CHICANO AND BLACK IDENTITY POLITICS

IN MUSIC OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS ERA,

1950S-1970S

by

KATIA LANUZA

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University of Texas at Arlington
Arlington, TX

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Abstract

This study examines the expression of identity in Chicano and African American civil rights music from the 1950s to the 1970s. Even though the African American civil rights movement and the Chicano movement have been extensively researched, little has been done to compare the two musically. The communities that created these movements shared many experiences, including discrimination and systemic racism, but these same identities were also characterized by distinct communal experiences. African Americans and Chicanos alike reclaimed their identity by engendering a sense of individual and community pride, a goal that was largely accomplished by the musical endeavors of activists. I explore this expression of identity through the music of Chicano and Black activists including Los Reyes de Albuquerque, Los Alvarados, Los Alacranes Mojados, Los Peludos, Sam Cooke, Nina Simone, James Brown, and Bernice Johnson Reagon.

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Introduction

The Chicano movement (*el movimiento*) was a prominent political force from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s in the United States. The movement sought to empower Chicanos/as politically against structural racism and assimilation while simultaneously creating a sense of solidarity among Mexican Americans. A shared sense of heritage and identity led to the adoption of terms such as *mestizo* and *Aztlán*. This expression of Chicano identity in el movimiento was self-sufficient, but it hardly occurred in a vacuum. The climax of the African American civil rights movement preceded the Chicano movement, influencing the way African Americans and Mexican Americans, along with other marginalized groups, interacted as they navigated through a white-dominant state.

The efforts of Chicano and African Americans during the civil rights movements have not been thoroughly compared, even less so in a musical context. In this thesis I examine how Chicano identity was expressed through music during the 1960s and 1970s and provide a comparative study of the musical expression of identity by Black activists. This study not only reconsiders Chicano identity using theories of identity categorization, but it will also explore the interactions and musical experiences of Mexican Americans and African Americans as marginalized identities in a broader historical and socio-political context.

I begin by providing the historical contexts of the Chicano and African American civil rights movements. I then discuss the concept of identity, laying my theoretical framework, and the characteristics of African American and Chicano cultural identities. Next, I and examine the expression of identity through prominent Chicano-movement songs by musicians such as Los Reyes de Albuquerque, Los Alvarados, Los Alacranes Mojados, and Los Peludos, comparing these works alongside well-known songs of the Black civil rights movement by artists such as

Sam Cooke, Nina Simone, James Brown, and Bernice Johnson Reagon. Finally, I conclude by discussing the broader implications and benefits that can be drawn from this study.

Throughout this study, I refer to Chicanos, Chicanas, and Chicanx simply as "Chicanos." I would like to acknowledge the diversity and specificity that current terminology explores, but for the sake of simplicity and consistency, "Chicanos," as well as "Latinos," will be the terms used.

Chapter 1 Setting the Scene: The Historical and Political Context of the Civil Rights Movement and El Movimiento

The African American Civil Rights Dilemma

The 1950s to 1970s was a period of dramatic social and political upheaval in the United States. The most prominent social movement of this period was the African American civil rights movement, during which African Americans sought to unify and fight systemic racism and disenfranchisement. Although the civil rights movement peaked during the 1950s and 1960s, the events that took place in this period were the result of the cumulative efforts by African Americans over the previous century. Belknap divides the history of African American civil rights into six periods: the *Plessy* era, the progressive era, the interwar period, WWII and after, the Civil Rights revolution, and a halt of progress.[1]

Although 1865 saw the end of the Civil War and the abolition of slavery through the Thirteenth Amendment, in the words of Frederick Douglass, "the work does not end with the abolition of slavery, but only begins."[2] The *Plessy* era refers to the period between Reconstruction and the turn of the century.[3] The gains made by African Americans through the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments were undermined through white resistance, particularly in the South. Although the Fifteenth Amendment guaranteed Black men the right to vote, white Southern legislators minimized these gains through enacting a variety of voter-suppression laws and practices. By 1900 the number of eligible black voters in the United States fell to a few hundred in large cities.[4] Jim Crow laws—local and state statutes that enforced racial

[1] Michal Belknap, "Civil Rights," in *Encyclopedia of African American History 1896 to the Present: From the Age of Segregation to the Twenty-First* Century, ed. in chief Paul Finkelman, vol.1 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 383.
[2] Jonathan Earle, *The Routledge Atlas of American History* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 94.
[3] Belknap, 384. Klarman, Michael J. "The Plessy Era," *The Supreme Court Review* (1998): 303-414.
[4] Belknap, 384.

segregation—began to appear almost immediately after the abolition of slavery. The increasing legislation aimed at segregation and disenfranchisement led to the Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) to which this era's title refers. In the case, the Court ruled that segregation was legal under the notion of "separate but equal," although in practice the circumstances and accommodations were hardly ever such. Physical intimidation towards African Americans pervaded this period through lynching, burnings, beatings, and mob violence. Courts rarely convicted whites for violent actions, and the absence of African Americans on juries only increased bias in court.[5]

Despite persistent anti-Black violence in the early twentieth century and the racial paranoia of World War I (WWI), the progressive era marked the beginning of sustained civil-rights organizing that would eventually mature into the civil rights movement.[6] A large population shift occurred in this period when large numbers of African Americans moved from the South to the North and Midwest.[7] Between 1910 and 1930, over one million African Americans moved north, inspiring some Northerners to adopt Southern racist tactics, including forced segregation and race riots. Although racism was always pervasive, the absence of Jim Crow laws in the North meant better job and voting opportunities for Blacks. Among the most successful effort of this period was the formation of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909, an organization which fought for the constitutional rights of Blacks through the court system.[8] During the interwar period, organizations such as the National Negro Congress promoted boycotts and picketing, and the

[5] Between 1880 and 1930, 3,220 blacks and 723 whites were lynched in the South, and not until 1953 did the United States go a year without a lynching report. Earle, 96-97.
[6] Simon Wendt, "Civil Rights Movement" in *Encyclopedia of African American History 1896 to the Present: From the Age of Segregation to the Twenty-First Century*, vol.1, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 411.
[7] Earle, 102-105.
[8] Wendt, 411-412.

NAACP continued to gain tangible results in the courtroom as it began to lay the foundation for the desegregation of public schools.[9]

Although Asian Americans (particularly Japanese Americans) experienced severe discrimination during World War II (WWII), African Americans saw improvements in their situation. When the United States joined the war to fight fascism for the sake of freedom and democracy, the hypocrisy of the racist realities at home increasingly stood out, particularly in the military. The Black leader A. Philip Randolph, for example, pushed for desegregation of the military, threatening to lead a Black march on Washington and pressing President Roosevelt to ban discrimination in the government and defense industries. Approximately one million African Americans served in WWII, with many Black combat units and airmen earning recognition for their contributions to the war. The demand for labor during WWII also created a boom in jobs, giving African Americans more resources to build larger churches, schools, and political organizations.[10]

As Randolph had hoped, Blacks returning from WWII desired "to see the stuffing knocked out of white supremacy and of empire over subject peoples," renewing the drive to gain equal access to the rights they fought to protect.[11] In 1948, President Truman issued an executive order to officially end segregation in the military, foreshadowing the end to legislated segregation throughout the United States. After WWII, courts increasingly ruled against racial segregation, and in 1954 the landmark case *Brown v. the Board of Education* ruled that separate educational facilities are intrinsically unequal. A year later, Rosa Parks played a pivotal role in the movement by refusing to vacate her bus seat for a white man, inspiring the Montgomery bus

[9] Wendt, 412.
[10] Earle, 87.
[11] Earle, 84.

boycott. Several major incidents took place over the next few years, including the lunch counter sit-ins of 1960, the Freedom Ride in 1961, peaceful protests organized by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and the march on Washington D.C. in 1963. A breakthrough in legislation took place with the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which "forbade discrimination in places of public accommodation on bases of race, color, religion, or national origin," effectively enforcing the desegregation of schools the way that *Brown* did not.[12] Two other significant legislative gains included the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which stopped the use of tests to disqualify black voters and gave the government the ability to monitor voting regulations, and the Civil Rights Act of 1968 (also known as the Fair Housing Act), which prohibited racial discrimination in the sale or renting of housing.[13]

The new legislation led to a surge in African American voters—a huge success—but this peak also marked the beginning of decline for the civil rights movement. After these legislative gains, groups such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) began to radicalize, become more militant, revive the notion of Black nationalism, and emphasize self-sustainable and self-governed Black communities and institutions.[14] There were several complex reasons for this change, including the dominant role and often patronizing attitudes of white liberals, distrust of the federal government, the influence of Malcolm X, issues in the Vietnam war, and acts of racist terrorism (including race riots) that eroded the patience of non-violent protesters. Black activists who followed this trend coined the term "Black Power." Black Power was strongly opposed by white Americans and Black civil rights leaders alike. Dr. Martin Luther King understood the frustrations of those who aligned

[12] Belknap, 388-389.
[13] Belknap, 390 and Wendt, 414-416.
[14] Akinyele Umoja, Katin L. Stanford, and Jasmin A. Young, eds, *Black Power Encyclopedia: From "Black is Beautiful" to Urban Uprisings*, vol.1 (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2018), xi-xii.

with Black Power ideology, but also noted that there were "dangerous connotations of separatism and violence."[15] King's assassination on April 4, 1968 suggested for some an end to nonviolence.[16] White liberals and supporters backed out of the SNCC and CORE in 1966. Waning support, as well as actions by The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) through COINTELPRO (a domestic counterintelligence program), eventually led to the decline of Black Power. Amid the decline of the civil rights movement and Black Power groups, more conservative political climates dominated the scene, and the progress of African American civil rights came to a halt in the latter third of the twentieth century.[17]

The civil rights movement improved educational and employment opportunities for Black Americans, increased the size of the African American middle class, and led to a rise in African American representatives in government. Civil rights activism and Black Power groups both "helped reinterpret African American identity."

As African Americans persisted and persevered in the fight for equal rights, other marginalized groups engaged in similar efforts, inspired by Black activism. Among these were Mexican Americans, or as some refer to themselves, Chicanos.

[15] Wendt, 417.
[16] Wendt, 417. Black Power was, and still is, an ambiguous term in the 1960s and 1970s that could be reinterpreted by individuals and organizations to achieve their goals, but there were several common objectives among the most prominent organizations. These include "black pride, black political and economic power, community control of black institutions, radical internationalism, and armed self-defense." The vague nature of the Black Power movement was one reason for the opposition to it. For more detailed information, see "Civil Rights Movement" and "Black Power" in *Encyclopedia of African American History 1896 to the Present: From the Age of Segregation to the Twenty-First Century*, vol. 1.
[17] Wendt, 416-418.

The Mexican American Dilemma in Civil Rights

The marginalization of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the United States dates back to the outcome of the Mexican American War in 1848. The United Stated encroached on Mexican territory (which included present-day Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California as well as parts of Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Oklahoma, and Kansas) in 1845 by annexing the Republic of Texas, an area that Mexico still claimed. When the resulting confrontation came to an end with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—giving the Southwestern territory to the United States—many Mexicans in this region automatically became United States citizens. From this point onward, Mexican American rights in the United States remained an ongoing issue. As Anglo populations increased in the Southwest during the following century, Mexican Americans were often denied voting and property rights, political representation, and fair and due process in the court systems. Mexican-U.S. tensions rose as a result of several formal and informal conflicts associated with the Mexican Revolution (1910—1920), including an attack led by Pancho Villa on New Mexico that resulted in the death of eighteen Americans. [18]

The revolution also resulted in a large increase in immigration from Mexico to the United States as refugees sought to escape the violence.[19] This increase in immigration, border violence, and media coverage led to an Anglo backlash known as the "Brown Scare," a period marked by violence and discrimination against Mexicans and Mexican Americans, regardless of their

[18] The Mexican Revolution lasted from 1910 to 1920 and consisted of several armed conflicts and exchanges of power. It began with a revolt led by Francisco I. Madero against the dictator Porfirio Díaz in 1910 and ended in 1920 when Alvaro Obregón was sworn in a president. For more detailed information, see "The Mexican Revolution and the United States in the Collections of the Library of Congress" at the Library of Congress website https://www.loc.gov/, and Francisco A. Rosales *Testimonio: A Documentary History of the Mexican American Struggle for Civil Rights*, 76-81.

