

CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, NORTHRIDGE

JARANER@:

CHICANA/O ACCULTURATION STRATEGY

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Dedication

This work is dedicated to my father, Bernard Lloyd Sánchez. Someday we'll have a chance to talk about this and so many other things.

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Abstract

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Jaranera and Jaranero, literally defined as an individual whom plays the jarana, has become a term of identification for many Chicanas and Chicanos around the Los Angeles-area since at least 2006. Among Chicanas and Chicanos, the term is more than an individual's role in a Son Jarocho ensemble. For many Chicanas and Chicanos, to be a jaranera or jaranero expresses a commitment to social justice, the ongoing Chicana and Chicano Rights movement, and a critical worldview. Over the course of multiple focus groups, a pattern emerges among the participants, who, from different parts of Los Angeles, describe similar, painful personal and group experiences of discrimination due to phenotype, spoken Spanish, and culture. Utilizing Bakhtin's theory of speech genres and Cresswell's theory of intentional states to explore how some Chicanas and Chicanos understand the term jaranera and jaranero, jaranera and jaranero identity must be understood within the context of the ongoing Chicana and Chicano narrative of identity as it relates to social dominance and structural power in the American Southwest. By examining this experience through Critical Acculturation Psychology and specifically as a response to the demands and imposition of dominant culture, jaranera and jaranero identity should be considered a strategy of acculturation psychology. This research is not a musical ethnography, but rather documents the emerging social use of Son Jarocho and a new conceptual understanding of the term jaranera and jaranero among Chicanas and Chicanos in the Los Angeles-region.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Standing in a crowded café in Plazita Olvera in downtown Los Angeles, this is the moment I have anticipated for nearly three years – fandango. There are easily 100 people packed onto a creaking-wooden floor built for no more than a third the crowd’s size. I am surrounded by others that look like me – young Chicanas, Chicanos, Mexicanas and Mexicanos – dark, café, and light skinned – with small, guitar-like instruments called jaranas strapped to their chests. *Todos somos jaraneros*. Shirts cling to skin damp with sweat from the heat of our bodies enclosed in such cramped quarter. Some of us struggle, red faced, to gasp a full breath from the humid air heavy with perspiration. Despite the crush of the space, we are able to move our hands freely and strum our instruments though we’re practically on top of one another. With so many strings simultaneously strummed, the sound makes a racket, but within that racket a melody is discernible. The song is evident in the combination of the chord changes and the beat. A singer announces the next verse.

“Señores que son es este? Señores El Buscapiés. Señores que son es este? Señores El Buscapiés.”

Under my breath, I sing along – this is one of my favorite Sones Jarochos.

“La primera vez que lo oigo, pero que bonito es. Señores que son es este? Señores El Buscapiés.”

The verse concludes with those simple, declarative words and subsides into a musical break for zapateado, the percussive dance of Son Jarocho. I watch a couple as they step onto the tarima, a small, raised wooden platform built for the dance, and listen

to their heavy heeled-steps cut through the noise of what sounds like one hundred jaranas. The woman who is dancing is slender, with an orchid in her hair, dressed in the style of the Chicana rockabilly scene, enamored with 1950s fashion aesthetic. Her partner grins as wide as his mouth allows as their steps create a melody.

This is part of the reason why I came to Son Jarocho. To be around others that look like me and, presumably, experience life as I do. There were many reasons for learning to play the jarana. I like its sound. I like the history and herstory of its sound. I like the questions prompted by the sound of the jarana. I like the history I embody by playing the jarana. Then there are reasons that have nothing to do with the jarana: reasons that have to do with the people that supported my old punk band; with my struggle to speak Spanish; with growing up in a largely white, middle-class suburb east of Los Angeles; with the word “pocho”; with my sense of identity.

Before I played Son Jarocho, music from the Gulf Coast of Mexico, I played guitar and sang in a punk rock band, Rum & Rebellion. I wrote lyrics that reflected life in Salinas, a small farm town on California’s Central Coast where we were based. The lyrics were explicit expressions of identity, social critique, and tales of late-night misadventure. During the day I worked as a reporter at the local newspapers. Over the course of my work, I witnessed events, met people, and heard stories that I could not adequately explain in the confines of a 12-inch news story; like the life of Oscar Mandujano, a 16-year-old Mexican immigrant murdered in broad daylight. His life and death was emblematic of so many lives in Salinas – a place where immigrant families go to earn a living working the agricultural fields, only to subsist in overcrowded apartments and send

their children to schools ill-equipped to teach. At one point Salinas' libraries were in danger of closing for lack of funding. Mandujano's murder exemplified the entrenched culture of street gangs in Salinas that was not a simple case of young thugs with guns, but young women and men reacting to an environment – oppressive and racist – that was equally alien to their parents. So I wrote songs when I couldn't write stories for the newspaper. And the songs fulfilled a creative aspect of my being. Very simply, I was able to create for my own pleasure, purpose and will; not for a paycheck or at the demand of a manager or boss. Many (though not all) of the songs were written in response, as a witness, to social injustice.

At the Rum & Rebellion shows, I made it a point to speak in Spanish, as broken as my Spanish is, and connect with the teenage Latinas, Latinos, Mexicanos, Mexicanas, Chicanas, and Chicanos. I did this on purpose. I wanted to let them know there was a place for them in punk rock, a genre often assumed to be the realm of young white men. I wanted them to see themselves in my actions. After all, in their eyes, their dress, their language, and their dance I saw myself when I was their age, going to shows throughout the greater Los Angeles-area, seeking a home or a place in music, and connecting with others through this sound. Even though Salinas was about 500 miles north of the suburb where I grew up, I could relate to the kids.

Some of my favorite moments at the punk shows were intergenerational – young parents bringing their children; teenagers bringing their parents and grandparents. I'll never forget seeing Lazaro Andrade, a teenage bassist, escort his elderly grandfather to the back room of La Perla, a small Mexican restaurant lodged next to the National

Steinbeck Center. La Perla's food was forgettable, but the owners often allowed us to use their rear room for punk shows, as long as we handled the clean up, security, and responsibility that comes with putting on a show. Lazaro's grandfather wore his best cowboy hat and boots for the occasion. His grandson made it a point to introduce me. Rum & Rebellion was one of Lazaro's favorite bands and I was the only member of the group whom could vaguely hold a conversation with the elder.

My band mates saw punk rock as an organizing tool. The shows were usually all-ages and almost always free. We encouraged the young bands and musicians to write, play, and express themselves. 'All you need to know is three chords,' we'd tell them. We'd collaborate with other groups in town – Chicano theatre ensembles, hip hop groups, and activists – and host bands that were on tour. But there is only so much to expect from punk rock, a 35-year old rock tradition that is loud, aggressive, and confrontational as an aesthetic.

Eventually, punk rock wasn't enough. The crowds were usually young men. As often as the parents, grandparents, and families came, they were still exceptions at the regular shows. Punk rock is good for organizing teenagers and young men, but I yearned to connect with more than that part of my community. I wanted to connect deeper – to myself, my family, and my Latino roots.

And then, in my mid-twenties, I discovered Son Jarocho. It was in my parent's kitchen in Arcadia, CA. My mom had put on some music to accompany her morning's chores. I remember the sound coming from the stereo – the syncopated strumming, the

quick rhythm, the call and response harmonies, and the clear, bright melody plucked from nylon strings all grabbed my attention.

I didn't completely understand the lyrics, which was about a man, *El Balajú*, who had gone off to a war. The Spanish was too fast for me. Nonetheless, the music seemed simple. Just a couple guitars; how hard could that be, I thought¹. When I returned to Salinas, I sought out information from anyone that knew anything about Son Jarocho. I received a compact disc of various sones jarochos from a friend in Bolivia. I met other Chicano musicians that played Son Jarocho. I became romanced by the idea of fandangos, community gatherings to play Son Jarocho where musicians of all ages and ability levels participated. Children, elders, and everyone in between played the fandango. And I heard something familiar: 'All you need to know is three chords,' said a friend, who concluded 'Son Jarocho is the punk rock of Mexico.' I was sold. I would become a jaranero.

In 'becoming a jaranero,' I was making a statement about myself. I, a suburban pocho² who was not raised speaking Spanish, would renegotiate my identity with the help of three chords (as I understood it then), Spanish lyrics (of course, first I had to translate the lyrics to understand what I was singing), and a jarana. This has nothing to do with Son Jarocho and everything to do with where I come from. Let me explain.

¹ I have since changed my mind, embarrassed of how I disrespected the music by not acknowledging the complexity of Son Jarocho. Similarly, Cándida Jáquez notes that musicians see Mexican Rancheras as deceptively easy to learn but difficult to produce (171).

² A pocho is understood among Spanish-speakers in the Southwest as a Latino/a, Chicano/a, or Hispanic who doesn't speak Spanish and may have forgotten or neglected her or his own heritage in adoption of American traditions or customs. Initially an insult, the term has been reclaimed in some circles with explicit political implications and pride. See Acuna, *Occupied America* 179.

I was raised in Arcadia, a suburb east of downtown Los Angeles. In my particular neighborhood, there were a handful of Latino families. There were Julian and Aurora, a retired Mexican couple that lived across the street. They physically resembled my family. Short with café color skin and round bellies, the cadence to their spoken English was reminiscent of family. It was familiar. There was Reggie, who lived down the street. He was married to a white woman. My Dad always said Reggie – a dark-skinned³ Latino – “forgot” who he was. We never talked about what that meant – Reggie’s marriage and my father’s words – but I took it as a warning: don’t forget your roots and don’t turn away from where you’ve come. At that time in my life, I didn’t think to question my father, even though I didn’t understand the concept.

Years later, a new neighbor, the next Latino family, called my dad a word I’d never heard before: pocho. She said this because my dad didn’t speak Spanish. I told my mom about this encounter. She became angry but didn’t explain why.

I don’t remember hearing Spanish on the street in my neighborhood, except for the times we had visitors from Guatemala, where my mother is from. My father couldn’t speak Spanish, even though we hail from historic New Mexican families. Whenever someone called the house speaking Spanish, my brother, sister, and I would call for my mom to pick up the phone. My mother didn’t teach us Spanish. This was a defense strategy: she thought if we didn’t speak Spanish, then we wouldn’t speak English with an

³ Phenotype has long complicated discussion and research of Latina and Latino identity. Color alone does not connote Latina and Latino identity. See *Race and Classification: The Case of Mexican America* and Almaguer 6.

accent and, therefore, wouldn't be exposed to the same discrimination she experienced when she arrived here.

However, racism in the suburbs and among the middle class tends to be more discrete than slurs on street corners. In the suburbs, things are supposed to be like front lawns – manicured, clean, ordered, pleasant, soft, and quiet. Of course, in the suburbs, things are hardly as they appear. Nonetheless, racism in the suburbs tends to emerge in concealed glances, a softly muttered phrase, a back-handed compliment, or whispered slurs between friends. The sound and image of an outright bigot doesn't match the suburban appearance. So when things happened, I didn't know how to react because I didn't know what to call it. Did it take a burning cross and a white hood for someone to be considered racist? That was the understanding, which left a world of unclear, gray between the obvious opposites of black and white.

I remember standing with my mother, waiting in line at a department store at the mall in Arcadia. Though the cashier had completed her sale with the old, white woman in front of us, she continued to talk with the customer. We waited and waited. And waited some more. Then my mother realized she was being ignored. I remember how my mom held back tears as she put down the blouse, saying she didn't need it, commanded her children to follow, and marched out. She was too angry to explain when I asked why.

Whenever there were work parties, my dad's co-workers – officers and civilian employees of the Los Angeles Police Department – would make jokes. 'Why do

Mexicans eat Tamales on Christmas? So they have something to open.’ My dad said nothing. It was just a joke, right?

There were subtle reminders of culture – our culture – in the house. My mom listened to Nueva Canción, popular protest music from Mexico, Spain, Central and South America. I learned to recognize the voices of Argentines Mercedes Sosa and Facundo Cabral though I didn’t know what they were saying. My mom would translate the lyrics about protest, repression, and yearning for freedom. These translations lead to her reflections on life in war in Guatemala. My mom used dried maize⁴ as wall decorations in the home. It wasn’t until college that I learned not everyone ate beans with their eggs at breakfast. But this wasn’t enough to give me a sense of self in the suburbs.

Reflecting on Arcadia, it’s strange what I experienced despite the growing Latino population. At my elementary school, in any given grade, about a third of the class was Latino. We never talked about race, ethnicity, or identity. I can only recall race coming up when we talked about African-Americans, but there were no black kids at Holy Angels, my elementary school. During a history lesson, a classmate – a Latina – raised her hand and asked if my classmate Jacques would have been forced to drink at a water fountain for blacks during the 1940s. Jacques had very dark skin. Jacques’ mother was a dark-skinned woman from Southern Mexico. The teacher was caught off guard by the question and returned our attention to the reading.

⁴ Maize, or corn, is considered a staple of the indigenous diet of the Americas and is regularly consumed in my family’s home. For more information, see Vigil 16.

In third grade, my class read a story of a friendship between a bird and a whale. When asked about the moral of the story, I raised my hand and said outward appearances don't matter – that's what my parents taught me. I used my friendship with Doug as an example. 'He is tall. I am short. He is blond. I have black hair. He is white. I am tan,' I said. Sister Angelica stared at me, said nothing, and called upon another student.

I guess it's no surprise I didn't know how to explain, much less understand, myself or my experience. If we couldn't talk about race in real terms – like the way Jacques experienced life in Arcadia or the differences between Doug and I – how were we to understand the more complex reality of cultural identity in real terms, in tangible, lived experience? If I wasn't able to acknowledge differences, and thus different experiences, then why would I think I was any different than the rest of my class? But yet I knew. These questions continued unspoken and, thus, unanswered for many years.

Few of us – Latino students at Holy Angels – spoke Spanish. Those that did were considered rough or poor. I can't recall why and who dictated this, but it was understood. Most of us – the Latino students – thought we were white, even though a glance in the mirror would reveal otherwise. So we acted like we thought we were supposed to act. A friend from the nearby, rich suburb San Marino once said Spanish was a rough language, unrefined like French, useful only to order food, and talk to her gardener. I didn't know how to respond.

In high school, people acted surprised that I didn't speak Spanish. I got poor grades in my Spanish classes. I didn't know how to react to the mixed messages I'd

received my whole life about Spanish: Spanish would cause discrimination; I was American; therefore I didn't need to know how to speak Spanish. So I withdrew and disengaged in the classroom. I was embarrassed and angry – this much I remember – but I didn't know how to talk about these feelings.

Then there was Timmy.

Timmy was my best friend in first and second grade. His father was a doctor. The family was wealthy. They were white. Timmy used to invite me to his home to play. At his house, the only people that looked physically like me were the gardeners that maintained the massive property in the hills above Arcadia. I never understood why they smiled at me. Then in third grade Timmy stopped hanging out with me. It just happened and no one ever discussed this change. From that point on, he mostly stuck to other white kids whose parents were doctors or lawyers. This continued into high school. I figured it was about money – class. My family did talk about class – actually, we just discussed how rich people often mistreated those who didn't have as much money. But regarding Timmy, my mom's explanation never went beyond: 'they think they're better than us.' Nearly ten years later, Timmy's family showed me a simple lesson of race, ethnicity, and power in my suburb called home.

At a high school party in Arcadia, a group of Armenians showed up. It was rumored they were gang members, but I have doubts⁵. Nonetheless, the rumors concerned the white family who owned the home where the party was held. So they contacted their

⁵ It's worth noting that classmates in high school were seriously concerned my Latino friends from Arcadia were going to steal from their mansions in Pasadena whenever we came to visit.

neighbors, Timmy's family. Timmy, now a 17-year-old, assembled with his father and older brothers outside the party to do something about the Armenians. Armed with rifles and baseball bats, the family stood alongside one another. Witnesses later claim the clan stood in a V-formation, as if going into battle. The father made a simple statement: "All foreigners must leave."

