorded an album of Spanish language protest songs, including "No nos moverán" with La Rondalla Amerindia de Aztlán of San Diego, California. Virtually the remainder of the recorded output of movimiento music was independently recorded. Broad distribution and record label contracts were not necessarily an issue for movement musicians, many of whom were university students and/or local area organizers. The meeting, rally, and march became the performance locus for movimiento music rather than the home stereo or radio. One of the problems that had long plagued ethnic Mexican musicians generally, and undoubtedly affected movement music, was the lack of resources to support record companies and radio stations. Ethnic Mexican musicians did find their music recorded in the decades prior to the movement, as well as during the movement, but numbers were small in relation to the output of major labels (Loza 1993; Peña 1985, 1999). The 'in-between' experience of ethnic Mexicans in the U.S. created a no-win situation for many musicians: too 'Mexican' for the broad American

market, too 'American' for the Mexican market (Loza 1994). Independent recording projects also fit in well with the grassroots ethic in the artist arm of the movement that saw the creation of artist collectives, community centers, and overall rasquachi sensibility.

Chicanas had a particular experience of movimiento music. Since the days of the huelga songs of the farm workers, women were prominent among the voices singing the movement's broad array of protest songs. However, just as they were experiencing in the movement in general, movimiento music was a period of transition for Chicana musicians. While women were rather active within poetry collectives and teatro ensembles, women musicians were few in number. In the context of ethnic Mexican communities, women have rarely had many opportunities for musical education outside of church or family contexts (Broyles-González 2001; Peña 1999). The festive contexts that were associated with music performance were not considered an appropriate diversion –least of all employment— for women, unless accompanied by husband or family. This situation was reproduced during the movement as the vast majority of women who performed within movement ensembles shared those spaces with brothers, cousins, or husbands/partners. Chicanas during the

movement debated their roles in the context of the women's liberation movement and ethnic nationalism, by the mid-1970s, the advent of internationalist / Third World-ist politics, brought new ideas towards staking out a particular Chicana feminist position (Sandoval 1990). Chicana musicians brought to the movimiento repertoire songs of liberation that focused on women's experience. Chicanas also brought aesthetic sensibilities that challenged male narrow nationalist perspectives on the role of movement music, as represented, for example, in the songs of Delia Moreno [see Chapter Three]. Post-movement music-making, particularly in the popular music scene, saw a large number of Chicanas holding major roles in various bands, an accomplishment perhaps more due to the movement as a whole but the pioneering women of movimiento music deserve their due as well (Loza 1994).

There is one more aspect to the contribution of song/music to the larger project of the movement, and in this case, the group Los Lobos is illustrative. Since the days of Lalo Guerrero in the 1950s ("The Father of Chicano Music") –and Beto Villa in Texas— the mixing of Chicano/Latino musical aesthetics with American popular music has been a mainstay of Chicano music-making. One-hit wonders aside, it was not until after the

movement that a Chicano musical act had not only a mainstream hit but was able to maintain their place in the mainstream, bringing a needed Chicano voice to national and international pop audiences. In the years after their independently recorded first album in 1978, Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles found themselves moving back to popular music after a seven-year stint performing Mexican traditional music in Los Angeles and throughout California. This was partially facilitated by group founder Francisco González leaving the group around 1977, thus leaving the group free to abandon their commitment to solely playing traditional music. By 1984, they released their major label debut, *How Will the Wolf Survive?* on Slash/Warner Bros. Records. While other document their transition back to rock music (Loza 1993; Reyes and Waldman 1998), at issue here is the sound of Chicano music at the mainstream level.

