

【연구논문】

## **Sé Que Voy a Regresar : Migrant Music and Globalization in the Nuevo South**

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The tradition-embracing American South has become a vital new borderland in the era of modern globalization. The diverse, growing, and vital Latino immigrant population newly arrived in the region is transforming longstanding, historically insular Southern culture by introducing new cultures and identities into areas that are already rich with established and distinctive cultural traditions. What happens when the diverse musical styles of Mexican culture are brought with migrants to a region steeped in its own singular and even definitional style of music?<sup>2)</sup>

This article answers this question by defining and evaluating

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- 1) Research for this project in part was accomplished while I was an Institute scholar at the National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Institute, "Regional Study and the Liberal Arts: An Appalachian Exemplar," Ferrum College, Ferrum, VA, June 5-30, 2006. I appreciate the insightful comments of Jae Roe, Bradley S. Tatar, and Rubén Rumbaut on my paper presented at Seoul National University and the thoughtful suggestions of the anonymous readers.
  - 2) As an introduction to the rich variety of Mexican regional music see Ramiro Burr, *Tejano and Regional Mexican Music* (New York: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1999); John M. Schechter, "Popular Mexican musical traditions: the Mariachi of West Mexico and the Conjunto Jarocho of Veracruz," in Schechter, *Music in Latin American Culture: Regional Traditions* (New York : Schirmer Books, 1999); and Steven Loza, "Contemporary Ethnomusicology in Mexico," *Latin American Music Review / Revista de Música Latinoamericana*, 11: 2 (Autumn-Winter, 1990), 201-250.

globalization in terms of cultural transfer in the South, by demonstrating the resilience of traditional music in the new migrant populations, and by tracing the interplay of tradition and hybridization in the music being produced. It also describes observations conducted at events involving the migrant music, such as norteño bands playing in North Carolina and Mexican rodeos in Virginia. In so doing, this article describes the type, transfer, and process of migrant music in utterly new ways and presents the evolving meaning of the music in its new regional context. This article goes beyond merely describing the types of migrant music to understand its evolving embeddedness in the new context of a globalized South arguably experiencing wrenching change more intensely than any other region of the United States.

As Raymond A. Mohl has noted, with some understatement, “Dixie is experiencing a dramatic demographic, economic, and cultural transformation.”<sup>3)</sup> The Latinization of the South, the rise of what scholars have memorably termed “the Nuevo South,” marks yet another iteration of the much evaluated New South, and must be considered one of the most significant developments in the region in the age of modern globalization. The arrival of this massive new, largely Mexican population has deeply challenged and enriched the social, economic, civic, and cultural systems of the region. It is replacing the white-black racial dynamic as the core attribute of the contemporary South, and it must be considered one of the most significant developments in the

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3) quote is from Mohl, “Globalization, Latinization, and the Nuevo New South,” *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 32. Also see the expanded argument in Raymond A. Mohl, “Globalization, Latinization, and the Nuevo New South,” in James C. Cobb and William Stueck, *Globalization and the American South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 66-99; and his case study, Mohl, “Latinization in the Heart of Dixie: Hispanics in the Late-Twentieth-Century Alabama,” *Alabama Review* (2002), 243-274.

region in the age of modern globalization.

North Carolina leads the South in dramatic change. As of 2004, the Latino population of North Carolina has increased by 1066% since 1970 (to over a half million), compared to the nationwide increase of 355% in that time. Between 1990 and 2000 alone, the state had an astonishing 393.8% increase in Hispanic population. Mexicans make up the majority of the migrants in most of the southern states and at least 73% of the migrant population in North Carolina is from Mexico, principally from the states of Guerrero, Veracruz, Guanajuato, Michoacán, Hidalgo, Oaxaca, Estado de México, Puebla, and also from Mexico City. The Hispanic populations in both Arkansas and Georgia increased over 300% between 1990 and 2000, and these rates of growth have also increased in the last several years. Other states in the South have extraordinarily similar stories. Tennessee, South Carolina, Alabama have had growth rates over 200%, while Kentucky's population of Hispanics grew by 173%. Between 1990 and 2000, the Hispanic population in Virginia experienced historic change. Hispanics became "the fastest growing ethnic group" in the Commonwealth, increasing 105.6% compared with overall growth in population of 15.7%. Of special significance is immigration to rural areas and small towns that have not historically experienced such an influx of foreign populations.<sup>4)</sup>

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4) John D. Kasarda and James H. Johnson, Jr., "The Economic Impact of the Hispanic Population on the State of North Carolina," (Frank Hawkins Kenan Institute of Private Enterprise, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, January 2006), 1, 3. The 2005 numbers are drawn from the U.S. Census <http://factfinder.census.gov/> and the percentages are easily accessible in the charts in Mohl, 38-40 and in a number of excellent maps and charts in Rakesh Kochhar, Roberto Suro, & Sonya Tafoya. "*The New Latino South: The Context and Consequences of Rapid Population Growth*," Pew Hispanic Center (July 26, 2005), available at <http://pewhispanic.org/reports/report.php?ReportID=50>; Patricia Lynn Goerman, "The Promised Land? The Gendered Experience of New Hispanic 'Proletarian' Immigrants to Central Virginia." Ph.D. diss., University of