Armenians mistake me for Armenian. I wasn't about to let Timmy and his family do the same. Whether or not English was my only language at that point; whether or not I was born in the United States; whether or not I had grown up with Timmy, I already knew. I had finally learned the lesson no one said aloud: I was Latino in Arcadia. I was not white. Despite all our efforts to act white and thus be treated white, I would always be me. I left the party right away. I've never discussed the incident with my family. My girlfriend asks why I didn't call the police that night. It never occurred to me that the police would do anything.

That Monday at school, people were talking about the fight. I heard at least one person was assaulted with the butt of the father's rifle. It's just one story from Arcadia. Long before that moment, I quit. I quit trying to fit in. I stopped getting my hair cut like the other kids in Arcadia. I stopped dressing in the latest surfer fashions for sale at the mall in Arcadia. I stopped listening to classic rock. I stopped (for the most part) going to high school parties where I was only going to stand, ignored, in the corner. What was the point, I realized. My skin, my name, my culture, regardless of my sense of identity, all kept me from being fully integrated in Arcadia. Sure, as long as we could pay, we'd be allowed into schools, after-school recreation, restaurants, and stores, but I've always been

eyed with a little bit of suspicion in Arcadia. Police have pulled me over two blocks from my parent's house and asked what I was doing 'here.' During the summer of 2011, when my girlfriend, brother, and I went into a used book store in Arcadia, looking for a text for a graduate class, the store clerk became visibly nervous and alert.

At 32, I am still addressing these experiences. So when I discovered Son Jarocho at 26, the symbol of me becoming jaranero was meant to be an explicit statement of my identity as a Latino in the United States. It was about me openly embracing my roots and it was about me openly rejecting an implied suburban path of assimilation that surrounded me in Arcadia.

Indeed, Son Jarocho led me to my roots. I'm from Arcadia and my roots do not lay in Veracruz. I'm from the suburbs of Los Angeles. The more I learned and played music from the Mexican Gulf Coast, the more I told myself and others that I grew up not speaking Spanish in a place called Arcadia; that my family hails from New Mexico and Guatemala. And the more I studied Son Jarocho, the more I began to question my intent and how I was using Son Jarocho. For a period, I called myself a jaranero – one who plays the jarana – not simply as a statement of locating my place in a Son Jarocho ensemble. I called myself a jaranero because I wanted my friends, my family, co-workers, and strangers to recognize not only my heritage, as a Chicano, but that I rejected the assumed path of the place I grew up in – the path of assimilation, the path of leaving behind the Spanish language, of isolated, economic comfort and buying into the dream of American culture. It was another reminder I was rejecting the lessons of Arcadia.

When I returned to Los Angeles and began participating in Southern California fandangos in 2008, I saw signs of my stories in others. Chicanas who were not raised speaking Spanish were clutching jaranas and singing *El Balajú*. Chicanas that were raised in affluent, largely white suburbs outside barrios were learning to play jarana and proclaiming themselves jaraneras. Chicanas and Chicanos who used to call themselves ‘goths,’ ‘punks,’ and ‘greasers,’ were now calling themselves jaraneras and jaraneros. Chicanos who openly called themselves pochos because of their Spanish-speaking ability – or inability to be precise – were calling themselves jaraneros. Chicanas and Chicanos who learned Spanish not at home, with parents and grandparents, but in classrooms, were jaraneras and jaraneros. We were going to Son Jarocho because of our own issues and questions of identity, as well as enjoyment of the music.

Not everyone in Los Angeles playing Son Jarocho is doing so because of identity. However, obvious personal issues with self-identity prompted one musician to write publicly “the Son is not about you and your identity crisis⁶.” As I began to hone in on the underlying issue of identity among some jaraneros and jaraneras in the Los Angeles-area, I wondered how many of us critically considered what we were doing. Sure, we all enjoyed the music. Yes, we all enjoyed the sense of community the music can create. But were we obvious to the deeper narrative inherent in our new identity as jaraneras and jaraneros? In corners at parties, on the edge of barstools, on the periphery of a stage, and at small tables in cafes, I began to raise this question with others.

⁶ Dec. 15, 2009 letter from Jacob Hernández-Pacheco to the Proyecto Son Jarocho message board.

I know why I started playing Son Jarocho. It is a complicated narrative of personal history, counter assimilation, musicianship, identity, and self-expression. Recognizing the nuances of my experience, do others share this same narrative?

Jaraner@: A Chapter by Chapter Overview

The first chapter of this thesis will set the theoretical and historical stage of my research. I am approaching this phenomenon from the perspective of acculturation psychology. Very simply, acculturation psychology is the resulting changes and experience of multiple cultures coming into direct, continuous contact with one another (Berry, *Psychology of Acculturation* 458-459). After reviewing the history of acculturation psychology, I will specifically engage two approaches to acculturation psychology: intentional states and speech genres. Both approaches seek to understand individual experience within a communally shared experience and context.

With this theory in mind, I ask, what does it mean for a Chicana or Chicano to identify as a jaranera or jaranero? From what historical and culture context does this identification spring? What is the intention of this identification?

Chicana and Chicano identity politics is not a recent phenomenon. Chicana and Chicano identification is not a philosophical question but one with urgent, historic, political, and social implications (Gutiérrez, *Hispanic Identities* 175; Acuña, *Occupied America* 419; Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors* 30; Almaguer, 3-6). Thus, I offer a brief review of Chicana and Chicano identity politics in the American Southwest. By placing my research question in the context of an ongoing historical movement, my research and

this phenomenon cannot be misinterpreted as a seemingly isolated concern, but a documentation of the latest stage of a historic, unresolved social, and political tension. The history of Chicana and Chicano identity politics will lead into a review of the literature on Son Jarocho, the music of the Sotavento region of the Mexican Gulf Coast state of Veracruz, and its history in Los Angeles.

In chapter two, I present an in-depth review of the methods and design of my research, focus groups. I discuss the sample technique used and the details of the focus groups, including preparation, execution, and conclusions. Chapter three examines the themes of the focus groups, including critical interpretations of Chicana and Chicano identification as jaraneras and jaraneros. Special attention is taken to preserve the language of my subjects and the context of their speech. In this section, we discuss how, and if, their identification as jaraneras and jaraneros is a statement in reaction to greater cultural forces, such as acculturation and assimilation, and what this means to them as individuals. This covers group and individual background experience, specifically discussing individual and group experiences of acculturation, and will also document some of the history of Chicana and Chicano Son Jarocho experience in the Los Angeles-area. I include large quotes of significant statements to ensure that the subjects-own language is preserved, from which new theory may likely be created. Chapter four offers a summary of my research findings and concludes with recommendations for further research in ethnomusicology, critical acculturation psychology, and Chicana and Chicano studies.

Chapter 2: Theory and Historical Context

Critical Acculturation as Theoretical Framework

Jaranero; jaranera; how is identity derived from a word that otherwise denotes an individual's role in a Son Jarocho music ensemble? It is not the literal definition of jaranero or jaranera that connotes identity in the situation I am studying, but the narrative constructed around a collective, cultural understanding of terms like jaranera and jaranero. A collective understanding of a word, term, or utterance is indicative of unique speech genres and unique communities, according to Mikhail Bakhtin (78). The narrative that orders lives and life experience is expressed in specific terms and can be understood by the theory of intentional states. Speech genres and intentional states may explain the significance of a Chicana or Chicano identifying as a jaranera or jaranero, but they do not explain the context; the why.

Acculturation psychology may help explain why a Chicana or Chicano would call themselves a jaranera or jaranero. Acculturation is the study of the results of two cultures coming into direct contact with one another (Marin, Organista, and Chun 210; Padilla and Perez 35). Acculturation psychology specifically examines the manifestation of those results within individuals whom come into direct contact with another culture(s) (Berry, *Psychology of Acculturation* 458). Acculturation psychology, on its own, does not get into the nuances of an experience unique to Chicanas and Chicanos in Southern California. However, acculturation psychology through the perspective of speech genres and intentional states, dubbed critical acculturation psychology, might explain the

meaning and context of this experience (Chirkov, *Summary of the criticism of the potential ways to improve acculturation psychology* 179; Chirkov *Critical psychology of acculturation* 102; Cresswell 165).

To employ critical acculturation psychology, the foundation of acculturation psychology must be examined first. Though acculturation as a subject of study has existed for at least one hundred years, acculturation's rudimentary approach to immigration and the immigrant experience was granted new academic life in the 1980s by Canadian psychologist John Berry. Berry's work largely focused on the experience of immigrants and ethnocultural minorities in Canada. Nearly 30 years later, new research critiques Berry's approach and proposes alternative, complimentary theories, including intentional states and speech genres. Nonetheless, Berry's theory and critical approaches to acculturation psychology are rooted in the work of a sociologist from the turn of the 20th century.

As an academic discipline, the roots of acculturation lay largely in the study of the experience of Western European immigrants settling in the United States of America after the turn of the 20th century by faculty of the University of Chicago's Department of Sociology (Persons 45). Among the ranks of faculty at the University of Chicago include Robert Park, who advanced a three-part theory in which the immigrants first made contact with the dominant, or host, culture, then accommodate the new culture, and, lastly, assimilate, taking on the new culture's customs as their own and no longer practicing the rituals and language of their home (Padilla and Perez 36; Park 882). This theory was understood to be linear, irreversible, and "inevitable." (Marin, Organista, and

Chun 209; Park 890; Persons 91). Park is credited for propagating the melting pot theory that remains prevalent in contemporary immigration debates in the United States and Western Europe, though he is by no means the sole proponent of this theory (Padilla and Perez 36).

The next major advancement in acculturation came in 1936 from anthropologists Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton, and Melville Herskovits (Padilla and Perez 36). The anthropologists proposed that acculturation occurs when individuals from different cultures come into continuous contact and resulting changes occur within the original culture of one or both groups (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits 149). Change in original culture is crucial to the process of acculturation. An important difference from Park is the idea that assimilation is not automatic (Redfield, Linton and Herskovits 149). The work of Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits set forth the understanding of acculturation as a dialogical process between two groups rather than simply one group taking on the culture of another (Padilla and Perez 37).

Less than twenty years after acculturation's theoretical base was expanded by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, the Social Science Research Council acknowledged the political underpinning of acculturation and proposed a more nuanced understanding of the result of two, foreign cultures coming into direct contact (974).

Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct transmission; it may be derived from non-cultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modifications induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits of patterns; or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life. Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the process of integration

and differentiation, the generation of development sequences, and the operation of role determinants and personality factors (Social Science Research Council 974).

A few key tenets from this definition – including direct and indirect culture transmissions, an impinging culture, and a reactive return to traditional culture – were expanded in the theory of acculturation psychology proposed by Canadian Psychologist John W. Berry.

Acculturation psychology is not so much an inevitable process but an individual and group strategy when confronted with another culture. There are two questions that will determine an individual's acculturation strategy: Does the individual consider it valuable to maintain a relationship with the other – the dominant or host group – and does the individual consider it valuable to maintain her or his heritage culture? (Berry, *A critique of critical acculturation* 366). Based on these questions, Berry categorizes the experience into one of four strategies, creating a four-part matrix – integration, assimilation, separation, or marginalization – that comprise his acculturation strategy for ethnocultural groups, or groups outside the dominant culture (Berry, *A critique of critical acculturation* 366).

Integration is the decision to maintain a positive relationship with both the heritage culture and the dominant, or host, culture. For example, looking at linguistic practices, if a Latina residing in Los Angeles chooses to maintain her Spanish language as well as English at home, at work, and outside both environments, this would fit Berry's notion of integration. Assimilation is the result of the decisions to have a negative relationship with, or reject, heritage culture and desire a positive relationship with the

dominant, or host, culture. Continuing with our example of linguistic practices, assimilation might occur if that Latina purposefully chooses to abandon her use of Spanish and speaks only English. Separation is when the individual decides to maintain their heritage culture but has a negative relationship with the dominant, or host, culture. This would be exemplified if the Latina, of our previous examples, decides only to speak Spanish throughout Los Angeles, including when in English-dominant areas. Marginalization occurs when the individual rejects both heritage culture as well as the dominant, or host, culture (Berry, *A critique of critical acculturation* 366). The previous linguistic examples may not apply in this case, highlighting one of the problems of Berry's theory. In a binary situation such as this, would the Latina choose to be mute or communicate in the language of another culture? This raises the issue of context in the individual's choices of acculturation.

Acculturation psychology grants greater agency to immigrants, or members of the minority group, in relation to the dominant culture, than previous theories of acculturation (Berry, *A critique of critical acculturation* 366). Strategies of acculturation psychology are predicated on the freedom of choice, according to Berry. However, the very notion of free will in acculturation psychology has drawn a chorus of critique, as it ignores a legacy of colonization, oppression, sexism, and racism (Almaguer 207; Bhatia 59; Cabassa 135). Stemming from the Social Science Research Council's recognition of reactive choices in acculturation, Berry acknowledges the strategies of the dominant, or host, culture, recognizes the dialogical relationship of acculturation, and proposed a corresponding matrix to the acculturation strategies of an individual with a four-part

matrix of acculturation strategies by the dominant, or host, culture (Berry, *A critique of critical acculturation* 367).

If the dominant, or host, culture allows the individual to both retain their heritage culture and maintain a positive relationship with the dominant, or host, culture, – what Berry calls integration – the result is multiculturalism (*A critique of critical acculturation* 367). Berry states multiculturalism can only occur if it is an ideal desired by all members of the dominant, or host, culture (367). If assimilation is sought by the dominant, or host, culture, the result is the melting pot theory (Berry, *A critique of critical acculturation* 367). If separation is sought by the dominant or host, culture, the result is segregation (Berry, *A critique of critical acculturation* 367). Lastly, when the dominant, or host, culture seeks marginalization, the result is exclusion (Berry, *A critique of critical acculturation* 367).

The acculturation process begins through first-hand, long-term contact and rules out short-term and accidental contact between individuals from different cultures (Berry, *Psychology of Acculturation* 461; Marin, Organista, and Chun 210). Changes resulting from contact between different cultures manifest culturally and psychologically and persist in ensuing generations (Berry, *Psychology of Acculturation* 461). Berry also called upon researchers to distinguish between a process and a state of acculturation, meaning there is dynamic activity during and after contact between cultures (*A critique of critical acculturation* 368; Padilla and Perez 38).

Since Berry's theory debuted, there has been a flurry of work in acculturation psychology, advancing the Canadian's theory, contesting his work, and ultimately delving further into the nuances of acculturation psychology (Berry, *A critique of critical acculturation* 361; Chirkov, *Summary of the criticism and of the potential ways to improve acculturation psychology* 177; Marin, Organista, and Chun, 2003; Padilla and Perez 40). One of the immediate critiques of Berry's theory of acculturation psychology is the attempt to create a universal model of acculturation for immigrants or non-dominant groups around the globe. In the United States, the experiences of African-Americans, Asians, Native Americans, and Mexicans in the American Southwest, once the Mexican north, are incomparable to the experience of Western European immigrants on the East coast and ignores the history of the region (Almaguer 2007). The experience and socio-economic context of a non-Western immigrant migrating in the 20th century is incomparable to that of a Western European immigrant in the United States in the 19th and 20th century (Bhatia 61). Attempts to lump each group into the same acculturation experience "defies logic." (Almaguer 207). One landmark study of Chicanas and Chicanos established that rather than a simple distinction between American and Mexican social customs, Chicanas and Chicanos in the United States live in a distinct and complicated manner that is a beyond a conjoining of American and Mexican customs (Keefe and Padilla 7). As a result, there have been calls to abandon acculturation psychology all together. Yet, scholars continue to build upon some of the tenets of acculturation psychology.

