

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION



1993 Festival of American Folklife

On the cover: Anastasio León, an itinerant craftsman, finishes the edge on a frame containing the holy image of San Xavier, a patron saint of the Arizona-Sonora borderlands region. Don Anastasio learned this craft, which combines reverse-painting on glass with tin frame-making, from his father. He usually sells his frames with a variety of holy images at the Fiesta de San Xavier in Magdalena, Sonora. Photo by Doctor Felipe de Jesús Valenzuela

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1993 Festival of American Folklife

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Contents

- America's Reunion on the Mall, *Bill & Hillary Clinton, Al & Tipper Gore* 4
The 1993 Festival, *Robert McC. Adams* 6
Cultural Conversation on the Mall, *Bruce Babbitt* 8
Culture on the 1990s Agenda, *Richard Kurin* 9
The Festival of American Folklife: Doing More with Less, *Diana Parker* 15

U.S. – MEXICO BORDERLANDS

- United States – Mexico Borderlands/ La Frontera, *Olivia Cadaval* 17
Living on the Border: A Wound That Will Not Heal, *Norma E. Cantú* 26
Cultural Identities on the Mexico–United States Border, *José Manuel Valenzuela Arce* 30
The Problem of Identity in a Changing Culture: Popular Expressions of Culture
Conflict Along the Lower Rio Grande Border, *Américo Paredes* 33
The Arizona–Sonora Border: Line, Region, Magnet, and Filter, *James S. Griffith* 37
The Epic Tradition of the Founding of Nuevo Laredo, *Manuel Ceballos-Ramírez* 42
Border, Culture, and Maquiladoras: Testimonies of Women Workers, *María Eugenia de la O* 44
The Mixteco Presence in Tijuana, *Francisco Javier Moreno B.* 47
Mixteco Women on the Migration Route, *Laura Velasco Ortiz* 49
The Texas–Mexican Conjunto, *Manuel Peña* 53
La Onda Bajita: Lowriding in the Borderlands, *Michael C. Stone* 56
Mortars and Metates, *Alice Fay Lozano as told to Ian Hancock* 59
The Chinese in Baja California, *Maricela González Félix* 61

AMERICAN SOCIAL DANCE

- Sharing Common Ground: Social Dancing in the U.S.A.,
Vivien Chen with Magaly E. Jarrad & Chan Moly Sam 63
Generations of African American Social Dance in Washington, D.C.:
Hand Dancing, Hip-Hop, and Go-Go, *LeeEllen Friedland* 69
Hip-Hop Dance, *Anthony Hovington* 73
Iroquois Social Dances: The Life of Dance in the Dance of Life, *Linley Logan* 74
“Circle Up Four on the Old Dance Floor”: Old-Time Dancing in
Chilhowie, Virginia, *Susan Eike Spalding* 77

METRO MUSIC

- Music in Metropolitan Washington, *Phyllis M. May-Machunda* 80
The Music Performance Trust Funds 82

KIDS' STUFF

- Kids' Stuff: Children's Traditions of Play and
Performance in Metropolitan D.C., *Diana Baird N'Diaye* 84
City Play, *Amanda Dargan & Steven Zeitlin* 86

FESTIVAL RESEARCH REPORT

- The Jerusalem Festival Project, *Amy Horowitz* 90

*Reprinted from the program book for America's Reunion on the Mall,
held for the Presidential Inaugural, January 17-18, 1993.*

America's Reunion on the Mall

*Bill & Hillary Clinton
Al & Tipper Gore*

From Kamuela, Hawai'i, and Ketchikan, Alaska; from Ponce, Puerto Rico, and Rangeley, Maine; from the rural heartland of Kansas, Missouri, and Tennessee; from our major cities of Los Angeles, New York, and Chicago, they have come to our Nation's capital. From the glamorous world of popular entertainment and from the neighborhoods of local communities they have come to the Nation's front lawn. Craftspeople representing the long-lived arts of America's cultural past have come, along with new immigrants whose artistic and cultural traditions will make their place in the history now being written. Cooks and storytellers, musicians, dancers, and artisans have come to this Festival on the Mall to tell, to sing, and to weave the story of America. Their artistry, skill, and talent, as immense as it is, is but a sample of the cultural diversity that exists throughout our land. That this diversity can be united, together, in the symbolic center of our nation, tells us much about who we are and what we dream.

The enlightened founders of this country conceived of a new nation in which the many could be united. We have always thrived as a nation of nations. This has not been easy to achieve. We have overcome many travails to

forge ideals of tolerance, mutual respect, and human dignity. We are still engaged in the pursuit of these ideals, yet, America stands as a beacon of hope. Here, cultural difference can be a source of strength not weakness, hope not despair, joy not sorrow.

A nation comprised of a diversity of people, communities, and cultural groups is a flexible and adaptable one. Ideas, inventions, songs, arts, even foods developed by some can be enjoyed by all. Never before in the history of humankind have so many different people from so many different places joined together in one nation. And never before has a nation accomplished so much politically, economically, socially, and culturally as ours. Our form of democracy, our freedom of expression, our concern for human rights and for the rights of the minority grow from our recognition of a diversity of origins, perspectives, and interests. The diversity of American lives has enriched our souls, our minds, our institutions, and even our senses.

We Americans are proud of who we are. We take pride in our own regional, ethnic, religious, and family identities, for these give us a sense of self. But we are all Americans first. Being American means bridging differences, not stamping



them out. It means learning from each other. It means including everyone as “us,” rather than excluding some as “them.” It means we can sing our own song, enjoy the singing of others, sing together, and even make up new songs. Some of the distinctly American forms of jazz, blues, gospel, and rock-and-roll heard at the Festival arose from just such a creative combination of cultural styles. Just as our recognition of the uniqueness of each and every individual does not detract from our sense of a common humanity, so, too, the recognition of our diversity need not stand in opposition to national unity and identity. Indeed, just as the creativity, genius, and generosity of individuals enlarge our sense of humanity, so, too, can an appreciation of our diversity increase our sense of national accomplishment.

It is fitting that we rededicate ourselves to joining together at this time and in this place. The Mall is the place where Americans talk to each other. It is where we celebrate and enshrine our national understandings. It is the place where some 30 years ago the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., informed the nation of his dream — of a nation in which children of different backgrounds, races, and creeds could walk hand in hand. Where the differences that divide could one day be used to unite. It is thus fitting that in the same place on this Day, and on Martin Luther King Day, for the inaugural and for the first public event celebrating a new administration, the American people gather here, to reunite with each other, to reunite with an American ideal, and to reunite with a national dream that all of us can help realize.

The 1993 Festival

Robert McC. Adams

Secretary, Smithsonian Institution

This is, in a sense, the second Festival on the Mall this year, the first having taken place some six months ago for the Presidential Inaugural. The America's Reunion on the Mall brought together performing musicians, artists, craftspeople, and cooks from all across the country in a celebration of our nation's strength in diversity. The inaugural festival was wonderfully successful. We were happy to play a role in celebrating our democracy, and all the more so because that event reinforced what the Smithsonian's Festival has been doing and saying about American culture for the past 26 years.

Through the Festival of American Folklife we have learned that to represent truly the culture of our nation, one must represent the diversity of its people, its communities, its regions, and its genres of cultural expression. We have learned that such representations — whether in the form of cultural performances, skill demonstrations, expository talks, or museum exhibits — must result from intimate collaboration with those being represented; they too have roles to play as researchers, curators, presenters, and artists. We have also learned that cultural representation is a vehicle for affirmation of self-worth, especially when it is done in a highly visible, centrally symbolic place like the National Mall. And we have learned that people — those represented at the Festival as well as visitors to it — can understand, appreciate, and learn from each other when culture is presented in an open,

respectful setting. Indeed, the Festival has proved to be a forum where the confluences and divergences of culture can be engaged in a peaceful and sometimes even enlightening way. At the Festival, the interaction of visitors, participants, and Smithsonian staff has often resulted in new cultural awareness and in syntheses of new ideas and cultural forms.

This summer, the Festival includes programs on U.S. - Mexico borderlands, American social dance, music in the Washington Metropolitan area, and urban children's culture. All point to how people creatively use the resources of community culture to shape life experiences in ways that celebrate and affirm social values.

The Festival's featured program, U.S. - Mexico Borderlands, is the latest in a series developed for the Columbus Quincentenary which has sought to expand public knowledge about the cultural history of our hemisphere and to fortify the Smithsonian's engagement of colleagues and communities in Latin America and the Caribbean. These programs, including Creolization in the Caribbean, Land and Power in Native American Cultures, New Mexico, Maroons in the Americas, and American Indian Soundscapes, have directly reached some 5 million Festival visitors. Brought to fruition with the cooperation of scores of academic, cultural, and educational institutions in 18 nations, these programs have engaged the efforts of some 250 different scholars and over 1,000 exemplary culture bearers

from across the Americas. These Festival programs have generated rich documentary archives, copies of which reside both at the Smithsonian and at collaborating institutions. Additionally, these programs have generated two documentary films, several books, and even the passage of cultural legislation.

Our consideration of cultural borderlands comes at an important time, socially and intellectually. The migrations and movements of people challenge prior notions of bounded, localized national cultures. Borderlands are generally regarded as the edges of a nation, marginal and peripheral to its cultural life. Yet what happens when the border region of two nations achieves its own sense of identity, its own idea of cultural centrality? The borderlands are characterized by cultural dynamism, liminality, and contention. And the U.S.- Mexico cultural border is quite permeable, with flows of people, goods, and ideas that extend not only geographically deep into each country, but also deep into their social lives. No doubt, in a continent whose patterns of exchange may be refashioned by the North American Free Trade Agreement or like arrangements, we will continue to witness the cultural evolution of this important region. And so too will our thinking about the relationship between culture and nation deepen. The examination of the borderlands makes it possible for us to see culture not as a static accumulation of things,

but as flows of meanings, styles, and values continually reshaped and revalidated by use.

Finding such phenomena as cultural borderlands represented at the Festival signals the fact that over the past decade, museums and their programs have increasingly become forums for addressing the cultural realities of contemporary life. These cultural realities are complex, and often intimately tied to important social and political issues. The involvement of the Smithsonian and other such institutions with issues of contemporary cultural concern is part of our public trust. We have the responsibility to contribute our knowledge and perspective to public dialogue and debate — understanding of course that our voice is only one, and not necessarily the definitive one, in that discussion.

The Festival has historically been a leader in this area. This was especially true during the past year as its staff engaged colleagues from Hebrew and Bir Zeit Universities in researching the grass-roots cultural traditions of Jerusalem. No place on earth is perhaps as culturally rich, nor as contentious, as Jerusalem. Yet working with local researchers and scholars, community artists and leaders, and members of Jerusalem's diverse communities, excellent work was accomplished. We hope that this research, the understandings and substantive practices that animate the cultural life of that great city, will emerge as a Festival program in the near future.

Cultural Conversation on the Mall

Bruce Babbitt

Secretary, Department of the Interior

The National Mall is our country's symbolic center, where we celebrate our national civic rites — the inauguration of a president, our independence day, our bicentennial. The Mall is our national showcase where we enshrine, in our national museums, our understandings of history, culture, science, and the arts. And it is our national town square where generations of Americans have gathered to speak to each other, to represent themselves and their concerns to their fellow citizens.

Since 1967, the Festival of American Folklife has presented the grassroots culture of our nation, bringing together musicians, craftspeople, cooks, storytellers, workers, and other cultural exemplars from every region of our country. People from various states, ethnic and Native American groups, occupations, and cultures have brought their wisdom, knowledge, art, and skill to the Mall and have shared it with their fellow citizens.

For some 20 years, the Department of Interior through the National Park Service and with the cooperation of its other Bureaus, has been a proud partner in the Festival. The Smithsonian and the Park Service share a commitment to the preservation of our national heritage — cultural and natural. Over the years, the Festival's work has been guided by research done by folklorists, anthropologists, and historians from both agencies in communities across the country. The Festival has been a forum for discussions about culture conservation, environmental preservation, and local economic development. The Festival has provided a training ground for developing skills and techniques for the presentation of grassroots culture. Most of all, the Festival has functioned as a combined outdoor museum and interpretive park, where people from around the country can speak directly to their fellow citizens about their history, their culture, and their lives.

This type of cultural conversation, in which cultural traditions can be respectfully presented, discussed, and even exchanged, is vital to our continued health as a whole nation. As President Clinton has affirmed, our cultural diversity is a source of national strength. Our educational programs and public institutions need to encourage the study and broadest dissemination of knowledge about our history, and about the value and flow of ideas between people of varied backgrounds. Sometimes our cultural conversations will be celebratory, and sometimes sobering. But to appreciate their importance, one need only look around the globe to places where the cultural conversation has stopped, and where difference has led to intolerance, to the abuse of human rights, and even to endemic violence.