There is no question that Latino migration to the United States creates important and lasting transformations of social spaces in multiple, fascinating ways, as scholars have explored in a variety of different regional contexts and utilizing an array of interdisciplinary tools.<sup>5)</sup> The unique historical and socioeconomic moment produced by the massive and unprecedented Mexican immigration to the U.S. South is also rightly viewed as a unique musical moment worth detailed and prolonged study. These migrant sounds must be viewed, understood, and heard as representative of a profound shift in the character, trajectory, regional identity, and sensory experience of the South. To utilize a broad concept from ethnomusicologist Jeff Todd Titon, the essential interpretative emphasis is to study “people making music” and uncoil their “musical ‘being in the world.’”<sup>6)</sup> Following Titon's theoretical

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Virginia, 2004, 33-36; Holly R. Barcus, “The Emergence of New Hispanic Settlement Patterns in Appalachia,” *The Professional Geographer*, 59:3 (2007): 298–315; Also see Daniel D. Arreola, “Hispanic/Latino Origins Populations,” *The New Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, vol 2: *Geography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 72-76; “Statistics and Information on the Hispanic Population and Market 2007,” Georgia Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, available at <http://www.ghcc.org/Statistics.html>.

- 5) See especially the diverse and fascinating essays in Daniel D. Arreola, ed., *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places: Community and Cultural Diversity in Contemporary America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), and Heather A. Smith and Owen J. Furuseth, eds., *Latinos in the New South: Transformations of Place* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2007); also Marcia Farr, *Rancheros in Chicagoacán: Language and Identity in a Transnational Community* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), especially ch. 3; Marcelo Orozco-Suarez and Mariela Páez, eds., *Latinos: Remaking America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Nicholas De Genova, *Working the Boundaries: Race, Space, and “Illegality” in Mexican Chicago*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Leon Fink, *The Maya of Morganton: Work and Community in the Nuevo New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Héctor Tobar, *Translation Nation: Defining a New American Identity in the Spanish-Speaking United States* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2005).
- 6) Jeff Todd Titon, “Knowing Fieldwork,” in Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, eds., *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 93.

frame, we can further refine our core question and ask what is the “musical being in the world” of the Mexican migrants in the contemporary South, how can it be described, and how should it be approached?

Music continues to define the South in terms of the new boundaries and connections being created within it by the new immigration. Southern regional distinctiveness can be located at least in part in Southern music both over time and in contemporary terms.<sup>7)</sup> Since music is such a vital part of southern tradition, culture, and identity, and since it is an appreciable if not core aspect of migrant culture, it is essential to consider in depth the musical impact of transnational migration on the South.

Studying migrant music-making and music culture provides a rich vantage from which to consider migrant transnationalism. As detailed by a variety of scholars in many fields, transnationalism creates new experiences that have cultural, economic, political, gender and even spiritual dimensions on individuals and institutions which resonate in new ways within regional cultures.<sup>8)</sup> Economic interdependence, the

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7) Alongside many other factors too, of course. This article recognizes southern regional distinctiveness but because of space constraints will not directly engage the historiographical debate so ably discussed in, among many others, Edward Ayers, “What We Talk About When We Talk about the South,” in Ayers, Patricia Nelson Limerick, Stephen Nussbaum, and Peter S. Onuf, eds., *All Over the Map: Rethinking America Regions* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 62-82; Peter Kolchin, *A Sphinx on the American Land: The Nineteenth Century South in Comparative Perspective* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003); and also the very interesting Kornelia Hahn, “Regionalism in Global Societies: A Contradiction?” in Honnighausen, Marc Frey, James Peacock, and Nicklaus Steiner, eds., *Regionalism in the Age of Globalism, vol. 1: Concepts of Regionalism* (Madison: Center for the Study of Upper Midwestern Cultures, 2005), 87-100.

8) M. Kearney, “The Local and the Global: The Anthropology of Globalization and Transnationalism,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24 (1995): 547-565; John Lie, “From International Migration to Transnational Diaspora,” *Contemporary Sociology* 24: 4 (Jul.,

replacement of local and hierarchical understandings of order with unstructured, global, network connections, and a broad and often intangible fluidity in exchange of all kinds can act as a solvent of regional distinctiveness in some cases and as an accelerant in others.<sup>9)</sup> Contemporary globalization brings enormous and innumerable challenges to regional identity just as it does to national sovereignties. It can become exceedingly difficult to define and to sustain a singular sense of regional identity.

As Martin Stokes has argued, music alone can establish and define a sense of place, as “the musical event . . . evokes and organizes collective memories and present experiences of place with an intensity, power and simplicity unmatched by any other social activity.”<sup>10)</sup> It is through music that people can define themselves as separate from the culture that surrounds them, while alternatively it can be a tool used to forge new connections to the broader culture. Stokes characterized it that “music can be used as a means of transcending the limitations of our own place in the world, of constructing trajectories rather than boundaries across space.”<sup>11)</sup> In this sense, music making can be a means

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1995): 303-306; Daniel Mato, “On the Making of Transnational Identities in the Age of Globalization: The U.S. Latina/o-‘Latin’ American Case,” *Cultural Studies* 12 (Oct. 1998): 598-620; Bryan R. Roberts, Reanne Frank, and Fernando Lozano-Ascencio “Transnational Migrant Communities and Mexican Migration to the US,” *Ethnic & Racial Studies* 22:2 (March, 1999): 238-266; Rainer Bauböck, “Toward a Political Theory of Migrant Transnationalism,” *International Migration Review* 37:3 (Fall, 2003): 700-723; Guillermo Gómez-Peña, “The New Global Culture: Somewhere between Corporate Multiculturalism and the Mainstream Bizarre (A Border Perspective)” *TDR* 45:1 (Spring, 2001): 7-30.

9) Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” in Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 27-43.

10) Martin Stokes, *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. (Oxford and Providence: Berg, 1994), 3.

11) *Ibid.*, p. 4. “music is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides

of creating new commonalities that will come to define a region in the future.

The emphasis in this article follows the most vibrant new scholarship on the discourse between global and regional identity in the South. As James L. Peacock, Harry L. Watson, and Carrie R. Matthews expressed it, “the U.S. South may also be taking its place in a world of regions, not simply of nation-states”<sup>12)</sup> Peacock, in a new book directly considering the impact of globalization on the South and its meaning for southern identity, has persuasively argued that “globalization is grounded, rooted in locale.” Alternatively, “abstracted globalization cut loose from locales is problematic in both theory and practice.” Peacock thus elucidates a new, durable “globalized regionalism.”<sup>13)</sup>

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means by which people recognize identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them.” 5.

- 12) James L. Peacock, Harry L. Watson, and Carrie R. Matthews, eds. *The American South in a Global World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 2-3. Some globalization theorists emphasize (and anticipate) a process of “deterritorialization” and the erosion and consequent disappearance of regional identity. But the process of change brought by globalization is, in fact, far more complicated and structured, and less utterly or conclusively corrosive than some argue. The key is what Nikos Papastergiadis calls “relentless dynamism.” He correctly states that the globalization is “turbulent, a fluid but structured movement, with multidirectional and reversible trajectories.” The South can be described, following this line of reasoning, as the most “turbulent” of regions in the country, in which “interconnectedness and interdependency between the various forces that are in play in the modern world” are laid bare. The points of contact, friction, and synthesis -- the sites of turbulence -- between the two musical cultures is fascinating, complex, and daily being recapitulated in complex ways in the South. These, in turn, are enriching a new southern identity for the global age. He argues that, in part, “the globalization of migration can be defined through the following features: multiplication of migratory movements; differentiation of the economic, social and cultural backgrounds of immigrants; acceleration of migration patterns; expansion in the volume of migrants; feminization of migration; deterritorialization of cultural communities; and multiple loyalties of diasporas.” Nikos Papastergiadis, *The Turbulence of Migration: Globalization, Deterritorialization and Hybridity*. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), 4, 15, 85; 78.
- 13) James L. Peacock, *Grounded Globalism: How the U.S. South Embraces the World* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2007), 40-3; 175. One initial broad response is

Music is an excellent means of mapping these complicated new Southern regional identities. As Martin Stokes has recently written, “locality . . . is constructed, enacted, and rhetorically defended with an eye (and ear) on others, both near and far.”<sup>14</sup> Studying migrant music is a means to understand the impact of globalization on the South as it also is a means of understanding globalization itself.

Scholarly attention has recently turned to the myriad impacts of this migration as the transformation of region and culture by globalization has become a central concern in southern studies, history, sociology, anthropology, and labor studies, among other fields. There have been a flurry of new regional studies of Mexican migration to the U.S. which emphasize that it is critical to view migrant experience within specific regional contexts as well as in terms of broader globalization and diasporic issues.<sup>15</sup> It is certain that globalization will come to dominate

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that the music of the migrants can be considered in terms of what ethnomusicologist Mark Slobin defined as a “subcultural sound,” or, more precisely in his rich interpretive categories, as a type of “diasporic *interculture*, which emerges from the linkages that subcultures set up across national boundaries.” This music making serves a number of different functions: music is at once an everyday activity, an industrial commodity, a flag of resistance, a personal world, and a deeply symbolic, emotional grounding for people in every class and cranny the superculture offers. Slobin, “Micromusics of the West: A Comparative Approach,” *Ethnomusicology*, 36:1 (Winter, 1992), 44; 57. Also see his expanded argument in *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1993).

14) Martin Stokes, “Music and the Global Order,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33 (2004), 50.

15) Daniel D. Arreola, “Hispanic American Legacy, Latino American Diaspora,” in Arreola, ed., *Hispanic Spaces, Latino Places: A Geography of Regional and Cultural Diversity*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 13-35; Ann V. Millard, *Apple Pie and Enchiladas: Latino Newcomers in the Rural Midwest*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004); Marcelo Orozco-Suarez and Mariela Pérez, eds., *Latinos: Remaking America*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Marcia Farr, *Rancheros in Chicagoacán: Language and Identity in a Transnational Community*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006); Smith, Heather A. and Owen J. Furuseth, eds., *Latinos in the New South: Transformations of Place*. (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2006); Barbara Ellen Smith and Jamie Winders, “‘We’re here to stay’: Economic



many scholarly fields focusing on the South. Most of the new works focus on the traditional topics central to understanding immigrant experience: work and working conditions, social and political behavior, health and human services relating to immigrant issues, the motivations for migration, and the experience and impact of immigration on specific locales, where local social and political life have adjusted (or, too often, reacted) to the new populations. Because of the political and economic significance of these issues - and the often wrenching human stories involved—less tangible aspects of the Mexican migration have not yet been adequately addressed or have been totally ignored by most scholars.<sup>16)</sup>

One omission has been studies of the ways the cultural geography and sensory landscapes of the South are in flux as a result of the new Mexican migration. Everywhere they live, migrants are carving new social space in foodways, religious expression, social interaction, and music, and transforming existing public spaces in new ways. This migrant re-definition of social space, with music as a central feature, follows a pattern extant in the southwest since the 1960s.<sup>17)</sup> Throughout the new migrant diaspora in the South, there have appeared entirely new styles of street graphics, different food in stores, and new patterns of social interaction that have only begun to be explored but which are sure

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Restructuring, Latino Migration and Place-Making in the U.S. South,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33:1 (January, 2008): 60-72.