The critiques of Berry's theory have prompted triangulated approaches to acculturation psychology. One-time interviews and surveys are not enough to fully understand the dynamic process of acculturation. Critics suggest supporting Berry's methods with qualitative forms of research, including case studies, ethnography, auto-ethnography, and in-depth interviews (Bhatia 73; Cabassa 142; Chirkov, *Summary of the criticism and of the potential ways to improve acculturation psychology* 178-180; Cresswell 167-171; Lechuga 336-337; Padilla and Perez 50-52; Rudmin 117-118; Waldram 126-127; Weinreich, 2009). Critics have also called for new theories to better understand the process of acculturation. For example, Keefe and Padilla called for a multi-dimensional approach to understand acculturation after finding knowledge of Mexican history and Spanish language use declined among Chicanas and Chicanos, while traits, such as ethnic identity, Catholicism, and extended familism persisted (8). Bhatia notes that Berry's theory of acculturation psychology aims ultimately at a notion of social harmony that belies the complexity of immigration and acculturation (73). Rather than study harmony, scholars should take care to note the variety of voices, feelings, tensions, and power relations between the dominant and non-dominant group during an individual's acculturation process. The complex and nuanced histories of unequal social relationships based on gender, race, economics, culture, and immigration should compliment studies of an individual's acculturation strategy (Bhatia 73).

This tension, social stigma as it is called by one pair of researchers, may serve as a trigger in individual acculturation strategies (Padilla and Perez 44). Social stigma is an attribute that is devalued in particular social contexts and is discriminated against (Padilla

and Perez 45). Individuals will alter their appearance, behavior, and speech if it is possible to avoid revealing that which creates social stigma and avoid certain social interactions from occurring. However, later generations may revert, or explicitly embrace their heritage, as a result of social stigma or, rather, a reaction in defiance of that stigma (Padilla and Perez 48). The context of individual and group choices of acculturation strategy is crucial to further understand the acculturation process (Cabassa 130-131). Cabassa's critique stems from the one time nature of acculturation scales and measurement tools that do not grasp changes over time nor do they fully integrate the full socio-political, cultural, and economic context that leads to an acculturation strategy. In the case of acculturation strategies among immigrants, scholars argue there should be at least three periods studied in the process: their experience prior to immigration, the immigration experience itself, and the process of settlement. All of these moments must all be taken into account when studying acculturation and an individual's acculturation strategy.

Psychologist James Cresswell proposed a new manner of conceptualizing acculturation psychology anchored by Jerome Bruner's notion of the relationship between psychology and culture, called intentional states, and Mikhail M. Bakhtin's literature theory of speech genres (Cresswell, 163-167). Intentional states begin with the phenomenological theory of intentionality as the process of actively ordering lived experience (Bruner 39-40). Intentional states are not private or individual, but are a collectively understood ordering of life and experience shared by a group of people (Bruner 47). Cresswell then turns to Bakhtin's concept of speech genres, which states the

various manners of speech and expression are indicative of the multiple cultures that constitute any given society (Bakhtin 69). Bakhtin's theory of speech genres asserts speech is grounded in the vocabulary of a community, ideology, and embodied style (Bakhtin 89; Cresswell, 165-167). Therefore, argues Cresswell, "the terms that are used in reference to intentional states are personally embodied social practices (166)." Very simply, there is weight to the terms used and identifications put forward by individuals in the acculturation process.

For the purpose of studying Chicana and Chicano identification as a jaranera and jaranero, the very fact of calling one's self a jaranera, under Cresswell's proposal, has a weight that is much more than mere semantics⁷. It is how life, or at least one period of life, is to be understood and ordered. Recognition of this identity does not simply come from an individual's assertion, but also recognition by those in the communities shared by the jaraneras and jaraneros. This assertion of identity is likely tied, under Cresswell and Berry's theories, to socialization as a Chicana and Chicano in the United States and as members of what Berry calls the ethnocultural in relation to the dominant culture. To triangulate theories of intentional states and acculturation psychology means to consider not only the individual's ordering, or narrative, of their own life and experience, but also to inspect the context of that ordering and the collective understanding of that narrative. That context, I propose, must be examined through acculturation psychology. However, I propose to look at acculturation psychology from its reverse – rather than probing

⁷ From a musician's perspective, identification as a jaranera or jaranero would signal basic control, if not mastery, of the instrument. To identify as a jaranera or jaranero without basic musical abilities, from an ethnomusicologist perspective, prompts a question of pedagogy. However, this research is limited in its scope and does not address musical pedagogy.

acculturation strategies as the free choice of an individual, we must look at acculturation strategies as a response to impositions of the dominant culture. In the study of Chicana and Chicano identity as jaraneras and jaraneros, we must place the theories of intentionality and speech genres within Berry's matrix of acculturation strategy. The acculturation strategies of Chicana and Chicanos, who identify as jaraneras and jaraneros, are a reaction to dominant social forces. This label is not simply a free choice, like assimilation or integration is believed, but in some ways a response to dominant social practices and spoken and unspoken policies of assimilation, separation, and marginalization. Jaranera and jaranero identity is reactive.

A study of how a single word – jaranera or jaranero – comes to sum up an individual's identity should be like tugging at the string in a ball of yarn. I hope to unravel the individual's acculturation process, as it has unfolded over time. For Chicanas and Chicanos whose families do not hail from the Mexican Gulf Coast or the Sotavento⁸, we must ask why identify with a culture and music that is virtually unknown within the dominant American culture and marginal among Latino homes? I suspect it has less to do with the music and more to do with each individual's social experience as a Chicana and Chicano in the United States. I argue this narrative of identity, wrapped around a single term, is a reaction to lifetimes and generations of cultural marginalization. I suspect this

⁸ Culturally, Veracruz is divided into two distinct coastal regions that extend westward from the gulf: la Huasteca to the north and el Sotavento to the south. The Sotavento spans the Tuxtla mountains, the isthmus and coastal plains, the Papaloapan and Coatzacoalcos rivers, among others, including, but not limited to, the cities and communities of La Antigua, Alvarado, Alta Lucero, Boca del Rio, Chacaltianguis, Cosamaloapan, Tierra Blanca, Tlacotalpan, Tlalixcoyan, Ignancio de la llave, Mandinga, Minatitlan, Otatilán, Playa Vicente, Úrsula, Veracruz and Xalapa. The state of Veracruz borders Oaxaca, Chiapas, Puebla and Tabasco. See Sheehy and Herrera.

identity is a reaction. I believe I will find that Chicana and Chicano jaraner@ is a strategy of acculturation psychology.

Chicano Southwest

Based on theoretical recommendations in critical acculturation that call for understanding the context of acculturation for the individual, her or his communities, and the dominant culture, it is important to have an understanding of Mexican and Chicano identity politics in California and the American Southwest. Not only to give depth to the reasons behind Chican@ identification as a jaraner@ and place this identification within regional historical context, but also to recognize this strategy may be part of an ongoing process of acculturation that has affected generations of families in the region. I will begin with a brief overview of Chicano identity politics in California and the American Southwest, or formerly the Mexican north.

California's racial history is unique from other regions in the United States. Forged by the U.S. invasion of Mexico and the subsequent war of 1846-1848, the mid-century invasion annexed not only Mexican and Native American populations, but also Japanese and Chinese immigrants already living throughout Mexico's Northwest territories (Almaguer, 3-11). Neither class nor ideology alone created racialized social structures, but rather the intersection of structural and ideological forces, many pre-existing, crafted California's racialized social order (Almaguer 3). There was no uniform treatment of the non-European individual. Indians were vilified (Almaguer 6). Mexicans were considered half civilized, though some Mexican's were considered white (Almaguer 6). Based on their physical features, Asian-immigrants were considered Indian. Black

social status was contested because of the legacy of slavery (Almaguer 6). Western European immigrants were subject to xenophobia but nonetheless benefited from white privilege. All of which was further complicated by the continuing arrival of Mexican immigrants.

As newly-annexed subjects of American expansion, a collective identity for Spanish-speakers in the Southwest, formerly Mexico's Northern territory, began to form, by which Anglo-Americans often grouped Spanish-speaking individuals under the single term "Mexican." Contrary to the term, residents of Mexico's Northern territories identified with their *Patria Chica* – Tejas, Nuevo Mexico and Alta California (Gutiérrez, *Hispanic Identities in the Southwestern United States* 176). The social divisions that existed before the annexation of Mexico's Northwest territories persisted into the 20th century (Gutiérrez *Hispanic Identities in the Southwestern United States* 183-186). A precise social order during Mexico's Spanish Colonial period, known as the *sistema de castas*, devised titles and corresponding positions in social hierarchy based on an individual's ethnic lineage (Martínez 31). One's position within this system dictated the quality of life possible. The caste system replicated social hierarchies that existed in 15th century Spain following the unification of Spanish nobility and the expulsion and/or conversation of Spanish Muslims and Jews (Martínez 27). During the Spanish Colonial period, as children of Indigenous, African, and European heritage began to populate the Spanish Colonies, this model persisted, empowering those whom could establish their heritage as a Christian Spaniard (Gutiérrez *Hispanic Identities in the Southwestern United States* 176). The social significance of this identity continued under the Mexican

Republic and later in the United States. Under the American military and government, many continued to identify as Spanish, evoking what has been called the “Spanish Fantasy Heritage” (Gomez-Quinones 203; Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors* 32-33). The Spanish Fantasy prompted individuals to lay claim to social status and power in identifying as a descendent of White European, Spaniards, and not indigenous (Gutiérrez 183). Though it still persists, the fantasy would prove to be just that.

Anglo-Americans were unaware and unable to distinguish immigrants from Mexican-Americans (Gutiérrez 183). As a result, the term “La Raza” began to flourish, evoking a new consciousness of Spanish-speaking people north of the border (Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors* 32-36). What it meant to be Mexican in America was further complicated as the immigration flow north accelerated. Immigration from Mexico grew to at least one million under the Díaz regime of 1876 to 1911 and subsequent revolution of 1910 (Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors* 40). By the late 1920s, Mexican immigration averaged 25,000 people a year and the American public became further critical of their arrival, impacting relationships between Mexican-Americans and Mexican immigrants (Gutiérrez 65). Mexican-American attitudes were divided between solidarity and animosity (Gutiérrez 70). Those who saw themselves, or their experience, reflected in the immigrants considered themselves *Mexicanos de Afuera* and sought to carve out a niche in America while others considered themselves Mexican-Americans or simply Americans and thus, different from their immigrant compatriots (Gutiérrez 70).

A combination of Mexican immigration and the discriminating American public that saw no difference between the Mexican-American who had resided in the Southwest

for generations and the newly arrived immigrant prompted the creation of the League of United Latin American Citizens, or LULAC (Acuña, *Occupied* 182). Along with similar-minded groups, LULAC was created specifically to aid the Mexican-American community, initially, at the exclusion of immigrants. Not to be confused with mutual-aid societies, or mutualistas, LULAC and other Mexican-American groups were assimilation-oriented and taught “Americanism,” English, and organized politically and socially against Mexican-American discrimination (Acuña, *Occupied* 182; Sánchez 105).

As LULAC and many Mexican-Americans sought to distance themselves from Mexican immigrants, the wrath of the American public built like steam under a kettle. By the end of 1932, unemployment reached 11 million nationwide and immigrants were blamed for national joblessness (Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors* 73). Under public pressure, repatriation campaigns occurred throughout the Midwest and Southwest, expelling Mexicans and Mexican-Americans alike (Acuña, *Occupied* 210-212); the most well known occurred in Los Angeles: by the end of the decade, a third of Los Angeles’ Mexican community had been deported⁹ (Sánchez 14). The deportation had a profound effect on its Mexican citizens as an uncomfortable reminder of their precarious status in Los Angeles. (Sánchez 14)

Despite generations of discrimination, institutionalized racism and the recent mass deportations, many Mexican-Americans fought for social acceptance. The United States entrance into World War II was one avenue to acceptance. Volunteer efforts, at home and

⁹ On February 24, 2012, the Los Angeles City Council passed a resolution calling for Feb. 26 to be a Day of remembrance of the forcible removal of Mexican-Americans during the great depression. With three council members absent, the motion was passed unanimously.

on the battle field, were considered signs of patriotism. World War II is considered a turning point in Mexican-American identity in the United States (Acuña, *Occupied* 241; Sánchez 257). However, the memories of the painful past did not dissipate. Dissent and dissatisfaction was also prevalent in Mexican and Mexican-American communities. (Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors* 118)

The 1940s and 1950s saw civil rights struggles in Los Angeles, most notably with the so-called Zoot Suit Riots, in which sailors stormed into Mexican neighborhoods all over Los Angeles and picked fights with Mexicans, young and old. The fighting raged for days and spilled into other ethnic enclaves, like African-American neighborhoods. The Mexican-American community rallied around the Sleepy Lagoon defense case, in which Mexican-American youth were put on a show trial that caused sensational headlines across the country, enflaming already existing social tensions. By this period, local movements to desegregate public facilities were widespread (Acuña, *Occupied* 234). The 1940s and 1950s also witnessed so-called urban renewal and the displacement of Mexican-American communities throughout greater Los Angeles, most dramatically with the forced removal of homeowners from Chávez Ravine, where Dodger Stadium now stands (Yosso and García 155).

The activism of the previous generations continued into the 1960s as the momentum of the Civil Rights movement spilled into Mexican and Latino communities (Acuña, *Occupied* 312-321). The Chicano rights movement organized neighborhoods, rallies, protests, and demonstrations for improved public education, access to higher education, demands to end police abuse, and withdrawal from the war in Vietnam, where

thousands of Chicano soldiers were sent and died (Acuña, *Occupied* 336-337). The term Chicano came to be in the Spring of 1969; as an ideology it was understood to be a critical worldview based in anger and reaction to unjust social systems as well as a term denoting self pride and self-determination (Acuña, *Occupied* 315). The term was the reclamation of a perjorative word used to insult Mexican-Americans as well as a derivative of the Aztec name Mexica, in which the x is pronounced like a ch (Acuña, *Occupied* 329; *Vigil* 2).

More than one hundred years after California and the greater Southwest had been seized by American military forces; Los Angeles remains a destination for Mexican immigrants and a hot bed of Chicano identity politics (Gutiérrez, *Ethnic Mexicans* 321; Rocco 121). As the Chicano rights movement fought for political representation and social rights, there was a cultural aspect as well. Chicano arts – theater, music, poetry and literature – blossomed in this period (Broyles-González 25; Empringham 13; Reyes and Waldman 104). The world renown El Teatro Campesino was created in 1965 as an organizing tool for the United Farm Workers union and later toured the world as the first Chicano-collective theatre group. Later, members of El Teatro Campesino debuted “Zoot Suit,” the first Chicano play in an establishment theater (Broyles-González 170). Chicano writers were creating literature that not only dealt in content with Chicano life and issues but was crafted in mixes of English, Spanish, and Caló (Empringham 12). Chicano youth were creating rock bands that came to be heard as an urban counter to more traditional music. All the while corridos, mariachi and nueva canción ballads were prevalent among Chicano communities as expressions of culture, identity, and pride (Reyes and Waldman

103). Amidst the sounds of the Chicano movement, Son Jarocho could be heard. While Son Jarocho musicians – Mexican immigrants – were already prevalent in Chicano and Mexican enclaves, young Chicanas and Chicanos were also taking up the music of their parents. The reasons are varied and little has been written about the Chicana and Chicano musicians of that period that played Son Jarocho. From interviews, lectures, and talk between friends, the choice to play Son Jarocho in the 1970s was a personal statement of identity and heritage, a natural outgrowth of the movement, and interest in simply learning music that sounded good (González, 2010; Herrera, 2010; Montes, 2010).

The socio-political history and socio-political work of Chicanos in the American Southwest is a lesson in identity politics and acculturation psychology strategies. Individuals constructed narratives for themselves, from community language and group experience, in response to the greater political climate; whether it was seeking to distance themselves from Mexicans and Mexican immigrants by calling themselves Spanish, or defiantly proclaiming their identity as Chicanos – neither Mexican nor American but unique unto their own experience. These were strategies of political, economic, and individual survival amidst a history and culture that, at best, eyed Mexicans with suspicion. These were strategies of acculturation psychology (Vigil 205 – 207).

