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# The Traveling Fandango: Son Jarocho in New York

### BY RENATA DEL RIEGO

first fandango took place at the wall that separates a portion of the border between the United States and Mexico around San Diego; a gathering that occurs once a year called Fandango Fronterizo, or Border Fandango. This was back in 2015, the Border Fandango's 6th rendition. At this event, Mexican, Mexican American, and other musicians gather on opposite sides of the border wall and play through and across it, as if to emphasize that music has no borders. Although I was familiar with the tradition and music of son jarocho before this event, I had never actually participated. Although I didn't have anything to compare it to, or any sort of reference point, something was clear to me: there was something about the context in which this took place that seemed to be "out of place," "altered," or "not traditional."

It might have been the fact that I knew this music was from the southeast of Mexico, and this was taking place in the northwest; or maybe it was the fact that this *fandango* was a binational occurrence, simultaneously happening in the United States and Mexico. Was I perceiving this as "not traditional" because of the evident geographical mobility of the participants, or because of the transnational dynamics taking place?

What I experienced during the Fandango Fronterizo was so perplexing that it forced me to go back every year thereafter, in hopes of better understanding what was at play there. The question about the folk-lorization of this practice was particularly



Border fence, Playas de Tijuana. All photos by the author.

complex, as this was happening right on the border. Unlike any other *fandango* I might have attended, this one was not only a celebration of a Mexican folk musical tradition but also a celebration of the music's transnational power. Here, we celebrated the fact that this music was present in both countries, equally, as a joint endeavor, as Mexican-American folklore. A few years later, when I was attending the 8th *Encuentro de Soneros de Nueva York*, my questions about transnational folklore had only increased.

Contributing to my curiosity about the tradition was my move to the East Coast of the United States to study at Columbia University, and my discovery of a *Jaranero* community in New York. In his introduction to John O. West's book, *Mexican-American Folklore*, W. K. McNeil wrote:

The folklore of few ethnic groups in the United States has been so frequently collected as that of the Mexican-American. Most of the significant collections and studies have dealt with the Southwest, and such an emphasis is understandable because the greatest concentration of Mexican-Americans is in that region. (McNeil 1989, 9)

What do we make, then, of the presence of a Mexican-American tradition on the East Coast?

Exploring a musical tradition of Mexican-American folklore that exists far from the border is an effort to shift folklore scholarship and give visibility to communities that often go overlooked. In looking at the New York Jaranero community, I observe the tremendous musical mobility in transnational folklore. I also seek to understand how-if at all-Mexican-American folk narratives and traditions differ from those of Mexico, especially when they may not be located in a region with a large Mexican population (relative to the Southwest). According to the 2018 Mayor's Office of Immigrant Affairs Annual Report, Mexico is the top third country of origin for foreign-born City residents (after the Dominican Republic and China). The report states the number of New York City immigrants from Mexico is 183,197 people, which makes up 5.8 percent of all foreign-born residents as of March 2018 (MOIA 2018, 12). As we know, however, it is not just those who have immigrated to the United States who partake in *son jarocho*, but also those who have been here for several generations.

Additionally, crucial to this understanding is being aware of the ways in which American folklore permeates the Mexican one, and how, indeed, they are not entirely different. As John O. West puts it:

It is not accurate to say that Mexican-American folk and folklore are entirely different from the so-called Anglo culture surrounding them. In fact, one of the most fascinating characteristics of folklore is that it teaches—demonstrates clearly—how basically alike we humans all are, regardless of our differences in language or skin color or religion. (West 1989, 29–30)

Starting from the idea that music making is partly accomplished through the movement of practitioners, objects, skills, and meanings across locations, the study of son jarocho in New York becomes an exploration of a musical culture based on the analysis of multiple dynamics of mobility, which challenges the idea of musical tradition as essentially "anchored" to a geographical place or group of people. In his study, Son Jarocho and the Circulation of Tradition Across Mexico and the United States, Alejandro Miranda Nieto stated, "Despite being identified as a 'Mexican' tradition originating in southeast Mexico, this practice has not been cultivated, adopted or reproduced by nostalgic migrants, but by people with many different backgrounds" (Miranda Nieto 2018, 33). Yet, how do we reconcile this with the fact that music is often tied to a specific geographical place, culture, or group of people? The story of how the New York jaranero community came into being "constitutes a way of conceptualising how socially recognised ways of doing are spaces of encounter among narratives of fixity, belonging and various forms of circulation" (Miranda Nieto 2018, 125).