During the movement, Los Lobos offered not merely the regional traditional music of Mexico but this same music interpreted through a Chicano voice. In future work, I will address this topic with more depth, but the idea here is that the sound of this music was distinct from its source matieral in Mexico due to Chicano Spanish language practices and the approach to the musical instruments. I believe their appeal to

movement audiences was deeper than the symbolic gesture of performing traditional styles, important as it was. The way they sounded connected with Chicano audiences as Los Lobos demonstrated how huapangos and sones could sound both within the tradition and genuinely 'Chicano.' Their performances, marked by Chicano speech, barrio dress, and informed by movement aesthetics, gave context to the musical sound of their voices and the traditional instruments in a way that profoundly resonated with movement audiences. This is the 'affective formula' would serve them later in their years as a rock'n'roll band as they explored just how 'Mexican' rock music could be. Chicano performers in the mainstream are confronted by the cultural costs of remaining in the mainstream, either diluting their art to be marketable to wider audiences and thus losing their organic connection to the community, or shedding the political potential of their art towards the same end. There are those movement musicians who have come to feel disappointed in Los Lobos for wavering in their commitment to a Chicano identity at the national stage. Musically, however, there is no doubt Los Lobos continue to define the line that brings Chicano music to broader audiences. Their example,

like those of other movement musicians and ensembles, have paved the way for the next generation of Chicano musicians.

A view of the landscape contemporary Chicano popular music reveals part of the general effect of movimiento music. Speaking to the contemporary scene in East L.A., Victor Viesca notes that "[m]usicians in the Eastside scene look to the past and to the present for cultural traditions and formations that they can use to construct their own political and aesthetic practices of Chicana/o identity" (2004: 725). Groups such as Quetzal, Ollin, Ozomatli, Aztlán Underground, and Maneja Beto have based their sound on a highly-developed musical mix of traditional Mexican, popular Latin American, and mainstream American pop styles. While Chicano musical mestizaje has been occurring at some level since ethnic Mexicans began performing American popular musical styles (Loza 1993, Reyes and Waldman 1998, Peña 1999), that they have done so with explicit political intentions is a post-movement phenomenon. One aspect of this has been through multi-ethnic band membership. Of course, not all groups explicitly recruit 'non-Chicanos' to their 'Chicano' band, but some have. Two of the most successful bands to come out of East Los Angeles

are Quetzal and Ozomatli, and both groups have band memberships that reflect the multi-ethnic realities of contemporary Los Angeles. For the band Quetzal, the social fractures that arose in the wake of the Rodney King verdict in 1992 set the course for band founder, Quetzal Flores, to respond musically, albeit within a Chicano framework. For Flores, it was an opportunity to build community across the ethnic divides that had long shaped Los Angeles and the early years of the band featured taiko drums along with Mexican traditional guitars and an American pop music band format. Ozomatli has similarly been troubled by the issue of band identity for although they are clearly based out of Chicano popular culture (i.e., Spanish language lyrics, musical styles based heavily in Latin America and Mexico, a band name based on Aztec culture), their multi-ethnic membership often precludes the members from stating they are a 'Chicano' band, their commercial success notwithstanding (Viesca 2000, 2004).

The themes present in the songs of contemporary Chicano bands also suggest the influence of movimiento music, and the Chicano Movement more generally. Prior to the movement, it was rare for bands within popular music circles to engage political issues within their music

(Loza 1993; Reyes and Waldman 1998). During the movement, some commercial acts, like El Chicano, Tierra, and certainly Little Joe y La Familia, did write songs addressing movement issues –most did not-- but it would be stretching the point to suggest that the song catalogues of those who did were mostly based on protest lyrics. On the other hand, it has become a common feature of today's groups to explore the political and social issues confronting ethnic Mexicans in the U.S., and, to a certain extent, in Mexico as well. Whereas Chunky's Sánchez's continuum of Pedro Infante and the Rolling Stones invited an exploration of musical style in the location of Chicano music, the contemporary scene is a testament to the fulfillment of this exploration. I suggest today's groups are defined, however, not solely via the exploration of musical style, but as well with the category of song themes, most specifically through the addressing of political themes. There is not room here for a full discussion of this aspect of contemporary Chicano music, but it seems clear that today's Chicano bands are by and large defined not only through musical style but also their commitment to addressing the social situation of ethnic Mexicans via their music. That this further complicates the categorization of Chicano music only seems historically par for the course.