While the decisions made by individuals, and communities at large, were technically free, they were not choices as much as options or strategies in response to written and unspoken dominant social practices, such as discrimination, deportation, police abuse, and un-attentive educators. The decisions of one generation often prompted action, or reaction, in the preceding generation. Not only did the dominant culture

influence an individual's choice, but the ethnocultural group also shaped an individual's actions. Such decisions and narratives should be considered within Berry's matrix of acculturation strategies. The acculturation strategies of a Chicano cannot be fully understood outside the context of Southwest Chicano history and identity politics. This history continues to unfold.

More than 30 years before Chicanas and Chicanos in the Los Angeles-area began proclaiming themselves jaraneras and jaraneros, the first generation of Chicanos had begun to study the Son Jarocho. Francisco González was a music student at Pomona College in the early 1970s. A young participant in the Chicano Moratorium, González interpreted the Chicano Movement as a movement that not only demanded material changes in society, such as improved education, an end to police abuse, and political representation, but also a demand to recognize and take pride in the cultural heritage and history of Chicano people. As a young musician in his late teens and early twenties, González could perform classical, bluegrass, country and western, jazz, and rock music, as he had learned from elder musicians, instructors, and records. Nowhere in music classes in the Los Angeles Unified School District or, later, at Pomona College, as a music major, was he instructed in the history and technique of Mexican music. A practice of assimilation was in place in these institutions, whether explicitly stated or not. In response to the practices of the institutions and his own feeling of embarrassment for not knowing how to play the music of his heritage, González learned, on his own, Son Jarocho, among other Mexican musical traditions (Reyes and Walman 148). González's story is at the roots of the group now called Los Lobos. González's example echoes in the

experience of Chicanas and Chicanos learning Son Jarocho at the dawn of the 21st century, more than 30 years after Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles began. The decision to learn and later perform Mexican music is partially a response to acculturation strategies imposed by the dominant culture. The aesthetic of the music was an expression of cultural pride in the face of a dominant culture that segregated Chicanas and Chicanos or otherwise encouraged assimilation into the American notion of a melting pot of cultures. The music became one of many expressions of González's cultural identity (González, 2010).

Son Jarocho

Going back to the Spanish Colonial period of the Southwest, when the region was divided into patrias chicas under Spanish, and later Mexican, rule, records indicate merchants and migrants shared songs from all over Mexico. At least one – “El Ahualulco” – originates from the Mexican Gulf Coast and is considered a Sone Jarocho, or a song from the Jarocho tradition (González, 2010). In the 1940s, a Mexican musician, Andrés Huesca, considered the greatest harpist in the Jarocho tradition, performed his version of “El Ahualulco” in Mexican theatres and bars around Southern California. The region was part of the touring circuit for Mexican musicians of all traditions and genres. As young Chicano musicians, whose fathers witnessed Huesca's performances, learned to play, “El Ahualulco” became part of standard repertoires in 1970s Chicano Jarocho groups alongside huelga songs in protests, picket lines, as well as quinceaneras, weddings, and other gigs (Herrera, 2010; González, 2010). Son Jarocho, like corridos, were expressions of Chicana and Chicano identity as well as musical modes of

expression for individuals in the 1960s and 1970s (Herrera, 2010; González, 2010). At the turn of the 21st century, young Chicanos in southern California continue to use son jarocho as an expression of identity. Unlike the past generation, they have begun calling themselves jaranero and jaranera. To better understand the use of Son Jarocho as an expression of identity, I will provide a brief overview of Son Jarocho, its orchestration, the genre's social history, and conclude with a brief history of Son Jarocho among Chicanos and Chicanas.

A unique mélange of indigenous, African, Arabic, and Spanish-Baroque music, Son Jarocho is music from Mexican Gulf Coast state of Veracruz, specifically the southern coast of the state, known as the Sotavento region (Cardona 215; González 366; Loza 179; Sheehy XI; Stanford 84). There are various interpretations of the origin of the term Jarocho, but it was initially regarded as an insult to the people of region, the descendents of indigenous groups, including the Popolucas and Totonacas, African slaves brought to work the fields throughout the region, and Spanish and other European colonizers (Díaz-Sánchez 121; Loza 180; Sheehy 47). However, the term became a prideful word of affiliation for a place, culture, and tradition. Like the various Mexican sones, Son Jarocho is regionally distinct and is notable for its fast tempo and lyrical themes that include culturally specific references (Camastra 46; Herrera 53; Sheehy 7).

A typical son jarocho ensemble includes a jarana, which resembles a small guitar (Sheehy 5). A jaranero is one who plays the jarana. The jarana is traditionally made from a single piece of wood, with the exception of the tapa, the attached piece of wood where the sound hole is found (Sheehy 68). The jarana is typically strung in five courses of

strings, though there are differences, from artistic to regional (Sánchez-Tello). Typically, the outer courses are single strings while the three inner courses are doubled. Jaranas come in different sizes that produce different tones that create layers to any song (Sheehy 71). The smallest jarana is a chaquiste, followed, from smaller to larger, by a mosquito, primera, segunda, and tercera. Larger jaranas produce deeper tones while smaller jaranas emit higher tones (Sánchez-Tello). The jarana is typically strummed, creating the foundation of a rhythm, though there are some tunings that allow for the jaranero or jaranera to pluck the strings and play a melody as well (Sheehy 71). A strumming pattern is called a manico or rasqueo (Sheehy 71). While there are a few general strumming patterns with specific accents, each song has its specific accent on the beat.

The melody of son jarocho is performed either on the guitarra de son, also known as the requinto jarocho, violin, or harp (Loa 65). The guitarra de son is typically a four-string instrument traditionally plucked with a shaved shard of a cow horn. However, musicians have been known to pluck the guitarra de son with a shaved plastic comb or guitar pick. Variations of the guitarra de son exist, such as the requinto doble, or punteador, which doubles the higher strings of the guitarra de son, and the five-string requinto. The leona, which also varies in size, is similar to the guitarra de son in that it is a four-string instrument that is plucked with a shaved cow horn, or espiga. However, the leona or leoncita, emits a lower, deep tone and typically functions like a bass guitar. Like the bass, the leona adds a low-end to the song and does not typically perform a song's melody. Unlike the jarana, the guitarra de son is played by plucking individual strings. The instruments that create the melody typically lead the songs, in announcing the

introduction and conclusion, and musically follow the melody through a scale or an arpeggio (Stanford 85). It is important to note that violin use in Son Jarocho ensembles is no longer popular, or widespread, though the tradition exists (Sheehy 68).

Various percussion instruments are used in son jarocho including the quijada, or dried-donkey jaw. The musician grips the jaw in the gap between the front teeth and rows of teeth. With the other hand, the musician typically uses a short, shaved deer antler (though cigarette lighters have been substituted) and runs the edge of the antler over the teeth. The action causes the teeth to rattle and resembles playing a güiro. The player can also hit the jaw bone with palm of the hand, causing all the teeth to rattle at once (Sánchez-Tello). The pandero, or Mexican tambourine, is another percussion instrument. The pander is typically an octagonal frame with animal skin fastened across the frame (Sheehy 77). There are three approaches to producing sounds from the pandero: the musician will strike the skin with a thumb, with the other fingers or by sliding the thumb across the skin (Sheehy 77). Also, the musician will run finger tips across the jingles, creating a cascade of rattles. The cajon, a tunable drum made from wood that resembles a box, originates from the coast of Peru. The cajon, like in other musical genres, is beat and slapped to produce a beat. The tone of a cajon varies on wood composition and the instruments construction. A relatively recent addition to Son Jarocho is the marimbol. The marimbol comes from a family of instruments generally referred to as lamellophone or linguaphone (Rebolledo Kloques 23). Typically, lamellophone or linguaphone instruments have thin shards of steel that are fastened to a wooden box above a sound hole. The steel shards, or tongues, can be tuned. The steel, or tongues, are depressed and

as the finger releases the shard, or tongue, the steel vibrates, which combined with the sound box, creates a low, bass-like tone. Similar instruments are common through Africa, the origin of this instrument, and the marimbol can be found in musical ensembles through the Spanish-speaking Americas (Rebolledo Kloques 27).

The most prominent form of percussion is the zapateado created atop the tarima, a raised wooden platform (González 366). Zapateado is percussive dancing in which dancers use strong-heeled shoes to create a melody and rhythm with their heels on the tarima (González 366). Traditionally, the tarima is a raised wooden platform 10 wide and 12 feet long that can hold multiple dancers at any given time. The tone varies by size, wood, and construction. While each song has a distinct melody and rhythm that the dancers follow, like the playing of other instruments in the Jarocho repertoire, zapateado is largely improvised. The sones themselves dictate the dance beat as well as who may dance. Only women dance to sones de a monton while men may dance to sones de pareja. Dancers rotate atop the tarima and perform for one verse and estribillo, or refrain. The dancers typically wait at the edge of the tarima to replace the performing dancers after a cycle of verso and estribillo has completed.

The sones of the son jarocho are typically sung in a call and response style in which the pregonero (literally Spanish for caller) sings a copla, or verse, of four to eight lines, that is either repeated or followed by another copla (Herrera, 19; Loa 68-69). As with the other Mexican son traditions, coplas are non-sequential or independent verses, meaning they are self-contained and therefore may be sung in any order. The son jarocho tradition includes the improvised lyrical verse known as a décima, or ten-line narrative verse

(Herrera 28; Loa 67). Pregoneros and decimistas distinguish themselves not only by style and tone but also their ability to spontaneously compose lyrics (Herrera 21). Scholars have long connected the *décima* tradition to the centuries-old Spanish *trovador* tradition, though others have placed the practice within the history of pre-colonial, Aztec tradition (Camastra 46; Herrera 12).

A *fandango*, a musical fiesta and jam session, is the traditional setting in which *Son Jarocho* is typically heard (González 366). Once limited to rural, *pueblo* settings, *fandangos* now take place in cities and urban areas throughout Mexico and the United States (Gonzalez 374; Loa 78). Musicians of all ability levels, ages, and experience take part in the *fandango*. In a *fandango*, musicians surround the *tarima*, which is the center of the *fandango*. Dancers and musicians playing the melody typically play together in time. The combination of dance and music is often described as a dialogue between the dancer and the musician (Díaz-Sánchez 132).

As *son jarocho* migrated north from the Gulf Coast in the post-revolution and modern period, the first commercial recordings were made in Mexico City in the 1930s and 1940s (Cardona 215-216; Herrera 73; Sheehy 64). This period saw the first generation of *Jarocho* musicians become professional musicians; the first to be able to make a living from playing music. The musicianship and style of these musicians who made some of the first *jarocho* recordings became the standard for what has been called urban *son jarocho*, *porteño*, or, derogatively, *mariscero* (Cardona 215-216). *Mariscero* is a reference to the musicians who perform in restaurants, specifically seafood restaurants. This is considered, by some, commercial because the music is performed for paying

patrons and, often, tourists. In this setting, as well as the recording studio, songs that once lasted at least 45 minutes in the rural or fandango were shortened to a performance length between three and four minutes for modern, urban audiences and commercial recordings (Cardona 215). Son Jarocho's presentation was also standardized in this period.

Musicians began dressing in all-white for performance. Some musicians have called this form of dressing an attempt to sanitize or bleach the dark-skinned, coastal musicians of indigenous heritage (Camastra 49; Cardona 229; Pérez Monfort 150-151; Rodríguez and Braojos). Along with radio performances and commercial recordings, Son Jarocho was performed in films and later on televised variety shows.

Through film, television, and audio recordings, Son Jarocho's popularity continued to spread outside not only the Sotavento and Mexico City, but also in the American Southwest. The many ethnic enclaves of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans throughout the Southwest, notably Los Angeles, were hospitable and profitable for professional, touring musicians. The recording facilities in Los Angeles also made the city attractive to musicians, many of whom put down roots in Los Angeles, if not permanently, at least for a short while. For example, Andrés Huesca had a home in East Los Angeles and died there.

As Mexico underwent socio-economic changes in the 1960s and 1970s and widespread popularity for Son Jarocho waned, the Sotavento region was affected (González 366; Sheehy 13). Though there was a population of jarochos and Son Jarocho musicians in Mexico City, performing daily and nightly for paying audiences, the Sotavento suffered. The migration of musicians and potential musicians to Mexico City

directly attributed to a decline in rural musicians and the upholding of unique, rural traditions. There is a generation of jarochos who did not experience fandangos in the rural areas of the Sotavento. In the 1970s, musicians, researchers, and academics went to the rural areas and sought to record and document the various styles of Son Jarocho and prevent further cultural loss (González 366; Sheehy 13). This period is now regarded as “El Rescate,” literally the rescue, and prompted the “Movimiento Jaranero,” or jaranero movement, which is considered a wide-spread, international grassroots movement of musicians to preserve Son Jarocho (Cardona 216-217; González 374).

While the rescate was underway, Chicanos in the Southwest had already commenced their own cultural “rescate” through civil rights protests, demonstrations and political organizing. Along with political action, the period saw a public appreciation among Chicanos for Mexican music and culture. This appreciation materialized in the sounds of Chicano music and dance, as jarocho zapateado became standard elements in baile folklorico groups. *Si Se Puede!*, the 1976 record to benefit the United Farm Workers union featured a recording of the son jarocho standard “El Tilingo Lingo,” by Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles. Later known as Los Lobos, the Chicano rock group is pivotal to the emergence of son jarocho among Chicanos. During the same period, Chicano Son Jarocho groups existed north of Los Angeles, in Ventura County (Montes, 2010).

Large-scale American audiences were re-introduced to Son Jarocho in 1987 with the release of the film *La Bamba*, based on the life of the first Mexican-American rock n’roll star, Ritchie Valens, and written and directed by Luis Valdez, of El Teatro

Campesino. Chicano rock icons Los Lobos re-recorded “La Bamba,” originally a *sones jarocho*, for the soundtrack. At the end of the recording, as the rock n’roll version ends, for no more than ten seconds, a more traditional version of “La Bamba” can be heard as performed by Los Lobos. Long after the success of “La Bamba,” the group continued to play *Son Jarocho*, most notably on the group’s 1987 Grammy-winning release “La Pistola y El Corazon.” In 1992, the group released its lauded, experimental record “Kiko.” A recording that is often highlighted is “Saint Behind the Glass.” Featuring a harp performance by Fermin Herrera, the music is an interpretation of “El Pajaro Cu.” Herrera and his family comprise the *Son Jarocho* ensemble *Conjunto Hueyapan de la Familia Herrera*. The family has been performing urban-style *Son Jarocho* for decades. In the 1970s, the family traveled to Mexico City to study under Lino Chávez and his group, considered one the most influential *Son Jarocho* groups of the tradition (Herrera, 2010). The Herrera family is largely recognized, though seldom documented, as the individuals who have maintained the popularity and presence of *Son Jarocho* north of Los Angeles in Ventura County and the San Fernando Valley (Montes, 2010).

Elements of *Son Jarocho* continue to be adapted by Chicano and Latino rock groups throughout the United States (Díaz-Sánchez 145; González 368-373; Loza 181; Viesca 728). *Jarana*, *requinto*, harp and *tarima* have become part of arrangements while *Son Jarocho* melodies have been used and re-purposed in Chicano rock songs and lyrical elements of *Sones Jarochos* have been inserted into Chicano songs. Covers, or re-recordings, of *sones jarochos* have occurred in various genres, from punk rock to hip hop.

The influence is mutual. Since the 1970s, a very literal dialogue has been occurring between Chicano and Jarocho musicians (Cardona 224-226; González 366). Chicanos are not unusual in Veracruz or Mexico City as students of Son Jarocho and Jarocho musicians. Chicanos are regular performing members of established Son Jarocho ensembles. Likewise, Jarocho musicians work outside their genre with Chicano groups in the United States (Gonzalez 372). There are multiple recordings of the fusions as well as recordings of Chicanos participating in traditional rural fandangos.