16) An important exception is Altha J. Cravey, “Toque una Ranchera, Por Favor,” *Antipode* 35:3 (July, 2003): 603-621; “Transnationality, Social Spaces, and Parallel Worlds,” in Heather A. Smith and Owen J. Furuseth, eds., *Latinos in the New South: Transformations of Place*, 217-233.

17) David G. Gutierrez, “Migration, Emergent Ethnicity, and the “Third Space””: The Shifting Politics of Nationalism in Greater Mexico,” *Journal of American History* 86: 2 (Sep., 1999): 481-517.

to come to define the region in the future.<sup>18)</sup>

These spaces that Mexican migrant music is creating are new to the southeast, but familiar and important ones in the borderlands of the southwest, such as Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. In that region, the Mexican-American borderlands culture has evolved into diverse and rich musical and cultural traditions that have been extensively studied by a wide array of scholars in different fields.<sup>19)</sup> The emerging borderland in the South culture is importantly dissimilar to the strikingly fluid cross-cultural and bilingual society that has flourished in the South Texas borderlands. The differences are temporal, regional, socioeconomic, and technological. Yet, following the scholarship from that region, the Mexican music being played today in the South can be studied as “another discursive site in which culture is produced, reproduced, subverted, and negotiated.”<sup>20)</sup>

No scholars currently studying the Latinization of the South have

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- 18) Mary Odem, “Global Lives, Local Struggles: Latin American Immigration to Atlanta” *Southern Spaces: An Internet Journal and Scholarly Forum* (May 2006), available at <http://www.southernspaces.org/contents/2006/odem/1a.htm>; Juan Carlos Mena, Óscar Reyes, David Byrne, *Sensacional! Mexican Street Graphics*, New York: Princeton Architectural, 2002; Jeffrey Pilcher, “The Globalization of Mexican Cuisine,” *History Compass* 6:2 (March, 2008): 529-551.
- 19) Michael Dear, and Andrew Burridge, “Cultural Integration and Hybridization at the United States-Mexico Borderlands,” *Cahiers de Géographie du Québec* 49:138 (Dec., 2005): 301-318; Helena Simonett, *Banda: Mexican Musical Life Across Borders*. (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2001); Juan Tejeda, and Avelardo Valdez, eds., *Puro Conjunto!* (Austin: Center for Mexican American Studies, University of Texas, 2001); Manuel H., Pena, *The Texas-Mexican Conjunto: History of a Working-Class Music*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985); and *Musica Tejana: The Cultural Economy of Artistic Transformation*. (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999); Loeffler, Jack, Catherine Loeffler, Enrique R. Lamadrid. *La Música de Los Viejitos: Hispano Folk Music of the Rio Grande del Norte*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999).
- 20) Frances R. Aparicho and Candida F. Jaquez, eds., *Musical Migrations: Transnationalism and Cultural Hybridity in Latin/o America*, v. I. (New York: Palgrave/McMillan, 2003), 9.

focused on music to describe the migrant experience in and impact on southern society, although this has been done for other regions.<sup>21)</sup> None have considered the musical events that form central features of the Mexican adjustment to life in the South, such as the new festivals, rodeos, and mariachi performances. This article fills these gaps by investigating the type, transfer, and process of migrant music to reveal its evolving embeddedness in the new context of the borderlands South.

### Case studies of Migrant Music in the Nuevo South

My research into migrant music in the South has included observations in a variety of situations and public spaces in which music is a central component of the experience. I have concentrated on exploring the migrants' "musical being in the world" at numerous live venues throughout the contemporary South. Each of these examples demonstrates a unique role for migrant music-making in terms of cultural identity formation and reaffirmation, and, importantly, in terms of the marketplace. The first case study is of a popular norteño band from North Carolina using migrant themes to achieve commercial success. The second case study presented in this article is of a new type of event to the region in which Mexican music serves as the central aspect of cultural reaffirmation for migrants: the monthly Gran Jaripeo at the Prince William County Fairgrounds in Manassas, Virginia, a

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21) See for example Lidia Huante and Willie Smyth, eds., *Gritos del Alma: Mexican American Music of Washington State*. (Olympia: WASAC, 1993); Maya Lopez-Santamaria, *Musica De LA Raza: Mexican and Chicano Music in Minnesota*. (Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1999); John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

Mexican rodeo event in which Mexican music and the celebration of migrant identity are central goals.

### **Rey Norteño: Migrant Identity in Song and in the Marketplace**

One of the most impressive recent developments in the migrant South have been the songs played in traditional style about the new life and identity to be found in the region. As Martha Chew Sanchez wrote in her fine recent study of borderland corridos in the southwest, “the insistent evocation of place in Mexican canciones, rancheras, and corridos . . . helps define a community in relation to the world in which they find themselves.”<sup>22</sup>) Music is a powerful means of claiming, expressing, or even creating the sense of identity and belonging needed for migrant culture. Music also provides an excellent vehicle for capitalizing on the migrant desire to embrace remembrances of their country of origin and the challenges of migration itself.