All the same, the ability of today's groups to deal with political issues without resorting to the narrow side of nationalist rhetoric –that still persists to this day- is a testament to the "uncanny nationalism" (Mariscal 2005) movement ensembles were able to imagine in the mid-to-late 1970s. Fully aware of the exclusionist politics that binds with regressive nationalism, some have called the political positioning of today music groups, as well as others in the expressive arts, "post-nationalist" as they seek to find means of expression that, while being based in Chicana/o popular culture, are inclusive to other groups (Viesca 2000). It is a form of community-building, be it of artists with progressive politics or within the ethnic Mexican community itself (between Chicanos and Mexican immigrants). I suggest that these practices found their musical and political grounding in the grassroots community groups of movimiento music.

More than a confined account of the musical activity of the Chicano Movement, my research considers Chicana/o music of the period as a critical part of the protest music genres of Latin America (e.g., nueva canción) and the Unites States (e.g., labor/union and civil rights songs).

Consequently, although situated squarely within the context of the Chicano Movement, this project necessarily examines the musical yet political links between Chicano musicians and their counterparts in the American labor movement, Civil Rights Movement, and Latin American social movements of the period. Coupled with the mobilization of their own Mexican musical and cultural traditions, Chicano musicians engaged these other repertoires of struggle to form the nexus of Chicana/o musical expression during the Movement.

By viewing Chicana/o music within this broader lens, my research demonstrates that the complexities of the movimiento and Chicana/o political struggle cannot be adequately understood without thinking about how Chicano cultural producers engage a diversity of other race, ethnic, and regional struggles. Rather than assume a homologous relationship between music and identity, my research historicizes musical practices in the context of their struggle for political, social, and cultural rights and resources and the strategies employed by diverse communities working together to overcome the failures of governmental and institutional programs. The creative dialogues and musical exchanges that occurred among Chicano musicians suggest not only forms of ethnic

solidarity but also the culturally 'hybrid' expressions that shape even nationalist movements. Key to this approach is recognizing the simultaneously global and local character of Chicana/o musical production, where the flows of transnationalism circulated not only ideas, peoples, and sounds, but also political struggles. This project thus raises a number of critical questions about Chicano Movement music and its political import. Ultimately, I suggest that it was the ability to perform authoritatively within the bi-cultural and increasingly transnational space of the Chicano experience that empowered *movimiento* music to express the feelings of autonomy engendered by the Movement.

Since movimiento music's meaning is intimately tied to the political and cultural expressions of the Chicano Movement, I examined the emergence of Chicanismo (Chicano cultural nationalism) and its influence on Chicano political organizing during the movement. In Chapter One, I briefly outlined the development of the major organizations, events, and constituencies that gave the movement its shape. I also provided a broader historical perspective of the role the corrido played in mediating the intercultural conflict for Mexicans living in the U.S. as well as the changing meaning of 'Chicano' into the years of the movement.

Understanding the meanings of cultural nationalism during the movement is critical to understanding how artists and musicians, as well as activists, would create the spaces needed to make movimiento music.

In Chapter Two, I focused on the relationship of social and musical experience in the context of a social movement, most specifically the meaning of the huelga songs of the farm worker movement of 1960s California. I documented the development of the farm worker protest song repertoire from the perspective of the writers of huelga songs, considering both the group based within the *rasquachi* theater group, El Teatro Campesino, and individual huelga singer-songwriters, such as Armando "Solo" Hernández. I also demonstrated that the meanings imparted by huelga song repertoire and performance formed a foundation for the emerging musical practices of the Chicano movement.

I argued that movimiento music can be defined by two distinct phases which are intimately related: the songs of the Chicano Movement's early years (1968-1973) and the stylistic innovations of community-based ensembles in subsequent years (1973-79). Chapter Three addressed the former by paying particular attention to the ideological impact of songwriting within the movimiento. The primary thrust to my

deliberation focused on the ideological strokes painted in both verse and musical style within the movimiento. In particular, I explored the significance of the corrido form in expressing movement themes and why the corrido became the requisite genre. I also argued that while movement political themes defined much of the repertoire, musical style was also an important ground of contestation. By this, I showed that in the early years of the movement, nationalist efforts to 'unite' the community had a consolidating political effect on the early songs, thus Mexican musical genres overwhelmingly dominated the stylistic options within the movement. However, the example of Enrique Ramírez's song, "El quinto sol," began to open up broader stylistic possibilities that movement ensembles would embrace just a few years later and hinted at the larger cultural world within which Chicana/o musicians were finding themselves and how they interpreted the relationships between artistic and political production.