Fandangos have been staged in the United States across the southwest, including Los Angeles, Santa Ana, Santa Barbara, and San Diego (Gonzalez 374; Loa 78). Currently, there are nearly one dozen regularly performing Son Jarocho groups in Southern California comprised of Chicanos. In the greater Los Angeles area, Son Jarocho classes, both private and group lessons, are available. Musicians, activists, and scholars have used the lessons of the fandango as post-colonial, anti-capitalist form of community experience and expression in the United States (Cardona 228; Díaz-Sánchez XX; Gonzalez 373).

Since 2002, Chicana and Chicano interest in Son Jarocho has focused on the fandango and the fandanguero-style, or fandango style of Son Jarocho. The fandango was a banned gathering under the Spanish Colonial period in Mexico, but Jarochos continued to gather to play, sing, and dance despite official condemnation from the church (Sheehy 17). The practice survived the inquisition, Mexico's Spanish colonial-era and countless political epochs since. The significance of the fandango cannot be understated. The fandango has been interpreted not only as a place of communal convivial gathering, but

also a site to lyrically protest abuse and oppression, such as the church, government, and, recently, capitalism. For field workers from the Sotavento, the fandango and music were one of the few places of joy and happiness (Camastra 42; Ramos Arizpe 94). There is no cost to participate in the fandango. As long as one is able to travel to the fandango, participation is free and open to all.

The history of the fandango has become a model for Chicanas and Chicanos. Fandangos have been staged during protests and picket lines. For example, there were mini-fandangos during the 2010 Immigrants Rights marches on May 1. Fandangos were organized at the South Central farm, the largest urban farm in the United States, during a protracted battle to preserve the farm. The farm was one of the only places for fresh produce in Los Angeles' urban South Central district. The farm was razed in 2006 by Los Angeles city officials. The significance of fandangos was not merely musical gatherings, which exist among punks, rock musicians, jazz musicians, hip hop, and other genres. For many, such gatherings were political statements of support and alignment with immigrants, Mexicans, and the underclass. During this period, Chicanas and Chicanos began to call themselves jaraneras and jaraneros.

For Chicanas and Chicanos currently practicing Son Jarocho in the greater Los Angeles-area, their experience and identity must be contextualized within American, and specifically California and South Western, political history. During the entire lifetimes of the Chicanas and Chicanos currently playing, learning and performing Son Jarocho in the greater Los Angeles-area, there have been numerous legislative attacks on the Chicano and Mexican community. In 2010, Arizona's SB 1070 and 2281 were direct attacks on

immigrant communities and Chicana and Chicano studies. A few years earlier Congress passed House Bill 4437, the Border Protection, Anti-Terrorism, and Illegal Immigration Control Act of 2005, which prompted massive student protests in the Spring of 2006, culminating in millions marching on May 1st in defense of immigrants. In 2000, California passed the Gang Violence and Youth Crime Prevention Act, also known as Proposition 21, which prosecuted many young men as adults if the crime was connected to gang activity. In 1994, California voters passed proposition 187, which prevented immigrants from accessing public health care and education in California. Though an injunction against the law was filed within days of its passage, it took another five years to kill the law.

Chicano Son Jarocho and Chicana and Chicano jaranera and jaranero identity cannot be understood outside local, state, and national initiatives and actions that have been interpreted as reactive, racist, and oppressive against Mexican immigrants, Latinos, and Chicanas and Chicanos. The aforementioned legislative acts all occurred *after* the Chicano Rights Movement. All of these bills were passed and voted in rooms with elected officials whom were veterans of the Chicano Rights movement. More than 40 years later, the concerns of the movement still haunt Chicana and Chicano communities. Like their parents, uncles, aunts, and grandparents before them, Chicana and Chicano identity is forged in the cauldron of American history and politics. For many, like generations before, acculturation strategies are not a choice of free will as much as they are a response to the acculturation strategies and policies of the dominant American culture. In light of the selected anti-Latino policies of the past 20 years, multiculturalism

is clearly not an American policy. At best, the melting pot theory is an option, but segregation and exclusion are more explicit strategies expressed within vehemently anti-Latino policies.

The narrative of being a Chicana and Chicano jaranero, of performing on behalf of the South Central Farm, for immigrants rights, for incarcerated youth, and in support of the Chicana and Chicano community, is a direct response to conservative politics and to aggressive acculturation strategies. Calling oneself a jaranero or jaranera and incorporating a Mexican and Chicano history of music and resistance into ones identity in such a political climate is a statement against acquiescence to authority and acculturation demands. It is a statement of self and projection of politics and experience.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Focus Group

For the purpose of studying jaranera and jaranero identification among Chican@s as an acculturation strategy, I chose focus groups as my methodology. In this section, I review the historical use of focus groups for research, its development as a method and its strengths. In conclusion, I explain why focus groups are the best tool for this research.

The modern use of focus groups for scientific research began in 1941 when Robert Merton assisted Paul Lazarsfeld in testing audience responses to war-time radio propaganda at Columbia University's Office of Radio Research (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 898; Madriz 114; Merton 553). The test audience was asked to press one of two buttons to indicate their response – either positive or negative – to the radio broadcast (Merton 552). Merton and Lazarsfeld wanted to know why respondents reacted as they did (Merton 553). Following the test broadcast, the audience was interviewed in small groups – between a dozen and 20 people. Merton and Lazarsfeld created a set of qualitative data from the interviews to compliment the quantitative data created by the test broadcasts.

This method of small, group interviews focused on the results of quantitative data, which Merton termed 'The Focussed¹⁰ Interview,' was later practiced on various groups, including army soldiers. Merton explained the focussed interview and focus groups as:

¹⁰ Spelling correct. See Merton's *The Focussed Interview and Focus Groups: Continuities and Discontinuities*.

“...a set of procedures for the collection and analysis of qualitative data that may help us gain an enlarged sociological and psychological understanding in whatsoever sphere of human experience (565).”

Some of Merton’s recommendations, now over 50 years old, are still recognized as key components of the focus group process. For example, Merton recommends a socially and intellectually homogenous interview group (*The Focused Interview* 137). Very simply, in a homogenous group, respondents are more likely to be comfortable and contribute to the discussion. Any sense of discomfort or intimidation will inhibit discussion.

Neither Merton nor Lazarsfeld termed their method a “Focus Group” (Merton 563). The term became a common expression among marketing and advertising groups that referred to the use of the focussed interview as a method. Merton has stated the findings from focus groups should be used with the results of quantitative research on the same subject and limited to generating new hypotheses that, in turn, require further testing (557). In a 1986 speech, Merton said the misuse and abuse of focus groups by market research largely lies in the problem of taking “merely plausible interpretations” from group interviews and treating the results as “reliably valid” in predicting how consumers or subjects will respond (557).

Within the social sciences, the focus group, as a method, emerged in various forms in the mid-1960s. Most notably, critical education philosopher Paulo Freire used focus groups as the foundation of his pedagogy of the oppressed (100). These group discussions, or dialogic groups, led to the creation of literacy groups, which focused on literacy and also acted as consciousness-raising groups (CRGs) with the possibility for

political engagement (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 889). In this setting, focus groups have the potential to act as sites for “collective struggle and social transformation” (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 892). What focus group researchers have found since Freire is that the focus group often becomes a site where individuals can share their experiences, revealing not only shared experiences among the individuals assembled, but also sharing advice and strategies. The individuals leave the group not only with a new vantage of their daily lives and issues at hand, but also have a newfound sense of community and support system. For individuals living with violence, abuse, sexism, racism, classism, and other forms of oppression, the focus group becomes a source of strength and support.

Influenced by the consciousness-raising group models pioneered by Freire, second-and third-wave feminists used focus groups as a method to document the lives and experiences of women, gather in group settings with the potential for social transformation and as a site from which theory can be created (Kitzinger 108). Women’s focus groups are seen as “a form of collective testimony” to recover knowledge from women’s daily, lived experience and generate feminist theory (Madriz 115). Feminist scholars affirm that a heterogeneous focus group might prevent members from speaking openly and thus have been careful to select groups along race, gender, sexual orientation, class, immigration, and linguistic similarities (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 903; Madriz 121). This reflects Merton’s concerns and recommendations. This concern is crucial because the success of a focus group hinges on member participation. If a member, or members, are nervous, feel intimidated by others, or are otherwise unwilling to participate, the group becomes fractured, thus affecting an ability to create theory,

document experience, and assist in social transformation. By carefully monitoring the group's dynamics, the focus groups are arranged to encourage participation, prompting dialogue, and discussion, which later leads to collective action and reinforcement or creation of theories.

A key feature and strength of the focus group is the interaction between research participants that might not otherwise be achieved in an in-depth, one-to-one interview (Kitzinger 105). The use of "pre-existing groups" – groups of friends, family, and colleagues – allows researchers to extract "fragments" of interactions that might otherwise only be captured in field observations because of the friendships and established relationships between the research subjects (Kitzinger 105). The targeting of pre-existing groups acknowledges the value and significance of the groups shared, lived experience (Kitzinger 105). In the group setting, word choices, jokes, references, and anecdotes are telling aspects of a community and its members. Kitzinger states:

"Group work ensures that priority is given to the respondent's hierarchy of importance, *their* language and concepts, *their* frameworks for understanding the world (108)."

Also key to feminist focus group methods is the practice that focus groups can decentralize the role of the researcher, creating a more equal or horizontal relationship between subjects, or sources, and researcher (Kamberelis and Dimitriadis 903; Kitzinger 106; Madriz 120-121). This means, in a group setting, the researcher is less likely to assume a position of authority or higher status by virtue of the dynamics that often accompany research among subjects not accustomed to such interest. This is achieved, or can be achieved theoretically, by the group dynamic and setting.

Over the past 30 years, the prevalent approach to studying acculturation psychology was through surveys. The method assigned values to a subject's social and psychological position based on responses to questions about language use and cultural practices, among other things (Cabassa 142; Keefe and Padilla 3; Marín, Organista and Chun 211). One of the critiques of this approach has been the inability to measure changes over time, as acculturation strategies shift (Cabassa 135; Chirkov, *Critical psychology of acculturation* 102). Sociologists from the early to mid-20th century largely studied acculturation through ethnographic models. This approach, however, did not include reflection or introspection by the subjects. Those who were written about were told what conclusions were drawn from their lives – the subjects had no input. In the past few years, critical approaches have been proposed to counter this (Chirkov, *Summary of the criticism of the potential ways to improve acculturation psychology* 178 – 180).

Reflecting an inter-disciplinary approach, one psychologist has studied acculturation by closely following Indian families, combining both ethnography and interview techniques. In a special issue of the *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, James Cresswell proposed combining the theory of intentionality and speech genres with ethnography to study individual acculturation strategies (165). Both approaches inform my research. Both approaches seek to document subject information on intentional acts, the ordering of lives, and the context which led to intentional acts. Rather than a researcher applying her or his own interpretation of individual acculturation strategies, the subjects explain the why, how, when, and what that has ordered their identity and acculturation strategies. In such a study, interviews are ideal, as they delve

deep into an individual's response. However, interviews are best with a small group of individuals being studied.

I am looking at a cultural phenomenon and rather than look at a few individuals, to document the experience, I am seeking to create a patchwork of voices that are part of the same phenomenon. Though in-depth interviews are important, focus groups work better for the purpose of studying jaranero and jaranera identity among Chicanas and Chicanos for a few reasons. First, I am seeking to document a group experience. Under theories of intentional states and speech genres, to identify as a jaranera or jaranero, such identity must have meaning and history outside individuals and within the individual's greater community. The context – current and past – is important to studying identity via intentional states and speech genres. This context must be shared and universal to be reflective of a community. Second, there may be a theory or ideology at place within identification as a jaranero or jaranera. To grasp a greater understanding, this theory or ideology must come from the ground up, from those that use it. Focus groups are sites of creation for theory from personal experience. In this setting, focus groups are important. Furthermore, within a group setting, subjects may be more comfortable. As they are more comfortable, they are more likely to use their own language, their own inside-references, and their own humor which might not be apparent if the interview is between an individual and a researcher. In this sense, the researcher's authority is decentralized by the group, creating more of a natural discussion among subjects than a clearly recorded dialogue of question and answer. From these moments, insight that might otherwise be

unobtainable appears. This is why a focus group is the best research method to study jaranero identification as an acculturation strategy among Chicanas and Chicanos.

Sampling

A sampling frame of Los Angeles-area jaraneras and jaraneros is possible, but time consuming and subject to constant change. Therefore, I used a cluster sampling from three sites where Chicano Son Jarocho groups are based, practice, perform, and teach Son Jarocho -- the Eastside Café¹¹, Tia Chuchas¹², and El Centro Cultural de Mexico¹³. From these three sites, focus groups were formed and comprised of local Chicanas and Chicanos that play Son Jarocho and identify as jaranera or jaranero.

To recruit the focus group members, I contacted a member from each site. As a musician, I know many of the Los Angeles-area jaraneros and jaraneras and have contact information from pre-existing relationships and thus a contact with each group and site. I asked my contact for permission to attend a meeting or practice. At the meeting or practice, I introduced myself and my study. Then I asked for volunteer participation in focus groups from each site or group.

Initial contact prompted critical introspection and discussion among some members, who had never considered the meaning of the term ‘jaranero’ and for the first time, in their words, began to critically inspect the implied meaning among Chicanas and Chicanos of the term “jaranera” and “jaranero” as well as self-inspection of why the individual themselves were attracted to the music. Even before tape recording began,

¹¹ 5469 Huntington Drive N., Los Angeles, CA 90032.

¹² 13197-A Gladstone Ave., Sylmar, CA 91342.

¹³ 313 N. Birch St., Santa Ana, CA 92701.

subjects were anxious to discuss the issue, not only for the sake of my research, but for their own understanding. Some sources said my proposal coincided with internal discussions and proposed initiations of internal group dialogue. It seems my research benefits not only my own curiosity and interest, but the interest and critical needs of Chicana and Chicano jaraneras and jaraneros.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

Understanding Jaranera@ Identity

Son Jarocho, the music of Mexico's Sotavento region can be heard in Chicana and Chicano communities throughout the greater Los Angeles region. Within those communities are scores of Chicanas and Chicanos who identify as jaraneras or jaraneros. This phenomena alone warrants documentation and consideration within the ongoing narrative of the Chicana and Chicano experience in the American Southwest. However, mere documentation doesn't explain what it means to call oneself a jaranera or jaranero. An understanding of Chicanas and Chicanos whom identify as jaraneras and jaraneros begins with basic reporting: asking those very individuals to define the term in their own words. Their responses reveal traumatic and painful histories of discrimination that stem from personal experience of seeking their space in society. This social attempt to find a place of their own, or at least where they feel they belong, can be understood within the context of acculturation psychology, or the individual experience of multiple cultures coming into direct, constant contact. From a critical perspective, this experience is not only an attempt to find their place in existing social hierarchy, but also a response to the way the individual has been treated within the existing social hierarchy. Chicana and Chicano jaranera and jaranero identity speak more about individual and communal experiences rather than ones role in a musical ensemble.

When asked about the significance of the term jaranera or jaranero, it was rare that respondents initially described it as a person who plays the jarana, the guitar-like

instrument at the heart of Son Jarocho's rhythm. Rather, what often came forward first during these focus groups were discussions about politics: personal, communal, and structural. Among the members of these focus groups, to call oneself a jaranera or jaranero is a political statement tied to liberal and radical politics of inclusion and solidarity with those in struggle, whether it is movements for immigrant rights, feminism, organizing against police abuse, or retaining cultural heritage under the pressure of American culture and social hierarchies. There is recognition that a jaranera or jaranero is also someone that plays the jarana. However, among the Chicanas and Chicanos that comprise the focus groups of this research, the term jaranera and jaranero means more than simply one's role in a Son Jarocho ensemble. The understanding of a jaranera or jaranero among these Chicanas and Chicanos reveals a complex of meanings that extends beyond the actual instrument and musician. This is evident of what Mikhail Bakhtin calls a speech genre: an utterance, or statement, that is tied to social and cultural contexts (Bakhtin 69). Speech genres are unique to specific communities and cultures within any given society. In this setting, the definition of a jaranera and jaranero is unique to Chicanas and Chicanos in the greater Los Angeles region.