[19] Demographic historian Robert McCaa estimates the number of casualties to be two-thirds of the 2.1 million demographic loss, meaning that the Mexican Revolution would rank nineth the human cost of modern warfare. For more detailed information, see Robert McCaa, "Missing Millions: The Demographic Costs of the Mexican Revolution," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 19, no. 2 (2003): 367-400.

background. World War I and the Great Depression further exacerbated anti-Mexican sentiments, contributing to paradoxical U.S. and Mexican migrant relations. U.S. business owners often encouraged Mexicans to work in the U.S., only to treat the immigrants as expendable commodities who then suffered from job insecurity, unfair wages, sudden deportation, and recession violence. Mexican workers were particularly sought-after during WWI due to the labor shortages and immigration laws aimed towards Europeans, but these same Mexican workers were also quickly deported once the need for their labor declined. During the Great Depression, the Department of Labor cooperated with local officials to find undocumented immigrants. When it became evident that only a small percentage of Mexicans in the United States were undocumented, the U.S. switched tactics and began repatriation groups to encourage migration to Mexico. [20]

Like Blacks, Asians, and other minorities, Mexican Americans found employment mainly in low-paying hard-labor jobs such as picking crops on farms, gardening, building railroads, mining, housecleaning, and so on. "Mexican schools," segregated educational institutions that were usually underfunded, understaffed, and in poor condition, often groomed students for this line of labor through a curriculum that taught skills such as "gardening, sewing, homemaking, boot-making, blacksmithing, and carpentry."[21] Alongside inferior education and systemic poverty, Mexican American communities also faced substandard housing, lack of political representation, youth unemployment, and police brutality.

[20] Rosales, 80. Immigrants (including expatriates and refugees) were often treated so poorly in the United States that the Mexican government often had to send consuls to mediate the situation. Although the consuls typically did their best, the Mexican Revolution, stretched resources, and administration issues made the process difficult. For more information see chapter five of Rosales, *Testimonio: A Documentary History of the Mexican American Struggle for Civil Rights.*

[21] Karen J. Carrillo, "Unification of African American and Chicano Civil Rights and Labor Groups in California in the 1950s through the 1960s." in *African American-Latino Relations in the 21st Century: When Cultures Collide*, (Santa Barbara: Praeger, 2017), 28.

A small number of Mexican Americans gained positions in the middle and upper classes, but these individuals often accomplished this upward mobility through assimilation and a claim to whiteness.[22] In the 1940s and 1950s, middle-class Mexican Americans advocated assimilation and integration within the system as a means to improvement, but by the end of the 1950s this tactic changed as the Mexican American community began to recognize and reveal white American racism.[23] Approximately 300,000 Mexican American males also rose in social status after participating in WWII; many came home with honors. These men sought to gain full access to their rights as citizens and initiated civil service organizations in the 1940s such as the American G.I. forum.[24] Perhaps the best-known organization is the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). Several Mexican American organizations united, forming LULAC in 1929 to improve education, housing, health care, and employment in addition to combating xenophobia.[25] Preceding the birth of the Chicano movement, many unions such as the Agricultural Workers Organizers Committee (AWOC) and the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA) formed in order to prevent exploitation and mistreatment of farmworkers.[26]

The grass-roots work led by César Chávez through the United Farm Workers (UFW) and Reies López Tijerina's militant, anti-establishment *Alianza Federal de las Mercedes* (Federal Alliance of Land Grants) triggered the beginning of *el movimiento*. The movement was launched in large part by young students who drew inspiration from the work of Chávez and Tijerina. The Pachuco counterculture from the late 1930s and 1940s, which reclaimed the term "Chicano,"

[22] Rosales, 157-163.
[23] Rosales, 162.
[24] Rosales, 159.
[25] "LULAC History: All For One and One For All," *League of United Latin American Citizens*, https://lulac.org/about/history/.
[26] César Chávez and his fellow organizers created the NFWA in 1965 after leaving the Community Service Organization (CSO). During the Delano grape strike, AWOC and NFWA merged to create the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC).

also served as a source of inspiration.[27] By the end of the 1950s, education and social conditions had improved for most Mexican Americans, but young civil rights activists, many of whom were college students, wanted to push further than the previous generation. The Chicano movement sought to empower and unify Mexican Americans politically against structural racism and assimilation. It emphasized workers' rights (particularly regarding wages and job security), education reform (including school desegregation), and reducing poverty.[28] Chicano intellectuals in the 1960s witnessed African Americans boost self-esteem through "Black pride," inspiring Chicanos to widen their cultural and racial pride in *mestizo* (or "mixed") heritage, which emphasized their indigenous background.

Another source of pride was the place referred to as *Aztlán*, the area of land annexed by the United States in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The reclamation of ancestral land was the most prominent, radical focus of Tijerina's *Alianza Federal de las Mercedes*. Many Mexican American organizations formed during this period, including the Mexican American Youth Organization (MAYO), which produced La Raza Unida Party in 1970, a Chicano nationalist political party. This new party aimed to generate Mexican American political representation through local and state elections throughout the Southwest (although tangible success was only achieved in Texas). The Chicano movement eventually declined due to the deterioration of La Raza Unida Party in the late 1970s (particularly due to the 1978 Texas elections).

[27] For further information, see Cordelia Chávez Candelaria, ed., *Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture*. 2 vols. (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 610-611. "Xicano," or "Chicano," was previously a pejorative term used by whites and upper-class Mexican Americans to refer to working-class Mexican Americans. Pachucos, Mexican Americans who adopted the African American zoot suit counterculture, reclaimed the term as a sign of ethnic pride.
[28] The "white flight" occurred when whites left urban cities for the suburbs due to rising minority populations. In these abandoned communities school infrastructures became neglected, employment opportunities were inadequate, and neighborhoods fell into poverty. For more information, see chapter nine of Rosales, *Testimonio: A Documentary History of the Mexican American Struggle for Civil Rights*.

The Chicano movement made significant contributions to the formation of Mexican American organizations that cultivated economic and community empowerment. The success of el movimiento was made possible by the grass-roots activities of many activists and the outcry stirred by militant Chicanos who made the Mexican American struggle visible.

Figure 1. Timeline

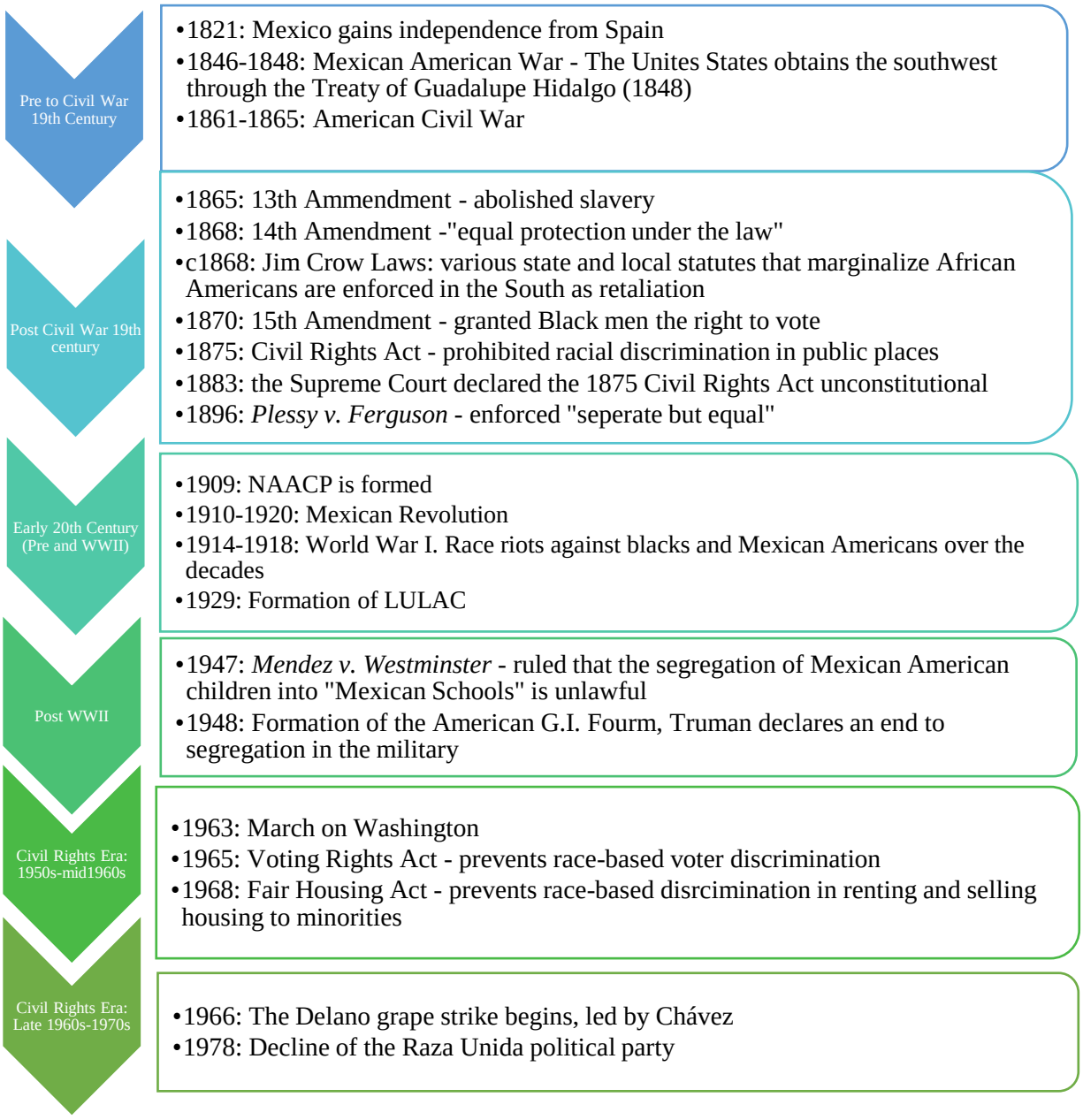

Figure 1 is a timeline that organizes various significant events in African American and Mexican American civil rights history and allows for easy visualization and comparison of the events described in this section.

Black and Mexican American Interactions in the Civil Rights Movement

African Americans and Mexican Americans had common as well as distinct experiences in their struggle for civil rights, and as such, their interactions were marked by both conflict and solidarity.