The final chapter investigated the shifts that occurred between the first and second phases of movimiento music in terms of shifts from Mexican musical culture to Latin American music, from song-based to ensemble-based, and from the tension between political identity of the

music and cultural identity of politics. I demonstrated that movimiento musicians were able to offer a nuanced perspective of the different political ideologies confronting the movement by drawing upon both their political motivation to contribute to the movement and the Chicano experience of music-making. While music of the Chicano Movement began to speak in more definitive ways to its relationship within the world –at least the world in struggle in Latin America— movimiento music of the second phase suggests that Chicano cultural aesthetics, or the hybridizing processes occurring within the ethnic Mexican culture in the twentieth century, were also at work.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This dissertation has taken a step towards documenting the experiences of movimiento musicians and the historical and cultural forces that were shaping their imagination of themselves within the U.S. as well as within the world. There is much more work that can be done to continue telling these untold stories. The most critical area where future scholars can contribute to this topic I believe is focusing upon women's musical experiences in the movement. While many did not participate within the

ensembles, women were certainly among the singers present at demonstrations, within community teatro groups, and student political groups where songs would be sung in various contexts. There is an increasing amount of work on women's experiences during the movement but there is a large lacuna in telling their stories within the larger cultural world of ethnic Mexican music on this side of the border.

Another area to explore is understanding movimiento music in terms of critical regionalism. While I have argued that the unifying call of Chicanismo and the musical networks musicians were plugging themselves set the table for a shared repertoire and musico-political sensibility, the oral histories I present are overwhelmingly from California. I did interview musicians from Texas, Illinois, New Mexico, and Colorado, and the experiences of the musicians from these parts of the Southwest provided for me a foundation to make my claims, I believe I have only scratched the surface with regard to the regional sensibilities that shaped movimiento music in areas of the Southwest outside of California.

In the future, I plan on developing this project in two broad directions: one, a thorough account of the national and hemispheric

activist and musical networks movimiento musicians were plugged into and how these interactions shaped their aesthetic and political sensibilities. What were the mechanisms that brought these groups together? What opinions existed by this international network of the Chicano Movement and its concepts of cultural nationalism? Did the particular stylings and processes of movimiento music influence musical production by protest musicians elsewhere? The second direction would be a deeper investigation of the concept of the guerrilla cultural, in one respect to better understand the inter-connectedness of social movement expressive culture, but also in terms of its political economy. What were the organizing structures of community cultural centers? What relations existed between them, the artists, and the state? Was there a transformational moment, aesthetically and politically, for artists when private and governmental institutions began funding projects in Chicano communities?

This project began with a logical premise, or assumption: what music could be more 'Chicano' than the music of the Chicano Movement? While not necessarily indicative of the everyday musical life of the Chicano

community (broadly-defined), the music of the Movement would be invested with the symbolic struggle for identity that was central to the movement. In essence, movimiento music would be 'Chicano' in a way that was significantly different from the music of the everyday. What I actually found, however, was the music of the Chicano Movement –and I would not be surprised to learn this about most every ethnic social movement- was a complicated mix of not just musical styles and protest lyrics but also of political and cultural identities. This is to say that some songs were most definitely stylistically 'Mexican' and at the same time, in other ways, they were not, an earlier version of what Rafael Pérez-Torres refers to as the "incongruity" of Chicano music, that it "both moves with and against popular music movement" (2000: 206). In the end, it demonstrated to me how powerful an example music provides in understanding experience and expression. I hope my efforts demonstrated the multi-faceted connections and fractures that are made in times of cultural and social change, which together reveal the complex fabric that is the social movement and the multiple voices that music weaves into it.

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VITA

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