Exploring and documenting the meanings of the term jaranera or jaranero begins with the recognition of speech genres of Chicana and Chicano communities in the greater Los Angeles region. The development and understanding of a term and concept within any given culture cannot spring from an individual alone but must be grounded in the vocabulary of a community as well as the community's history and ideology (Cresswell 165-167). It is important to note that few of the respondents had previously discussed

with other Chicanas and Chicanos their definition and understanding of a jaranera or jaranero, yet the results of the various focus groups reveal assumptions and understandings shared by individuals across the focus groups. Assumptions of the jaranera and jaranero as an individual committed to cultural struggle, resistance, and progressive political projects were largely universal among the focus groups. Consider the following statements about what it means to be a jaranera or jaranero. The individual describes, in Spanish and English, what she understands to be a jaranero.

“Whether it be through dancing, through singing or through playing it and being able to share that with other people and it is to me also a form of resistance because it is fighting, you know, a system that has tried to make us forget about all this, of this history. And that’s a shame that we have. That it has been tried to be eradicated and it’s a fight to make sure that doesn’t happen and to make sure that is there for next generations to come and to being able to give back to anyone. Like, to me, that’s what jaranero is: there for the struggle of helping us survive and is there helping to share it in whatever way and whatever the goal. To me, there is no goal, so you know; it’s whoever joins in the son y que lo cante, y si solo lo canta que lo cante, y si solo lo baila que lo baile, pero, it’s shared and it becomes part of them, even if it’s just for a moment or if it’s for a lifetime.”

[and what you can sing, you sing, all that you can dance, you dance.¹⁴]

The respondent does not describe a musician nor someone who has studied the son or grown up in the fandango tradition. While the statement references participation in song, dance and the fandango, Son Jarocho’s communal participatory experience, the jaranero is part of a greater struggle for Chicana and Chicano memory – individual and collective –, for Chicana and Chicano autonomy, and cultural survival. The jaranero in Los Angeles’ Chicana and Chicano communities is not just part of a musical ensemble: the jaranero, according to this respondent, is part of a struggle. The Chicana and Chicano

¹⁴ Translations by author with assistance from Rebecca T. Sánchez.

jaranero and jaranera in the Los Angeles area is an activist with an instrument in her or his hand.

To further complicate the matter, the respondent later acknowledges the musical aspect of what it means to be a jaranero: a person that plays the jarana. In this regards, the individual does not consider herself a jaranera. Acknowledging the literal definition of a jaranera or jaranero, the individual states that the term jaranero is a term reserved for what she called “maestros de la jarana” – jarana masters and instructors. Yet, as exemplified by this subject, the term jaranero is not merely a literal term, but, at least among Chicanas and Chicanos in and around Los Angeles, denotes a specific political worldview and commitment. The Chicana or Chicano jaranera or jaranero in Los Angeles is not a musician in the ensemble, but an individual in active resistance to a social system that, according to the respondent, wants to divide peoples and communities. A different person explores this idea further.

“Para mí, la idea de jaranero significa una forma de tener el corazón abierto. Y, una forma secuente de que estamos en resistencia, yo me siento como en resistencia de un sistema que nos quiere dividir, y sentir que podemos ser dueños de muchas cosas. No soy el dueño de la música, entonces cuando venimos y compartimos nos recuerda que venimos de algo más grande que nosotros. Entonces, para mi es una resistencia, al mismo tiempo resisto a algo más grande que yo. Al mismo tiempo mantener el corazón abierto y invitar más personas que puedan ver el mundo.”

[For me, the idea of a jaranero means having an open heart and it is a way to continue in resistance. I feel we are in resistance to a system that wants to divide us and I feel that we can own many things. I do not own the music, but when we come together and share, we remember that we come from something greater than all of us. Then, for me, it's a resistance, at the same time, resisting something greater than I. At the same time we must maintain an open heart and invite more people to come see this world.]

For the term jaranera or jaranero to be included within the speech genre of Los Angeles-area Chicanas and Chicanos, based on Bakhtin's theory, the term and its multiple definitions must be shared by members of a community. As noted earlier, even though the members of the focus groups never discussed their understanding of the term jaranera or jaranero, there were universal interpretations of the term. The previous quotes display the definition or understanding of a jaranero: as both an activist and a musician within an ensemble. The following quote shows how this definition is expected when jaraneras or jaraneros meet others that play the jarana. Specifically, there is an assumption of progressive politics and a commitment to social justice when meeting another individual who plays the jarana and identifies as a jaranero or jaranera. There is the assumption of one committed to a struggle or movement.

“Por ejemplo, jaraneros – al toparme con un jaranero siento como una conexión de que – ‘Oh, Chido, tú también tocas jarana como si es algo político, crítico y que alguna conexión a un proyecto más grande, ¿no?’”

[For example, jaraneros – when I bump into a jaranero I feel there is a connection ‘Oh, cool, you play jarana as well?’ and that this something political, critical and connected to a bigger project, right?]

The subject, in Spanish, succinctly explains that when she meets another jaranero, there is an assumption of an individual that has a critical approach to politics and that the jarana – and playing Son Jarocho – is exemplary of a political statement or connected to a critical political project. This statement establishes a second stage, or phase, of a speech genre: the assumptions and unstated understanding of activism and critical politics that one jaranera or jaranero has in meeting another person who uses that term. The first two respondents describe what is meant by the term jaranera or jaranero – an activist as well

as a musician. The third statement underscores the implications of the term in community – not only among those that employ this understanding of the term themselves but also in relation to others that play jarana. As another subject will describe, this understanding of the term jaranero and jaranera extends beyond those that play and call themselves a jaranero or jaranera. The political and social assumptions, among Chicanas and Chicanos, of the term jaranera and jaranero is understood by observers and those outside this group of jaraneras and jaraneros. Very simply, this term and its understanding exist beyond the people who employ it. This term and its assumptions of radical politics are recognized by others.

The instruments, the music, the jaraneras, and jaraneros have the potential to symbolize self-pride as well as pride in their heritage as Latinos, Chicanos, Mexicans and Indigenous people, according to the following subject and the subject's statement. The image and example of young women and men playing jaranas, playing Son Jarocho, and calling themselves jaraneras and jaraneros is a radical statement of self-autonomy and self-determination among Chicanas and Chicanos in the Los Angeles area. This understanding and assumption extends to some audience members, or those outside musical ensembles and fandangos, according to the following statement. For the term jaranera or jaranero and its multiple definitions, as understood and stated by the members of these focus groups, to be part of Los Angeles Chicano speech genre, the term cannot exist solely among those that call themselves jaraneras or jaraneros, but must also be accepted in the communities where these subjects reside, socialize, and interact. The following statement looks at a jaranera or jaranero from the perspective of the audience.

“Let’s say, for example, we just had this urge to start singing and create a band. Aside from Son Jarocho, if we picked up guitar and bass and I learned the drums, would that have the same affect, to me, as Son Jarocho, as well as to the people we share it with? I think it doesn’t. I think it wouldn’t. I think there’s a definite tie to the organic instruments that we’re playing that does give us the identity, ourselves, of our roots, of where we came from historically. There’s a definite significance in playing Jarocho to my identity and my ties to the motherland. I’m not playing mariachi, which I suppose could be the same thing. I never did the baile. The ties that Chicanismo has to resistance, resistance of a culture, and assimilation – to me, Son Jarocho has been about resistance. And there are folks who I have talked to where it hasn’t been the case to them. It’s been about the music and about the tradition, which is dope too, but to me, and when I learned it and when I taught it and the first time I’ve seen it, and what I want to continue to do, is that even if there is a small truth to Jarocho being part of a resistance movement, that’s the piece I want to highlight because that what it means to me.”

The statement reveals that the understanding of a jaranera and jaranero – as an individual committed to political causes, including the rights and self-autonomy of Latinas, Latinos, Chicanas, and Chicanos – is not merely in the minds of those whom call themselves jaraneras and jaraneros. The subject states that the meaning – symbolic and literal – of a jaranera and jaranero is poignant not only among those whom identify as such, but also with “the people” who watch the individuals play Son Jarocho, whom the subject identifies as “the people we share it with.” The subject doubts there would be the same interest from audiences if the group was a rock band. The subject states that there would not be the same interest because, unlike an electric bass guitar, the jarana is endowed with a sense of history – both Mexican and Chicano. That history is then passed along to the jaranera and jaranero, according to the subject, and is connected to the individual’s identity.

From the perspective of the individuals who formed the focus groups, the term jaranero and jaranera, at least among Chicanas and Chicanos in Los Angeles, is

understood to mean more than its literal definition. The term jaranera and jaranero encompasses a commitment to liberation politics, struggle, and community activism as well as one's role in a musical ensemble, performing group, and/or musical ability. This complex of meanings is indicative of a speech genre that is particular to a community, in this case Chicanas and Chicanos in the Los Angeles region. Speech genres cannot exist merely in the circles of individuals that use terms with multiple meanings, but must also be understood in the communities from where these individuals come. This term, with its political implications, is indeed understood by those who do not identify as a jaranera or jaranero, according to one subject. The community is identified as "the people we share it with." Now, let us further explore the roots of how identity as a jaranera or jaranero among Los Angeles-area Chicanas and Chicanos is associated with political action. The following section examines the ordering of experience within a social group and an individual within said group.

Jaraner@ Identity as Resistance

For the Chicanas and Chicanos who comprise the focus groups for this research, the act of learning, playing, and performing Son Jarocho is an act of resistance. For the Chicanas and Chicanos who comprise the focus groups for this research, the decision to learn and play Son Jarocho is partially a reaction to a social system that divides communities. To call oneself a jaranera or jaranero, according to members of the focus groups, is to identify with critical politics and it is an affront to assimilation. This phenomenon of resistance must be critically inspected and understood to fully grasp the phenomenon of jaranera and jaranero self-identification.

To critically understand resistance as it relates to an individual's identity, I examine the experience of the individual through culturally sensitive psychology. Culturally sensitive psychology looks at the individual and the context of the individual's action to understand the individual's experience. As Bruner states, we must ask "what people *say* their worlds are like." (16). To understand jaranera and jaranero identity, I must ask the subjects how they understand what they are doing in calling themselves jaraneras and jaraneros. I must ask these individuals how they understand the experiences that have caused them to identify as a jaranera or jaranero. I must ask them to explain how they understand what others have done to them and how that impacts their understanding of themselves (Bruner 16).

The emphasis on resistance and liberation in regards to playing Son Jarocho and jaranera and jaranero identity comes from the lived experience of the jaraneras and jaraneros and how that experience is understood. To understand their lived experiences and its connection to jaranera and jaranero identity, we must ask how the individual's understand their lived experience. Not simply what they did, but why; we must ask what caused these individuals to act as they do. Furthermore, we must not only ask how they understand their experience as individuals, but how each individual understands their experience within the context of the community they claim as their own. We must ask the subjects to explain their understanding of their individual experience within a collective experience (Bruner 47). This understanding of their lives – this ordering of experiences that in turn prompts actions on the part of the individual and her or his community – is what Jerome Bruner calls intentional states.

Within the collective experience of Los Angeles-area Chicanas and Chicanos who identify as jaraneras and jaraneros, there is a haunting sense of loss – loss of language, loss of family, and loss of a sense of culture. In most cases, that loss is tangible. For example, some subjects regret their inability to speak Spanish, their first language. They explain this is partially the result of having been raised in a culture that values English in the public setting. One subject discussed the sense of loss of family and specifically the inability to visit family in Mexico: having arrived without papers at the age of four, the subject cannot return to visit his family without risking his ability to come back to the United States. In some cases the subjects experience a sense of loss for something that may have never existed. For example, a mono-lingual English-speaking Chicana who was not raised speaking Spanish describes experiencing a sense of loss for a language she never spoke. Yet that sense of loss, even for something that may not have been lost, is no less significant to the individual's experience (Bruner 43). This feeling, specifically a sense of loss, nonetheless impacts their experience and specifically their understanding of their experience as individuals as well as members of a community. The feeling, and therefore the experience, is real.

For another subject, the loss, or intentional abandoning, of the Spanish-language is an experience that directly relates to his identity today as a Chicano jaranero in Los Angeles. In telling a story that could have come from the 1950s, the subject recalls the experience of fearing the repercussions of speaking Spanish, instead of English, at his public elementary school. This experience connects him to the Chicano narrative and experience of language oppression. This experience connects the individual to a greater

community experience of oppression. This experience, no matter how long ago, continues to affect the individual, specifically in understanding the way the subject identifies. This experience also affects the way in which this subject relates with younger people. The discussion of this experience began not from a formal question posed to the focus group, but as a response to the survey given to all focus group participants.

“When you ask me what was the language spoken in your house I think, shit, I remember my parents only speaking Spanish and I remember only speaking English, too. I remember in fourth grade, I remember I was speaking Spanish at school. I went to school in the San Gabriel Valley. They said if you keep speaking Spanish, a friend told me, you’re going to end up with all the stupid kids in ESL. I didn’t know what ESL was. All I knew was that was where the stupid kids went. So from then on, I didn’t want to speak Spanish anymore. I remember my mom used to tell me, ‘Pablo, if you speak Spanish, for a week, I’ll take you to Chucky Cheese.’”

At this point in the discussion, the subject’s brother spoke up: “No, it was 24-hours.”

“Was it 24-hours? Well, I couldn’t do it. I remember going to Mexico and we would sing Ana Gabriel songs. Even growing up, I listened to hip hop. I hated Mexican music. I grew this animosity, but then again, I never really knew – my dad wasn’t into music.”

The subject went on to explain that he also grew up listening to oldies – American pop music and rock n’ roll from the 1950s and 1960s. When the individual had a choice of what radio station to listen to while a teenager, the individual often chose local hip hop or alternative rock stations in Los Angeles. As a young person, the individual never chose to listen to Mexican or Spanish-language music. In fact, the subject states he had “animosity” towards Mexican music and Spanish-language music. Now this subject is a core member of a very popular Chicano Son Jarocho ensemble in the Los Angeles-area. The individual is also a youth organizer and focuses on working with students enrolled in

public high school. The subject draws on his experience of language oppression, of thinking it was wrong to speak Spanish and actively not speaking Spanish, to engage with youth who might experience the same. This experience actively guides his identification as a jaranero and what it means to be a jaranero.

The experience of language being lost, or actively abandoned, and later reclaimed as a source of pride is evident among young people, specifically Los Angeles Chicanas and Chicanos who identify as jaraneras and jaraneros, as well as their students. The experience of generations of Chicanos before – of being ordered to abandon Spanish – continues, unfortunately, with another generation of young people. For Los Angeles’ Chicana and Chicano jaraneras and jaraneros, Son Jarocho is a way to navigate the experience of the loss of Spanish. One subject, speaking in a focus group separate from the previous quoted individual, explains that young people, who don’t speak Spanish or are actively encouraged not to, find that the ability to speak, and sing, in Spanish is valued in Son Jarocho. The subject states:

“...the kids, they are growing up not knowing Spanish. I see it, like no entienden, muchas veces, los versos o no entienden palabras. Todos están cantando en Español. It’s cute, you know. Con El Colás, they love Colás and they’re singing it. They’ve memorized it already. So you could see esa semillita; se planto and como que you’ve opened their minds.”

[...the kids, they are growing up not knowing Spanish. I see it, like, they don’t understand the verses most of the time or they don’t understand the words. All of them are singing in Spanish. It’s cute, you know. With El Colás, they love Colás and they’re singing it. They’ve memorized it already. So you could see these little seeds that you’ve planted and it’s like you’ve opened their minds.]