One point of conflict concerned the competition for low-paying jobs among minorities. By hiring immigrants in place of Blacks, white employers reinforced Black animosity towards Latinos through economic competition, while simultaneously exploiting Mexican immigrants through even lower wages. Hiring immigrants —known as "strike breakers"— during work strikes created controversy among Mexican Americans as well, inflaming anti-immigration sentiments in American-born Mexicans and Blacks alike. Such competition often encouraged workers to direct their frustrations at each other in place of white employers who created these tensions through undesirable and exploitative work.[29] Financial issues caused further division in 1964, when President Lyndon B. Johnson initiated "War on Poverty" programs. Limited federal funds led to competition and animosity between minority groups.[30] Another source of disagreement stemmed from race classification. In the 1940s and 1950s, Mexican Americans focused on classifying themselves as white by identifying as "Latin American," making a connection to their European heritage. As such, "African Americans' civil rights organizations often found it difficult to work with them on racial projects. Black groups resented the willingness of Mexican American groups to accept discrimination against blacks, only fighting against said discrimination when it affected Latin Americans."[31] Despite such moments of conflict, these marginalized groups remain sympathetic to their shared struggles.

[29] Carrillo, 24.
[30] Carrillo, 41.
[31] Carrillo, 31.

Systemic racism and discrimination placed both Africans Americans and Mexican Americans in a position of second-class citizenship within their own country. Both marginalized groups experienced poverty, poor housing, inadequate education, few job opportunities with little room for growth, worker exploitation, segregation, racial violence, and police brutality. Informal cultural connections existed before the civil rights movement including zoot suit and Pachuco countercultures in the 1940s. Zoot suiters wore brightly colored suits, which broadened the shoulders and elongated the torso, and matching hats with large rims. Mexican Americans imitated the zoot suiters' suits and African American musical styles (such as jazz, rhythm and blues, and boogie-woogie) in Pachuco culture. Zoot suiters and Pachucos alike became victims of racial violence by white citizens, individuals from the military, and local law enforcement. Formal and organized solidarity began amid the civil rights movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Poor People Campaign of 1968, organized by Martin Luther King Jr., gathered poor Americans of diverse backgrounds. Reies López Tijerina represented Chicano issues during this campaign and collaborated with African American activists in 1967 and 1969. Chicano activists in California formed coalitions with other student minority groups as well. Several student organizations joined to create the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF) to fight for educational equality and opportunities for students of color. The protest efforts of the TWLF resulted in the first Ethnic Studies program in the nation at San Francisco State University, combining "the studies of Africana, American Indian, Asian American, Arab Muslim, and Raza cultures."[32] Black and Chicano efforts at collaboration often exposed the differences between the groups, but successful efforts often failed to attract publicity. Other successes include the formation of the

[32] Carrillo, 38.

Chicano Brown Berets, an anti-police brutality group influenced by the Black Panthers, and the Black Brown Coalition which fought for school integration in Houston, Texas.[33]

Conclusion

As marginalized groups in the United States, African American and Mexican American communities attempted to create unity within their groups as "African Americans" and "Mexican Americans" and occasionally with each other and other minorities as one large, marginalized group. But in order to create internal unity, collective group identities were necessary. Therefore, these communities delved into thought-provoking questions: What does it mean to be Black or African American? What does it mean to be Chicano or Mexican American? These questions culminated in various cultural efforts as African Americans and Mexican Americans simultaneously explored, expressed, and created their collective and individual senses of identity, prompting another important and possibly more elusive question: what is identity?

[33] Carrillo, 36-38. Violence from the California National Guard attempted to subdue the protests, but the violent actions prompted solidarity strikes across the nation, resulting in the success of the protest.

Chapter 2: Who am I and Who are They? African American and Mexican American Identity in Civil Rights

Before delving into the musical aspects of the civil rights movement and el movimiento, it is important to lay a theoretical foundation for the concept of "identity" and how it pertains to ethnic and racial minorities.

Sociologists, psychologists, and an increasing number of other researchers have exhaustively pondered the concept of "identity," often referred to as "self." Although identity is an object of rigorous academic study, it is also an everyday tool that individuals use to measure sameness and difference, categorizing others and themselves along the spectrum to make sense of the world and those who reside in it. Hammock describes identity as a concept that "evokes the dialogic idea of sameness and difference, in that identity provides a sense of internal coherence and continuity for the person in a particular social context but also serves to divide the social world into meaningful categories. Identity thus operates at both the level of individual psychology and social organization."[34] The level of the individual poses the question "who am I?" and at the social level, "what group do I belong to?"[35] For marginalized minorities, these questions can be particularly crucial.

In the 1970s, soon after the height of the African American civil rights movement, psychologists began to create theoretical approaches to race and ethnic identity, acknowledging the distinctive experiences of minorities.[36] One popular theory was William Cross' notion of nigrescence, or "the process of becoming Black," which describes the full realization of a Black

[34] Phillip L. Hammack, "Theoretical Foundations of Identity," in *The Oxford Handbook of Identity Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 12.
[35]Frank C. Worrell, "Culture as Race/Ethnicity," in *The Oxford Handbook of Identity Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 250.
[36] The term "race" in modern scholarship is acknowledged as a social construct usually based on physical or ethnic characteristics. When referring to identity, though, racial and ethnic identity are often used interchangeably (occasionally with cultural identity as well). For more detailed information, see Worrell, 252-253.

identity (specifically as an African American) in a five-stage process: Pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, internalization, and internalization-commitment. The theory suggests that African Americans gradually accept and commit to a Black identity, progressing from a negative identity established in the white majority culture to a positive interpretation of that identity. Many racial and ethnic theories are modeled in a similar fashion, claiming that racial and ethnic identities are built through a staged process, are developmental in nature, and focus on interior (or "self") navigation.[37] Recent scholarship calls into question the accuracy of the developmental aspect, and an expanded model of Cross' nigrescence theory describes Black racial identity as "conceptualized as a series of attitudes rather than a set of stages."[38] The attitude-based model accounts for more nuance at the individual level, but for the purposes of this work—which concerns Black and Chicano expression of identity in the civil rights movement—we can assume that the musicians whose works will be discussed in this study have developed or acknowledged some degree of "internalization-commitment" to a positive view of their racial identity.

In summary: (a) identity measures sameness and difference, allowing people to categorize each other and themselves into groups; (b) identity works at an individual level as well as larger social levels; (c) "who am I?" and "what group do I belong to?" are the core questions that guide identity; and (d) racial and ethnic identity can be described as either a series of stages or attitudes to account for change or acknowledgement in and of racial/ethnic identity. Whether described as a staged process or a set of attitudes, racial and ethnic identity, specifically among minorities in the United States, deals with the "who am I?" and "what group do I belong to?" questions in a complex manner.

[37] Hammack, 20-21.
[38] Worrell, 259.

I take these characteristics and suggest that identity works at several levels to distinguish the boundaries of what constitutes our self, I (the individual level); our group, We (the community or collective level"); and those who do not fall into either, They. In light of the adversity that African Americans and Mexican Americans experienced in the United States, civil-rights activists from these groups came to acknowledge that the whites who actively and systemically sought to keep minorities as second-class citizens acted as an antagonistic They. After acknowledging the community frustrations created by Them, African Americans and Mexican Americans who identify as Chicanos sought to reclaim and reestablish what it means to be African American and Chicano, creating a stronger sense of self or I, which could then be used to reenforce community pride. The groups then appealed to a broader, and perhaps more flexible, community-wide We. The occurrence of They, I, and We reinforcement does not necessarily happen in that specific order.

Of course, the nuances of identity are difficult to discuss at an individual level, let alone as a community that functions distinctively at home, neighborhood, city, state, and nationwide levels. To impose a rigid cause-and-effect pattern across two movements would require severe generalizations, but I do suggest that the pattern of disenfranchisement, reclamation, and solidarity which accordingly reflects They, I, and We is present. This approach reflects the attitude-based model of Cross's theory, which suggests that ethnic minorities encounter a negative view of their identity by the white majority and from that point onward could commit to a positive view of their identity.

For Blacks in the civil rights movement and Chicanos in el movimiento, their identities began as negative portrayals which they then reclaimed. This reclamation occurred as Blacks and Chicanos determined who they are and what group they belonged to by identifying certain

unifying cultural and situational characteristics, defining what creates the "sameness" between Chicano and between Blacks and what made them "different" from the white-majority culture. This notion raises the following question concerning culture: what are the cultural components of Black and Chicano communities?

Culture is a large facet of identity. Culture is a broad term with many definitions. Anthropologist Edward Tylor described culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man [humankind] as a member of society."[39] A more detailed definition by Frisby consists of six parts:

> "(a) 'characteristic patterns of living, customs, traditions, values, and attitudes;' (b) 'significant artistic, humanitarian, or scientific achievements' of one's racial group or one's ancestors; (c) 'race consciousness' or the 'common set of attitudes and beliefs' that guide one's 'feelings about, interests in, or identification with members of one's group;" (d) 'values and norms of the immediate [socialization] context;' (e) superficial differences…in such characteristics as popular clothing or fashion styles, music or dance styles, styles of religious worship, culinary traditions, or speech and language styles;' and (f) phenotypic differences."[40]

In the wake of civil rights movements and activities, these aspects of culture were crucial for minorities to express their sense of identity. By emphasizing art, music, language, customs, beliefs, and so on, marginalized groups determined who they are at both the individual and group level, creating a sense of solidarity and empowerment.

[39] Alan Barnard, *History and Theory in Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 102.
[40] Worrell, 251. Quoted in Craig L. Frisby, "Issues and Problems in the Influence of Culture on the Psychoeducational Need of African-American Children," *School Psychology Review*, no. 22 (1992): 533-534.

African American Identity

Unlike most other large cultural groups in the United States, the African American community as a whole has experienced massive culture loss. The transatlantic slave trade forcibly displaced approximately twelve million Africans over the course of four centuries, about six percent of whom were brought directly to the United States.[41] Slaves in the United States had to swiftly adapt culturally in their hostile environment. Slaveholders subdued and attempted to eliminate social cultural practices that were an outward expression of African culture.[42] African slaves had to learn quickly how to communicate with whites and other Africans from different ethnic backgrounds, each with their own language.[43] By the 1740s, the native-born population was expanding, and a distinct African-American culture was forming. It only took a few generations for identifiable lineages to African cultures to disappear for most African Americans, although some cultural Africanisms were retained.

Their enslavement, denial of rights as second-class citizens, and community-wide loss of culture has shaped the way that African Americans have created their identity. The formation of a Black identity was a very conscious process community-wide. Whites depicted "Africanness" as uncivilized, repulsive, and backwards, negative portrayals that fed into a cultural paradox in which Anglo-American popular culture appropriated African American cultural products such as jazz and rock n' roll. Twentieth-century African American cultural activities such as zoot-suit fashion, the Harlem Renaissance, and Black aesthetics in the 1960s and 1970s challenged these

[41] Guthrie P. Ramsey, "African American music," *Grove Music Online*. 4 Oct. 2012. https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002226838.
[42] Brian Thomas, "Struggling with the Past: Some Views if African-American Identity," *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 6, no. 2 (2002), 145.
[43] Earle, 28.

negative perceptions of Blacks as African Americans reclaimed and reframed the image and connotations of Black identity.

One of the most significant cultural movements among the African American community was the Harlem Renaissance, which began as a literary movement in the early 1920s and came to incorporate critical writings, music, theater, and the visual arts, affecting social and political aspects of African American life. Young Black writers, artists, and musicians explored the African American experience, following their own artistic visions despite how the white community, or even the larger Black community, received their work. A few were cultivated during the Harlem Renaissance: recapturing African heritage and roots, exploring life in urban settings (such as Harlem), race, and the impact of racism. The Harlem Renaissance declined in the 1930s as a result of the Great Depression and the dispersal of key figures from Harlem, but the impact of the movement remained. This period saw a more dramatic rise in the number and quality of artistic achievements by African Americans than previous generations. [44]

Another important African American cultural phenomenon was zoot-suit fashion in the 1930s and 1940s. Some considered the excessive use of materials and fabric unpatriotic, but to others the suits were a sign of rebellion against American hypocrisy while the United States fought against white supremacy and fascism during WWII.[45] Although zoot suit was a youth counterculture that spanned several minority groups (including Mexican Americans, also known as or Pachucos, Philippine Americans, and Italian Americans), it was a significant cultural phenomenon in which minorities expressed their identity in spite of white hegemony.