In Raleigh, North Carolina there is currently a very successful band named Rey Norteño playing accordion-driven norteño style music from the northern Mexican borderlands that has found a its regional fame and market success precisely because of this evocation of place and identity in their music. This six member, all male band of brothers came from Hidalgo, Mexico to North Carolina for construction work. While they considered their mother’s request to form a traditional Mexican regional group in the Huasteca fiddle style of Hildago, the band instead adopted the more popular norteño style featuring accordion, bajo sexto, bass, and drums. The style of music they play is a broadly commercial Mexican

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22) Martha I Chew Sanchez, *Corridos in Migrant Memory* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), 9.

one most popular in the diaspora in the United States rather than an expression of their native folk culture. All of the musicians except Fred Huerta, the drummer, continue to work during the day as welders, painters, and construction workers, and all of them express happiness with the opportunities to work. Their band has found real success on the radio and in clubs like Bravo Bravo Cafe in Raleigh with their song “Raleigh, Norte Carolina.” This song is popular and often played on the radio, and as a result the band is featured at local festivals and as an opening act for major touring Mexican bands. The local music press in Raleigh reports that the band is eager to write a new song in the same style and same themes in order to capitalize on this movement of fame.<sup>23)</sup>

“Raleigh, Norte Carolina” has a lively Norteño ranchera (country song) structure and sound while painting an interesting image of migrant life in the city:<sup>24)</sup>

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23) The Huasteca story and the Rey Norteño’s success in the fall of 2007 was reported in Sylvia Pfeiffenberger, “Immigrant Song: Raleigh’s Rey Norteño Sings One for the Road,” *Independent Weekly*, 26 September 2007; Phone interview with author, January 2007. On the popularity and commercial success of norteño music, Leila Cobo, *Surging Interest Ignites Regional Mexican Scene. Billboard* 115:19 (10 May 2003): 1; also see *New York Times*, 6 November, 2001.

24) Thanks to Diana Risk for help with translating the lyrics. The song can be heard at <http://profile.myspace.com/index.cfm?fuseaction=user.viewprofile&friendid=11837292>  
1. Census statistics are at <http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/37000.html>.

|                              |                                  |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Raleigh, Norte Carolina      | Raleigh, North Carolina          |
| te llevo en mi corazón       | I carry you in my heart          |
| cómo olvidar que en tu suelo | how to forget that in your soil  |
| he dejado mi sudor           | I have left my sweat             |
| trabajando por mi gente      | working for my people            |
| que me espera en mi nación   | who await me in my country       |
| <br>                         | <br>                             |
| Raleigh, Norte Carolina      | Raleigh, North Carolina          |
| sin duda me has dado tanto   | no doubt you've given me so much |
| <br>                         | <br>                             |
| bajo tu cielo bendito        | under your blessed sky           |
| la vida me fue cambiando     | life changed for me              |
| ahora ya puedo vivir         | now I can live                   |
| como lo venía soñando        | as I had dreamed                 |
| <br>                         | <br>                             |
| Hoy me invade la nostalgia   | Today I'm full of sadness        |
| porque de ti me despido      | because I'm saying good bye      |
| voy a abrazar a mi gente     | I'm going to hug my people       |
| que hace tiempo que no miro  | I have not seen them in a while  |
| <br>                         | <br>                             |
| Adiós Norte Carolina         | Good bye North Carolina          |
| sé que te voy a extrañar     | I know I'm going to miss you     |
| sin embargo en cuanto pueda  | however, as soon as I can        |
| sé que voy a regresar        | I know I'm going to come back    |
| <br>                         | <br>                             |
| Raleigh, Norte Carolina      | Raleigh, North Carolina          |
| te quiero por tantas cosas   | I love you for many reasons      |
| conocí buenos amigos         | I met a lot of friends           |
| muchas mujeres hermosas      | many beautiful women             |
| más corté de tu jardín       | but I cut from your garden       |
| la más linda de tus rosas    | the prettiest one of your roses  |

Musically, Rey Norteño is not breaking any new ground. This song is a formulaic (though well played) ranchera with standard instrumentation and the popular nasal style of singing. But the significance of the song in terms of the band's adoption of their new home and the resonance they found in the North Carolina is striking and important to consider. This is the first popular song by a Mexican group in the South that interprets the migrant experience. The song puts Raleigh the city on a symbolic map of Latino migrant identity where it did not previously appear.

In "Raleigh, Norte Carolina," Rey Norteño articulates a classic migrant quandary in the ranchera form: a love for and desire to return home mixed with appreciation for the opportunities of the new surroundings. It is significant that Huerta did not name Mexico specifically. As he recounted to a music reporter for the *Raleigh Independent Weekly*, he did not want to limit the market for the song, and he also wanted to capture the experience of all migrants. As Huerta said, "I wanted people from Peru, Ecuador, China, Canada or wherever they are from to be able to identify with the song because we have the same experiences . . . . Work, cold, hunger, falling in love, facing certain types of discrimination, being away from your family for a long time— all of us go through the same things."<sup>25)</sup>

Thus, the song "Raleigh, Norte Carolina" serves explicitly to interpret the immigrant experience and to commodify it. Even the title, which is in "Spanglish" rather than grammatically proper Spanish, gears the song toward the migrant market and pitches its ideas to the increasingly common means of expression.<sup>26)</sup> Huerta is perceptive enough as a

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25) Pfeiffenberger, "Immigrant Song: Raleigh's Rey Norteño Sings One for the Road."