The respondent expands on the idea that through Son Jarocho, “seeds” have been planted in the minds of the young person. Like the previous respondent who was told the

stupid kids spoke only Spanish, the respondent notes that her jarana students are taught in school to be ashamed of their heritage (see the following quote). This is a common collective experience. For Los Angeles' Chicana and Chicano Jaraneras and Jaraneros, Son Jarocho is an antidote to this lesson. The seed, as stated above, is the value of speaking Spanish. The seed is also a new found value and appreciation of their own culture and heritage.

“We’re talking about language. Son Jarocho is in Spanish, but I think it’s more than that. A lot of the kids come in and dicen sus nombres en Ingles. You know, they identify as Albert, not Alberto. You know, they pronounce it different because they’ve been fed in school to be ashamed of who you are. I think that Son Jarocho is helping with that; making a change in feeling comfortable in who they are and saying their name in Spanish ‘cause their dads say it like that.”

This greater experience of loss is not contained only to language. For many Chicanas and Chicanos, there is a sense of losing connection to the place from where our families come. One subject described the process within her own family. The experience, as she states in Spanish, is “strange”: she describes her cousins and note that while there is a loss of spoken Spanish as well as familial and social contact in Mexico, her cousins continue to identify as Mexican.

“Ahora, están todos en San Bernardino County y siguen, ósea, no son white washed. Tiene como una transformación rara, no, donde siguen siendo Mexicanos pero no hablando el español, ni conectándose tanto con México.”

[Now, all of them are in San Bernardino County and they continue to be who they are – they’re not white washed. They have changed, strangely, where they continue to feel Mexican but they don’t speak Spanish, nor are they connected to Mexico.]

The idea that someone can be Mexican, without maintaining personal connections to Mexico nor speaking Spanish, is strange to this subject. Yet at the same time, the

subject would not call her cousin's white washed, a euphemism that conveys a lost sense of culture, in this case Mexican culture, and assimilation. Yet this experience fits into a greater, collective narrative of the Chicana and Chicano experience. With an established context of the experience of Chicana and Chicano jaraneras and jaraneros, we can now begin to examine jaranera and jaranero identity as a strategy within critical acculturation psychology.

The way a person actively understands and mentally organizes an experience of the individual and the individual within a social group is how Bruner describes intentional states (40). The factual truth takes back seat to the feeling of an experience; the individual acts and reacts to that understanding of an experience. The intentional state of jaranera and jaranero identity among Chicanas and Chicanos in the Los Angeles region reflects individual and group experiences of oppression and specifically a sense of loss – loss of culture, language, and history. An understanding of intentionality and intentional states among Chicana and Chicano jaraneras and jaraneros in the Los Angeles region informs how jaranera and jaranero identity among Chicanas and Chicanos is ultimately a critical strategy of acculturation psychology.

Jaraner@ Identity and Critical Acculturation Psychology

Critical acculturation psychology relies on a nuanced study of the context of an individual's experience in constant, daily contact with another culture or cultures – acculturation psychology. While the individual is invested with agency during those interactions between another culture(s), that agency – specifically an individual's choices

and actions – must also be understood within the context of the dominant culture (Berry, *A critique of critical acculturation* 367). One of the most poignant critiques of acculturation psychology is the false premise of free-will in one's acculturation strategy. This critique has led to calls to acknowledge tension, discord, and social stigma while examining experiences of acculturation. The experience of Los Angeles-area Chicanas and Chicanos, historical, and within these focus groups, is fraught with tension, discord, and social stigma. The decision for many Chicanas and Chicanos to identify as a jaranera and jaranero ultimately rests not only upon one's role in a musical ensemble but also stems from a sense and commitment to activism that is connected to a series of events and situations in the individual's life, understanding of historic community experiences, and the experience of acculturation. This sense of activism is a response to feelings of shame and stigma for simply being themselves in a culture that devalues Chicano people, history, and heritage. This experience of shame and stigma echoes among generations and reverberates as a lived communal experience. The self-identification as a jaranera and jaranero may be understood from the vantage point of acculturation psychology: experiences of shame, anger, and loss are critically introspected. As a result, personal choices, including musical preference and statements of identity, reflect reactions to those experiences. Music, Son Jarocho in this case, and one's identity as a jaranera or jaranero becomes a rallying point for community self-affirmation and pride. To be a Los Angeles-area Chicana or Chicano jaranera or jaranero is a response to aggressive and invasive cultural forces.

For example, one subject explains the initial attraction and interest to Son Jarocho is largely because of a desired connection to a sense of Mexican identity, history, and heritage. For this person, living in Orange County and, at the time, attending a high school that was largely populated by Anglos and Asian-Americans, learning to play the jarana with other Latinas, Latinos, Chicanas, Chicanos, and Mexicans at a cultural center was a way to fulfill a sentimental longing or desire to stay connected to Mexico and Mexican culture. An immigrant from Mexico, neither her family nor her heritage originates in the Sotavento region. Nonetheless, the sound and eventual communal experience of Son Jarocho fulfill this desire to affirm her Mexican identity. She expresses herself very simply:

“Yo siempre me sentí muy Mexicana. Y eso fue lo que me llevó al centro fue lo que me llevó a la música; como el sentirme Mexicana.”

[I always felt very Mexican and because of this, I came to the center. I came to the music, which makes me feel Mexican.]

The subject states, in Spanish, that she always felt Mexican. Without dismissing her high school classmates or their own culture, she longed for a sense of her own culture and history. This is what brought her to the place where she learned to play Son Jarocho. Individual identity and a longing for a sense of community lead her to learn to play the jarana, to sing the sones jarochos, dance zapateado, and participate in fandango. This decision cannot be separated from her environment: this subject, after emigrating from Mexico, chose to learn Son Jarocho at a political community center while living in a conservative sector of Orange County and surrounded by Anglo and Asian-American students. Within Berry’s Matrix of acculturation psychology, the individual choice here

was one of integration, where she chose to embrace both her home or heritage culture as well as the dominant culture around her. This experience would be emblematic of a multicultural strategy of acculturation endorsed by the dominant culture. In that regard, her experience is unique among peers in her focus group.

Another subject offers a simple phrase to explain her understanding of her journey towards identifying as a jaranera: ‘I went through my phases.’ These ‘phases,’ as she puts it, are important because they highlight her individual agency within acculturation psychology. Her agency directly relates to social pressure and discrimination. Furthermore, her phases – ultimately her story and experience – reveal an understanding of identity that is fluid and unbound by four or eight categories of acculturative experiences. All this is understood and explained without uttering a psychology term or phrase.

The subject said her identity was a process of “phases.” These phases began by first identifying as Mexican, then Mixteca and later, Chicana: three unique understandings of herself that must be situated in the places – social and cultural – she lived. To understand these shifts, we need to examine how she understands her story. The subject was born in Oaxaca, one of Mexico’s poorest states. Oaxaca, not coincidentally, is also the Mexican state with the largest indigenous population. She moved to the United States as a young girl. In the United States, she called herself Mexican. This identity was bolstered by her parents and friends but also the result of social exclusion because of her use of the Spanish-language and the dark color of her skin. She never identified as an American – evidence of a social acculturation policy, or practice, of separation or

segregation, according to Berry. During college, she had a chance to study in Mexico – specifically at Tecnológico de Monterrey in Nuevo Leon. While studying as a foreign exchange student from the United States, she said that she was the target of racism because of the color of her skin – which is the color of dark chocolate. In a different setting, no longer besieged by American social policies or practices, the subject, again, experiences the same practice of separation – albeit in another language and culture. This experience, in Mexico, led her to identify with her indigenous heritage – specifically that of a Mixteca woman – rather than the nation-state of Mexico. Her identity is a response to social practices and acculturative policies in Mexico. Rather than identify as Mexican and identify with the very people that discriminate against her, despite her nationality and birth right, she responds by affirming the very target of her discrimination – her color and ancestry.

The experience of this participant corresponds with Padilla and Perez’s theory of the role of social stigma within the acculturative experience – embracing her heritage and identity as a result of the social stigma attached to it (48). Her indigenous identity, she explained, became her stated identity as a form of defiance and pride. After returning from Mexico, this individual began to take Chicano Studies courses in college, which prompted her to identify with Chicanas and Chicanos. Despite her bi-national identity, she never felt completely accepted in either the United States or Mexico. Chicana identity is that place where she exists. She explains:

“No me sentía parte de México, pero tampoco de acá. Y todavía, estoy como que en medio. Por eso que voy, paso por mis faces.”

[I don't feel a part of Mexico, nor here. All the time, I am in the middle. Because of this, I have passed through my phases.]

Within this experience, the jarana, an instrument from the Sotavento, in the hands of an activist, becomes a tool of struggle and a symbol of affirmation and pride. The jaranera is “down” for struggle; the type of struggle she faced and continues to face. Therefore, she is a jaranera.

The changes in one's identity – phases as the previous subject called them – are important to identify within the study of acculturation psychology and acculturative practices. While such ‘phases,’ or changes, reveal a more complex understanding than static identity once prescribed by scholars, it illustrates the agency of individuals that scholars once ignored. This agency is crucial as it connects the study of acculturation – a seemingly abstract concept – to greater political and social forces, thereby explaining social changes. The notion of ‘phases’ helps explain why an individual would identify as a jaranero. This individual's experience combines the traditional acculturation matrix of Berry as well as Padilla and Perez's theory of social stigma and its influence on acculturation psychology.

Like the previous subject, scholars must investigate an individual's background and lived experience to understand why one would identify as a jaranera or jaranero and how this identity can be understood as an acculturation strategy. The following subject consciously chose to stop speaking Spanish as an elementary student. In his daily life, this was a reaction to other students that warned him if he continued to speak Spanish, he'd be placed with “all the stupid kids in ESL.” Within Berry's theory of acculturation

psychology, this is an example of assimilation, in which the individual consciously chooses to abandon his heritage or home culture and embrace the dominant culture. This is constituted by halting to speak Spanish, even at home, and only speaking English. This manifests in other ways. For example, the individual, when given a choice, picked popular English-language music, such as rock and hip hop, over popular Mexican music. From a critical acculturation perspective, this is a response to dominant cultural practices of segregation and exclusion. Later in this individual's life, he notes profoundly reflecting on this experience and being able to articulate it only after he took a Chicano studies class. The individual began to critically reflect on his choices and why he acted as he did. At nearly the same time, in college, the individual is introduced to Son Jarocho. Allow him to explain what it meant to experience Son Jarocho:

“You learn three chords and now you can participate in a centuries old tradition of song, dance, love, and community. It's that shit that connects you. It opens the door to all these other philosophies and questions to ponder about resistance and love. It's accessible the way hip hop is accessible; the way technology is accessible. You learn three chords and you can join. You learn café con pan¹⁵ and you can dance. That's fucking dope. It counters everything that's on the radio; it counters everything that's on T.V., it counters everything that I was taught and at the same time it builds peoples esteem and sense of self and connection. It's really dope. The idea of autonomy: how do we do that shit in L.A.? How do we teach ourselves? How do we teach ourselves self-determination? We don't need a fucking school...the movimiento jaranero, for me, is synonymous with social justice.”

The individual has begun to challenge the dominant culture's practice of the melting pot (or also segregation and exclusion), in which his choice, or option, as an individual is to assimilate. The individual does not all-together reject the dominant

¹⁵ Literally “Coffee with bread” in Spanish, according to González, the phrase is “an onomatopoeic rhythmic phrase to get children and beginners to grasp the mechanics of the steps” (377). See “Zapateado Afro-Chicana Fandango Style.

society. Rather, he embraces elements of it, as well as his own heritage: the focus groups were conducted, largely, in English. This subject's experience reflects Berry's theory of integration into a multi-cultural society. However, based upon Padilla and Perez's work, this decision is informed by the subject's experiences of discrimination and racism. The jarana, Son Jarocho, and jaranero identity become a statement and symbol of this process and decision. The social experience of Son Jarocho, of participating in a centuries-old tradition with others, in the words of the subject, "counters everything that's on the radio; it counters everything that's on T.V., it counters everything that I was taught and at the same time it builds peoples esteem and sense of self and connection." The jarana, Son Jarocho, and jaranero identity, from this subject's experience, reflects his own experience rather than that of the music of the Sotavento. Within this context, the subject states: "the movimiento jaranero, for me, is synonymous with social justice." If ones considers the subjects acculturative experience, the fear of the stigma of being placed "with the stupid kids," and falling behind in the academic setting, later his decision to embrace his heritage, and identity through the jarana, for this individual the movimiento jaranero is not simply about music, but social justice, at an individual and community level.

For Chicanas and Chicanos in the greater Los Angeles region, to identify as a jaranera or jaranero is a decision molded by the individual experience of two or more cultures in constant, daily contact: acculturation psychology. This decision is not merely one of free choice, but one grounded in experiences of fear, oppression, and discrimination. The decision by Chicanas and Chicanos in the Los Angeles area to identify as a jaranera or jaranero is a critical response to acculturative strategies imposed

by greater American culture: demands to stop speaking Spanish, demands to relinquish ties to cultural heritage, and demands to assimilate. To further understand this phenomenon, we must also look to how Los Angeles Chicana and Chicano jaraneras and jaraneros understand their experience and history, as individuals and members of a community, within a social setting. We must understand the intentional states of Los Angeles Chicana and Chicano jaraneras and jaranero. Lastly, to understand how these experiences are condense into a single term – jaranera or jaranero – we must understand how Los Angeles Chicana and Chicano jaraneras and jaraneros, as well as members of their community, define, and understand the term jaranera and jaranero. This will be reviewed in the following chapter.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In 2012, there is an evident presence of the jarana and Son Jarocho within Chicana and Chicano communities in the Los Angeles-region. Along with Son Jarocho's popularity includes a wave of Chicanas and Chicanos whom identify as jaraneras and jaraneros. This research documents a portion of this phenomenon and explores the narrative – implied and assumed – by Chicanas and Chicanos whom identify as jaraneras and jaraneros. To further understand this phenomenon, the research examines the individual and social context in which jaranera and jaranero identity came to exist among Chicanas and Chicanos in Los Angeles.

With the proliferation of Son Jarocho within Chicana and Chicano communities, my research shows that a new conceptualization of the term jaranera and jaranero has emerged. The full-scope of the term's definition goes beyond the understanding of an individual's role in a musical ensemble or fandango. To call oneself a jaranera or jaranero reflects a stated commitment to politics of liberation, autonomy, and social justice, according to the subjects of my research. A jaranera and jaranero, according to the subjects, is committed to preserving and celebrating Mexican, Chicana, Chicano, and Latino history, culture, and language. For many Chicanas and Chicanos in Los Angeles, to call oneself a jaranera or jaranero is to be an activist with a musical instrument as her or his instrument for social justice: *mi jarana es mi fusil*¹⁶. Not only is this definition understood among jaraneras and jaraneros, but also it is recognized by those outside the fandango or watching a performance – audiences, other activists, and community

¹⁶ Son Del Centro. *Mi Jarana es mi Fusil*. Producciones Cimarron, 2006. CD.

members. The narrative implied and assumed by the term jaranera or jaranero reflect historic, group Chicano experiences as well as individual experiences of racism, discrimination, and acculturation. Yet, there have seldom been discussions among Los Angeles-area Chicanas and Chicanos about the assumptions and implications of the terms jaranera and jaranero. Even less have these discussions been documented. This research is the beginning of a scholarly attempt to record these assumptions and conceptual understanding of jaranero and jaranera. This research will assist others studying the same phenomenon.

Summary of Research

This research on Chicanas and Chicanos who identify as jaraneras and jaraneros is guided by three questions. The questions were devised based on critical approaches to acculturation psychology, which calls for an understanding of the historical and cultural context of an individual's agency within their own experience of multiple cultures coming into direct, continuous contact with one another, or acculturation psychology. In order to successfully engage the subjects, record their responses, and accurately document the language they would use with those close to them – as friends speak to one another – I organized focus groups among peers. In doing so, the research appeared and felt like a discussion rather than a one-on-one interview with a researcher. The questions and results follow as subpoints.