Sinuhé Padilla Isunza is a musician from Mexico City and one of the pioneers of son jarocho in New York. He is also the one in charge of the weekly jarana workshops at City Lore. When interviewed, he said that after spending 13 years outside of Mexico, he came to New York in 2007, and started the son jarocho group Jarana Beat. In working with other musicians in the city, new groups were formed, like one called Semilla, which later became Radio Jarocho. For a time, Jarana Beat and Radio Jarocho were the only two active son jarocho groups in the city. Another group came into existence later, called Son Pecadores, whose members are also active participants at the City Lore workshops. Part of this commitment to the tradition, Sinuhé says, is teaching classes, promoting fandangos, and building a strong community in the city, but also throughout the East Coast.

Building community is perhaps the most important aspect of this tradition because son jarocho can never be an individual affair. As Sinuhé puts it, "el son es una cosa que se juega en equipo, es una onda que no puede hacer uno solo... esa es una lección que me ha dado esta música." ("Playing son is a matter of teamwork; one can't do it alone... this is a lesson that this music has taught me") (Padilla Isunza 2018). During one of the first annual encuentros that were happening in the city, Henry Chalfant, a City Lore board member, had the idea of hosting a workshop with one of the jaraneros who was visiting for the encuentro. After that, City Lore became the venue for regular meetings (and not necessarily workshops), where people would get together to play music. Eventually, classes became a more regular occurrence, and the City Lore son jarocho community was becoming somewhat unified. Initially, most workshops happened during the encuentros, to have access to certain musicians who would otherwise not have the opportunity to teach the community. Once again, we can see how the movement of jaraneros (during and for encuentros) is central



Border Fandango, *Playas de Tijuana*.



8th Encuentro de Soneros de Nueva York, Queens, NY.

in the formation of a transnational son jarocho community. As Miranda Nieto pointed out, "cultural practices are sustained, informed and reshaped through multiple dynamics of mobility" (Miranda Nieto 2018, 97). When asked about the role of teaching son jarocho during these regular meetings, as opposed to simply getting together to play, Sinuhé said that the idea was always to spread the tradition through workshops, even when spaces for doing so were not easily accessible:

Empezamos a dar clases en Casa Mezcal y Terraza 7 por parte de Jarana Beat, y de hecho ahí se formaron muchos jaraneros. Yo comencé a dar clases acá de son jarocho en el 2010, ya así continué, sin parar. A veces son en mi casa, a veces en Sunset Park, en Terraza 7, con Mano a Mano, en fin, en muchos lugares... el chiste es juntarse y tocar.

We began offering workshops at Casa Mezcal and Terraza 7 through *Jarana Beat.* Actually, a lot of *jaraneros* were formed there. I started teaching here in 2010, and I just continued, without stopping. Sometimes classes are held in my house, sometimes at Sunset Park, Terraza 7, through Mano a Mano, you know, many different places... as long as we get together and play. (Padilla Isunza 2018)

According to Sinuhé, it doesn't matter where the workshops are held, as long as they strengthen the sense of community, and as long as people are learning. The community is not bound to New York; it extends to DC, Philadelphia, and the entire East Coast region. The *jaranero* community in Philadelphia, for example, has a very strong presence. Sinuhé told me that some of them have actually built their own

*jaranas* (string instrument used in *son jaro-cho*), which doesn't even happen in Mexico.