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[44] Cary D. Wintz, "Harlem Renaissance," in *Encyclopedia of African American History. 1896 to the Present: from the Age of Segregation to the twenty-First Century*, Paul Finkelman, ed (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 372-375.

[45] Macías, Anthony, "Zoot Suit," In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States* (Oxford University Press, 2005).

"Black" aesthetic was a cultural phenomenon that took place in the late 1960s and 1970s alongside the end of the civil rights movement and the beginning of Black Power. With Black aesthetic, African Americans wore their hair in a natural style (as opposed to styling it in a way that conformed to white and upper-class assimilation to white beauty standards) and clothes styled after African fashions. It was common to see men and women alike sporting Afros (the bigger, the prouder) and dashikis—brightly colored sleeveless tunics from West Africa. The slogan "Black is beautiful" became popular, and publications began using images of beauty distinct from European standards, featuring dark-skinned women and African royalty as beauty standards.[46] As is the Harlem Renaissance, Black expression in literature and the arts also flourished in a sister movement to Black Power known as the Black Arts Movement. As a part of Black expression in this period, African Americans made cultural references to Africa, reclaimed an image of beauty from what most of Western culture had deemed ugly, and created art and literature that spoke to African American experience.

As African Americans looked back to their roots and pursued cultural independence from European traditions and perceptions of beauty, Pan-African and Black nationalist sentiments grew. Horne describes early Pan-Africanism as "a remembrance of, nostalgia for, and need to reconnect to Africa by those dispersed."[47] Pan-Africanism grew beyond an ideology into a political movement alongside Black Power, making it difficult to define.[48] Black cultural nationalism, on the other hand, is a type of cultural nationalism which indicates "that people of African descent have a unique style of art, sense of beauty, and communal spirit emanating from

[46] Lindsey Baker and T. J. Robinson, "Black Aesthetic," in *Black Power Encyclopedia: From "Black is Beautiful" to Urban Uprisings*, Akinyele Umoja, Karin L. Stanford, and Jasmin A. Young, eds (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2018), 76-77.
[47] David Horne, "Pan Africanism," in *Black Power Encyclopedia: From "Black is Beautiful" to Urban Uprisings*, Akinyele Umoja, Karin L. Stanford, and Jasmin A. Young, eds (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2018), 599.
[48] Horne, 600.

their contemporary folkways as well as their collective history."[49] Pan-Africanism and particularly Black cultural nationalism became more prominent as the civil rights movement transitioned into the Black Power movement, and these cultural and political expressions became increasingly radical. Pan-Africanism and Black cultural nationalism are complex concepts, but in the context of this study there are two important points: African Americans sought to reconnect to the cultural heritage from which they had been cut off, and they sought to construct an independent identity free of the Eurocentric ideas that rejected it.

Because they have been continuously marginalized in the twentieth century, living in a constant "us" and "them" narrative that racist and segregational modes of thought enforced, African Americans have initiated several cultural and political phenomena to define their Us or We identity against the white American They. Since African Americans are separated from their cultural heritage—a quality that largely defines the "I" and "we" in identity— they have engaged in an ongoing constructive process of identity at individual and community levels. On a larger social level, African Americans have reinforced their identity through literary and artistic movements that explore their experience, political movements that created solidarity, aesthetic movements that reclaim the image of African and Black in a positive light, and concepts that expressed cultural independence within the United States and solidarity on an international level.

Chicano/a Identity

Chicanos identify as Mexican descendants, Latinos or Hispanics, and Americans all at once at a broad social level, and at the local and individual level incorporate nuances such as class, skin tone, generation, language, and so on. In a generalized sense, Chicano cultural values

[49] Kenja McCray, "Cultural Nationalism," in *Black Power Encyclopedia: From "Black is Beautiful" to Urban Uprisings*, Akinyele Umoja, Karin L. Stanford, and Jasmin A. Young, eds, (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2018), 307.

reflect working-class Mexican American culture, which has connotations of *barrios* (literally means "neighborhood;" but often refers to poor Latino neighborhoods), bilinguality (English, Spanish, and vernacular dialects such as *caló* and Spanglish), strong familial values, and so on. But there are no clear boundaries to Mexican Americanness or *Chicanismo*. Mexican Americans who cannot speak Spanish and come from a middle-class background may still choose to identify as Chicano. A useful model to depict Mexican American identity places Mexican Americans and self-ascribed Chicanos as parts of a spectrum between Mexican and American. [50] Stepping away from the nuanced aspects of individual Chicano identity, several distinctions should be made regarding terminology for broader social groups.

"Mexican American," "Chicano," "Hispanic," and "Latino" are terms that are often and mistakenly used interchangeably. The terms Hispanic and Latino were created by the United States Census Bureau to better categorize U.S. citizens. *Hispanic* places more emphasis on Spanish heritage and insinuates a sense of assimilation into the American "melting pot," while *Latino* more broadly refers to Central and South Americans and descendants, a more inclusive term that concerns language and cultural traditions.[51] Hispanic and Latino are generalized labels, while Mexican American refers specifically to Americans of Mexican heritage, who were typically but not exclusively born in the United States. Chicanos are Mexican Americans who emphasize their *mestizo* (biracial hybridity) identity as Indigenous and Spanish descendants as

[50] Steven C. Azcona, "Movements in Chicano Music: Performing Culture, Performing Politics, 1965-1979" (PhD. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2008), 3-4.
[51] Carrillo, 26. See also Cordelia Chávez Candelaria, "Race and Ethnicity," in *Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture*, vol. 2, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 660.
The U.S. Census Bureau created the term "Hispanic" as an attempt to better determine which citizens came from Spanish-speaking countries. Eventually the Census Bureau opted for Latino, a label not originally chosen in order to avoid confusion with Latin-based European languages, providing Central and South Americans who did not identify with a Spanish heritage with a better option.

the basis for social equality and political access.[52] Although there are fewer political implications today with the use of Chicano, the term remains a distinct form of identification with its own cultural implications. Although all Chicanos are Mexican Americans, not all Mexican Americans are Chicanos, but all Mexican Americans are Latinos or Hispanics.

The specificity of nomenclature became increasingly significant as Mexican Americans became more active in the fight against racial discrimination. At the beginning of the twentieth century, many Mexican Americans believed that the best opportunity to improve their situation was through assimilation—and sometimes through claims to whiteness (although this was only possible for lighter skinned Mexican Americans). Many individuals, and even LULAC, preferred the terms "Hispanic" or "Spanish American" which emphasized the ethnic connection to European culture (which many African Americans involved in the civil rights movement resented).[53] "Chicano" was a pejorative racial and classist term often used by whites and middle-class Mexican Americans in the 1930s and 1940s to refer to lower-class immigrants. As Mexican Americans began to replace the idea of assimilation with that of ethnic pride, the term Chicano was reclaimed by Mexican American Pachucos as a very purposeful expression of identity.[54]

As the Chicano movement rose to prominence and more individuals identified themselves as Chicanos, the concept of a shared mestizo heritage and the land of Aztlán engendered a sense of solidarity among Mexican Americans. In Spanish, mestizaje "specifically describes the hybrid mixture of Spanish, Jewish, Native American, African, and Asian heritage that identifies Latina and Latino peoples and cultures in the Americas," and in the context of

[52] Francisco Arturo Rosales, "Chicano," in *Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture*, vol. 1 (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 142.
[53] Carrillo, 31.
[54] Rosales, 142. Pachucos also utilized a distinct dialect known as cálo (a combination of English, Spanish, and Afro-jazz and bebop terms). Refer to "Pachucos" and "Zoot Suit" in the *Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture* for more detailed information.

Chicanos, Spanish and indigenous heritage is emphasized.[55] The Chicano movement placed indigenous heritage at the center of mestizo identity in order to nurture a sense of pan-Latino identity. Another facet of the indigenous heritage for Chicanos is the concept of Aztlán, the mythical homeland of the Aztecs that encompasses Mexico and the Southwestern region of the United States. The 1848 Treat of Guadalupe Hidalgo yielded a large portion of this land to the United States, lending historical credence to the pattern of white subjugation of *indios* (natives) and mestizos. The idea of Aztlán allowed Mexican Americans to imagine a physical space tied to their indigenous ancestors, and thus to their ethnicity and identity. Since Aztlán covered such a wide area, it could serve as a source of shared identity for Mexican Americans in different regions. Both the concept of mestizaje and the myth of Aztlán helped conceptualize and foster pride in indigenous heritage in place of white Spanish heritage. By emphasizing ties to Native American culture, Chicanos projected a sense of belonging as inheritors of the Native American land to combat the otherness imposed upon Mexican Americans by the white-dominated U.S. hegemony. The Chicano movement also gave rise to the concept of "Chicano nationalism," or Chicanismo, which Azcona defines as "a cultural nationalist response to the oppression, exploitation, and racism that constituted the ethnic Mexicans' experience in the United States."[56]

These cultural responses culminated in the Chicano Renaissance, a literary and artistic movement prominent during el movimiento. The "renaissance" was initiated by *I am Joaquín*—an epic poem written by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, which was made into a short film by Luis Valdez and El Teatro Campesino—and the literary works of Chicano poet Alurista. Cultural activity of the Chicano Renaissance included "gatherings of committed activists at local

[55] Candelaria, 660.
[56] Estevan C. Azcona and Russell Rofrigues, "Rolas de Aztlán: Songs of the Chicano Movement," CD 40516, booklet (Washington: Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 2005), 6.

and regional meetings, demonstrations, national conferences, literary festivals, the painting of murals and installation of art exhibitions, and college and community organizing projects."[57] Bilingual (English-Spanish) publications emerged amid the flourish of literature. Writers and artists of the Chicano Renaissance engaged in cultural pride and political solidarity that explored the Chicano experience in the United States while rejecting the notion of accommodation that previous generations of Mexican Americans had preferred.

Mestizaje largely defines the Chicano experience: a mix of English and Spanish, a mix of Mexican and American, a mix of indigenous and European, and so on. As such, giving this spectrum of Mexican American identity a precise definition is difficult. The matter is only further complicated through the physical distance from Mexico and social exclusion in the U.S. In response, Chicanos have carved a new place for Us and I that acts as a spectrum between Mexican and American, creating solidarity by reaching back to their Mexican and indigenous roots while simultaneously reaffirming their positions as U.S. citizens.

African Americans and Chicanos as Marginalized Identities

African American and Chicano identities are based on distinct experiences as members of the African and Mexican diaspora that resides in the United States. Cultural background, surviving connections to heritage, level of discrimination, and skin color: these are several differences that distinguish the African American and Mexican American communities (see

[57] Cordelia Chávez Calendaria, "Chicano Renaissance," in *Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture*, vol. 2, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 151. The Chciano Renaissance literary movement also influenced and was influenced by "the Boom," a larger Latin American literary movement.