26) I appreciate Rubén Rumbaut's comment on this point.

songwriter to know to evoke broadly resonant themes but to avoid excessive narrative focus that would limit market appeal. Of course, since Rey Norteño is playing norteño music, the likelihood of the song appealing to Chinese or Canadian immigrants is, perhaps, less than the well- documented appeal to Mexican migrants in North Carolina. It is also worth considering that Mexican-Americans generally make a firm distinction in types of regional Mexican music that clearly places norteño music as a music for Mexican immigrants.<sup>27)</sup> Rey Norteño, interested in commercial success in their adopted country, has made a shrewd choice in writing this topical song in the norteño style for the migrant market.

The first stanza establishes that the singer has come north to work hard in Raleigh, but intends on returning to the country of origin to family and home. Yet the second stanza makes clear that home is now in the South, for it is in North Carolina that the migrant has truly found success. It is in Raleigh that the singer proclaims “now I can live/ as I had dreamed.” The sadness or nostalgia that the singer feels then is not for Mexico or elsewhere, but for North Carolina. Returning to Mexico is to reconnect with distant family, but only for a short time. The migrant’s real home, his identity and his love, is now in Raleigh: “I know I’m going to miss you/ however, as soon as I can/ sé que voy a regresar (I know I’m going to come back).” The migrant returns, not to his country or origin but to his adopted region, the South.

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27) For example, fans of Conjunto music, an accordion-bajo sexto-bass-drums music that sounds remarkably similar to norteño music except to the initiated, have stressed to me at a Conjunto festival in Texas that the two are entirely different forms of music. Numbers of them have said to me, “norteño music —that is for the Mexicans” or some similar sentiment. This difference is detailed in Dan Margolies, “*Polkas, Polkas, y Mas Polkas: The Tejano Conjunto Festival en San Antonio*,” *A Magazine Dedicated to Old Time Music* 11:3 (February-March, 2008): 32-38.



Rey Norteño has expertly evoked the connections the new homeland, and the popularity of the song attests to the resonance of its message and the new, deep connection to new homes in the South. As Huerta told the *Raleigh News and Observer* when the song was recognized as a legitimate regional hit, he wrote the song because “I was thinking about all the people who are here far from country, far from friends and family. In some form, we feel an affection for Raleigh, for work, for friends, for another way of living that we learn here.”<sup>28</sup>) The last verse of the song remains interestingly ambiguous. Is “the prettiest one of your roses” referring to an unnamed woman, or has the singer cut the prettiest rose of the opportunities in Raleigh? Is this perhaps a love song to the place itself?

### **Gran Jaripeo in Manassas, Virginia: The Marketing of Migrant Nationalism**

The Prince William County Fairgrounds website, which advertises the annual county fair as the largest one in the country, presents its Virginia bona fides by immediately featuring banjo music when the page is accessed. But the fairgrounds sound much different each month the Gran Jaripeo (Mexican rodeo) was held there during the summer of 2007. These traditional rodeos, a staple of the rural Mexican countryside brought north to the Nuevo South, are all day affairs that feature music of different stages, food, rodeo entertainment like horse and bull riding, and a good deal of fellowship among the largely Mexican crowd. While much scholarly attention has been focused on the more formal and

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28) *Raleigh News and Observer*, 21 January 2007.

elaborate Mexican charreada rodeos, very little attention has been paid to the dusty rings at a jaripeo.<sup>29)</sup>

The Gran Jaripeo in Manassas is an ideal location to connect with migrant music culture because it occurs in one of the most hotly contested areas of the Nuevo South. The Prince William County Board of Supervisors passed one of the most strident anti-immigrant laws in the country in July, 2007, which restricted access to county services for illegal immigrants. This law, which sparked national controversy and discussion, was followed locally by protests, boycotts, much tension, and even attempted Molotov cocktail bombings of immigrant activists in the area in September, 2007.<sup>30)</sup> Within this setting, the Gran Jaripeo attracted enormous crowds of thousands to the fairgrounds. It is notable that so many people turned out in a public facility despite the evident tension and high police presence (I witnessed only two arrests). The very wide array of license plates on the vehicles in the lot from across the South were mute testimony to the mobility and diversity of the audience, as well as to the attraction of the event.

This was not a cultural event sponsored by a local arts community and it certainly was not sponsored by the local county or city

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29) See David G. LaFrance, "Charreada: Performance and Interpretation of an Equestrian Folk Tradition in Mexico and the United States," in Joseph Arbena; David G LaFrance, eds., *Sport in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 2002); Marta Cruz-Janzen, "Haciendo Patria : the Charreada and the Formation of a Mexican Transnational Identity" in Carlos G Vélez-Ibañez, Anna Sampaio, Manolo González-Estay, *Transnational Latina/o Communities: Politics, Processes, and Cultures* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002); Kathleen M Sands, *Charrería Mexicana: An Equestrian Folk Tradition* (Tucson : University of Arizona Press, 1993); Al Rendon, Julia Hambric, Bryan Woolley, Francis Edward Abernethy, *Charreada: Mexican Rodeo in Texas* (Denton : University of North Texas Press, 2002).