Imagínate, eso es algo que ni en México hacemos... nosotros conseguimos [nuestras jaranas] pero eso de que el grupo haga las suyas es chido. Dime, ¿quién de toda la comunidad jaranera tiene esa onda?, solamente acá, eso es loco. En México las podemos comprar más fácilmente, pero acá es imposible, lo cual habla también de esa adaptación y esa necesidad de tocar; de hacer nuestras herramientas e instrumentos.

We don't even do this in Mexico. Over there we buy our own *jaranas*, but the fact that a group here is building their own is really cool. Tell me, who in the entire *jaranero* community does that? Only here, which is crazy. In Mexico we can buy our instruments much more easily, but here it is impossible, which also speaks to the

adaptability of music, of the need to make our own tools and instruments. (Padilla Isunza 2018)

This need to make music and build tools and instruments speaks, once again, to the movement of tradition and its way of adapting to new contexts. "The enchanted relationship between practitioner and practice is not a question of who *son jarocho* practitioners are, but how and when they become so, in and through mobility" (Miranda Nieto 2018, 16).

However, this mobility is not just one universal, overarching category of experience. Within the movement that these people experience, there are distinctions that completely change the meaning of the practice. Diasporas, as Hannah Eliza Alexia Balcomb pointed out in her thesis, citing ethnomusicologist Thomas Turino (2003, 60), are "communities that involve multiple sites in a number of states... Unlike immigrant communities that tend to assimilate, diasporic groups tend towards longevity of complex cultural forms" (Balcomb 2012, 10). If looked through the dichotomous framework of the diasporic, understanding the ways son jarocho is practiced in the United States becomes complex. It is complicated because each group has different indexes of what "home" is and what it entails. Balcomb continues:

While history and cultural symbols that index "home" are crucial to both diasporic and immigrant groups it is [in] different ways (Turino 2003) ... Diasporic formations develop multifaceted relationships with their home as they draw from a combination of habits from multiple sites including the new and old home and other places in the diaspora. The diasporic sites, Turino continues are joined together by at least symbolically emphasizing their allegiance to their original homeland. In contrast, the scholar writes, immigrant communities are defined by bilateral relationships between two sites: their new and old homeland (Turino 2008, 118–19). (Balcomb 2012, 108)

What is interesting about this practice, and about most folk music traditions, is that despite the broad range of experiences and understandings of where one stands in relation to a given tradition, everyone is equally as welcome within it. In New York, for instance, the jaranero community members are from all over the world, and they have the same right to enter the practice. Son Pecadores, for example, includes among its collective, Mehmet Kucukozer, a Turkish jananero. At encuentros, people comment on their diverse countries of origin, some coming from Guatemala, Chile, or Argentina, among many others. This stems mostly from the participatory and communal aspect of son, which is at the core of the tradition. A fandango and an encuentro are, first and foremost, communal gatherings, spaces for community building. The *fandango*, in any given context, is about being part of a larger social existence.

People exist in communities by virtue of the things they have in common, and popular music can be the social glue for creating and maintaining diverse communities. Connecting this back to the idea of movement, we can see that the concept of "mobility" is not just literal but also metaphorical, referring to the different "discourses of authenticity and preservation of a regional musical heritage ... [in contrast with how] these narratives have also been key to sustaining, informing, and reshaping son jarocho as a practice that circulates across transnational and translocal



Border fence, Playas de Tijuana.

linkages that mostly extend across the US and Mexico" (Miranda Nieto 2018, 119).