We continually engage the American public in every state and territory in cultural conversations. The Yaqui, represented this year at the Festival, have regularly participated in the Fiesta at Tumacácori National Monument in Arizona; musicians, craftspeople, and working cowboys like those here at the Festival from Texas have displayed their culture at Chamizal National Memorial Park in El Paso; and local Washington area musicians like those at the Festival have regularly performed in National Park venues at Glen Echo and Wolf Trap. The cultural dialogue goes on at historical sites such as America's Industrial Heritage Park in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, at interpretive exhibits in urban parks like Lowell National Historical Park, at natural sites like Hawaii's Volcanoes National Park, at cultural centers being developed in Maine and West Virginia, and in programs such as Keepers of the Treasures. Our work, and our partnerships with the Smithsonian and with many others at the national, state, and local level, help Americans understand their national heritage, and we fervently hope, each other.

Culture on the 1990s Agenda

Richard Kurin

Who would have thought that culture, as a sign of group identity, would play a prominent and sometimes deadly role in world politics? Who would have thought that culture, as commodified knowledge, art, and image, would be the world's largest industry? In one form or another, culture has become central to politics and economics. Culture is on the agenda for the 1990s. What role is to be played by institutions concerned with understanding culture and educating large and broad publics?

The Politics of Culture

Talk to a politician about cultural issues a few years ago, and before the eyes glazed over, you'd likely get a reaction that placed culture in the realm of the frivolous, the romantic, or the obvious. No more. From ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia, to family values in the United States, and a distinct society vote in Canada, culture is on the battlefield, in the news, and on the ballot. Culture has come to be seen as values, world views, and identities that may move world events, shatter states and forge new ones. This is not the "culture" of high society, the elite arts or commercial media. It is rather the culture of ordinary people as expressed in daily life, in the streets, the workplace, and the school yard.

As a political issue culture has emerged in public consciousness under the rubric of "multiculturalism," a term which has been used to describe 1) a *demographic situation* — a culturally diverse population; 2) a *policy* — equity in resource accessibility for different cultures and

their bearers; 3) an *ethic* — the comparable value of every culture; and 4) a *process* — the ways in which cultures interact within pluralistic societies and complex individual lives.

Debates over multiculturalism in all of these senses have defined a number of issues. The political question of the decade will be whether a multicultural state is possible, and if so, how? For public institutions the question is how to make multiculturalism part of institutional practice. And for students of society and civilization, the question is to what extent multiculturalism encourages or precludes larger sociocultural syntheses and unities. Each of these sets of issues — the political, the educational, and the evolutionary have their own history, and their own problems and tensions.

Culture and the Modern State. Modern Europe articulated the idea of nation in the mid-19th century by binding it to ideas of race, language, and land. Definitions of singular national cultural identities were attempted through scholarship in folklore, physical and cultural anthropology, philology, and other disciplines. Debates over the characteristics of these unicultural or monocultural national identities, from their costumes to their customs to the question of who is to be included in them, have never ceased.

Many Third World countries, emerging from colonial rule after World War II, knew they had to construct culturally diverse states — nations with different languages, different religions, and many ethnic and regional backgrounds. India, Indonesia, Kenya, and others had to face the issue of forging political unity from cultural diversity. As we know, the maintenance of a central government with a core civic culture has been difficult in these societies. Ethnic, religious, tribal, linguistic, and regional differences continue to challenge national civic cultures.

The industrialized nations, because of their histories, traditions of governance, and levels of

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literacy and education, were thought to be immune to pressures arising from cultural difference. Their stability was thought to result from their having made the transition from traditional and culture-bound societies to modern ones. Indeed, many political scientists have seen the culture of the folk as a survival, a kind of primordial identity subsumed by the modern state and the rise of the individual. When cultural identity figures in politics, it is often seen as an irrational, unpredictable force.

Yet this idea of progress is challenged by the fact that some of the societies most successful in making this modernizing and industrializing transition have experienced a strong surge of political conflicts apparently based upon religious, ethnic, and regional cultural identity. A recent study sponsored by the American Academy of Sciences (*Fundamentalisms and Society: Reclaiming the Sciences, the Family and Education*) found that religious fundamentalism has tended, worldwide, to emerge as a cultural reaction to modernism, not as a survival of long held and cherished folkways. But even the most modern of nations have not been spared from such conflict. Movements of immigrant and colonized populations, the resistance of previously subjugated peoples, and persistence of internal cultural and regional differences have challenged received ideas of nationhood. Efforts to redefine the state as multicultural have in some cases resulted in dissension, conflict, bigotry, and violence. Many nations seem to be under a cultural siege, threatened by the unreconstructed cultural diversity of their people. And thus, more and more the question is being asked — is a multicultural state possible?

According to the former ministers of culture of the republics in the former Soviet Union, the answer is no. On the eve of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, those ministers warned about the pitfalls of cultural diversity lest it weaken the U.S. in the same way it had undermined the Soviet state.

It was at about the same time that debate on multiculturalism heated up in American public life. The so-called “culture wars” erupted in the media, in national institutions, and eventually in presidential politics. To conservative detractors, multiculturalism is a highly problematic ideology, ethically relativistic and ahistorical. In this critical view, Western, European, and Judeo-Christian culture have crystallized in the American historical experience to form a national culture characterized by civic pride, political stability,

economic success, and high moral ideals. They argue that “politically correct” history, bilingualism, ethnic particularism, funding of the national arts endowment, Hollywood portrayals of the family, and other activities were undermining the cultural unity and foundations of the nation. Some suggested that the way to deal with American cultural diversity would be to eliminate it, generally through the type of cultural assimilation associated with mainstream economic success. Others suggested that elimination of cultural diversity would involve a more coercive strategy of excluding people and ideas.

Cultural wars became an election issue. On the eve of the presidential election the celebrating crowd in Washington was told, “no more cultural wars. No more religious wars. No more cultural cleansing.” And in accepting the results, Bill Clinton interpreted his victory as among other things, a call “to bring our people together as never before so that our diversity can be a source of strength.” The Presidential Inaugural was termed “America’s Reunion” to explicitly celebrate the relationship between unity and diversity. And so the question, at least in the United States, would appear to turn away from whether or not the multicultural state is possible to the question of how to make it so.

Cultural Representation. Debates over multiculturalism often grow quickly around the public events and institutions through which a society’s culture is represented. Contending interpretations of history, understandings of the present, and visions of the future have been subjects for debate in these arenas. The bicentennial of Australian settlement in 1988 was a harbinger of the 1992 American (and Iberian) Columbus Quincentenary, as issues of the “discoverers” and “the discovered,” the glory and the gore, the celebration and the commemoration emerged in exhibits, programs, speeches, television programs, demonstrations, and counter-demonstrations. Japan’s ceremonials surrounding the installation of the Emperor and the commemoration of Pearl Harbor are also recent contexts for studying what Geoff White calls “the politics of remembering.”

The ways in which different cultural groups are remembered and presented is also being fought out in museum exhibits, textbooks, television programs, and magazine advertisements. Simply put, many cultural groups are upset with their lack of representation, or the skewed or prejudicial way in which they are represented, and they are using techniques of political persua-



Forums for multicultural encounters will continue to be invented as a way of grappling with social realities. Here at the 1992 Festival of American Folklife, New Mexican participants from various Pueblo and Plains Indian, Hispanic, Anglo, African American, and other backgrounds develop a multicultural way of expressing a new-found community spirit.

Photo by Jeff Tinsley, Smithsonian Institution

sion to do something about it. Public institutions are under increased scrutiny to be inclusive and positively value cultural diversity in hiring, programming, and audience outreach.

While generally accepting the ethic of multiculturalism many scholars in cultural studies have criticized the way its arguments are framed. According to some critics, proponents of multiculturalism endorse simplistic and essentialistic notions of cultural groups. Too often, advocates of culturally articulated groups argue as though they believe themselves to be naturally constituted — as discrete, unchanging species. Hence, they unwittingly accept and replicate scientifically unsupportable ideas of race and racial classification. As a social consciousness, this atomistic sort of multiculturalism avoids attention to social systems (such as capitalism and colonialism) and social identities (such as those based upon class, gender, region, occupation, and religion) which crosscut ethnic groups. It also ignores how individuals and communities have juggled, juxtaposed, synthesized, and compartmentalized various identities in daily contexts and over the course of history.

New Syntheses and Alternatives. In spite of internal difficulties, divisions, and debates, global institutions like the U.N. have moved in an unprecedented way to define new global consensus on standards for ethical conduct, human rights, and environmental policy. These are not merely agreements among nation-states, but to

an unprecedented degree seem to represent the opinion of people across the planet. A more united Europe, whatever the fate of the Maastricht Treaty, has emerged, and has subsumed aspects of sovereignty and national identity in favor of shared economic interest. New free trade zones proposed in North America and in other parts of the world are based not on similarities in cultural identities, but on participation in regional and global markets. Indeed, there is, as Emile Durkheim predicted almost a century ago, the emergence of a global culture tied to the industrial and post-industrial world. Made possible by telecommunication technologies, this new culture defines distinct codes, networks, and communities of individuals and institutions, many, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has argued, with a shared folklore.

But these new, emergent forms of global political and economic culture are not so universal or so entrenched as to preclude opposition. Often characterized as nativistic though not necessarily home grown, some of multiculturalism's opponents proclaim their own form of universalism. In the United States and in parts of Europe some analysts see new forms of Islamic transnationalism as alternative global visions and a threat to the new world order. Domestically, some Christian fundamentalist groups are seen in the same way, and indeed, they explicitly challenge the very notion of a new world order based upon secular economics. How much multicultur-

alism can the new global framework stand when faced with alternative, inimical systems? Does the acceptance of a multiculturalist ethic mean bringing systems opposed to its ideology into the tent?

The Economics of Culture

As culture has become a political problem, it has also been turned into an economic treasure. Cultural knowledge, artifacts, songs, stories, images, and representations are rapidly and increasingly being transformed into commodities. Culture, as such, is at the forefront of the global economy. Who is consuming whose culture for whose economic benefit and at what cost?

Culture as Tourist Industry. Counting tourism, or at least a good part of it, together with the arts and entertainment, culture is the largest industry in the world. Trillions of dollars a year are spent representing and selling culture.

Perhaps the largest cultural enterprise in the United States is the Disney Corporation. Millions of Americans learn about world cultures at Disneyland and Disneyworld where they see the pirate-like people of the Caribbean drinking, and pygmies of Africa rising out of a river to aim their spears at your body — with knives and forks presumably to follow. Only slightly less dismaying is Disney's "It's a Small World After All," a tableaux of cute, little, formulaically but differentially costumed doll-figures meant to represent all the world's people singing the same song — each in its own language. Ersatz and fakelore abound. One French intellectual, interviewed about Euro-Disney, aptly summarized, "they claim to present our folklore and culture, but they have taken it and returned it to us in an unrecognizable form." Similarly, cultural theme parks, costing millions of dollars, are proliferating — in Japan, Indonesia, China, Western Africa, the Caribbean, the U.S., and Europe.

Can touristic cultural theme parks be organized so that their representations do justice to those represented; so that the material benefits of tourism are not just exported or used to build more luxury high rise hotels but actually reach the people represented; so that such activities do not destroy local environments and community culture? Strategies to meet these goals have been developing under the rubrics of eco-tourism and cultural tourism. Increased efforts to achieve and balance three broadly desirable goals — cultural conservation, economic development, and environmental preservation — will define key cultur-

al policy concerns around the world over the next decade.

Indigenous Creations. Another aspect of the cultural economy is the international trade in the creations of folk and traditional communities the world over. Popular musicians make millions of dollars mining the music of South Africans, Cajuns, Latin Americans, and others. A contemporary cosmetic company bases its multi-million dollar business on folk potions and ethnoaesthetics. Pharmaceutical companies work with shamans and healers to develop new drugs and treatments. Scholars, writers, and artists make a healthy living by writing about or appropriating the wisdom and knowledge of "their" people. Increasingly, folk cultural knowledge, wisdom, and art are going to be repackaged, made and marketed for profit, and distributed far beyond their traditional audiences. The issues involving the kinds and uses of property — intangible and tangible, individual and community, ownership and usufruct — continue to emerge as the industrial and post-industrial economy appropriates the creativity of traditional cultures. If the technology, knowledge, and networks are made available, some of this may occur under the control of the communities that produce this culture.

Cultural Markets. Mass production and mass marketing are designed for products that are the same for all consumers. Making everyone modern through advertising, propaganda, and other discursive forms has been a long term goal of industrial economics — whether capitalist or socialist. But mass producers are increasingly aware of cultural diversity in the marketplace. More salsa than ketchup is now eaten in U.S. households; Hindi film rentals in New York are a big business; a *halal* grocery and butchery are necessary institutions in several Detroit-area communities. In their search for new markets, producers have realized they have to be responsive to local needs. And they may have to compete with local producers whose niche in the local market is carved out by attention to cultural needs and aesthetics. The market has at once become more homogeneous — penetrated by internationally produced goods available everywhere, and at the same time increasingly customized for local consumption. Apple and IBM can sell their computers everywhere, but need a variety of script and language packages. Marketing research, needs assessment, and ethnographic fieldwork are likely to become increasingly entwined, as the interpenetration of local and global goods brings culturally diverse popula-

tions together in complex patterns of cultural-economic exchange. Global businesses will have to become more aware of the culture of their products, their markets, and their audiences; local producers will become increasingly sophisticated about creating new products and penetrating new markets.