Figure 2 below). Although the differences between these groups and their identities is clear, the overall methods they use to explore these identities have similarities.[58]

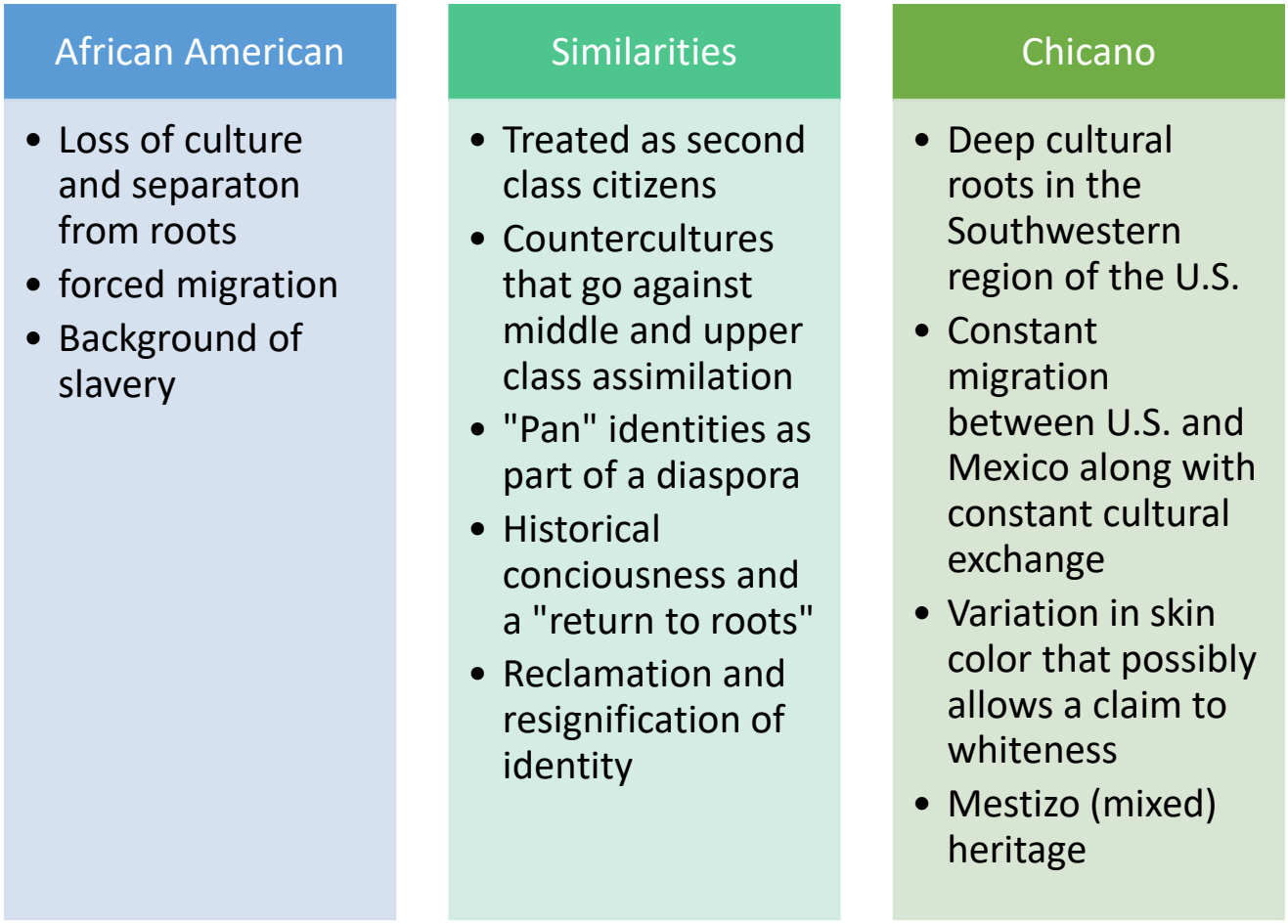
W. E. B. Du Bois posed the notion of "double consciousness," a situation in which African Americans reflect the white majority perception of their identity while simultaneously reflecting their own racial experience.[59] As African Americans continuously encountered the white majority's perception of Black identity through discrimination, the community increasingly fought the reflection of this perception by recognizing and determining their own identity. Mexican Americans also engaged in a similar effort as the community shifted from an assimilationist view to that of a separate identity as Mexican Americans.

African Americans and Chicanos alike engaged in a process that identified the existence of the Us or We while simultaneously determining the parameters of their cultural and social boundaries. As marginalized identities, creating an image that could encourage unity was paramount for these groups. This need resulted in the cultural and political expressions that the two groups cultivated. Although African Americans and Mexican Americans sought to reclaim and establish their definitions of self, it was largely initiated in the goal to be fully included into the Us and We as U.S. citizens, a right that was and has been repeatedly and systemically denied to them. Both communities reevaluated their positions as second-class citizens, challenged white majority notions, sought to rekindle cultural roots and connections, and stake their claims as United States citizens. They recodified the "African" and "Mexican" aspects of their identity

[58] I acknowledge that many of these sentiments to not apply universally to all African Americans and Mexican Americans. The communities as whole fought discrimination and sought solidarity through similar experiences, but how much an individual or small community agreed with different political movements and generalized cultural characteristics do not explain the nuances of identity that are created by class, generation, location, gender, family, and individual experiences.
[59] Hammack, 26.

while simultaneously reinforcing their positions as “American,” and as such deserved equal rights in society.

Figure 2. Characteristics of Community Identity



Chapter 3: Movement Musics: Features and Functions

Civil Rights Music

The African American musical experience is one of resilience and adaptation. Black slaves preserved some African musical traditions and adapted European styles to fit their aesthetics as they persevered through the inhumane conditions of slavery. After gaining freedom, "they transformed oral forms into written traditions, folk idioms into concert and urban styles, and secular and sacred traditions into hybrid forms of expression."[60] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, ragtime, blues, gospel, and eventually jazz were the most popular African American musical styles. After the great migration during WWI, new musical styles such as rhythm & blues were created, and African Americans left a permanent mark on all aspects of the music industry, including performance, teaching, composition, recording, and publishing.[61] This influence was crucial to the integration of African Americans into mainstream culture after WWII.

As the struggle for civil rights steadily intensified, African Americans once again relied on music to encourage perseverance, unification, and to act as a disseminator of messages. Music of the civil rights movement essentially encompasses that music created and repurposed as a consequence of African American frustrations between 1954 and 1965 specifically between *Brown v. Board of Education* and the Voting Rights Act. Although these are the general parameters, civil rights music persisted past the movement itself. Civil rights music was used to stir individuals to action, retell important historical moments, commemorate community

[60] "Portia K. Maultsby, "II. 2. African American" in "United States of America." *Grove Music Online.* 2001. https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000028794.
[61] Ramsey.

members lost to strife, and express various sentiments and their circumstances.[62] Several styles that contributed to civil rights music include freedom songs, gospel, rock & roll, rhythm & blues, and soul.[63] The performers of these styles are equally diverse and numerous, and include musicians such as Nina Simone, Sam Cooke, Curtis Mayfield, Billie Holiday, Mavis Staples, The Soul Stirrers, and James Brown.

Music was not a particularly prominent aspect of the movement until around 1960, but participants often sang hymns, gospel, and spiritual songs during movement gatherings. These were typically sung in a call-and-response format and were intended to organize and motivate members. Early freedom songs typically fell into one of two categories: rewritten spiritual and gospel songs used in movement activities, and newly composed works with themes of protest. One of the most popular examples of recomposition is "I Will Overcome Someday," written by Charles A. Tindley and adapted to "We Shall Overcome," which became the anthem of the movement.[64] This song also became a larger symbol of perseverance that would be used by other groups, including the farm worker protestors that initiated the Chicano movement.

Although religious and folk-derived styles such as gospel and soul were prominent in civil rights activities at the beginning, the music used eventually shifted to more popular and newly formed styles. Many of the movement songs that are most familiar today were created toward the end of the movement, as popular musicians began to overtly express civil rights themes and political statements in their music. While some songs, such as Sam Cooke's "A Change is Gonna Come," acted as an emotional appeal to the Black community, others, such as

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[62] Reiland Rabaka, *Civil Rights Music: The Soundtracks of the Civil Rights Movement* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2016), 4-5.
[63] Rabaka, 24.
[64] Tammy L. Kernodle, "Civil Rights Movement." *Grove Music Online.* 4 Oct. 2012. https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002228003.

Nina Simone's "Mississippi Goddam" and "Old Jim Crow" became increasingly critical of the white oppressors.[65] This musical shift foreshadowed the coming anti-assimilationist and cultural independence rhetoric of the Black Power movement which, while separate, can be seen as an extension of the civil rights movement. The transition between these movements also correlated with musical expressions of reclamation and cultural pride.

Civil rights music and Black Power music are part of a larger phenomenon in which each era of African American history corresponds with a new musical style. Rabaka argues that each movement in Black history is characterized by a popular music: spirituals reacted against slavery in the abolitionist movement; the blues reflected Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction difficulties; and jazz and ragtime developed as part of the New Negro Movement and the Harlem Renaissance.[66] Just as the civil rights movement was accompanied by freedom songs and other styles for expressive purposes, so too did the Chicano movement develop its distinct musical features.

Movimiento Music

As did African Americans, Chicanos had movement music of their own. Chicano music, also known as movimiento music, "is music that relates directly to the political and cultural events of the Chicano movement."[67] As a reflection of Chicano identity, Chicano music derived from an amalgamation of Mexican, Latin American, and United States influences, including Mexican folk and popular repertoire, Latin American popular music, and North American civil

[65] Kernodle.
[66] Rabaka, 13.
[67] Azcona, "Chicano Movement Music," *Grove Music Online*. 02, 2011. https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.ezproxy.tcu.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002092932.

rights and union songs. Throughout the movement, participants performed Chicano songs at rallies, meetings, demonstrations, theatrical stages, and coffee shops.[68] Although Chicano musical activity transpired throughout the Southwest, California was the heart of the activity. The formation of the United Farm Workers (UFW) inspired students, artists, musicians, and actors to participate artistically, and their efforts helped to establish the Chicano movement. Chicano music explored themes relevant to el movimiento, such as the marginalized experience of ethnic Mexicans, the expression of cultural pride, and unity against social inequality.

Student-based ensembles such as Conjunto Aztlán and La Rondalla Amerindia were the first Chicano ensembles to form. Daniel Valdez, one of the founders of Teatro Campesino, released his album *Mestizo* in 1974, the first Chicano album to be produced by a major label, A&M records.[69] A number of grassroots groups released self-produced albums, including Flor del Pueblo (San José), Los Alacranes Mojados (San Diego), and Los Lobos del Este de Los Angeles (Los Angeles; they would later be known as Los Lobos). Other prominent Chicano musicians include Chuy Negrete in Chicago and Rumel Fuentes in Eagle Pass, Texas.[70] Chicano musicians performing more popular music styles included Little Joe y la Familia, Ritchie Valens, Vikki Carr, and Thee Midniters, among others, but these musicians were "Chicano" based on their ethnicity as opposed to the musical embodiment of the ideals and beliefs of the Chicano movement.