- What does it mean for a Chicana or Chicano to identify as a jaranera or jaranero?
For the Chicana or Chicano, in this study, to identify as a jaranera or jaranero is

largely a statement of politics and a commitment to social justice. When asked what is meant by the term jaranera or jaranero, the conversation largely began as a discussion of activism, commitment to political projects of social justice, self-autonomy, and cultural preservation. One subject states that jaraneras and jaraneros are “there for the struggle of helping us survive.” Another subject states that the movimiento jaranero is “synonymous with social justice.” While respondents agreed that the term also meant someone that played and was proficient on the jarana, the literal definition of the term – a person who plays the jarana – was not necessarily the initial response. Therefore, a new conceptual understanding of the term has emerged, grounded in the speech genre of the Chicanas and Chicanos who participated in this study.

- What is the historical and cultural context from which this identity springs? The context of Chicanas and Chicanos identifying as a jaranera or jaranero is critical to understanding what is meant by the participants identifying as a jaranera or jaranero. The decision to identify as a jaranera or jaranero largely follows life-long experiences of prejudice, discrimination, and racism. Jaranera and jaranero self-identity might also be understood within the theory of intentionality: the ordering of one’s experiences in hindsight. For one subject, this includes lifelong experiences of discrimination for the color of her skin color and indigenous heritage. For another subject, this includes the childhood fear of being punished in public school for speaking Spanish. Another subject, an immigrant, noted that the longing for being in contact with Mexican culture brought her to the place – a

cultural and political action center – where she learned to play the jarana. The individual experiences of prejudice, discrimination, and racism described by the subjects’ echo historic, communal experiences of oppression among family members, neighbors, and friends. By connecting themselves to historical experiences, the Chicana and Chicano jaraneras and jaraneros insert themselves into an ongoing narrative to define the Chicano experience, define themselves, and take pride in their heritage. Thus, historical and social context – both individual and group – is crucial to understanding how these Chicanas and Chicanos have come to identify as a jaranera and jaranero and why the terms imply more than their role in a musical ensemble.

- What is the intention of identifying as a jaranera or jaranero? The intention of identifying as a jaranera and jaranero, especially with the understanding that she or he is an activist committed to cultural and communal preservation, is largely a response to cultural practices and experiences of acculturation that have devalued and insulted the individual’s heritage, culture, language, and history. Subjects noted that for their students, jarana classes are public spaces where their Latino, Mexican, Chicana, and Chicano heritage, history and, specifically, the ability to speak Spanish, or re-learn Spanish, is celebrated and valued. This is in direct contrast to public school classes where students have learned “to be ashamed of who you are.” Building upon the theoretical work of Padilla and Perez, the very source of their own social stigma – being Chicanas and Chicanos in a social world that devalues spoken Spanish, Mexican, and Chicano culture – later emerges as a

source of pride and honor. In expressing themselves as jaraneras and jaraneros, their term of identification is a direct response to cultural practices that disregard and devalue Chicano culture. Chicana and Chicano jaranera and jaranero identity is a strategy of acculturation psychology.

Contributions to Existing Literature

This study of the social use of Son Jarocho, and specifically jaranera and jaranero identity, among Chicanas and Chicanos in the Los Angeles-area, will add to the existing literature in Chicano history, ethnomusicology and critical acculturation psychology. The ongoing narrative of the Chicana and Chicano experience in the Southwest requires constant and regular updates to the literature and academia. Certainly the growing numbers of Chicanas and Chicanos attracted to Son Jarocho whom identify as a jaranera or jaranero warrants not only documentation in the literature but in-depth discussion and theoretical grounding. My research is but one approach to documentation and theoretical application.

Along with adding to the ongoing historical documentation of the Chicana and Chicano experience in the American Southwest, this research is a response to the dearth of English-language literature on the history of Son Jarocho. Specifically, this research creates an English-language resource on Chicanas and Chicanos playing Son Jarocho and their uses of Son Jarocho and Son Jarocho instruments. The body of English-language work is slowly growing with the research of Chicana and Chicano scholars Russell Rodríguez, Martha Gonzalez, Micaela Díaz-Sánchez, Alexandro D. Hernández-Gutierrez,

and Stuyvie Bearns Esteva. However, this phenomenon – Chicanas and Chicanos identifying as jaraneras and jaraneros and studying Son Jarocho – is worthy of study and interest by researchers internationally. Ethnomusicologists, and specifically Mexican ethnomusicologists, cannot ignore this phenomenon that has grown steadily for decades.

Lastly, this study of jaranera and jaranero identification among Chicanas and Chicanos as a strategy of acculturation psychology is worthy of discussion and further research by psychologists and acculturation psychologists. Rodriguez notes that oppression resonates at the center of the Chicano experience (351). Scholars must acknowledge and study the role of oppression and the memory of oppression within the Chicano experience, as well as social stigma, as this profoundly affects relationships between individuals, social groups, and communities in daily, constant interaction between multiple cultures, whether in Los Angeles, San Fernando, or Santa Ana. Rather than seeking harmony as a signal of acculturation psychology and group interaction, recognition of discord and disharmony has been highlighted and studied by scholars in the study of acculturation psychology. Oppression and the memory, or perception of oppression, impacts an individual's, and community's, relationship with other groups. Certainly social stigma, oppression, and discrimination impacted the lives, experience, and identity of the Chicana and Chicanos in this study whom identify as jaraneras and jaraneros. There are real, tangible costs resulting from peoples – citizens, immigrants, and those in -between – who are, or feel, excluded from a society.

“...people without a sense of themselves (i.e. a cultural identity of their own, rooted in some degree of cultural maintenance), and who feel rejected by others (facing daily experiences of prejudice and discrimination) are exposed to significant psychological

costs in their own communities. Such a situation also imposes costs on the dominant society (in terms of social conflict and social control) (Berry, *Immigration, Acculturation and Adaptation* 29).”

Would the respondents of this study have felt and experienced an incorporation of Chicana and Chicano culture, history, and expression within the dominant culture; would they not have experienced discrimination for speaking Spanish, being born with dark skin or a longing for history and culture that was not apparent in their social setting; a jaranera or jaranero might only be understood as a musician in an ensemble or in the fandango rather than an expression of Chicana and Chicano self-determination. However, that was not the case, and the very source of their social stigma – their Chicana, Chicano, Mexican, and mixed heritage – becomes a source of pride expressed through the term jaranera and jaranero.

Limitations and Further Research

While this study of Chicana and Chicano identity among those who call themselves jaraneras and jaraneros will no doubt add to existing literature, its limitations must be noted. While the theme of this study was indeed Son Jarocho, it is not an exhaustive account of Son Jarocho among Chicanas and Chicanos and, therefore, should be seen as an introduction to events, themes, and history in the Los Angeles-area rather than a chronicle or complete historical study. Indeed, the next step, or companion, to this research is to organize an ethnomusical research project that documents the styles of performance, musical pedagogy, and transmission of culture among Chicana and Chicano jaraneras and jaraneros. A comparative research project looking at the use and transmission of Chicana and Chicano Mariachi musicians in comparison to Chicana and

Chicano musicians playing Son Jarocho is another approach researchers should consider. Furthermore, regarding the focus groups, the subjects of this research are portions of the students, instructors, and individuals from the centers they represent and in no way should be read as exemplary of every individual and every individual's experience. For example, one focus group was composed of an instructor and two assistants. The students were all minors and, therefore, ineligible for this research, according to the human subjects review board at CSU, Northridge. In another focus group, the organization was being evicted from its office and practice space, resulting in a smaller number of individuals able to participate. Furthermore, only one focus group was held at each location. The schedules of each organization, individuals, as well as the researcher impacted the ability to organize more focus groups.

In relation to acculturation psychology and the growing literature on critical acculturation psychology, the respondents revealed an understanding of identity that is fluid. The subjects themselves expressed an understanding of their own identity that disregards rigid identity categories. For example, many subjects saw their identity as a process that changed or grew over time. Many respondents used the word process or phase to describe their identity and growth. Such an understanding is contrary to static categories that seemingly remain the same over an individual's lifetime, such as Berry's matrix of acculturation psychology.

Along with fluid notions of identity, another topic of discussion worthy of further research is the Chicana and Chicano understanding and use of the fandango. Indeed, scholars in the United States, including Russell Rodríguez, Martha Gonzalez, Micaela

Díaz-Sánchez, Alexandro D. Hernández-Gutierrez and Stuyvie Bears Esteva, have begun to study fandango practices in the Sotavento as well as Chicana and Chicano communities. However, it became clear in the research that jaranera and jaranero identity was established alongside a specific understanding and use of the fandango as a social, public, and democratic space in which community members can participate, dialogue, and live together outside western institutions marked by the trappings of capitalism. For example, many respondents said “the idea” of the fandango attracted them to the sound of Son Jarocho, that “the idea” of being able to participate with only knowing three chords was appealing and exciting. This notion of the fandango existing outside capitalism must be understood in the context of typical musical gatherings for the subjects in which there is an entrance fee and items such as t-shirts, merchandise, recorded music, and other goods are sold. In the fandango, there is typically no cover charge and there is not typically anything for sale, unless the event is a fundraiser (which is common within Chicana and Chicano communities).

Another potential topic for further research is the external critique or, at least, curiosity, of musicians from the Sotavento who have watched the music of their culture take root and spread among Chicana and Chicano communities in the Los Angeles-area. Between 2009 and 2012, multiple established and respected groups from the Sotavento came to the Los Angeles-area to perform and offer Son Jarocho lessons and instruction. Though respectful, many individuals were critical of what was being done by Chicana and Chicano jaraneras and jaraneros. One musician reminded a group of Chicana and Chicano jaraneras and jaraneros that jarocho is a culture that has survived hundreds of

years. Just as Chicanas and Chicanos would be concerned of someone not from their experience calling themselves Chicana and Chicano, the musician said, Jarocho are also critical of outsiders proclaiming their culture and practices, including music, as their own.

Just as the external critique of Chicana and Chicano Son Jarocho by Jarocho warrants further research, so does the internal critique from Chicanas and Chicanos of Chicanas and Chicanos who identifying as jaraneras and jaraneros and offer instruction in the music and culture of the Sotavento in the United States. Fierce debate, dialogue, and discussion have existed for years in Los Angeles around this issue¹⁷. Though I will not attempt to synthesize these debates in my conclusion, questions have been raised surrounding musical pedagogy, social use, intention, performance, and representation. There has been no solution to these debates and the various factions have learned to coexist and collaborate when necessary, albeit begrudgingly.

Conclusion

Along with the proliferation of Son Jarocho in Chicana and Chicano communities in the Los Angeles-area, Son Jarocho and its popularity has spread throughout the United States. In Washington, there exists a collective called the Seattle Fandango Project, formed by Martha Gonzalez and Quetzal Flores. In the San Francisco Bay Area of Northern California, Los Centzontles have not only established a non-profit center for Mexican music and instruction, but also the group has received greater attention and fame following recent records with Ry Cooder and David Hidalgo of Los Lobos. In San Diego

¹⁷ Phillips, Erica E. "Las Cafeteras Defy Tradition." *LA Weekly* 29 Dec. 2011. Web. 29 Dec. 2011.

and along the border with Tijuana, local jaraneras and jaraneros have organized fandango fronterizo, an annual fandango along the borders, for the past three years. There exist Chicana and Chicano Son Jarocho collectives in Chicago, Illinois, and Austin, Texas. Touring Chicana and Chicano musicians from Los Angeles have noted that audiences in Texas, Arizona, Wisconsin, and Illinois are familiar with Son Jarocho. As Son Jarocho spreads throughout the United States, critical discussions will continue as to the musical practice, performance, and pedagogy as well as social use. Chicana and Chicano researchers must also be present for those conversations and build a body of research just as musicians and communities build a body of work.

I have not identified as a jaranero in years. For one thing, I'm known in Chicana and Chicano Son Jarocho spaces for playing requinto jarocho. Beyond my musical role in a fandango, my use of the term jaranero served its intended role as an expression of identity. It was a defiant and prideful statement of self amidst social and institutional expectations of assimilation. It was an alliance with others whose actions are informed by painful memories of discrimination, racism, prejudice, and oppression. Taking a cue from Rudy Acuña, I am so happy I was born to a Guatemalan mother and a New Mexican father. As a statement of self – a complicated embodiment of places, people, languages, histories, choices, and actions unique yet universal – jaranero helped me express my feelings as a Chapin-Chicano as I never could before. It brought me to a place where I could articulate pride, self-comfort, resistance, and autonomy. Though I may no longer identify as jaranero, I still get excited in anticipation of fandango.

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Appendix A

Focus Group Questions and Discussion Outline

- I. “How do you culturally identify yourself?”**
 1. How do you culturally identify as an individual? Why?
 2. What does this identity mean to you? What do you think it says about yourself to other people? What do you want it to say about yourself?
 3. When did you start to identify this way? What were the factors or influences that lead to this? To what extent does your family influence this identity? To what extent do outside factors, such as American culture, influence this identity?

- II. “What is El Movimiento Jaranero?”**
 1. When did you first hear the term ‘jaranero’ or ‘jaranera’? What does the term ‘jaranero’ or ‘jaranera’ mean? Can you give me an example of a jaranero/a?

- III. “What are your intentions in calling yourself a Jaranero/a?”**
 1. How do you think that Son Jarocho and jaranero/a identity reconnects you with ancestral roots or heritage? How do you think it makes you in touch with your family, roots, and history?
 2. How is jaranero/a identity and Son Jarocho a form of protest or resistance? Against what?
 3. What does it mean to be a Chicano/a jaranero/a?
 4. What are your intentions in identifying as a jaranero/a? What is the social significance of identifying as a jaranero/a as well as Chicana/o? Is there a connection?
 5. Does the setting impact calling yourself a jaranera or jaranero?
 6. Does one have to be of Veracruz, Mexican, Latino, or Chicano descent or identity to identify as a jaranero/a?
 7. Do other jaranero/as see this identification as a statement or a form of protest and/or resistance?
 8. What does it mean, to you, that Chicano/as, Mexicano/as, Latino/as, and Hispanics are learning and playing Son Jarocho in the United States?
 9. Since identifying as a jaranero/a, what unexpected lessons, experiences, or moments have you had?

Appendix B

Focus Group Survey Results and Demographics

Gender

Male	Female
8	11

Highest Levels of Education Completed

Primary	High School	2-year College	4-year College	Graduate
1	4	2	9	3

Parent's Place of Birth

Mexico ¹⁸	United States of America
16	3

Subject's Place of Birth

Mexico ¹⁹	United States of America
10	9

Parent's Speak Spanish

18

Subject's Speak Spanish

15

Self-Identification

Hispanic	Latina/o	Chicana/o	Mexican	Mexican- American	Other ²⁰
1	2	5	4	1	6

¹⁸ Some subjects were able to specify region of parents birth: San Juan Peyotan, Nayarit; Culiacan, Sinaloa; Sonora; Michoacan; Baja California; Guerrero; Mexico; Oaxaca; Guanajuato; Tepic, Nayarit; Xalapa, Veracruz; Morelos; Colima.

¹⁹ Some subjects were able to specify region of birth: East Los Angeles, CA, USA; City Terrace, CA, USA; Huntington Park, CA, USA; Culiacan, Sin., MEX; Mexico, MEX; Colima, MEX; Morelos, MEX; Xalapa, Veracruz, MEX; Tepic, Nayarit, MEX; Guerrero, MEX; Oaxaca, MEX

²⁰ Subjects other include: "Mexica/chicana"; "Chicana, Indigenous, Mexican, Jewish"; "Native Indian/Mexica"; "Guapo"; "European American (white)"; "Mexican/Mixteca/Chicana." Subjects also stated: "Primarily Xicana in U.S. with other English-Speaking folks, Mexican when speaking to Spanish-speaking Elders and (Mexican American in Mexico)" and "I identify myself as a Xicana with an X to reinvent and reclaim my indigenous & Angeleno culture. I am a 3rd generation Xicana."