30) *Washington Post*, 12, 28 July; 28 August; 3, 18, 19, 20 September 2007; *Manassas Journal Messenger*, 6, 22 September 2007.

governments, which had recently done so much to agitate the migrant population. This event was entertainment of a particular sort that tapped into a broad sense of migrant identity. The Gran Jaripeos in Manassas are for-profit enterprises put on by Cruz Productions of Philadelphia and ProMex of Maryland. They are designed to capitalize on the large migrant population in the region and the demand for traditional music. According to the newspaper report of the June event, the promoters sold 4,000 tickets and estimated the crowd to be evenly split between Mexicans and Central Americans.<sup>31)</sup> The neatness of these numbers perhaps makes them slightly suspect, though I did not conduct a conclusive survey and am unable to disprove them.

The allegiances and origins of the crowd were broadly apparent in their dress, the writing and logos on which announced their country of origin. People dressed elaborately for the summer rodeos despite the often enervating heat and humidity of mid-summer Virginia. Women were conservatively dressed for the most part and seemed to have the bulk of the responsibility for child care. Men dressed in rodeo style. They almost universally wore jeans, cowboy hats, and exotic skin belts matching exotic skin cowboy boots. A majority of them also wear long sleeved cowboy western shirts, often with the names of countries or Mexican states embroidered on them. Cowboy hats featured metal plates with these same place names engraved on them as well. Some people have both shirt and hat identification in a totemic display of identity. Few people lacked some form of identification. Some t-shirts being worn claimed “100% vaquero,” “100% El Salvador,” or “MEXICAN/ Not Latino/ Not Hispanic,” or featured Pancho Villa, Emilio Zapata, or

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31) *Washington Post* (Loudoun Extra), 22 June 2007.

the Mexican flag. Altha J. Cravey, who has observed Mexican-Central American social dynamics in North Carolina, has argued that “Mexican migrants are relentlessly creative in claiming and policing Mexican spaces . . . . In these moments of leisure, national identities are intensely challenged, contested, affirmed, reinscribed.”<sup>32)</sup> This contestation was clearly evident in the clothing choices at the Gran Jaripeo in Manassas.

Despite the diverse origins of the crowd, the music offered was purely Mexican in style, theme, and presentation. In this sense, Mexican music became the acknowledged soundtrack of the migrant experience and a claim of authority was explicitly made. It is worth noting that since this was a for-profit endeavor, the choice of bands assumedly reflected a calculation that the chosen combination of bands would be the ideal. The emphasis at the June and July Gran Jaripeos was on the major and most popular regional Mexican styles although the event was marketed to all Latino immigrants. The June festival featured Banda Machos of Jalisco, Mexico, a group that claims it is the most representative of Mexican identity (“Hablar de Jalisco, es hablar de las tradiciones más representativas de México”). During their show, which was staged directly next to the rodeo ring, the many members of Banda Machos continuously extolled the horse and bull riding prowess of Mexicans and Central Americans, and asked for the audience to shout its allegiance to either one or the other on cue, depending on the nationality of the riders.

The headline act in June were Mexican megastars Los Tigres del Norte and in July it was norteño stars Los Huracanes del Norte. Los Tigres are hugely popular in Mexico (where they are from) and in the Mexican diaspora in the United States (where they now live), largely as

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32) Cravey, “Toque una Ranchera, Por Favor,” *Antipode*, 35:3 (July, 2003): 611.

a result of their oft-noted and long standing emphasis on singing about the trails and tribulations of immigration.<sup>33</sup>) They are popular among Central Americans as well for the same reason. As Bradley S. Tatar has argued, “Los Tigres del Norte speak for an inclusive, Pan-American Latino ethnic identity, based on the tradition of border-crossing and defiance of injustice.”<sup>34</sup>) Perhaps the biggest cheers I heard from the audience came for the song “Tres Veces Mojado,” (“Three Times a Wetback”) which tells the story of an El Salvadoran immigrant who had to endure hardship and cross three borders on the way to the United States. It is a song that appeals to migrants of all backgrounds and origins.

Los Tigres del Norte played their hits in rapid succession, but also took extended moments to read congratulations to audience members for anniversaries, birthdays, weddings, and other events. This would almost certainly be an inconceivable intimacy in another band as popular as Los Tigres del Norte in a popular culture setting, but the point of it at the Gran Jaripeos was clear. These rodeos were not political events, and there was no political aspect aside from the lyrical content of Los Tigres del Norte’s songs. This was a community getting together as a community to celebrate its roots and connections as well as to enjoy some music on a summer evening. The pattern, crowd, food offerings, and feeling of the Gran Jaripeos sustained this spirit.

The August event, featuring Los Huracanes del Norte followed the same exact pattern of the July rodeo in terms of dress, expressions of

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33) Ever since their first hit song “Vivan Los Mojados” (Long Live the Wetbacks). On the history of Los Tigres del Norte, see *Modesto Bee*, 21 September, 2007 and Leila Cobo, “Los Tigres del Norte: Music With a Social Conscience,” *Hispanic Magazine* (July/August, 2004), [http://www.hispaniconline.com/magazine/2004/jul\\_aug/Cultura/](http://www.hispaniconline.com/magazine/2004/jul_aug/Cultura/)

34) Bradley S. Tatar, “Latin American Immigrants, Identity and Nationalism in the Music of Los Tigres del Norte,” *Journal of Latino-Latin American Studies* 1:3 (2004): 33.