A tension that is present within diasporic or immigrant communities, especially when it comes to "a musical practice is the discrepancy between essentialism and mobilities" (Miranda Nieto 2018, 97). Essentialism means "purity" of practice, and mobilities imply a deviation from that; in this case, commercial son. The debate about commercial son jarocho as something that is less authentic because it "does not belong to its people anymore" is valid; however, it is also true that son jarocho exists as such anywhere it develops. The dynamic is present, regardless of the geopolitical context. Sinuhé commented on this, saying that it is inaccurate to try to pretend that son jarocho exists as a singular, pure entity:

Es un poco pretensioso que solamente queramos reproducir y copiar la manera en la que se hace allá, porque no somos eso. Entonces, la manera de que no sea pretensioso es aprender la razón, aprender las cadencias, como te dije hace rato, los ingredientes del son importantes para que se llame son, seguirlo estudiando sus raíces y reproducirlo. La responsabilidad que tenemos toda la comunidad sonera en el mundo es ser conscientes de eso y ser conscientes de que el son es una forma de vida que es vieja, por siglos ha venido cambiando, ha venido mutando para ser lo que es hoy. Nació gracias a la fusión, entonces no existe el son jarocho "puro," es decir, eso es también un error. ¿Cómo va a ser puro si nació de las mezclas, y si incluso en el entorno en el que se hace 'tradicionalmente' es diferente de pueblo a pueblo? Entonces no puede ser puro.

It is a bit pretentious for us to reproduce and copy the way this [music] is done over there, because that is not what we are. The way to avoid that pretentious approach is to learn the rules, cadences... Like I told you earlier, the ingredients of son are important for it to still be son, so that we can keep studying and playing it. The responsibility that we have, as a community, is to be conscious of the fact that son is an old lifestyle that has changed through centuries and has mutated into what it is today. It was born thanks to fusion, so there is no such thing as "pure" son jarocho. I mean,

that is a false notion. How could it ever be pure if it came from mixing and variations? (Padilla Isunza 2018)

Balcomb also examines the question of "purity":

The binary between supposedly pure traditional music and its mass mediated counterpart is overly simplified...

The prevalent use of the binary between tradicional, or authentic music, versus its comercial and, thus, ideologically compromised, counterpart is not surprising within the son jarocho community since many members of the Mexican American or Chicana/o diaspora use music to navigate complex identities between their new and old homeland. (Balcomb 2012, 22–3)

Sinuhé is correct: there is no need for the *son* that is played in New York to resemble that played in Veracruz, in Oaxaca, etc.

"Jarocho" no quiere decir Veracruzano, ese es un error. Jarocho es una cosa, veracruzano es otra. Veracruzano es gentilicio de Veracruz, jarocho viene la cultura sotaventina, y sotavento no es sólo Veracruz... la música se va recreando en diferentes lugares y el son que hablaba de temáticas que vivía la gente del campo de Veracruz, hoy ya tiene otros nuevos versos, lo cual quiere decir que sigue vivo, y que ahora habla de lo que la gente vive, y así debe de ser.

"Jarocho" does not necessarily mean that it is from Veracruz; that is a common mistake. Jarocho is one thing, and Veracruzano is a different one.... Music is recreated in different places, and the son that had themes about people living in the country and fields today has different verses that speak to different realities. This means that this musical tradition is still alive. (Padilla Isunza 2018)

While there are many musical genres and communities that circulate across countries and that have developed transnational communities, *son jarocho* is unique in that it is "used by communities of practitioners to produce persuasive narratives of belonging to a localised tradition that is, nonetheless, shared and disseminated

across locations. The tension between discourses of authenticity and belonging, and the dynamics of mobility of this practice, are a distinct feature of son jarocho" (Miranda Nieto 2018, xi). This tradition is also distinct in its generosity when it comes to variation, which is most evidently seen in verse adaptation. Verses act as a space for variation within the context of tradition, more so than dancing or playing an instrument; verses, as storytelling devices, respond to the context of the person who utters them, their realities. In this regard, the New York jaranero community is unique. The weekly workshops held at City Lore, according to Sinuhé, are groundbreaking because, during every class, new verses are written. Verses that, again, are informed by the reality of New York and by the immigrant-or diasporic-experiences that each person brings.