The Challenge for Cultural Institutions

What role can public cultural institutions concerned with the study, documentation, and conservation of culture play in this political and economic context?

We face several problems. One concerns our own standing and expertise as professionals. Everyone knows something about culture, especially one's own. This makes public understanding of cultural expertise problematic. In American public discourse it is difficult to separate out folk sociology, folk folklore, and folk anthropology from their disciplinary varieties. Key terms — such as “society,” culture,” “tradition,” and “community” — are used by much of the population, journalists, politicians, and experts with considerable slippage of meaning.

While scholarly and scientific studies have much to contribute, they have generally failed to penetrate public understandings. Popularly, sociology is often reduced to psychology, history to biography, culture to human nature. The social sciences, the humanities, and the arts are largely marginalized and trivialized in our educational systems, which continue to be informed by a resilient anti-intellectualism. Disciplinary understandings, which once held hope of escaping ethnocentrism, have been shown to be heavily influenced by it. The idea of race in the United States, for example, which should have been drastically reformulated in light of social and natural science findings, nonetheless persists among the public and its leaders in its 19th century form.

This is not just a communication problem. The human studies disciplines have in a reflexive moment undercut some of their own legitimacy. They have generally remained aloof from national and international debates on fundamental cultural issues. They have failed to work closely with the communities they study on matters of pressing political and economic concern.

Scholars and museum curators face a fundamental challenge. We claim a special empathy for, understanding of, and ethical relationship with the people we study and represent. But if we are so intimately and meaningfully involved,

those people should be flocking to us for knowledge and insight. They, the studied and represented, should be coming to our museums, attending our professional meetings, enrolling their children in our courses, reading our books, and becoming professionals in our fields. In the U.S. this is not happening. The participation of African Americans, American Indians, Hispanics, and Asian Americans in the cultural studies and museum fields is stunningly low.

Emerging Cultural Policy Needs

What are we going to need for a world in which increasing weight is put on culture?

I think the future of the cultural field is to be found in a clearer focus on situated scholarship. Research and analysis need to be situated in contexts — historical and contemporary, local and global — and presented to affected polities and institutions. We need research work on issues that crosscut disciplines, populations, and genres as we have traditionally defined them. And we need the active involvement and engagement of community and lay scholars in this effort — people who can bring to the field new understandings, assumptions, approaches, and associations.

We need research on the multicultural state, on comparative cultural politics, on cultural economics, on multicultural lives, on transnational cultural flows, on cultural processes associated with immigration, acculturation, urbanization, and the relationship between culture, environmental preservation, and development. We need stronger scholarship if it is to stand the scrutiny of the audiences who can actually think about and use our work. This means students and professionals trained in several fields and methodologies. And it also means the penetration of cultural work into other disciplines — lawyers who work on intellectual and cultural property rights issues need ethnomusicological research to understand the creation and ownership of songs; pharmacologists who will work with rainforest healers and shamans need folklore research to understand ethnobotanical knowledge, and so on.

We have to combine research more closely with education and public service. We have major work to do in developing teaching materials and upgrading teacher training to reflect the complexity of cultural issues students will face. We have to use the full range of new media and communicative forms to transmit our ideas so that younger and broader publics can entertain



Maroon leaders from Jamaica, Suriname, French Guiana, Colombia, and Texas met each other for the first time at the 1992 Festival. Joined here by Rev. Jesse Jackson, the opportunity provided an occasion to discuss the cultural history and continuity of these communities, and their common concerns. *Photo by Jeff Tinsley, Smithsonian Institution*

them. If kids can sit for hours in front of a video game trying to get Mario to save the princess from the dragon, we have to figure out ways to engage them with the same intensity in quests for cultural knowledge, understanding, and appreciation.

We need to be more creative about how a diversity of understandings are shared, discussed, and debated. Grassroots communities throughout the world cannot afford to communicate through Ph.D. dissertations, the meetings of professional organizations, or documentary films — the time lag is too long and the audiences too small and insignificant. Increasingly public cultural institutions themselves will have to become forums for cultural conversations. Museums, libraries, and universities — in their current form, as well as in electronically networked, “virtual” forms — will have to serve town, national, and global conversations, if they are to continue to merit public support. The conversations them-

selves will need to become less of an authoritative monologue, as central institutions enable dialogue and the increase of knowledge by those formerly seen as peripheral.

The federal investment in this process has not been made. The resources put toward multiculturalism are minute. Public institutions have failed to connect enshrined ideas of culture — what it is and whose it is — to an increasingly multicultural America. Funds and commitments for training people and supporting professionals in the cultural studies areas are lacking. And yet, in a changing world, where culture looms larger and larger in political and economic life, the need for this investment is greater. Developing America’s cultural economy in a just way and developing public understanding of the nation’s cultural life seem not only worthwhile goals, but urgent ones that require swift and decisive action.

The Festival of American Folklife: Doing More with Less

Diana Parker

This year's Festival of American Folklife is the 27th since the Smithsonian's annual living cultural exhibition began in 1967. We have learned much in these years about how to present traditional cultures respectfully and understandably to a broad audience. We have learned about the products besides the Festival that can come from the research done to produce the event. And we have learned about the ways the labor and the money the event requires can be used to maximum effect.

Walking through the Festival, you see the culmination of more than a year of hard work. Before a Festival can happen, themes and curators must be selected, research plans formulated and researchers identified, funds raised, field research documentation reviewed, participants selected and invited, visas, transportation, housing, and meals procured, sites and programs designed and produced, signs and program book articles written, supplies located, and more. Upwards of 100 people have worked closely together to create the program on the Mall, and over 100 volunteers a day will add their labor during the Festival's span.

The annual Festival requires a tremendous concentration and commitment of intellectual, emotional, spiritual, and physical energy. It also takes a lot of money. Considering salaries, fees, transportation, and everything it takes to produce the event, Festivals typically cost between one and two million dollars, depending on the size, length, and complexity of the program.

In the recent past, the Festival, like the rest of the Smithsonian, has had to learn to make do with less. Traditionally, about 25% of the cost of the Festival has come from Federal funds, 25%

from Smithsonian trust funds, 20% from corporate and foundation sources, and 30% from other governments. The sale of traditional crafts, foods, publications, and beverages at the Festival, which do much to bring the intimate aesthetics and taste of folk culture to a broad audience, also help in a limited way to offset the cost of production. But the current economic climate has limited the availability of Federal and Smithsonian funds, and also made it more difficult to raise funds from the outside.

More than 1.2 million people visited the 1992 Festival. That makes the cost of the Festival about \$1.50 per visitor — less than the cost of a concert or a movie ticket and much less than the cost of maintaining an artifact-based museum. But the economy of the Festival is even greater when you consider the ways it reaches beyond the Mall.

Perhaps the most direct way that the Festival stretches beyond its temporal and physical boundaries is through the media. It is estimated that some 40 million people learn about the event and the people and themes it presents from sources as varied as "The Today Show," feature stories in national and local newspapers, and "National Public Radio" interviews with Festival participants. Public television has produced several documentaries about our programs and Festival participants, and aired others made by independent producers. Perhaps the best known is *The Stone Carvers*, produced by Marjorie Hunt and Paul Wagner which won the 1985 Academy Award for best documentary.

Remounting sections of the Festival of American Folklife "back home" has proved an effective way of multiplying the value of the money spent for research and planning by sharing the resources of the Smithsonian with non-Washington audiences. The Festival's second life reuses its research, design, and its museum-quality signs, banners, and publications; it trains people

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in various parts of the country in the art of presenting traditional culture to a broad public audience; and it increases the much deserved honor tradition bearers receive in their own home regions.

Recent Festival of American Folklife programs remounted back home include Michigan (1987), Massachusetts (1988), Hawai'i (1989), and the U.S. Virgin Islands (1990). Although there was no state or territory program at the 1991 Festival, a portion of the Family Farm program of that year was remounted in the Festival of Michigan Folklife in the fall of 1991. The legislature of the state of New Mexico has recently appropriated funds to remount the successful 1992 program back home in Las Cruces. Some of these Festival restagings, as in Michigan, have provided the impetus for year-round cultural research, educational, and public programs. Other restagings, like the one in the U.S. Virgin Islands, have led to legislation and the establishment of local cultural institutions. Generally, the Smithsonian provides in-kind staff support to these efforts, which are funded largely by states and private sources.

States and territories participating in the Festival receive complete archival copies of the research done in preparation for the Festival. The Festival has generated significant documentary collections, which are now housed in many state archives and universities. This cultural information provides material for books, policy studies, and public programs.

Festival research materials have also been used to prepare educational packets for use in public schools. Smithsonian and U.S. Virgin Islands scholars compiled audio, video, and written materials from the 1990 Festival to create teachers' kits. The kits were used to teach traditional culture in Senegal and the U.S. Virgin Islands — comparing and contrasting storytelling, foodways, music, and other expressive forms, and introducing students to the skills required to research folk culture in their own families and communities.

Other ways have been found to share the research done for the Festival with people outside the Washington area. Numerous Smithsonian/Folkways recordings accompanied by extensive documentary notes have been produced from every Festival since 1988, beginning with

the critically acclaimed *Musics of the Soviet Union*. These recordings have proved valuable tools in the classroom for teaching about traditional culture. Their quality is reflected in a Grammy Award and several nominations. The most recent Festival recording, *Roots of Rhythm and Blues: A Tribute to the Robert Johnson Era*, was nominated for a Grammy in the category of best traditional blues.

Every year the Festival generates ancillary projects that capitalize on the energy and funds put into it. For instance, the 1984 Black Urban Expressive Culture from Philadelphia program led to a traveling exhibit, an exhibit catalog, a *National Geographic* article, and a training program for young African American documentary photographers. A 1992 program on White House Workers is being developed into a film and a traveling exhibit for the presidential libraries; another 1992 program on Native American music is being transformed into an exhibit for the National Museum of the American Indian; and yet another, on Maroon cultural history, will tour the nation as a future exhibit in the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service.

Numerous interns, undergraduate, and post-doctoral fellows have used the Festival and its archives for research and publication. Additionally, the Center originated a Folklore Summer Institute which brings together selected lay scholars from communities around the country for training in research, documentation, and presentation of traditional culture, as well as proposal and grant writing. Coinciding with the Festival, the Institute allows students to use the event as a laboratory and an opportunity to meet other tradition bearers and professionals in the field of traditional culture. The National Park Service has held its training program for Native Americans, Alaska Natives, and Native Hawaiians in Washington during the Festival for the last two years for the same reason.

Proud as we are of the Festival on the Mall created by the tradition bearers it honors, we think of the event as just the tip of an iceberg. The effect of the Federal funds expended on it is amplified many times over by private, state, and income-generated funds that support Festival-inspired cultural education projects around the country and even around the world.

United States–Mexico Borderlands/La Frontera

Olivia Cadaval

Dedication

We dedicate the Borderlands program to Don Américo Paredes whose lifelong intellectual, artistic, and social engagement with the border has led the way in understanding borders as distinctive cultural regions. Borders, and in particular the area he has called the Lower Rio Grande Border and from which he came, create complex and turbulent environments. These generate what Don Américo has rightly understood as a culture of conflict, struggle, and resistance. For Don Américo, it is precisely the generative power of the struggle that makes border folklore distinctive.

La frontera marca el sitio donde dos países soberanos colindan, creando un ámbito de acercamiento pero también de separación entre culturas y jurisdicciones nacionales. La frontera trazada de acuerdo al tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo de 1848 entre México y los Estados Unidos invadió tierras indígenas, dividió comunidades mexicanas, y creó una dinámica de oportunidad, explotación, y conflicto que ha engendrado una cultura propia fronteriza.

Basado en la investigación, este programa nos ofrece una muestra de esta cultura fronteriza — sus historias, sus diversas comunidades, identidades locales y regionales, y de su música, su arte, su artesanía, sus costumbres, su comida y su narrativa. El programa se ha realizado gracias a la colaboración de El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, Texas Folklife Resources, Western Folklife Center de la Biblioteca de la Universidad de Arizona, el Centro de Estudios Regionales de la Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, la Universidad Autónoma de Baja California y de investigadores individuales y miembros de varias comunidades de ambos lados. Este artículo es una introducción a los ensayos de investigadores partici-

pantes que aportan diferentes perspectivas y tocan diversos temas.

Finalmente este artículo es una introducción a los participantes del programa en el festival, a esas voces individuales que viven y crean la cultura de la frontera. A través de sus historias y la presentación de sus habilidades artísticas y creadoras, esperamos apreciar la vitalidad y riqueza propia de la cultura fronteriza, y entrar en un diálogo con los fronterizos mismos para mejor entender los problemas y los procesos culturales y sociales que se dan en este ámbito transnacional.