Azcona divides music of the movimiento into two phases: the first spans approximately from 1968 to 1973 and is marked by music derived from Mexican styles, particularly the corrido; the second phase spans the mid to late 1970s and is characterized by broader tastes that include

[68] Estévan Azcona, "Chicano Movement Music," in *Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture*, vol. 1, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2004), 143.
[69] Azcona, "Chicano Movement Music," in *Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture*, vol 1. 146.
[70] Azcona, "Chicano Movement Music," in *Grove Music Online.*

U.S. and Latin American folk and popular styles.[71] The change of musical characteristics reflects the development of the Chicano movement, as the focus of the activists switched from establishing a common ground rooted in Chicano cultural nationalism to broader themes and forms of expression from Latin America and the United States, influences which had been present well before the movement.[72]

The first phase of movimiento music began simultaneously with the Chicano movement, when the UFW formed to protest exploitive farm owners in California. As the movement began to take shape, music served two main purposes: to project the cultural frustrations of the farm workers (which naturally engaged the ethnic Mexican struggle as a whole), and also as a functional method of organizing the participants while emphasizing the purpose of the strikes. In these formative years, activists focused on establishing a common political and cultural ground as well as creating a cultural nationalist sentiment, and as such a base set of shared repertoire emerged regardless of geography. These goals inspired activists to use traditional Mexican song styles, religious music such as hymns, and civil rights and union songs to accomplish their objectives. A rich repertoire of Mexican styles was present in the United States, including the corrido, ranchera, tejano, conjunto, mariachi, habanera, and son jarocho.[73]

Of these styles, the beginning of el movimiento often featured the corrido, a Mexican song style that developed as a means of oral storytelling and documentation. Corridos present a narrative through text rather than specific musical characteristics. The narrative usually concerns a significant person, place, or event, often emphasizing heroic deeds. Early corridos from the

[71] Estévan Azcona, "Movements in Chicano Music: Performing Culture, Performing Politics, 1965-1979," PhD diss. (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 2008),
[72] Azcona, diss. 20.
[73] "Mexican American Song," *Library of Congress.* https://www.loc.gov/item/ihas.200197459#:~:text=The%20National%20Jukebox%20(Library%20of,Company%20in%20Philadelphia%20in%201906.

Texas-Mexican border focused on the racial conflict between Anglo Americans and ethnic Mexicans, and in the civil rights era corridos were adapted to reflect the farm worker and ethnic Mexican struggles as second-class citizens. These adapted and newly composed corridos came to be known as *huelga* (strike) songs. The huelga songs served two functions for farm worker protests: they were a practical means of organizing, relaying, and retaining political objectives; and they expressed cultural pride and unity by relying on a popular Mexican song style. The UFW also incorporated religious songs such as "De Colores," a non-political pastoral song derived from the Catholic church in Spain, which became the theme song for the UFW.[74]

As the Chicano movement gained momentum and musicians moved on from the farm-worker struggle, young Chicano student activists and musicians (particularly from el Teatro Campesino) went on to contribute to the Chicano cultural renaissance, adapting to reflect the broad scope of individuality as Mexican Americans identified as Chicano, Americans (United States citizens), and at an international level as Latinos. The tone shifted from identifying a singular Mexican American experience to expressing Chicano identity through a broader Latino lens, expressed through the influence of the *nueva canción* movement. This movement, which corresponded with Latin American left-wing political activity focused on civil rights in the 60s and 70s, was a broad umbrella term that included diverse expression of Latin American musical cultures decentered from European and U.S. influences.[75] Chicanos engaged with this activity by incorporating a variety of Latin American musical characteristics into their repertoire.

The music of el movimiento stemmed from a vast repertoire of musical traditions that were accommodated to the Chicano situation. What began as a means of organization and protest

[74] Azcona, "Chicano Movement Music," in *Encyclopedia of Latino Popular Culture*, 144.
[75] Fairley, Jan. "La Nueva Canción Latinoamericana." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 3, no. 2 (1984): 107-15. doi:10.2307/3338257.

soon became an expression of cultural pride, embracing and reflecting the hybridity that constitutes the Mexican American experience.

Movement Musics: Trends and Comparisons

The music of African American and Chicano activists alike stemmed from long lines of musical traditions which were adapted according to the experiences and needs of these groups. As disenfranchisement by the white dominant culture persisted, African Americans and Mexican Americans increasingly fought racism, creating music that reflected their circumstances. Once civil rights movements began in earnest, more intentionally collective musical goals developed. Each era of African American history was accompanied by a new musical style that reflected the social climate. This notion demonstrates in a broad sense how communities react culturally and musically to social adversity, as seen in the manner that Mexican Americans transformed corridos to reflect racial tension at the border and later into huelga songs for protest.

Each movement initially used music as a means of organization, expression, and motivation for activists, relying on simple song styles and forms that came from their cultural background, providing a functional purpose with cultural significance. The movements shifted from a goal-oriented protest for societal inclusion to more generalized cultural pride and expression, and as such the musical output naturally changed too.

Both movements also speak to the hybridity of situation, albeit in different ways. The hybridity of Chicanos is perhaps easier to visualize as a spectrum between Mexican and American identity. While Mexican Americans are connected through their heritage, geographical and generational nuances create a diverse, hybrid community that is reflected in its musical practices. The African American community is a hybrid amalgamation of African cultures (in

which few Africanisms survived) and the dominant white culture with which it was forced to assimilate. The hybridity that formed and continues to shape these communities and their musical output results in more points of difference than similarities.

Despite similarities between the musics and the motivations for their inception, it is also apparent that the African American and Mexican American experiences are very distinct, affecting the development of the civil rights and movimiento musics. As noted in the previous chapter, African Americans experienced a community-wide identity loss owing to the forcible displacement from their continent of origin. While some musical Africanisms were preserved, the displaced African communities in the New World either adapted or simply lost most of their original musical and cultural traditions after generations of slavery. Since then, African Americans have "improvised" and created their own musical identity. They have contributed many musical innovations which had fundamentally improved twentieth and twenty-first century American popular music.

Chicanos, on the other hand, have had almost the opposite experience. Although some Mexicans had experienced a sort of displacement after the U.S. annexation of the Southwest, most of them resided in the same location as before, avoiding physical displacement. In this instance the border moved, not the Mexican community. As such, the cultural and musical traditions remained not only largely intact, but were also reinforced through constant immigration between the United States and Mexico. Mexican American identity formed as a hybrid phenomenon between Mexican and U.S. cultures, which is epitomized in the formation of border musics such as Tejano and norteño. Interestingly, as Mexican Americans increasingly performed and integrated popular U.S. styles, they also incorporated African American styles that formed the backbone of popular American music. In summary, African Americans created

various musical styles based on a limited number of accessible traditions while simultaneously creating U.S. musical traditions; Mexican Americans occupied the cultural and musical space between Mexican and American, pulling from both as needed as a reflection of individual and communal identities of the time.

While the connections to their roots constituted much of the foundational differences, the goals of the movements themselves also shaped how the movement musics formed. Protest aimed at discrimination was at the forefront of both movements as they began, and both relied on simple, traditional song styles, often with religious connections, to serve their purposes. As the movements expanded, musicians increasingly incorporated popular styles while focusing on cultural pride and expression. Important differences also arose from the different goals of Chicanos and African Americans. While the nature of the African American civil rights movement transitioned from achieving societal inclusion through peaceful protest to more militant means of gaining cultural recognition and even independence, Chicanos also became increasingly non-assimilative, but not as intensely. While the music of these movements reflects these nuances, they also reinforce the increasing cultural pride through the mid-twentieth century.

The musical shifts from protest-oriented songs to songs that engendered cultural pride reflected the changes in perceptions of community identity. The negative perceptions of both communities by the white majority manifested into systemic discrimination which the African American and Mexican American communities confronted. Throughout these movements, both minority groups identified the mainstream American culture as the instigator of injustice and discrimination, and in defiance African Americans and Mexican Americans strengthened their identities at individual and communal levels. As these groups expressed their identity musically,

there was a constant interplay of acknowledging who They, I, and We were, as will be demonstrated through specific examples in the following chapter. By emphasizing one or more of these levels of identity, the musics of the civil rights movements were able to accomplish their goals and further their cause.

Chapter 4: Expressing Identity in Movement Musics

In this chapter, I will discuss expression of identity in movement musics in a manner that correlates to the They, I, and We sequence that I suggest. Rabaka poses the question: "was the music inspired by the Civil Rights Movement, or was the Civil Rights Movement inspired by the music?"[76] In other words, which came first, the movement or the music? Similarly, I wondered: what comes first, the expression of I, We, or They? Both questions have the same answer: yes. Just as the movement and the musics form together interdependently, the expression of They, I, and We are hardly, if ever, mutually exclusive. The presence of either I, We, or They implies the presence of the others. Movement songs seem always to represent self, whether as part of a struggle or a strong declaration of identity. As we will see, these expressions overlap, constantly intertwined while also giving weight to the others' existence.

Expression of Frustrations: Identifying "Them"

The first two song examples demonstrate how both Chicanos and African Americans, in attempts to solidify their community through cultural and ideological solidarity, identified the antagonistic They who repeatedly denied these groups their rights. The song "Corrido de Rio Arriba" tells the story of a famous exploit by Reies Lopez Tijerina and La Alianza Federal de las Mercedes. Tijerina and his organization were interested in the land grants of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that had been violated. In 1967, *aliancistas* (members of La Alianza Federal de las Mercedes) planned to occupy the Echo Amphitheater campground in the Kit Carson National Forest in New Mexico, the location of the original land grant. District Attorney Alfonso Sánchez of Rio Arriba ordered the roads to be blocked and several members were arrested. In

[76] Rabaka, 6.

reaction, Tijerina and the aliancistas gathered on June 5 and attacked the jail holding their comrades, injuring two officers in the process, but as luck would have it their comrades had already been released on bail. Shortly after the attack, Acting Governor L. C. Francis sent the National Guard to arrest Tijerina and the others. This episode, along with others, led many Chicanos to consider Tijerina a heroic figure.[77]

"Corrido de Rio Arriba" was composed and performed by Los Reyes del Albuquerque in commemoration of the event. Most of the song's characteristics are typical of the corrido style. This ranchera-style corrido is in a waltz-like (or *ranchera valseado*) triple meter, in D major with simple and repetitive diatonic harmonies (I, IV, and V), and is performed by three singers, an accordion, and the bajo sexto. While the characteristics are straightforward, the choice of a corrido is significant itself. As a Mexican style, the corrido is a deliberate reference to the cultural heritage of the musicians, the characters of the story, and of el movimiento. To further indicate the cultural connection, the text of this corrido, as with most others sung in the Chicano Movement, is in Spanish, an important component of the ethnic Mexican community. The musical simplicity of the genre intentionally highlights the text.

An interesting aspect of this corrido is its somewhat irregular phrasing. Each phrase contains five measures, which departs from more typical two- and four-measure patterns. The relative consistency of the groupings, however, along with the predictable harmonies, provides an impression of overall symmetry common to corridos and rancheras. An extra measure at the end of each set of three verses creates a further irregular phrasing that continues in the instrumental sections. Although the corrido feels symmetrical overall, it is often irregular, taking away from the song's "dancability" in order to further emphasize the importance of the lyrics.

[77] Rosales, 273.

Los Reyes de Albuquerque sing the corrido in a narrative fashion. The first verse introduces the date and circumstances of the event, and after a short instrumental section, another verse depicts the confusion and pain of the event as the aliancistas, in their frustrations, attack the jail in order to free their comrades. After another instrumental section, the final set of three verses state:

Fuerron treinta que lograron Para la sierra escapar, Y el gobernador llamó A la Guardia Nacional.	There were thirty people Who managed to escape to the hills, And the governor called out The National Guard.
Cuando fueron capturados A la prisión los llevaron, Para que fueran juzgados Del crimen que se acusaron.	When they were captured, They took them away to prison, To be tried For the crime of which they were accused.
Este corrido termina Cuando se haga la justicia Para que no se repita Lo de allá en Tierra Amarilla.	This corrido ends When justice will be done, So that what occurred in Tierra Amarilla Will not be repeated.

The governor and the National Guard represent the American government that had denied Mexicans their land and rights as citizens, as the antagonistic They against the We of the Chicano community. Even though the text acknowledges in the previous stanzas that the "heroic" activists lost patience and control, the last stanza—"This corrido ends when justice will be done, so that what occurred in Tierra Amarilla will not be repeated"—refocuses the listener's attentions to the circumstances, the mistreatment of ethnic Mexicans, and the unfulfilled promises made by the U.S. government that led to this event. The increasingly troubling text makes the last stanza effective in identifying They, those responsible for the event.