Sinuhé commented on the verse writing:

¿Sabes? Yo creo que City Lore es el lugar en Nueva York en el que se han hecho más versos Jarochos, porque todas las clases hacemos versos nuevos. Por ejemplo, ayer vimos el Son del Sapo, que es un son que casi nadie conoce, incluso en México; es de los sones que ya habían caído en desuso... Y ayer que lo enseñé en City Lore hicimos 10 versos nuevos. Entonces somos muy conscientes de lo que estamos haciendo. El Son Jarocho es como un árbol viejo que tiene ciertas dolencias y tiene también muchas cosas positivas, muchísimas. Pero hay que cuidarle lo que le duele.

You know? I think that City Lore is the place in New York City where the most *jarocho* verses have been written, because for every class we write new ones. For example, yesterday, we did a *son* that is no longer "used" in Mexico; people don't know it anymore. And yesterday, we played and wrote 10 new verses for it. We are very aware of what it is we are doing. *Son Jarocho* is like an old tree that is aching, so it is our job to take care of it. (Padilla Isunza 2018)

The notion of *son jarocho* as part of a Mexican-American folklore is tied to this variation within tradition, because "the people and their varied heritage assume forms and shapes that are at once part of the world at large and a distinctive

reflection of their own special culture" (West 1989, 30). It is evident that son jarocho is practiced in different ways, but not necessarily in an original reproduction continuum. Rather, it is practiced in different ways, simply because the contexts and environments in which it takes place are different. These deviations of style do not stem from a lack of understanding or respect for the practice; on the contrary, they show a deep understanding of the mobile and porous dynamics of son jarocho. It is then a matter of variation, as opposed to deviation. The former implies cultural continuity and evolution, whereas the latter implies the existence of an original and the ways in which its multiple reproductions deviate from that "purity."

Son evolves and is modified by each of its participants, but it is never any less valid than it would be in the so-called "original context." When we talk about son, we talk about something that reflects the reality of the context in which it occurs; it no longer seeks to reconcile geographic dislocation and nostalgia, but it is a celebration of immediate reality; it is, in the end, a celebration of that mobility and variation. Describing this practice as generous and open, as Sinuhé did, seems very appropriate:

Ya ves, el son es muy noble y se va adaptando a las necesidades y a las influencias de quien lo hace, y eso es lo que lo mantiene vivo; esa gentileza del son que es muy generoso y muy abierto... Esto entra en una categoría de folklor Mexico-Americano porque hay muchos grupos que lo hacen diferente, y se nota que está hecho en otro lado, y está bien. No se trata de esconder que es de otro lugar, que tiene otras inspiraciones, porque al final la naturaleza del son es responder a los contextos inmediatos. Más bien, hay que abrazar y aceptar las diversas manifestaciones y expresiones del son.

Son jarocho is very noble and adapts to the needs and influences of whoever plays it, which is what keeps it alive; it is generous and open.... This could fit into a category of Mexican-American folklore, because there are many groups that play it differently which is okay. This is not about hiding that someone's music might be from a different region. On the contrary, we



Jaraneras taking a break after dancing, Playas de Tijuana.

must embrace and accept the diverse manifestations and expressions of *son*. (Padilla Isunza 2018)

Sinuhé's comment is also important because of what he says about responsibility of participation and of giving back to a tradition that gives its participants so much. These different ways of responsibly and respectfully participating are especially crucial during fandangos and encuentros. These transnational gatherings are the epitome of tradition, but also the culmination of a tension between a ruleabiding practice and an evolving one. During encuentros, specifically during the New York ones, which take place every November, workshops become the principal device for the gradual reconstruction of this practice as a valuable tradition. Most interestingly, Miranda Nieto pointed out:

This process reconfigures the forms of exchange of this type of cultural capital between different generations. The entanglement of the reproduction and circulation of tacit knowledge constitutes a crucial dimension of the translocal and transnational mobilities

of this practice. There is a marked contrast between the learning protocols of old *jaraneros* and the learning practices of the workshops. (Miranda Nieto 2018, 32)

The discordance between bringing a musician from Mexico to teach the community in New York, while trying to also push the tradition forward, further emphasizes these tensions—tensions that are mostly seen in the way people dress for the *fandangos*, the rules that are followed, as well as the ones that are "rewritten." Miranda Nieto explains this phenomenon:

Encounters between essentialized narratives and the enactment of practice create a type of friction that mobilizes the practice. The tension between practice-as-entity (as an essentialized tradition) and practice-as-performance (as an actualised and adapted enactment) produces the traction that enables the mobility of practice. (Miranda Nieto 2018, 116)

During the *encuentro* I attended, which took place in November 2018, I was able to observe and experience these tensions.