Introduction

Borderlands have often been the locale of major folk cultural achievements, from the outlaw ballads of the Scots-English border to the heroic *corridos* of south Texas. Energized by the lives of heroes and others, borderlands continue to spark themes of frontier lawlessness, national pride, rebellion against injustice, and a community hero's stand against all odds. What is it about a border that triggers these cultural forms and others, such as souvenirs, duty-free liquors,

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retaining walls made of automobile tires, and *maquiladora* assembly plants? Is the border a particular kind of region or social environment? If so, does the border tend to produce a particular kind of culture? And what is the relationship between this environment and its culture? In this essay and in this Festival program we explore answers to these questions.

A line drawn in various ways, a border marks the place where adjacent jurisdictions meet. This combined conjunction-and-separation of national laws and customs creates a zone in which movements of people and goods are greatly regulated, examined, discussed, and hidden. Commerce attains a higher importance in border society as does dialogue about the identities of its peoples. Smuggling, the myriad signs in border towns, legal and illegal immigration, and the use of unneighborly names between neighbors are parts of this picture of accentuated concern with the trade in goods and the flow of people.

The border is an environment of opportunity. Individuals find work enforcing or avoiding the laws that regulate movement. Companies use national differences in labor and environmental regulations to pursue their advantage. Border society thrives on difference, and people and institutions come there to exploit niches in its environment.

Borders are artifacts of history and are subject to change over time. When borders shift, lands and peoples are subjected to different sets of rules; this creates opportunities for exploitation, conditions of hardship, and motivations for revolt.

An approach to describing a society constructed by difference is necessarily many voiced. Rather than a central, authoritative perspective, we strive for a de-centered point of view, one with many authoritative speakers. Of course, this is more easily achieved in the Festival, where citizens of the border region speak and perform for themselves and their communities. But even in this printed medium, through translation and transcription, a variety of authorities are represented.

Border society is an abstract concept compounded of ideas about the sovereignty of nation-states, the intensification of commerce and social discourse, and strategies of cultural representation. The U.S.-Mexico border can be understood in these terms; and in this it is similar to borders like those between the U.S. and Canada, East and West Germany, or Kenya and Tanzania. But a particular history of the U.S.-Mexico border is expressed in the images, sounds, discourse genres, and social formations discussed below. This particular historical development has made the border the planet's longest between a country characterized by economic practices and achievements sometimes known as 'first world' and a country whose economy is

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sometimes characterized as 'third world'. The growth of a capitalist world economy provided the context for the development not only of U.S.-Mexico border culture, but also of other types of cultural processes that incorporate difference — acculturation, creolization, and the growth of various cultural diasporas.

Cultural processes which may be opaque and elusive elsewhere become clear at the border. This is the case, as Dr. Valenzuela points out, in the formation of cultural identity. The border offers a stark context of cultural difference, social inequality, and ever present reminders of governmental power to limit individual opportunity by ascribing national identity. The dominant discourse that assigns low social value to particular sectors of the population is answered by a creative flood of expressions of identity in music, graphic arts, poetry, and styles of clothing and self presentation.

People speak passionately and often artistically about themselves and others; they regulate exchange and avoid regulation; they struggle to survive in an environment often shaped by the practices of nation-states and a global economy. These human acts are not unique to borders, but they occur there with a clarity and an urgency that commands our concern.

People at the Border

The region between the Gulf of Mexico and Baja California has been inhabited by many Native American societies, which first settled and used the land. Spaniards took ownership of these lands in grants made by the Spanish crown according to a perceived divine right. Mestizos, whose practices, like their ancestry, combined Indian and Hispanic heritage, inhabited the region. And English-speaking citizens of the U.S., whose land acquiring and owning practices were informed by principles of commercial capital and manifest destiny also settled here. The border region is usually thought of as composed of these principal groups of landowners, former landowners, and workers, but its environment of opportunity has attracted many others, whose successive arrivals continue to transform the sociocultural life of the region.

On the Gulf coast, Jewish families from central Mexico sought refuge from religious persecution in the 18th century and established businesses in Matamoros and along the valley. In the latter part of the 19th century, a Mexican government concerned by U.S. expansionism encouraged settlement and in some cases granted land



When her paralysis was cured, Josefina Ollervidez built a shrine in her yard in San Antonio, Texas, to Nuestra Señora de los Lagos, a patron saint she brought with her from Jalisco in central Mexico. *Photo by Kathy Vargas*

in the western region of the border to groups as diverse as Chinese, Mennonites, Molokan Russians, Black Seminoles, and Kickapoo Indians. Black Seminoles and Kickapoo were welcomed with the stipulation that they defend the territory against the Apache and Comanche raids.

As Maricela González describes in her article, Chinese managers and laborers established residence in the towns of Mexicali and Calexico at the beginning of the 20th century. The damming of the Colorado River converted this area in the Imperial Valley along the Colorado River into fertile agricultural land. Anglo landowners leased this land to Chinese entrepreneurs from California, who smuggled agricultural laborers into Mexico from China.

The Bracero Program of 1942-1964, first negotiated by the U.S. and Mexico as an emergency measure during World War II, encouraged large migrations of Mexican workers to the U.S. Under its terms, American agricultural enterprises could legally bring Mexican contract laborers

for seasonal work. In the off-season many did not return home but settled on the border, often selecting a place where people from their home state were already established.

The Mixtecos are one of 16 indigenous groups from Oaxaca who, for at least 30 years, have been migrating to urban and agricultural areas in Mexico and in the U.S. As Francisco Moreno's article points out, they are not a monolithic group but have regional linguistic and cultural differences. For them, as for other indigenous migrants in Mexico, the sale of traditional and tourist crafts has been an economic mainstay. Today, some of the most popular tourist items sold throughout Mexico are the rag dolls dressed in archetypal peasant garb with no strong regional identity. Mixteco women vendors sell them in Tijuana. They formerly made the dolls but now buy them, along with other traditional crafts, from other migrants in Tijuana, who come from the western Mexican states of Jalisco and Guanajuato, and from Guatemala. The traditional and tourist crafts displayed on a Mixteco vendor's cart represent the labor of many cultural groups on the border and the entrepreneurial skill of Mixtecos who make a living in this market created by short-distance tourism.

Mexican immigrants continue to seek economic opportunities. Workers have been attracted to the border area by the 1961-1965 Mexican National Border Economic Development Program followed in 1965 by the Industrialization Program of the Border, which introduced the maquiladora assembly plants to the region. In her article, María Eugenia de la O records testimonies of several maquila workers in Ciudad Juárez.

From the 1980s onward, economic and political refugees from Central America have swelled populations at the border and migrations across it. Individuals, groups, and corporate bodies continue to be attracted to the border to exploit niches in an environment created by difference and marginality. What they have constructed, appropriated, abandoned, and re-constructed fill the social landscape of the border region.

Regions of the Border

While border cultures share an environment created by adjacent jurisdictions and socioeconomic marginality and difference, cultural expressions do vary from one border town or region to another. Older, established communities populate the string of small towns on both

sides of the river along the Río Grande/Río Bravo valley to Laredo/Nuevo Laredo. Eagle Pass/Piedras Negras and Del Río/Ciudad Acuña began as coalmining towns in the 1800s. In Del Río, the San Felipe spring feeds a network of canals, creating a lushness not otherwise seen in south Texas and inviting the establishment of Italian vineyards. Here regional cultural traditions are shaped by agriculture, cattle ranching, and mining as much as by the early conflicts between the Mexican land-grant settlements and the northern land-grabbers. Labor unions of Mexican farmers, service employees, and oil workers now organize maquila workers at the assembly plants that are replacing those older industries on the Mexican side.

The border follows the river through the rough terrain of the Big Bend and through the once busy trading posts of Presidio/Ojinaga and on to the El Paso/Ciudad Juárez twins established as the "Passage to the North" between the mountain ranges, "the border's fulcrum, where the river gives way to the fence and where North and South have been horsetrading for centuries" (Weisman 1986:85). El Paso/Ciudad Juárez is a crucible of cultural identities, in which shared border personas are created, exported, re-imported, and transformed. Here the *pachuco*, a Mexican American, neighborhood identity of the 1940s and '50s was reformed as the *cholo* Mexican and Mexican American youth of today.

West of the river a series of straight lines, not the topography, define the boundary. Here the Sonoran Desert border is home to Yaqui and O'odham Indians. As noted by Dr. Griffith, there is in this region a unique cultural interdependence between Native Americans and Mexicans, exemplified by the shared celebration of the patron saint, Francisco Xavier, and of the missionary Francisco de Kino (often merged into a composite St. Francis along with St. Francis of Assisi). Members of these groups share each other's crafts and food at the feast in Magdalena, 20 miles south of Ambos Nogales (the Two Nogales). In this area, the socioeconomic struggle of the Río Grande/Río Bravo region is not as dominant a feature of life. Whereas lower border corridos praise the valor of men who fight for their rights, corridos in this area celebrate famed horses that win epic races.

The westernmost border area between the Californias is very different. The original Native American populations are surrounded and forgotten by the growing urbanization of the early 20th century. Many have migrated to San Diego



Most Mixtecos in Tijuana live in the neighborhood known as the Colonia Obrera, where retaining walls made of tires are used to keep homes from sliding down steep hills. *Photo by Laura Velasco Ortiz*



On the Río Bravo/Rio Grande, a *pollero* (whose work is to assist undocumented travelers cross the border) floats children from Ciudad Juárez to El Paso on an inner tube raft. *Photo by Pete Reiniger*

and Los Angeles, establishing large communities.

A striking architectural feature in the Tijuana working class neighborhoods that spread on the sloping canyons of the city is the use of tires in landscaping. Tires create stairs that lead up to hillside houses, and they are built into retaining walls that keep homes from sliding downhill. Architects have integrated the distinctive tire embankment motif into the cement retaining walls they design for affluent neighborhoods. In Nogales, street vendors reserve their space on a downtown street with bright yellow half tires lined up like croquet wickets to mark their territory and attract customers. In Laredo and throughout the valley, sculpted and painted tire flowerpots decorate the front yards and yard shrines. And as almost everywhere, border children swing on tires hung from trees in house yards or from metal scaffolds in public playgrounds.

The Border in History

The Mexican and the United States governments settled the location of the border with the signing of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty in 1848 and the Gadsden Purchase in 1853. But long before there was a border, Indian communities had settlements in the areas between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific. In the 17th century, Spanish settlers established the same area as the northern frontier of New Spain and then of Mexico after its War of Independence in 1810. In the Spanish colonial period, this area was a frontier that attracted the most adventuresome explorers and dedicated missionaries.

The eastern region of the border along the Río Bravo (later called Rio Grande in the U.S.) was more hospitable and became a focus of regional life as towns grew up along its banks. As Dr. Ceballos points out, residents of these towns like Laredo felt a strong allegiance to a Mexican identity. El Paso del Norte, now known as El Paso, was the first and largest town built on the river in the early 1600s in the mountain corridor that was called *El Paso del Norte*, the "Passage to the North." Many small towns established before the creation of the border still dot the Texas valley.

The Rio Grande/Río Bravo, a "symbol of separation" in Texas, constitutes over half of the length of the border. In the decades following the Mexican-American War (1850s), U.S. cattle barons and agricultural opportunists from the East and the Midwest with substantial capital and



Much border crossing is done extra-legally because of convenience. Here a grandmother crosses via a well-traveled route for a day's shopping in the U.S. Photo by David Burckhalter

extensive mercantile connections came to dominate the U.S.-Mexico trade across this Texas river border. Shortly after their rise, these merchants began to acquire extensive tracts of land in Texas and to assert dominion over the earlier Spanish and Mexican settlers. This created an environment of cultural and economic conflict that characterizes the border to this day.

During the Mexican Revolution, which began in 1910, the border population increased significantly as many moved across the border seeking refuge. Migration patterns were established between particular states in Mexico and particular regions or towns on the border. For example, refugees from central Mexico who settled in the Texas valley were likely to be joined later by immigrants from their hometowns. Migrants from the northwestern states of Zacatecas, Durango, and Sinaloa regularly traveled to Ciudad Juárez/El Paso.

When economic recessions hit the U.S., efforts mounted to push immigrants back to Mexico. In 1914-1915, the U.S. side of the Rio Grande Valley experienced a winter of violence



A mural decorates the wall of a workers' neighborhood in Ciudad Juárez. Photo by Lyle Rosbotham

when hundreds of Mexicans, or *mejicanos* in border usage, were persecuted and killed by the Texas border patrols. The Great Depression of the 1930s brought a new wave of deportations in which immigrants who had lived undisturbed in the U.S. for decades were repatriated.