In different contexts and fashions, African Americans also identified the oppressors of their community. The American jazz singer, pianist, and songwriter Nina Simone had the intention of becoming a classical pianist, she began singing and playing jazz out of financial necessity. Eventually Simone changed direction once again and became a Civil Rights agitator with the release in 1964 of her album *Nina Simone in Concert*, which featured her song "Mississippi Goddam," a scathing critique of the racial inequality and discrimination of the South.[78] The recording of Simone's live performance in Antibes in July features her playing the piano accompanied by a jazz rhythm section. The song begins relatively lighthearted in G major with the band accenting the weaker parts of the beat, creating a locomotive feeling. Here Simone introduces the following refrain:

Alabama's gotten me so upset
Tennessee has made me lose my rest
And everybody knows about Mississippi Goddam

The repetition of the phrase, although not always word-for-word, can be audibly identified through the I-IV-V-I harmonic progression. The accompaniment emphasizes the last line in particular by switching to a syncopated rhythm and playing in rhythmic unison with the words "Mississippi" and "Goddam," accentuating the frustration expressed in the text. In this performance, at the third appearance of the refrain Simone replaces the second line with "Governor Wallace has made me lose my rest," and, although the reference to the heavily segregationist Alabama politician seems almost comedic (the audience laughter in the recording is audible), Simone emphasizes her frustration by switching to speech. She frequently uses speech in a conversational, almost story-telling way that accentuates the frustration in her words,

[78] Neal, Mark Anthony. "Simone, Nina." *Grove Music Online.* 31 Jan. 2014; Accessed 29 Mar. 2021. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-1002258277.

employing this technique in the middle section which, while keeping the lively rhythms, shifts to E minor. The simple switch in tonality changes the feeling of comedic lightheartedness to one of agitation and paranoia as she says, “hound dogs are on my trail” and “I think everyday’s gonna be my last.” In the second half of the E-minor sections, Simone begins a call and response with instrumentalists who yell in unison “do it slow” in response to Simone’s grievances.

But that's just the trouble
"do it slow"
Washing the windows
"do it slow"
Picking the cotton
"do it slow"
You're just plain rotten
"do it slow"
You're too damn lazy
"do it slow"
The thinking's crazy
"do it slow"
Where am I going
What am I doing
I don't know
I don't know

But that's just the trouble
"do it slow"
Desegregation
"do it slow"
Mass participation
"do it slow"
Reunification
"do it slow"
Do things gradually
"do it slow"
But bring more tragedy
"do it slow"
Why don't you see it
Why don't you feel it
I don't know
I don't know

The technique is a musical Africanism that recalls slave song, but in this instance the response acts as the rebuttal of the white community who suggests that African Americans should “do it slow” in regard to gaining equal rights. Simone states “I don’t know I don’t know” in a speech-like manner, further conveying her frustration and a sense of fatigue that recalls decades of grievances and oppression. The ensemble uses that statement to modulate back to G major for the last verse of the song, which ends in an exciting exclamation of “Mississippi Goddam.”

You don't have to live next to me
Just give me my equality
Everybody knows about Mississippi
Everybody knows about Alabama
Everybody knows about Mississippi Goddam

Throughout the song, Simone addresses her complaints to the white community, who acts as the They to the Black community's We, or in other words the oppressors and the oppressed. Simone cleverly incorporates the call-and-response Africanism that entails the history of slavery to reiterate "do it slow," a rebuttal often heard from the white community. By emphasizing the text through key choice, speech vs song, and call-and-response, Simone creates a dialog that addresses They, the white community, with pleas by We the Black community.

While in vastly different styles, both "Corrido de Rio Arriba" and "Mississippi Goddam" both identify the antagonistic They to whom activists protested and appealed for civil rights. The corrido relies on traditional Mexican folk styles with simple harmonic and formal qualities and emphasis on text, while Simone's song uses a variety of musical techniques to convey her meaning. As different as these examples are from each other, both rely on musical qualities from their cultures to effectively identify the oppressors of their collective community.

Expression of Pride: Identifying "I"

Cross's nigresence theory labels the last phase of a person's "coming to Blackness" as internalization-commitment. After experiencing (or—according to the new theory—having an attitude of) pre-encounter, encounter, immersion/emersion, and internalization, one may choose to commit to one's ethnic identity by continuing to internalize and express it. Although Cross's theory pertains specifically to the African American community, it can be applicable to other minorities, including Chicanos. As we will see in the following two musical examples, overt

commitment to being Black or Chicano is expressed, reaffirming identity at an individual level upon which the community will build.

When describing the ethnic and cultural pride of the civil rights movements, one of the songs most likely to come to mind is the funk song "Say it Loud – I'm Black and I'm Proud" sung by James Brown. Written in 1968 as the civil rights movement began to diminish and transition to Black Power, this song was a particularly strong indicator of the radical, anti-assimilationist movement to come. This song, along with other works by Brown, was a significant contribution to the formation of funk in the late 1960s.[79]

As expected, the lyrics emphasize pride in being Black, a bold declaration that reclaims Black identity in a positive light. The well-known refrain states "Say it loud, I'm Black and I'm proud!" in a call-and-response style between Brown and the chorus of children. The phrase is an expression of internalizing Black pride, and each repetition recommits the singer, and possibly the listener, to their pride in Blackness. Between refrains, Brown expresses the frustrations of the African American community through rhythmically loose speech, stating:

Look a'here, some people say we got a lot of malice
Some say it's a lotta nerve
I say we won't quit moving
Til we get what we deserve
We've been buked and we've been scorned
We've been treated bad, talked about
And just as sure as you're born
But just as sure as it take
Two eyes to make a pair, huh
Brother, we can't quit until we get our share

[79] Brackett, David. "Funk." *Grove Music Online*. 2001; Accessed 29 Mar. 2021. https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000046626.

Brown engages the Black community through his use of "we" and "brother," emphasizing that the Black community had been treated wrong. He appeals to the collective sense of identity but does so by first convincing the individual to commit to being Black. The refrain repeats with Brown telling the listener to "Say it loud," to which the listener responds along with the chorus—metaphorically the Black community—shouting "I'm Black and I'm proud."

The Chicano corrido "Yo Soy Chicano," recorded by Los Alvarados, exemplifies this sense of personal affirmation and commitment. The Chicano song derives from the Mexican corrido "La rielera" ("the railway woman"), a folk song dating back to the Mexican Revolution. "La rielera" depicts a woman's relationship with a man during the Mexican Revolution. The text conveys revolutionary themes through statements such as *Tengo mi par de pistolas* ("I have my pair of pistols") and references to railways, which became significant battle grounds during the revolution.[80] In 1968, the same year "Say It Loud – I'm Black and I'm Proud" was released, Juanita Dominquez rewrote the text to "La rielera" while riding a bus to the Poor People's Campaign in Washington D.C. The new text spoke to the Chicano plight, calling for a Chicano "revolution" against oppression.

In the version sung by Patricia Carión, a mariachi ensemble consisting of guitar, violin, trumpet, vihuela, and guitarrón accompany her. In the version recorded by Los Alvarados, the guitar alone accompanies the singer(s), creating a thinner homophonic texture and playing simple I-IV-V harmonies. The mariachi version has various instrumental interjections from the violins and trumpets, which provide syncopation and more harmonic variation in comparison to

[80] Rosales, 76-102.

the version by Los Alvaredos. The new text also makes clear references to Chicano identity. The refrain reads:

Yo soy Chicano, tengo color, Puro Chicano, hermano con honor. Cuando me dicen que hay revolución, Defiendo a mi raza con mucho valor.	I am Chicano, of color Pure Chicano, a brother with honor. When they tell me there is revolution, I defend my people with great honor.[81]

The song's text expresses a sense of ethnic pride in mestizo identity by "being of color" ("tengo color") as the singer states "I am Chicano." The text depicts the Chicano as the hero of the corrido who has "honor," "valor," and defends the people as he states "Voy a luchar con los pobres" ("I am going to fight alongside the poor") and "Tengo mi orgullo y machismo" ("I have my pride and my manliness"). The text also refers to the Chicano collective by touching on topics at the center of the Chicano movement, such as the poor, impoverished conditions of the barrios. By fighting for the poor communities, Chicanos commits themselves internally to the community as well.

By passionately stating "Yo soy Chicano" and "I'm Black and I'm proud" while relying on culturally significant musical characteristics, the singers of these songs declare a commitment to their identity, further internalizing it. This individual sense of pride further unifies others with similar backgrounds and sentiments, establishing a stronger community We that stands together in solidarity against oppression.

[81] Azcona and Rodriguez, 9.

Expression of Community: Identifying "We"

Although many movement songs express group-wide unity and solidarity, the following examples are particularly effective in portraying a sense of community.

Los Alacranes Mojados wrote and recorded "Chicano Park Samba" in 1979 as a part of their album *Rolas de Aztlán.* The text describes the struggle of the Logan Heights community in San Diego against a municipal plan to demolish their local park in order to build a highway patrol substation. The majority of the text is recited by the lead singer Chunky Sanchez in a poetic manner. He describes the scene as:

> A park where all of the *chavalitos* could play in
> So they wouldn't have to get run over by a car.
> A park, where all of the *viejitos* could come
> And just sit down and watch the sun go down in the *tarde*
> A park where the *familias* could come,
> And just get together on a Sunday afternoon
> And celebrate the spirit of life itself.[82]

The scene Sanchez depicts is that of a peaceful barrio community. The imagery is particularly powerful in evoking a sense of family values. Sanchez uses "code switching" by interjecting Spanish words such as *chavalitos, viejitos, familias,* and, later on, *orale* into the English text. He continues: "*La raza* of Logan Heights and other Chicano communities of San Diego got together…And they began to build their park." The dominant use of English mixed with significant Spanish terms expresses duality of their identity, as ethnic Mexicans who speak Spanish as well as being Americans living in San Diego.

Sanchez once again switches codes by mentioning *la raza* ("the people"), and the narrative here is particularly interesting. Although the song is not a *corrido,* it narrative like a

[82] Azcona and Rodriguez, 31.

corrido, but in this instance the Chicano communities are the would-be heroes who triumph over the white hegemony in order to preserve their way of life, centered on familial and communal values, creating a strong sense of We.

The musical style of "Chicano Park Samba" also expresses an overall change of aesthetics in the Chicano community. Although the song title includes "samba," the Brazilian popular musical style, the style of the song's performance is a generic interpretation of Latin American tropical music.[83] The stylistic choice references the changing musical tastes of the Chicano community as well as a growing sense of identity as Latinos. To convey a tropical style, the song features accompaniment by congas and marimba. The congas, guitar, and voice perform syncopated rhythms that further evoke a tropical style. Together, the textual references to the Chicano community and the generic tropical musical style contextualize Chicanos as part of the larger pan-Latino identity.

After relying on Mexican musical and cultural traditions to create an initial sense of solidarity, the Chicano movement flourished and expanded to include a broader sense of We and community. The following musical example from the African American struggle also evokes a strong sense of collective, community-wide experience not by describing a specific event, but by creating a relatable image that is instantly understood.