Mexican and Central American identity, and the reaffirmation of migrant traditionalism within the experience of life in the new southern setting. The Gran Jaripeos, very large and well attended, can be viewed as an elaborate celebration and recreation of a style of life and mindset that is necessarily jettisoned by the migrants coming to work in Northern Virginia.

The Gran Jaripeos in Manassas are interesting to study because they are among the largest of the migrant rodeos now occurring around the south, and because they provide an ideal example of migrant cultural expression in the southern marketplace. The rodeos directly serve the function of maintaining the vitality of and connection to faraway rural traditions. Most of the Mexican rodeos in the South occur in smaller venues, such as at the Festival Latino 2007 in Mount Airy or the regular but small jaripeo events at the Eden County Fairgrounds in Eden, North Carolina. The latter park also annually hosts the Charlie Poole Music Festival, a celebration of the traditional old time music from the town.

The Gran Jaripeo, very large and well attended, can be viewed as an elaborate celebration and recreation of a style of life and mindset that is necessarily jettisoned by the migrants coming to work in Northern Virginia.<sup>35</sup>) Several people there told me simply that going to the rodeo was an important part of being a Mexican. When combined with constant music throughout the day, these events help to reaffirm, if only temporarily, the roots of the attendees. There was no hybridization evident at the Gran Jaripeos. They are entirely Spanish-language events serving Mexican food and reflecting traditional Mexican culture back. It

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35) On theory and the rodeo (though not on Mexican rodeo specifically), see Beverly J. Stoeltje, "Power and the Ritual Genres: American Rodeo," *Western Folklore* 52:2/4 (Apr. - Oct., 1993): 135-156 and Stoeltje, "Rodeo: from Custom to Ritual," *Western Folklore* 48 (July, 1989): 244-260.

is worth noting that the food served at the fair was actually Mexican in style, rather than “Tex-Mex” style food, a common hybrid borderland form nationalized and marketed throughout the United States as “Mexican.”<sup>36</sup>) The rodeo fans knew the difference.

These events were designed to recapitulate the beloved aspects of similar events in Mexico and to create a forum for the expression of ethnic pride in an entertainment setting. These rodeos were not, after all, political events, and there was no political aspect aside from the lyrical content of Los Tigres del Norte’s songs. The two major jaripeos in Manassas during summer 2007 converted the ballyhooed property of an oppositional county government into elaborate and successful celebrations of the new culture developing in the region.

## Conclusion

Migrant Mexican musicians are producing a new dynamic in the southern musical context, a moment of fascinating musical synthesis that catapults beyond any schematic notion of a simple meeting of two traditional music cultures. The new Latino immigrants have brought with them their cultures, food, politics, their sense of family and community, and their music, and they have arrived in a region which prides itself on the singularity of its own traditions in all of these forms. It is useful to observe that this Mexican migrant diaspora community as a window into the transformations of the South during the age of

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36) Jeffrey Pilcher, “The Globalization of Mexican Cuisine,” *History Compass* 6:2 (March, 2008): 529-551; and Pilcher, “Tex-Mex, Cal-Mex, New Mex, or Whose Mex? Notes on the Historical Geography of Southwestern Cuisine,” *Journal of the Southwest* 43:4 (2001): 659-79.

modern globalization. As Mark Slobin has argued, “if nothing else, it is helpful to think of music as yet another wild card in a game for which there are no known rules.”<sup>37)</sup>

The appearance of this new migrant musical culture within the established musical traditions of the South is of central importance in understanding the South as a space of transnational acculturation at least as complex as any in the rapidly transforming world system. The music of migrants is helping to create a new southern identity that will no doubt endure in ways impossible to predict but fascinating to continue to observe.

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37) Slobin, “Micromusics of the West: A Comparative Approach,” *Ethnomusicology*, 36:1 (Winter, 1992): 6; 65-6.



【Abstract】

## Sé Que Voy a Regresar: Migrant Music and Globalization in the Nuevo South

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Migrant music is an immediately noticeable aspect of the unprecedented and massive recent Latino immigration to the American South. This article examines the evolving embeddedness of migrant music culture in the new context of a globalized South. The unique historical and socioeconomic moment produced by Latino immigration is rightly viewed as a unique musical moment worth detailed study. This article evaluates globalized acculturation in the region both by demonstrating the resilience of traditional music in new migrant populations and by tracing the significant and unexpected rise of hybridization in the music being produced. It describes events involving migrant music, such as norteño bands in North Carolina and Mexican rodeos in Virginia. In so doing, this article describes the type, transfer, and process of migrant music and presents the evolving meaning of the music in its new regional context. This approach incorporates the insights of southern history and globalization theory as well as ethnomusicology. Music is a vital part of southern tradition, culture, and identity, and it is an appreciable if not core aspect of migrant culture. Music is also an excellent means of mapping complicated new southern regional identities. These changes are enriching a new southern identity for the global age. Studying migrant music is a means of understanding the impact of globalization on the South and regional identity as it also a means of understanding globalization itself.

### **Key Words**

U.S. South, globalization, Mexican music, migrant transnationalism