As people from different cultural regions of Mexico have settled on the border, they have evolved a complexly layered cultural and social environment that has been created by competition and adaptation for survival. In this struggle, border peoples have developed distinctive styles, social organizations, and local economies. An interesting example of this is the way Mixteco vendors in Tijuana appropriate the traditional and tourist handicrafts made by other Mexican migrants to create a market that helps to support not only their own cultural identity but also that of the other groups.

Local economies that develop on the Mexican side capitalize not only on available skills but also on available, usually discarded, materials. Small businesses trade in secondhand clothes purchased by the pound and cardboard from the U.S. Some items, like the used tires found everywhere along the border, are made into distinctive items that support local economies and define a border style.

The extensive use of tires is evidence of economic difference and marginality and of the cultural inventiveness and resilience that exploits the border environment. But the visible presence of discarded materials is also a reminder of the pollution that is unfortunately also prevalent on the border. The poorly regulated industrialization including that of agriculture on both sides of the border increasingly contaminates the air, water, and land. While border residents can creatively reuse discarded tires, the unchecked and growing regional pollution, which seriously affects their health as well as the environment, is at present beyond their control.

The Program

Based on research in the rich and dynamic living culture of the border, the Borderlands Festival program is designed to provide a glimpse of the border — its histories, its diverse communities, local and regional identities, and its music, arts, crafts, healing practices, foodways, and narrative. This program has been assembled by the Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies in collaboration with El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (a center for studies of the northern Mexican border), Texas Folklife Resources, the University of Arizona Library's Western Folklife



Carolina Samaniego de Leyva shapes rounds of asadero cheese in her home in El Divisadero, a few miles from Ojinaga, Chihuahua. This major cattle region of Mexico's northern border is noted for this pliable white cheese made from milk curdled with *trompillo*, a seed from a local deadly nightshade plant. Photo by Emily Socolov

Center, the Centro de Estudios Regionales of the Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León, the Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, and with individual scholars and community members from both sides of the border.

The program is about community-based culture. It presents cultural practices found on the border and cultural expressions about the border, and it explores cultural patterns that seem to be created by the border. It also addresses the cultural heritage, adaptability, and creativity of Native Americans and of the Mexican, Hispanic American, Anglo and other immigrant communities that have played a part in creating the life that surrounds the Mexico-U.S. border — those that maintain it, those that cross it, those that are left behind, and those that dwell in the border region. The program explores the processes through which the groups create, adapt, and preserve culture to meet the challenges of life on the border. It seeks to present and understand community codes of behavior that evolved on

the border including confrontation, evasion, violence, and romance, especially as these have been transformed into narrative and other forms of artistic expression.

Music performances include emergent forms such as the *conjunto*, which grows out of the interaction between different cultural communities; older forms, such as the *corrido*, which has been used to preserve a historical vision in the defense of disputed territory; and adapted forms such as the string band music now incorporated into the traditional repertoire of the Tohono O'odham Native American communities.

Also featured in the program are five muralists, whose work reflects the traditions of Mexican *cholo* and United States Chicano muralism. These traditions draw upon the rich history of muralism in the Americas — from wall paintings in pre-Columbian temples and colonial churches, to popularized images in bars and on commercial facades, to the socially-engaged masterpieces of the Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros, and Tamayo, to the graphic protest in U.S. cities that has now been re-contextualized on the border. Murals continue to be touchstones of common historical experiences, archaeologies of sociocultural movements, and powerful statements of identity, ethical principles, and community aspirations.

The unique fusion of border aesthetics and handcrafted technology is embodied in lowriders — distinctively customized automobiles — described below by Michael Stone. These low-slung, hopping cars complement the iconography of murals as statements of cultural identity. Vaqueros of south Texas demonstrate their skills, crafts, and foodways associated with their cowboy tradition, which dates back to the Spanish colonial era. A fisherman from the port of Brownsville demonstrates shrimping techniques. A Laredo blacksmith forges stirrups, belt buckles, and other implements of vaquero life, along with a number of traditional and contemporary decorative objects. A ropemaker demonstrates the use of the local fiber called *lechugilla* (an agave of the *amaryllis* family). While fine craft traditions like guitar- and furniture-making are not specific to the border, craftspeople have incorporated motifs and instruments native to the region, like the *bajo sexto* guitar. Other occupational groups characteristic of the border environment include federal Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents who regulate movement across the border; *coyotes* and *polleros*, who help migrants evade immigration regula-

tions; and workers in *maquiladora* assembly line industries. Narrative sessions focus on the culture of craft and occupation in the context of the border.

Artisans demonstrate crafts used in the home and for special celebrations, including quilt-making, flower- and piñata-making, candle-making, and reverse-painted glass. Participants prepare regional specialties, traditional foods served for *fiestas*, and offer a sampling of typical vaquero outdoor cooking. Finally, the Festival presents members of the Mixteco Indian community in Tijuana, a recent migrant group, which preserves its cultural identity and contributes to the economy at the border by maintaining ties with other Mixteco communities in Oaxaca and California.

The United States-Mexico border has had a profound effect on the lives of millions of people. The pending free trade agreement is only the latest in a long line of international socioeconomic arrangements that have wide ranging local impacts. Critical attention in Mexico and the U.S. has been increasingly focused on the historical consciousness created in this borderland and on its expression in traditional and other forms of art. Recognition of the vitality and value of borderland culture is growing at the margins, among borderland populations, as well as in the centers of power and opinion in both countries. Scholars and political leaders increasingly realize that the cultural encounters, syntheses, and resistances characteristic of border life signal similar cultural developments in the larger societies. This intensifying concern and scrutiny centers on the margin, but can it reduce the marginality in human rights, social dignity, and economic opportunity at the border? Listening to community voices of the border from the Mexican and United States sides can better inform our thinking and decision-making.

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Living on the Border: A Wound That Will Not Heal

Norma E. Cantú

Living in the geographical area where the U.S. and Mexico meet, the truth is always present. It gnaws at one's consciousness like a fear of rabid dogs and coyotes. Beneath every action lies the context of border life. And one must see that undergirding for what it is — the pain and sorrow of daily reminders that here disease runs rampant, here drug crimes take a daily toll, here infant mortality rates run as high or higher than those in Third World countries, here one cannot drink the water, and here, this land that is our land — and has been our land for generations — is not really ours. But one must also see border life in the context of its joys, its continuous healing, and its celebration of a life and culture that survives against all odds. For to do otherwise condemns us to falling into the vortex of pessimism and anomie where so many already dwell.

La frontera: the frontier, the edges, the limits, the boundaries, the borders, the cultures, the languages, the foods; but more than that, the unity and disunity: *es lo mismo y no lo es* (it's the same and it isn't). Chicana novelist Gloria Anzaldúa speaks of this same terrain, this same geography, but her words are hers; they are not mine, not ours, not those of everyone living along the border. However similar experiences may be they are not the same, for the frontera is as varied as the geography from Matamoros/Brownsville to Tijuana/San Ysidro, and the people that inhabit this wrinkle in space are as varied as the indigenous peoples that first crossed it centuries ago and the peoples who continue to traverse it today. The Aztec pantheon didn't real-

ly rule these northern lands; and the *norteño* personality, customs, rites, and language are testament to that other native culture, now all but gone, which survives in vestiges sometimes as vague as an image in the sand, on the wall of a cave, or in the lexicon and intonation of a border native's speech.

These lands have always harbored transients, people moving sometimes north sometimes south. Like birds making their annual trek, migrant workers board up their homes and pack things in trucks and off they go with the local priest's blessing. In Laredo, in Eagle Pass, and elsewhere, the matachines celebrate on May 3rd, December 12th, or another significant date, and as they congregate to dance in honor of the holy cross, the Virgen de Guadalupe, or other local devotion, they remember other lands and other times. Spanish and English languages both change along the border — *mariachis* are flour tortilla tacos in Laredo and Nuevo Laredo and within a 50-mile radius of the area; the *caló* (slang) of the *batos locos*, lowriders, *cholos*, or *pachucos* maintains its literary quality in its excessive use of metaphor all along the stretch, yet changes from community to community, just as the names for food and even the foods themselves change. Differences have been there since the settlement of the borderlands in the 17th and 18th centuries, and the changes wrought upon the border culture have occurred over the span of more than 300 years; yet there are other changes, as well, ongoing changes that will alter the very fabric of borderlands culture.

The collusion of a myriad of cultures, not just Mexican and U.S., makes the borderlands unique. It is a culture forever in transition, changing visibly from year to year. The population increases in number and in variety, as Koreans, Indians, and other peoples of non-European, non-Indigenous, and non-Mestizo origin flow into the region. Because of such an influx, it

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At the feasts of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the Holy Cross, the Matachines de la Santa Cruz affirm their spiritual bonds to the Virgin and the Cross, to each other, and to their community by dancing before their altar in the Ladrillera Barrio of Laredo. Most of the members of this religious brotherhood came to Laredo in the late 1930s from the mining towns of Chancel Palafos and Dolores in northern Mexico.

Photo by Norma Cantú

also changes environmentally, economically, and even in style.

The names for the river may be different — Río Bravo/Rio Grande — but it's the same river whose life-giving waters flow down from Colorado, and whose life-taking waters spill out into the Gulf of Mexico. The same river is a political boundary between two nation-states, but people on both sides of the river retain the customs of the settlers from Spain and from central Mexico along with those of the original inhabitants, which they have inherited and adapted to their particular needs.

Newcomers integrate their ways into the existing culture, but the old ones remain. Intriguing syncretisms occur. Weddings, for example, integrate traditional "Mexican" customs such as the Arabic *arras* (marriage coins) and the Native *lazo* (bonding cord) along with the German-style polka or *conjunto* music and *brindis* (toast). An infant's baptism becomes an occasion for godparents to exchange prayers, an indigenous form encapsulated in a European logic. Conversely, a *quinceañera* (young woman's 15th birthday) becomes the modern-day puberty rite of a community. In local dance halls dancers engage in weekly rites as culturally choreographed as those of the Catholic pilgrimages to santuarios from California to Texas; both customs embody forms and values that endure from

times before European contact.

Gloria Anzaldúa says that "The U.S.-Mexican border *es una herida abierta* (is an open wound) where the Third World grates against the first and bleeds" (Anzaldúa 1987). And she continues the metaphor by adding that before the wound heals it "hemorrhages again, the lifeblood of two worlds merging to form a third country — a border culture." First shaped by the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo that cut the area in two, the wound has continuously bled, as politics, economics, and most recently environmental pollution exacerbate the laceration. If some healing occurs and a scab barely forms, a new blow strikes — such was the economic blow struck by the 1982 Mexican devaluation.

Ours is a history of conflict and resolution, of growth and devastation, of battles won and lost in conflicts not always of our making. Often these contradictory outcomes issue from the same set of historical events, like the development of the *maquiladora* industry, which provides jobs even as it renders the river's waters "a veritable cesspool" (*The Laredo Morning Times* 1993). The inhabitants of the borderlands live in the consequences of this history, in the bleeding that never stops. Those of us who inhabit this land must live with daily human rights violations, contrasting world views, two forms of currency, and different "ways of doing things" that in some



A migrant worker harvests celery and jokes with the photographer. In an interview conducted as part of the Borderlife Project of the University of Texas-Pan American, Donna Garcia describes part of her life as a Mexican migrant worker. "For years we had been traveling to west Texas to work the cotton crop. I would hear people always talking about 'Those migrant workers — look how they left this place; they're so dirty. You can't leave anything out while they are around.' I had heard these remarks so often that I thought they were talking of people in trouble with the law. One day my husband was talking of some mishap and I said, 'Oh, it was probably those migrant workers.' He looked at me and asked what I thought migrant workers were, so I told him. When I had finished he told me, 'Mama, we are migrant workers.'" *Photo by Lillian M. Salcido*

cases make life easier but in others, nearly intolerable.

Immigration and emigration have shaped the borderlands. The exodus of Texas border natives to the metropolitan areas of Houston, Dallas, and San Antonio or to California or the Midwest during the 1950s was due in large measure to the depressed local economy. But, as emigration to the north occurred, immigration from Mexico into the area continued. The unemployment rates often hovered around the teens and did not noticeably decrease, in spite of large numbers of families relocating elsewhere, settling out of the migrant labor stream, in industrialized areas such as Chicago, or going to work in other areas of Texas.

In the 1980s and 1990s, some of these same

people, now retiring from steel mills in Illinois or factories in Detroit, are returning as retirees and settling in the south Texas border communities they moved from 40 years ago. For many, like my mother's cousins who moved away and worked for Bethlehem Steel, Christmas and summer vacation were times to visit relatives on the border; these days, it is their children who make the trip down south to visit them.