I attended *jarana* workshops in which the goal seemed to be to learn "the original sotavento way of playing," while, at the same time, doing seemingly subversive acts. For example, during the first fandango of the encuentro, a few women wearing pants danced on the tarima, something that is traditionally considered offensive and outrageous in many contexts within the jaranero community. During another event, two people who wanted to dance to the music went to the center of the room and danced together, without a tarima, and both were wearing sneakers. It is these kinds of acts that made me realize the complexities of enacting a practice far away from the place it is originally from.

Through participating and attending some of these events, it became clear to me that the process of becoming a son jarocho participant is not about "saving" the tradition as it once was, but about keeping it alive through mobility and variation, mostly through adaptation. The music stays alive when we start giving it back a little bit of what it has given us. Looking at these songs, not as a musical record for a vanishing way of life, but rather as a cyclical dynamic of exchange. Playing, singing, and dancing to these sones has a sociocultural function, and as such, it becomes a responsibility to uphold and care for it. I asked Sinuhé if sporadically attending workshops was enough to contribute to this collective participation, to which he responded:

El son es una responsabilidad. Hay que ir a los fandangos, hay que ir a las clases porque si tú te pones en un punto egoísta como esta sociedad que nomás cuando pueda voy nomas 'pa sentirme chido, 'pos que bueno pero no estás ayudando a lo que te está ayudando a ti. Y es una cuestión cíclica, kármica. Como quieras, pero uno tiene que dar. Aprenderlo bien, estudiarlo, ensayarlo, apoyar a la comunidad. Si tu no naciste en el Son Jarocho si puedes tocarlo bien pero tienes que echarle ganas a entender que son las cadencias... Sabes que es un ingrediente que lo tiene ahí y sabes exactamente cuál es, entonces se lo puedes poner. Es como la comida. Lo renutre

de algo que se nos perdió en la historia, y eso es bueno. Tenemos que tener claro que uno no viene a "salvar" el son, no somos los salvadores del son ni nada. Nomás somos unos más de la comunidad y nos toca hacer lo que nos toca hacer. ¡No es gracias a nosotros que se mantiene vivo, olvídate! No, somos una hormiga en el hormiguero y hay que ser conscientes de eso también.

Son is a responsibility. One has to attend fandangos and classes, because if you have a selfish attitude, you are not helping the very thing that is helping you; it's a cycle, you must give back in any way you can. Playing, practicing, listening to it, singing, supporting the community.... We need to understand that we are not here to "save" son; we are not saviors. We are just community members, and we just do what we have to do. It is not because of us that this tradition thrives nowadays, no! We are mere ants in an ant colony, and we must be conscious of that as well. (Padilla Isunza 2018)

These words are particularly important for someone who, like me, is not part of the tradition but who hopes to learn closely, thoughtfully, and respectfully. As Sinuhé says, we are not the "saviors" of son jarocho, rather we are miniscule components in a broader community, and we must be aware of that in order to honor the tradition and in order to partake in it. The play between cultural continuity and change is clear in son jarocho, for it is a musical tradition that is sustained and transformed in movement and through mobility. The reciprocal relationship between continuity and change is also closely related to the identity of practice and the ways in which it intersects with the identities of practitioners. In any case, having a strong son jarocho community in New York is a privilege, and something we should not take for granted. It is our responsibility, indeed, to take care of it, as we take care of our sones; as we take care of each other-to, as Sinuhé beautifully said, nurture ourselves by nurturing this music.

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