One of the best-known songs of the African American civil rights movement is "A Change is Gonna Come" by Sam Cooke. The song expresses sadness, perseverance, and hope felt by the African American community in the struggle for a quality life. Cooke sings accompanied by a full orchestra, which provides a rich orchestration to support the soul style of

[83] Tropical music refers to various styles that derive from the Caribbean and Latin America, specifically along the Caribbean Sea. For more information, see Peter Wade's "La Costa and Música Costeña in the Columbian Nation" in *Music, Race, and Nation: Música Tropical in Columbia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 30-52.

this song. The orchestral introduction ends on a dominant chord, theatrically opening the curtains to the narrative. The first two lines of each stanza, as well as the entire bridge, tell the experiences of the narrator. Since birth, the narrator has repeatedly experienced discrimination and constantly fears for his life. When he reaches out to ask for help, most likely from his white brethren, he is only further repressed. Despite the hardships, the narrator is able to carry on, knowing that a better future lies ahead. The mixture of despair and hope is emphasized through tonality and pitch duration. The harmonic progression of the first stanza is as follows:

B-flat
I was born by the river in a little tent
Cm Gm F
Oh and just like the river I've been running ev'r since
B-flat Cm
It's been a long time, a long time comin'
E-flat D Gm B-flat
But I know a change gonna come, oh yes it will

The stanza begins in B-flat major, evoking a sense of nostalgia, but the sweet imagery darkens with the appearance of G minor, the relative minor, which marks the narrator's long struggle for survival. G minor returns as he states "But I know a change gonna come" before opening up to B-flat major with "oh yes it will." Throughout the song, the appearance of "long" in each stanza lasts for two beats followed by a rest for another beat. The extended duration of "long" emphasizes how long African Americans have waited for a better, freer life. The switch from G minor (which is strengthened by a secondary dominant chord) to B-flat major accentuates the difficulties that the narrator is experiencing alongside the hope that he believes will come. This harmonic pattern continues in the following two stanzas, and after the bridge—which heavily emphasizes G minor as the narrator is knocked down by those from whom he seeks help—the original pattern returns in the last four lines. In this last stanza, the end of the second line returns to G minor, but after overcoming the musical and metaphorical bridge of

difficulty and strife, the text “But now I think I’m able to carry on” conveys a newfound sense of determination.

Although Cooke emphasizes “I” and the narrator’s experiences, the narrative and several musical characteristics engender a sense of community, particularly the African American community. The most apparent reference to the African American is the soul style of the song. The combination of Cooke’s timbral variety between smooth and raspy timbres, the ballad-like feel, and lush orchestration (particularly the use of horns, which provide a solemn quality) create a religious effect that recall the gospel origins of soul. These characteristics, coupled with the daily imagery and dialectic pronunciation of words such as “comin’” and “gonna,” combines the religious undertones with personal and communal sentiments. This powerful combination of identities enables the song to effectively express the African American experience.

Distinct Expressions of Identity

The similar treatment faced by African Americans and Chicanos resulted in similar methods of expression, but it is also worthwhile to acknowledge other, more distinct approaches of expression that these communities relied on. To skim over these differences could leave an overly parallel impression of the movement musics. Examining songs that serve different significant functions can help elucidate the identities they express.

As discussed earlier, mestizaje constituted a significant part of Chicano identity throughout el movimiento. Chicanos emphasized and took pride in their indigenous heritage, particularly as descendants on the Aztecs, the most prominent indigenous society that resided in the current area of Mexico before the arrival of the Spaniards. Chicanos often referred to their indigenous heritage in their art and music: “El Quinto Sol” by Los Peludos is one such example.

The title and text refer to the Aztec myth of creation and destruction which is completed over five sun cycles, or "eras."[84] The text discusses Western colonialization of indigenous peoples alongside modern political issues, illustrating the continuation of white hegemony. The song consists of a short introductory phrase and three verses, each of which is followed by a refrain. The musical style is strikingly similar to *bachata*, a Caribbean musical style which Azcona states is a reflection of the expanding musical tastes of Mexican Americans inspired by the *nueva cancion* movement.[85] The song incorporates elements of bachata through the use of congas (replacing the traditional bongos), timbales, the *requinto,* and the repeated rhythm consisting of an eight note, two sixteenth notes, and six more eighth notes.

Los Peludos begin the song by stating "This is the era of the sun."[86] Similar to the They-I-We sequence described earlier, the text first identifies the colonizing white powers, then depicts a sense of I and We through pride in indigenous heritage. The first verse describes the arrival of the Spaniards who brought destruction to "the noble Indian" through colonization. Lead singer Enrique Ramírez states "And now, instead of Náhuatl, I speak Spanish…And from the conquest and the destruction mestizos were born children of the sun"[87] As a result of the brutal European conquest "I," the Chicano individual, was born and now speaks Spanish in place of Náhuatl, the Aztec language. In the following verses Ramírez continues referencing modern methods of white domination of mestizo groups, including U.S. interference in South American political affairs and the U.S. annexation of Puerto Rico, Hawai'i, and "Aztlán." The second half of each verse briefly moves away from the cheerful C major to A minor, creating a darker, more serious mood when describing the arrival of Hernán Cortez, the suffering of South Americans,

[84] Michael E. Smith, *The Aztecs* (Chicester: John Wiley & Sons, 2012), 198.
[85] Azcona and Rodriguez, 24.
[86] "Esta es la era del sol."
[87] "Y ahora en vez de náhuatl, hablo espanol… Y de la conquista y la destrucción nacieron mestizos, hijos del sol."

and the call for Chicanos to push forward in their fight for justice. But these shifts to minor are never confirmed through cadences in A minor. The tonality reverts to C major as the text provides a ray of hope, leading into the refrain that states:

Pero este sol ya se acabó, se está apagando.	But this sun is coming to an end, it is burning out.
El gringo opresor ya está temblando.	The gringo oppressor is now trembling.
Todo el mundo pobre ya va marchando.	All of the poor people are now marching.
Cantemos, hermanos, al nuevo sol.	Let's sing, brothers and sisters, to the new sun.
Cantemos, hermanos, al nuevo sol.	Let's sing, brothers and sisters, to the new sun.

After describing the wrong-doings of the oppressors and the consequences on the individual and group level for mestizos, Chicanos, and South Americans alike, Ramírez states that the era of colonization is coming to an end at the hands of the collective mestizos fighting against subjugation. By setting this text to bachata, a Caribbean style, Chicanos and South Americans are contextualized as part of the larger pan-Latino community, sharing similar backgrounds, issue, and goals.

The song relies on specific historical events and the ethnic roots of Mexican Americans to make its argument and stimulate the community into action. This method of expression is more available to the Mexican American community than to African Americans due to the massive cultural disconnect experienced by the latter. African Americans can only speculate who their ancestors were, and therefore they must rely less on specific ethnic background as a means of expression. Instead, many African American civil rights songs expressed the sorrow of culture loss as well as anticipated redemption after enduring centuries of enslavement as a community. Bernice Johnson Reagon, a regarded civil-rights singer, activist, composer, and historian, expresses such sentiments through her compositions.

In 1975, Reagon released her album *Give Your Hands to the Struggle*, a compilation of twelve freedom songs she arranged or composed. Although the album was released well into the Black Power movement, the songs continue the tradition of freedom songs sung in the civil rights movement. Similar to other freedom songs, many of Reagon's works carry themes of religious redemption, expressing hope for future deliverance from their struggles, whether it be in life or in death. One such example in this album is Reagon's arrangement of the song "Old Ship of Zion," a song associated with the underground railroad. It is unaccompanied in the style of rural Baptist congregational singing, with which Reagon grew up. In this recording she sings the verse alone in a slow, emotional manner as she describes the "raging sea" upon which she sees a "savior-like" figure, presumably Jesus, beckoning her to follow him to Zion, the prophetic destination of deliverance found in the New and Old Testaments. The chorus joins in to harmonize with Reagon, stating that "It will carry you through danger… It has landed many a thousand…" The text depicts the ship as a sign of deliverance in several ways: as a method of physical transportation, as a symbol of redeeming hope in God, and as a reference to the ships that delivered the Africans from their homeland to enslavement. The spiritual and historical implications underscored by the sentimental style of the congregational singing creates a sense of mournful hope.

Another song of Reagon's own composition, "Why Did They Take Us Away," also emotes a sense of community loss, mourning, and perseverance. Reagon composed this song after returning from her second trip to Ghana, where she conversed with "Ghanaians who referred to the fact that in a certain period of their history, long ago, they had suffered a great loss when many of their sisters and brothers were forcibly taken away from them." To this,

Reagon exclaims "they were talking about me!"[88] The renewed sense of kinship and loss, as well as the musical style of the Dagboni praise singer Salisu Mahama, influenced the composition of this work. The text is as follows:

Why did they take us away? (3x)

I can't reach out my arms. (2x)
I stand on shifting sand.

I hold on to my song. (2x)
It makes me know my name.

My sun is burning high. (2x)
Come watch my golden flame.

I can't roll back the years. (2x)
I must keep moving on.

Reagon tiredly sings the "Why did they take us away?" in B-flat, accompanied by various percussive African instruments. Reagon uses "they" and "us," clearly identifying the white captors and the forcibly displaced African American community. The in-between verses she sings with a nasal tone at a higher pitch that contrasts with the low, warm style used in the chorus, a timbral variety characteristic of African musics. The use of African instruments and timbral variety deepens the textual references to the roots from which Reagon and the African American community were physically separated by an ocean and chronologically by centuries. This use of musical Africanisms was made possible through Reagon's travel to Ghana, an opportunity not easily accessible for many African Americans in the middle of the twentieth century. Through this uncommon experience, Reagon was able to express this community-wide

[88] Bernice Johnson Reagon and E. Ethelbert Miller, "Give Your Hands to Struggle." SF 40049, booklet (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Folkways, 1997), 20-21.

sorrow and perseverance to “keep moving on” by associating with a more concrete connection to heritage that eludes many African Americans.

The emphasis placed on mestizo heritage for Chicanos and the generational trauma for African Americans are distinct experiences and are expressed as such musically. Although these aspects are separate experiences, in both circumstances one’s cultural heritage—whether present or absent, retained or newly created—is presented as a detrimental facet to the African American and Mexican American communities. Their distinct ethnic backgrounds were marked as “other,” or They, by the white American community, and in the process of perseverance and reclamation that occurred from the 1950s to the 1970s, African Americans and Chicanos managed their own identity by expressing the community ethnic experiences.

Conclusion

Throughout this study I have discussed how the African American and Chicano communities expressed their identities throughout the civil rights era by emphasizing They, I, and We through their music. This expression is often accomplished through textual references to the different levels of identity, as well as a musical emphasis on ethnic African or Mexican roots. These musicians identified the mistreatment they endured as a whole by the antagonistic They, reaffirmed and committed to their identity at a personal level, then unified as the collective We for cultural and social strength. Expressions of They, I, and We are always intertwined, implying by nature the existence of each other as they are expressed, a characteristic reflected in these musical examples as well. The differences the African American and Chicano communities have faced are expressed in a manner that highlights the distinctiveness of their groups, but perceived from a broader perspective, they can also be examined as a general trend of cultural expression in response to racial adversity.

I have also explored the historical and musical contexts of Civil Rights and Chicano movement musics while framing the analysis of specific examples through of identity. To think in terms of They, I, We and discuss the differences and similarities between two groups are simple concepts, but it is important to revisit and recontextualize these events and notions. While the issues in civil rights often manifest in terms of identity, they are infrequently compared in terms of musical expression. The expressive trends discussed in this work could be fruitfully applied to the music of other minority groups, allowing further contextualization the experiences of these communities. By constantly engaging with and reframing past and current situations, we can better empathize with the experiences of other groups, notice trends sooner, and challenge perspectives of how we view ourselves and others.

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