But in many cases the move was permanent. With little to come back to, families settled permanently in places like California, Wisconsin, and Nebraska. This was the experience of my father's cousin who lives in Omaha and who retired from the upholstering business she worked in for over 30 years. She speaks of her life away and her reasons for leaving with great



The shrine in the yard of Isidro Ramírez, a Vietnam War veteran who lives in Laredo, commemorates his participation in the war and expresses gratitude for his safe return. Mr. Ramírez includes in his religious work traditional objects like candles, flower vases, and images of saints, and also personal offerings that express his patriotism and war experience like the flag of Texas and his military helmet.
Photo by Norma Cantú

pain: there were no jobs to be had; political machines controlled the few jobs there were; the pay was below the national minimum wage; the schools were not good for their kids; and the streets weren't paved. At least up north, in spite of discrimination, language barriers, alien foods, and cold weather, there were jobs; one could dream of a better life. The border population is in transition once again as it has been for centuries. The healing occurs for but a short time when the newly formed scab is torn by a new element, and the process begins anew.

The border is not homogenous in geography or in culture; there are many borders, resplendent in their heterogeneity. We who live in these realities celebrate our day-to-day life with family *carne asada* gatherings; with civic events such as George Washington's Birthday Celebration with its numerous border icons like the *abrazo* (embracing) ceremony and the International Parade; with high school graduations (currently attained by around 55% of students), and other markers of academic achievement; and with religious events, such as the matachines dance or the annual visit to the city by the image of the Virgen de San Juan de los Lagos in Mexico, venerated on both sides of the border.

The pain and joy of the borderlands — perhaps no greater or lesser than the emotions stirred by living anywhere contradictions abound, cultures clash and meld, and life is lived on an edge — come from a wound that will not heal and yet is forever healing. These lands have always been here; the river of people has flowed for centuries. It is only the designation “border” that is relatively new, and along with the term comes the life one lives in this “in-between world” that makes us the “other,” the marginalized. But, from our perspective, the “other” is outside, away from, and alien to, the border. This is our reality, and we, especially we Chicanos and Chicanas, negotiate it in our daily lives, as we contend with being treated as aliens ourselves. This in essence is the greatest wound — the constant reminder of our otherness.

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Cultural Identities on the Mexico–United States Border

José Manuel Valenzuela Arce

Translated by Héctor Antonio Corporán

La frontera es la vitrina que exhibe un escenario donde confluyen dos actores de una misma obra: capitalismo avanzado y dependencia, internacionalización del proceso productivo y utilización intensiva de fuerza de trabajo barata y vulnerable; internacionalidad del mercado de trabajo y disminución de derechos laborales, identidades emergentes y profundas, y resistencia cultural. En este espacio se avecina la desigualdad, se evidencia la “desnacionalización”, se transparenta la identidad.



A Mexican *chola* dressed in dark, severely styled clothes and a masculine hat. Her self-created persona embodies a defiant attitude towards authoritarianism, subordination, sub-estimation, and poverty. Mexican *cholas* tend to be more dominated by their patriarchal families than their counterparts across the border. Photo by José Manuel Valenzuela Arce

The indigenous communities of the Mexico–United States border region succumbed to violence, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, and the catechism. From the era of the K'miais, Cucapas, Yumas, Apaches, and Yaquis, to the present, there have been a multitude of engagements and misencounters, fusions and ruptures, innovations and oblivions. Cultures in this region continually give shape to themselves through their interactions and relations and their social organizations, contradictions, and conflicts.

Much has been discussed about the dangerous possibility of *entreguismo* or “surrendering to foreign influence,” by the border population in Mexico. But on the contrary, along that very border we find important sociocultural resistance movements which articulate their goals with verbal symbols, visual images, and reinterpretations of regional history that assert a cultural identity formed in opposition to the United States.

In the intense interactions on the Mexico–United States border one can see important processes of transculturation. These cultural processes are inevitable and should not automatically be understood as the loss of national identity. To the contrary, because these processes that occur in northern Mexico and southern United States involve relationships between neighbors across a border, their significance assumes an international dimension — even when they might seem to be local in nature. This point has been amply explained by Jorge A. Bustamante.

The border is a shopwindow that contains a staged encounter between two actors in the same play: advanced capitalism and dependency; the internationalization of production processes and the intensive utilization of cheap, vulnerable manpower; a global labor market and a decreased recognition of workers' rights and of indigenous and emerging identities. But in that scene in the border shopwindow there is also cul-



A group, or *clica*, of *cholos* pose in their neighborhood in front of a mural that depicts, among other elements, the Virgin of Guadalupe and an idealized cholo and chola. A defensible power space, the neighborhood is at once a nexus of solidarity and an immediate source of conflict. Photo by José Manuel Valenzuela Arce

tural fusion, re-creation, and resistance. In this space suffused by inequality, society becomes “dis-nationalized” and the sources of cultural identity become transparent.

Beyond faddish styles fashioned on American models particularly for consumption by the younger population, cross-border popular culture in our country is prominently expressed in *corridos*, *música nortea*, language, symbols, and youth movements. Among the most recent of these movements to become popular after the mid-1970s is *el cholismo* — the most massive youth phenomenon that emerged among the poor population in the northern part of the country. Cholos represent a major cultural paradox, for they import their national symbols from the Chicano and Mexican barrios in the United States. Many of these symbols had given voice to cultural resistance in the Chicano movement and among Mexican-born youths throughout the United States; they were redefined and integrated into the speech, graphic arts, and symbolism of cholos in Mexico.

On the other side, important sectors of the Mexican-born population in the United States resist emotional and cultural isolation by consuming cultural products made in our country. Unfortunately, the majority of these products offered through film and especially television are of deplorable quality. Mexicans in the United States are also culturally strengthened by further immigration of Mexicans to that country and by relationships formed with populations on the border. In these cultural interactions, as in the consumption of Mexican cultural products, and in the immigrants’ implication in social and political processes in Mexico or in transnational processes such as undocumented migration, relationships between the Mexican and the Chicano

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populations in the United States are shaped by what happens south of the border.

In the crucible of the border, culture is subjected to a process of purification that refines and redefines the dominant traits of Mexican national culture and combines them with other popular forms, regional expressions, and emerging identities. But the various collective identities (cholos, Mixtecos, Zapotecos) find themselves penetrated and influenced by proximity of the United States: an indispensable reference in the cultural analysis of our country's northern border. The presence of the United States takes various forms, and its cultural products are also redefined by the life experience of the social groups who use them.

People construct cultural identities with a wide range of expressions that associate them with some groups and differentiate them from others. The various collective identities on the border are linked by a common bond of differentiation from the United States and of construction from sources not bounded by the international line. They construct their identities in

This mural, an expression of La Raza movement of the 1960s and 1970s, depicts a 1940s pachuco wearing characteristic baggy pants, tattooed with the Mexican Virgin of Guadalupe, and positioned in front of a lowrider car and crossed Mexican and American flags. Confronted with social stigma, pachucos and their cultural heirs value boldness, valor, the aesthetic of "cool," and stoicism in confronting racism. Their symbolism reflects the international origins of their culture. Photo by José Manuel Valenzuela Arce

everyday interactions with the Mexican population in the United States, in characteristic usages of the terms "them" and "us," and in their cultural borrowings or reaffirmations of tradition that are the resources of their resistance. Cultural identity on the border often reinforces collective action closely linked to the class situation, as was the case with the Chicano Movement in the '60s; or in a fundamental way, identity can define popular youth expressions, as exemplified by *pachuquismo* and *cholisismo*.

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The Problem of Identity in a Changing Culture:

Popular Expressions of Culture Conflict Along the Lower Rio Grande Border

Américo Paredes

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Conflict — cultural, economic, and physical — has been a way of life along the border between Mexico and the United States, and it is in the so-called Nueces–Rio Grande strip where its patterns were first established. Problems of identity also are common to border dwellers, and these problems were first confronted by people of Mexican culture as a result of the Texas Revolution. For these reasons, the Lower Rio Grande area also can claim to be the source of the more typical elements of what we call the culture of the Border.

Life along the border was not always a matter of conflicting cultures; there was often cooperation of a sort, between ordinary people of both cultures, since life had to be lived as an everyday affair. People most often cooperated in circumventing the excessive regulation of ordinary intercourse across the border. In other words, they regularly were engaged in smuggling.

Borders offer special conditions not only for smuggling but for the idealization of the smuggler. This sounds pretty obvious, since, after all, political boundaries are the obvious places where customs and immigration regulations are enforced. But we must consider not only the existence of such political boundaries but the

circumstances of their creation. In this respect, the Lower Rio Grande Border was especially suited for smuggling operations.

To appreciate this fact, one has only to consider that when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo officially settled the conflict over territory between Mexico and the United States, a very well defined geographic feature — the Rio Grande itself — became the international line. But it was a line that cut right through the middle of what had once been the Mexican province of Nuevo Santander. Friends and relatives who had been near neighbors — within shouting distance across a few hundred feet of water — now were legally in different countries. If they wanted to visit each other, the law required that they travel many miles up or down stream, to the nearest official crossing place, instead of swimming or boating directly across as they used to do before. It goes without saying that they paid little attention to the requirements of the law. When they went visiting, they crossed at the most convenient spot on the river; and, as is ancient custom when one goes visiting loved ones, they took gifts with them: farm products from Mexico to Texas, textiles and other manufactured goods from Texas to Mexico. Legally, of course, this was smuggling, differing from contraband for profit in volume only. Such a pattern is familiar to anyone who knows the border, for it still operates, not only along the Lower Rio Grande now but all along the boundary line between Mexico and the United States.

Unofficial crossings also disregarded immigration laws. Children born on one side of the river would be baptized on the other side, and thus appear on church registers as citizens of the other country. This bothered no one since people on both sides of the river thought of themselves as *mexicanos*, but United States officials were concerned about it. People would come across to visit relatives and stay long periods of

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time, and perhaps move inland in search of work. After 1890, the movement in search of work was preponderantly from Mexico deep into Texas and beyond. The ease with which the river could be crossed and the hospitality of relatives and friends on either side also was a boon to men who got in trouble with the law. It was not necessary to flee over trackless wastes, with the law hot on one's trail. All it took was a few moments in the water, and one was out of reach of his pursuers and in the hands of friends. If illegal crossings in search of work were mainly in a northerly direction, crossings to escape the law were for the most part from north to south. By far, not all the Mexicans fleeing American law were criminals in an ordinary sense. Many were victims of cultural conflict, men who had reacted violently to assaults on their human dignity or their economic rights.

Resulting from the partition of the Lower Rio Grande communities was a set of folk attitudes that would in time become general along the United States-Mexican border. There was a generally favorable disposition toward the individual who disregarded customs and immigration laws, especially the laws of the United States. The professional smuggler was not a figure of reproach, whether he was engaged in smuggling American woven goods into Mexico or Mexican tequila into Texas. In folklore there was a tendency to idealize the smuggler, especially the *tequilero*, as a variant of the hero of cultural conflict. The smuggler, the illegal alien looking for work, and the border-conflict hero became identified with each other in the popular mind. They came into conflict with the same American laws and sometimes with the same individual officers of the law, who were all looked upon as *rinches* — a border-Spanish rendering of “ranger.” Men who were Texas Rangers, for example, during the revenge killings of Mexicans after the Pizaña uprising of 1915¹ later were border patrolmen who engaged in gunbattles with *tequileros*. So stereotyped did the figure of the *rinche* become that Lower Rio Grande Border versions of “La persecución de Villa” identify Pershing's soldiers as *rinches*.

A *corrido* [ballad] tradition of intercultural conflict developed along the Rio Grande, in

which the hero defends his rights and those of other Mexicans against the *rinches*. The first hero of these *corridos* is Juan Nepomuceno Cortina, who is celebrated in an 1859 *corrido* precisely because he helps a fellow Mexican.

Other major *corrido* heroes are Gregorio Cortez (1901), who kills two Texas sheriffs after one of them shoots his brother; Jacinto Treviño (1911), who kills several Americans to avenge his brother's death; Rito García (1885), who shoots several officers who invade his home without a warrant; and Aniceto Pizaña and his *sediciosos* (1915). Some *corrido* heroes escape across the border into Mexico; others, like Gregorio Cortez and Rito García, are betrayed and captured. They go to prison but they have stood up for what is right. As the “*Corrido de Rito García*” says,

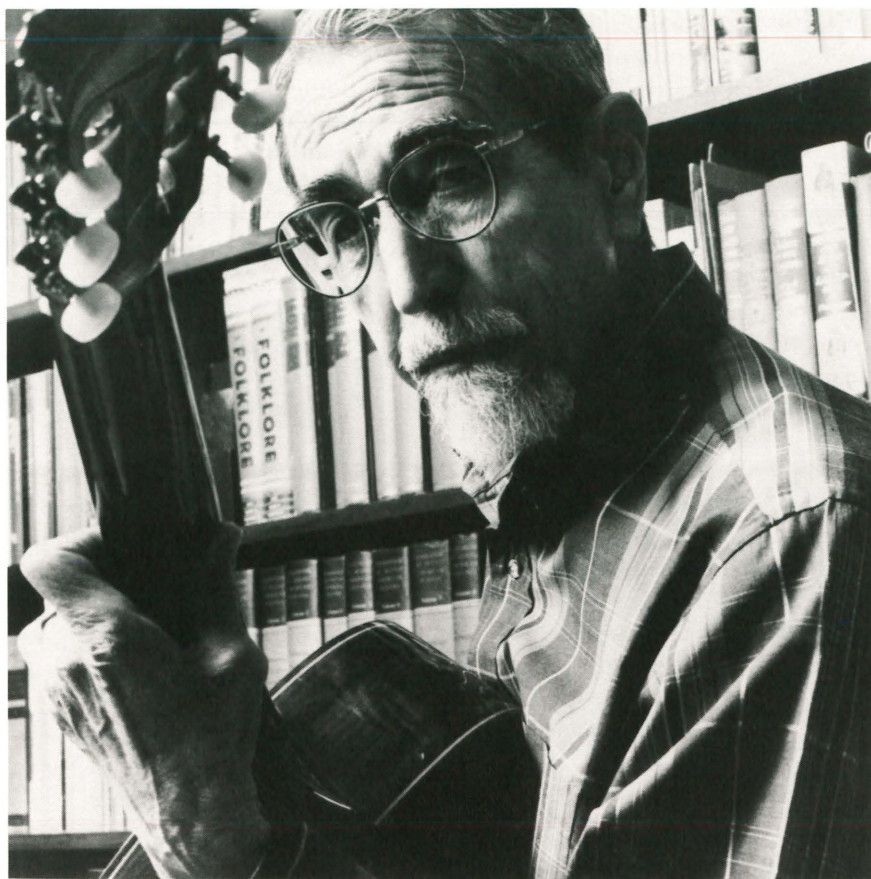
. . . *me voy a la penitencia*
por defender mi derecho.

. . . I am going to the penitentiary
because I defended my rights.

The men who smuggled tequila into the United States during the twenties and early thirties were no apostles of civil rights, nor did the border people think of them as such. But in his activities, the *tequilero* risked his life against the old enemy, the *rinche*. And, as has been noted, smuggling had long been part of the border way of life. Still sung today is “*El corrido de Mariano Reséndez*,” about a prominent smuggler of textiles into Mexico, circa 1900. So highly respected were Reséndez and his activities that he was known as “*El Contrabandista*.” Reséndez, of course, violated Mexican laws; and his battles were with Mexican customs officers. The *tequilero* and his activities, however, took on an intercultural dimension; and they became a kind of coda to the *corridos* of border conflict.

The heavy-handed and often brutal manner that Anglo lawmen have used in their dealings with border Mexicans helped make almost any man outside the law a sympathetic figure, with the *rinche*, or Texas Ranger, as the symbol of police brutality. That these symbols still are alive may be seen in the recent Fred Carrasco affair. The border Mexican's tolerance of smuggling does not seem to extend to traffic in drugs. The few *corridos* that have been current on the subject, such as “*Carga blanca*,” take a negative view of the dope peddler. Yet Carrasco's death in 1976 at the Huntsville (Texas) prison, along with

¹ The uprising occurred on the Lower Rio Grande Border and involved a group of Texas-Mexican *rancheros* attempting to create a Spanish-speaking republic in South Texas. Pizaña endeavored to appeal to other United States minority groups. [Original Editor's Note]



Américo Paredes is a folklorist, prize-winning author, and singer of border corridos.
Photo by Jane E. Levine, courtesy Texas Folklife Resources

two women hostages, inspired close to a dozen corridos with echoes of the old style. The sensational character of Carrasco's death cannot be discounted, but note should also be taken of the unproved though widely circulated charges that Carrasco was "executed" by a Texas Ranger, who allegedly shot him through the head at close range where Carrasco lay wounded. This is a scenario familiar to many a piece of folk literature about cultural conflict — corridos and prose narratives — the rinche finishing off the wounded Mexican with a bullet through the head. It is interesting to compare the following stanzas, the first from one of the Carrasco corridos and the other two from a tequilero ballad of the thirties.

*El capitán de los rinches
 fue el primero que cayó
 pero el chaleco de malla
 las balas no traspasó.*

The captain of the Rangers
 was the first one to fall,

but the armored vest he was wearing
 did not let the bullets through.

*En fin de tanto invitarle
 Leandro los acompañó;
 en las lomas de Almiramba
 fue el primero que cayó.*

They kept asking him to go,
 until Leandro went with them;
 in the hills of Almiramba
 he was the first one to fall.

*El capitán de los rinches
 a Silvano se acercó
 y en unos cuantos segundos
 Silvano García murió.*

The captain of the Rangers
 came up close to Silvano,
 and in a few seconds
 Silvano García was dead.

Similar attitudes are expressed on the Sonora-Arizona border, for example, when the hard-case hero of "El corrido de Cananea" is made to say,

*Me agarraron los cherifes
al estilo americano,
como al hombre de delito,
todos con pistola en mano.*

The sheriffs caught me
in the American style,
as they would a wanted man,
all of them pistol in hand.

The partition of Nuevo Santander was also to have political effects, arising from the strong feeling among the Lower Rio Grande people that the land on both sides of the river was equally theirs. This involved feelings on a very local and personal level, rather than the rhetoric of national politics, and is an attitude occasionally exhibited by some old Rio Grande people to this day. Driving north along one of today's highways toward San Antonio, Austin, or Houston, they are likely to say as the highway crosses the Nueces, "We are now entering Texas." Said in jest, of course, but the jest has its point. Unlike Mexicans in California, New Mexico, and the old colony of Texas, the Rio Grande people experienced the dismemberment of Mexico in a very immediate way. So the attitude developed, early and naturally, that a border Mexican was *en su tierra* in Texas even if he had been born in Tamaulipas. Such feelings, of course, were the basis for the revolts of Cortina and Pizaña. They reinforced the borderer's disregard of political and social boundaries. And they lead in a direct line to the Chicano movement and its mythic concept of Aztlán. For the Chicano does not base his claim to the Southwest on royal land grants or on a lineage that goes back to the Spanish *conquistadores*. On the contrary, he is more likely to be the child or grandchild of immigrants. He bases his claim to Aztlán on his Mexican culture and his *mestizo* heritage.

Conversely, the Texas-born Mexican continued to think of Mexico as "our land" also. That this at times led to problems of identity is seen in

the folksongs of the Border. In 1885, for example, Rito García protests illegal police entry into his home by shooting a few officers of Cameron County, Texas. He makes it across the river and feels safe, unaware that Porfirio Díaz has an extradition agreement with the United States. Arrested and returned to Texas, according to the corrido, he expresses amazement:

*Yo nunca hubiera creído
que mi país tirano fuera,
que Mainero me entregara
a la nación extranjera.*

I never would have thought
that my country would be so unjust,
that Mainero would hand me over
to a foreign nation.

And he adds bitterly:

*Mexicanos, no hay que fiar
en nuestra propia nación,
nunca vayan a buscar
a México protección.*

Mexicans, we can put no trust
in our own nation;
never go to Mexico
asking for protection.

But the *mexicanos* to whom he gives this advice are Texas-Mexicans.

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The Arizona-Sonora Border: Line, Region, Magnet, and Filter

James S. Griffith

The Arizona-Sonora border was established as a result of the Gadsden Purchase of 1853. It runs through desert and mountain country, from the western Chihuahuan Desert over by New Mexico through a zone of grassland and oak-covered hills to the classic Sonoran Desert west of Nogales. The land gets more and more arid as one travels west, and the western third of the border is essentially devoid of human habitation. It is this stretch of the border, once a major road to the Colorado River, that has earned and kept the title, El Camino del Diablo, "The Devil's Highway."

There are six ports of entry on the Arizona-Sonora border. From east to west these paired towns are: Douglas/Agua Prieta, Naco/Naco, Nogales/Nogales, Sasabe/Sasabe, Lukeville/Sonoyta, and San Luis Rio Colorado, which has no corresponding town on the Arizona side. Between these towns stretches the border, for the most part marked by a three-strand barbed wire fence and a series of monuments. The border monuments are spaced so that each one is visible from its counterpart to the east and to the west. The fence traverses valleys, mountains, lush thickets, and sparse desert shrubbery.

Where it crosses true desert, truly deserted country, it is a simple three-strand barbed wire fence. In other stretches it changes to chain-link or, as recently between the two Nogaleses, to metal strips.

In the local Spanish, one enters the

country illegally *de alambre* — "through the wire." One who does this is an *alambrista* — a "wireist." There are more sophisticated techniques as well. In 1990, customs officials discovered an elaborate tunnel leading from a warehouse in Agua Prieta to a similar structure in Douglas, Arizona. Hydraulic equipment had been installed at either end, and the whole set-up was capable of handling considerable quantities of goods. At least three *corridos* have been written and circulated about "el Túnel."

The fence serves other, more localized purposes from time to time. During the 1980s, an international volleyball game was regularly held near Naco. Each team played in its own country, with the chain-link fence serving as the net.

To the east, in Agua Prieta, match racing has long been an important form of recreation. In 1957, a horse named Relámpago (Lightening) won an important race and became the instant target of many challenges. One of the challengers was Chiltepín (named after the fiery local wild chile), from Pirtleville, on the U.S.

side. Hoof-and-mouth regulations made it impossible for either horse to cross into the other's country. The solution: each horse ran on its own side of the fence. Relámpago won that one, too.

The international border creates more than a fence between countries. It also creates a de-nationalized zone, a region extending for many miles into each nation.

I keep being told that Nogales, Sonora,



Relámpago, famed Mexican quarter horse, beats the American Chiltepín in a race which was run on the stretch of the border near Douglas, Arizona and Agua Prieta, Sonora, because temporarily imposed health regulations in 1959 did not allow either of the horses to cross. Photo courtesy University of Arizona Library's Southwest Folklore Center and Ralph Romero, Jr.

THE AGUA PRIETA TUNNEL

By Los Jilgueros del Arroyo

*El estado de Sonora
Ya está agarrando la fama
Que tenía Sinaloa
Por la cuestión de la Mafia,
Crímenes y fechorías
A la luz de la mañana.*

*Primero lo de los muertos
Que a fragoso le achacaron.
Luego siguió lo del Túnel
Que en la línea encontraron.
Pero lo hallaron solito
La droga ya había pasado.*

*En la jaula ya no caben
Leones, tigres, y panteras.
Ese desierto está verde
Y el blanco luz a cualquiera.
Cuanta droga habrá pasado
¿Por el túnel de Agua Prieta?*

The (Mexican) State of Sonora
Is stealing the fame away
that used to belong to Sinaloa
Due to the business of the Mafia,
Crimes and acts of villainy
In the broad light of day.

First there were the bodies
That they blame on the rough order.
Then there was the tunnel
That they discovered on the border.
But they came upon it deserted
The drugs had already passed.

They no longer fit in the cage
Lions, tigers, and panthers.
That desert is green
And the white stuff shines for anyone.
How much drugs must have passed
Through the tunnel at Agua Prieta?

“isn’t the real Mexico.” That is perfectly true, of course, just as Nogales, Arizona, “isn’t the real United States.” Each is a border community, attracting business from the other side of the line. Folks cross the border each day to shop, work, and socialize. Each town has taken on some of the character of its counterpart on the other side of the line. For the traveler from Michigan, U.S.A., or Michoacán, México, the foreign flavor starts long before one arrives at the border crossing, and reminders of home persist long after one has crossed over into the other country.

The border attracts. Manufactured goods gravitate to it on their way into Mexico, and enough vegetables are attracted northwards to feed much of the western United States. The border region attracts tourists and travelers from the United States, seeking just to sample the charms of a foreign country, or passing through on their way farther south into Mexico. An increasing number of businesspeople and

investors are drawn here, too. It attracts tourists from Mexico as well as those in search of economic opportunities. These may involve the assembly plants known as *maquiladoras* on the Sonoran side of the border, or they may lie farther north in the United States. Many opportunity seekers cross the border illegally.

This brings us to another important function of the border. As well as defining a subregion that is neither one place nor another, as well as serving as a magnet that draws goods and people from both countries, the border is also a barrier. It is intended to filter out undesirable influences going in both directions. So United States Immigration and Naturalization Service and the Border Patrol fight an unceasing and frustrating battle to ensure that only authorized, documented individuals cross into the United States. On the other side, Mexican Customs fights an equally endless campaign against the importation of untaxed goods, especially automobiles, into Mexico.

Another battle — a war, in fact — is constantly fought across the length and breadth of the border region between drug smugglers and those who would prohibit their traffic into the United States. This war touches the lives of everyone living within a hundred miles of the border,

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Jesús León, an itinerant puppeteer and craftsman, displays his puppet in his vending booth at the Fiesta de San Francisco in Magdalena, Sonora. The late Don Jesús also made tin frames with reverse-painted glass for holy images, a tradition he has passed on to his children. Itinerant craftsmen, known as *pajareros*, usually sell these frames with the holy image of the regional patron saint, San Francisco de Quino, or of the Virgin of Guadalupe. *Photo by David Burckhalter*



The chapel of Kohatk village is located in the Tohono O'odham Nation in the Arizona-Sonora border region. The pictures with reverse-painted glass in tin frames that flank the central cross were made by itinerant artisans from Imuris, known as *pajareros*. *Photo by James S. Griffith*



Gloria Moroyoqui carefully gathers cut tissue paper into a flower. In her kitchen workshop she makes paper flowers, *piñatas*, the decorated, confetti-filled eggshells called *cascarones*, and other crafts she creates out of available materials like scrap paper, cardboard boxes, popsicle sticks, and straws. *Photo by Lyle Rosbotham*

while at the same time it remains almost completely invisible. Traces of it may be seen, of course, in newspaper headlines, in robberies by addicts, in the magical spells and prayers to dark powers which show up in displays of religious articles for sale, and in restrictions on travel to some deserted areas near the border. But many border residents shrug, remark that only drug people seem to be involved in the shoot-outs, and go on in their everyday way.

The border has touched the region's Native Americans in special ways. The Tohono O'odham claim ancestral lands on both sides of the border, and many interpret the Gadsden Purchase agreement as having granted them the right to move freely across the border within their lands. But O'odham land is being encroached upon by Mexican farmers and others in Sonora, and the stretch of the border that runs through O'odham land is vulnerable to smugglers. As a result, one needs a permit nowadays to travel along the southern portion of the Tohono O'odham Nation near the border, and

crossings are not as easy as they once were for the O'odham themselves.

Yaqui Indians live on both sides of the border as well. Those living in southern Arizona claim as their homeland the valley of the Rio Yaqui, which is 300 miles south of the border. Especially at Easter time, Yaqui ritual musicians and dancers who live in Mexico travel north with their necessary regalia and instruments, crossing the border at Nogales and going on to Tucson to help their kinfolk perform necessary religious ceremonies in the United States. Their ritual equipment has long puzzled some U.S. Customs officials, and a booklet was issued around 1980 to convince government employees, for instance, that a long string of dried cocoon-husks is a leg rattle rather than a device for concealing heroin.

There is one more important observation to be made about the Arizona-Sonora border, or at least about its central part. It runs right down the middle of what is still, after almost 150 years, a cultural region in its own right.

When Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J. arrived in

this region in 1686 as its first permanent European resident, he called the country he moved into “la Pimería Alta,” or “Upper Pima Country.” This distinguished it from regions to the south where Piman languages were also spoken, as well as from the lands to the southeast and southwest, occupied respectively by Seris and Opatas. To the north of the Pimería Alta were lands occupied by other peoples, most particularly the Apaches. Three hundred years later, the Pimería Alta is still a cultural region, even though it has been divided between two nations that did not exist in Kino’s day.

The region is unified by several elements. There are still Piman speakers (O’odham in their own language) on both sides of the border. Also, much the same in both countries is Mexican ranching culture, many of whose principal families straddle the border. The traditional, Jesuit-introduced, folk diet based on wheat, cheese, and beef is consistent throughout the region, as is the use of the unique *tortilla grande de harina* — the huge wheat flour tortilla that can measure well over a foot across, and whose lard content often renders it translucent. And finally, the region is bound together through a strong devotion to the composite San Francisco whose statue stands in Magdalena de Kino, Sonora.

Although the image in Sonora represents St. Francis Xavier, the day on which the annual fiesta is celebrated is October 4, the Feast of St. Francis of Assisi in the Roman Catholic calendar. This composite San Francisco is of tremendous regional importance, and his fiesta draws thousands of pilgrims from north of the border: Mexican Americans, Tohono O’odham, and Yaquis, with a few Anglos thrown in for good measure. Among the religious goods offered for sale to pilgrims at the Fiesta de San Francisco are colorful, reverse-painted glass frames for holy pictures.

These frames are made by several extended families of craftspeople. Each frame consists of a sheet of glass which has been painted with geometric or floral motifs on the back. Both opaque and translucent paints are used, and a rectangular space is left undecorated, for the holy card. The glass is then backed, first with a layer of crumpled tinfoil, and then with either cardboard or tin. The tinfoil gives a wonderful, shimmering quality to the translucent paint on the glass. While holy pictures are inserted into many of the frames, others are left bare, so the purchaser can

insert a favorite saint’s picture or even the portrait of a family member.

Many of these frames are purchased by Tohono O’odham and are taken back across the border to the altars of the small chapels which dot the Tohono O’odham Nation. Others are bought by Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Yaquis, and used on home altars. Some, however, are bought by Anglo-Americans, especially in the past ten years, during which time the painted frames have been exhibited in Tucson and Nogales as traditional art. In Mexican and Indian hands, the frames are colorful decorations for beloved holy pictures or family portraits. In Anglo hands, however, the frames themselves become the icons — symbols of the region and of its traditions.

In a like way, *piñatas* and *cascarones* (decorated eggshells which have been filled with confetti and mounted on decorated paper cones, and which are broken over party-goers’ heads to increase the festive *ambiente* of the occasion) are purchased by some Anglos for their original, intended use, by others for use as wall decorations. In this guise they become visible symbols of the region and statements of their owners’ sensitivity to the region. By the same token, some folk Catholic shrines in Tucson and elsewhere have become tourist destinations for Anglos wishing to understand regional traditions.

This then, is the Arizona-Sonora border. Belonging truly to neither nation, it serves as a kind of cultural buffer zone for both, cultivating its own culture and traditions. Like other borders, it both attracts and repels. Like them, it is both barrier and filter. It is above all a stimulating cultural environment. After 30 years as a resident, I can honestly say that I can think of no other place I would rather be.

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The Epic Tradition of the Founding of Nuevo Laredo

Manuel Ceballos-Ramírez

Translated by Olivia Cadaval

Perder la tierra, perder la lengua, perder las costumbres, es perder el cimiento de la vida, dejar de ser.

Pedro Casaldáliga

En Nuevo Laredo existe una de las tradiciones más significativas que contribuye a forjar la identidad de los habitantes de la frontera norte mexicana. Se trata de una tradición histórica que asegura que, en 1848 al perder México la pequeña población de Laredo — a causa de la firma del Tratado de Guadalupe Hidalgo entre México y los Estados Unidos — muchos de los laredenses la abandonaron. Según la tradición, la población de Laredo fue abandonada por sus habitantes porque no se resignaron a pertenecer a una nueva nación y decidieron emigrar a la margen derecha del Río Bravo y fundar otro asentamiento que bautizaron con el nombre de Nuevo Laredo, en recuerdo de la población perdida. Además, la tradición asegura que, no contentos con trasladarse ellos mismos al lado mexicano, también desenterraron a sus muertos, cruzaron sus restos y los reinterhumaron en Nuevo Laredo con el fin de que no nacieran en territorio extranjero.

To lose the earth, to lose the language, to lose the customs, is to lose the foundation of life, to stop existing.

Pedro Casaldáliga

In Nuevo Laredo there is an historical tradition that is central to public expressions of civic identity at the border. It is the story of how, in 1848, when Mexico lost the small town of Laredo to the United States because of the signing of the

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Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, many of its inhabitants abandoned their homes and emigrated to the other side of the Río Bravo, where they founded a settlement they called Nuevo Laredo in memory of their lost home. The tradition adds that they disinterred their dead, moved their remains across the river, and reinterred them in Nuevo Laredo so they would not lie in foreign territory.

This nationalistic tradition has been repeatedly cited throughout the history of Nuevo Laredo. In September of 1848 the governor of Tamaulipas lamented “the deep pains” that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had caused but recognized the “worthy and faithful Mexicans” who had moved to the Mexican side and founded Nuevo Laredo. At the end of the century, Juan E. Richer, author of the first known history of Nuevo Laredo, wrote:

Celebrating the peace of 1848, many of the residents of the lost Laredo, not wanting to lose their nationality, or to form part of a nation whose race, ideas, customs, language, and religion were totally different from their own, crossed the river and established themselves between two small ranches . . .

The tradition achieved a culminating moment of glory during Nuevo Laredo's Centennial Celebration in 1948. It became part of the official shield of the city, whose motto, “Always with the Homeland,” refers to the events of foundation. The tradition has also been evoked in sculptures, murals, poems, songs, hymns, street names, schools, as well as in political speeches. The civic monument to “the Founders” built in 1958 has the following words inscribed on it:

A city as patriotic and Mexican in its very essence as Nuevo Laredo knows that a city



The mural at the water plant in Nuevo Laredo commemorates the town's epic beginnings. When Laredo became part of the United States in 1848, the Mexican residents of Laredo, rather than lose their citizenship, crossed the newly-established border and founded Nuevo Laredo, carrying with them the disinterred remains of their ancestors.
Photo by Luis Barrera

is not only a present and a future, but also a past; in order to settle in this site they brought the revered remains of their ancestors, making them part of Mexican history.

Some local historians have questioned the accuracy of the narrative because of its lack of historical documentation. But the historical record does include similar exoduses motivated by similar nationalistic concerns. And in this light, the story of the founding of Nuevo Laredo appears not only as a documentary problem but also as a problem in the history of ideas — their character and their diffusion, persistence and reproduction. In this sense, the narrative of the foundation of Nuevo Laredo can be considered as an epic and still more as a charter myth. As an epic, it is a deed of historic importance accomplished with great effort and difficulty. As a charter myth, it is a story that informs the conduct of a social group and symbolically expresses its attitude in confronting the world.

These two ideas, epic poem and origin myth, are immanent in the behavior valorized in tradition about the founding of Nuevo Laredo. On occasions when their civic identity is in question, this tradition roots Nuevo Laredoans and maintains them "always with the homeland." As long as this city occupies an important geopolitical position on the international border with the United States, the foundation myth of Nuevo Laredo will be fundamental to the expression of its civic identity.

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Border, Culture, and Maquiladoras: Testimonies of Women Workers

María Eugenia de la O

Translated by Olivia Cadaval

Actualmente la industria maquiladora de exportación representa la forma más conspicua del capital extranjero en México. Estas fábricas tuvieron su origen en 1965 como parte de un proyecto alternativo de industrialización para la frontera norte del país, así como medida preventiva de empleo para cientos de trabajadores mexicanos que retornarían de Estados Unidos al término del Programa de Braceros.

La presencia de la industria maquiladora en la región fronteriza ha generado formas específicas de industrialización y desarrollo regional, así como fenómenos sociales tales como la masiva presencia de mujeres, quienes tradicionalmente se han empleado en estas fábricas, lo que ha estimulado la formación de patrones culturales específicos.

The border *maquiladora* industry, the most conspicuous form of foreign investment in all of Mexico, was established in 1965 to absorb the labor freed up at the end of the Bracero Program, under which many Mexican workers served as migrant laborers on U.S. farms. Granted special dispensations in taxes, tariffs, and various forms of regulation by Mexican and U.S. governments, American-based companies like General Electric, RCA, and Kenworth have built assembly plants along the border. The presence of the maquiladoras has generated specific forms of industrialization and regional development, unique social phenomena such as the massive concentration of women workers, and specific cultural patterns that have been stimulated by these conditions.

The border is a frontier between two different economic and sociocultural worlds. It is also a place of refuge that shelters migrants from many areas of Mexico. Day by day a great cultural mosaic is created by the presence of indigenous peoples, border crossing guides, and male and female workers including punks and *cholos* (a kind of neighborhood youth identity), to mention a few of the border identities.

This cultural mosaic tends to be masked by the daily environment of maquiladora workers, which has been shaped to create conformity among workers through the more than 20 years of these border industries. The structuring of worker interactions throughout the border industrial complex has produced a standardization of experience throughout the spheres of labor, family, and neighborhood. The environment created by work has become the most important single factor in the expression of social identity among border workers.

Of course, the expression of identity may also be a point of resistance, a disruptive counterstatement to the dominant discourse:

Here there are many girls that are real cholas . . . but the majority of the women say they are a disaster. They paint graffiti on doors, walls, and the bathrooms, and they fight too much. They know they won't be hired, so they get dressed well, normal like anyone. But once inside, they begin to dress chola.

Overall, the dominant maquiladora model defines workers as a unique and socially specific group. In this context, then, can we speak of a unified worker's identity or culture? Several complicating factors prevent this: principal among them are the cultures of distinct social groups at the border, brought there by massive migratory flows that serve the internationalization of productive processes. Cultural practices at the border are thus in constant reformation, reformulating and creating border identities.

This complexity should not cause us to lose sight of the fact that for maquiladora workers there are only two formative environments that bring together social and cultural life. The first is the work environment in the maquiladoras. The second is daily life in the workers' neighbor-



Maquiladora workers attach electric harness wires for refrigerators, whose assembly will be completed in the United States. Mexico's regional industrialization program based on foreign-owned assembly line plants has attracted many migrants from the interior of Mexico to the border.

Photo by Olivia Cadaval

hoods of the border, which is increasingly coming under the control of the maquiladora managers.

In structuring the work environment, maquiladoras have always used motivational programs that combine control, supervision, and the elimination of production problems. This type of management achieves its ends by manipulating workers' subjective values with rewards and prizes directly related to production. Among the prizes commonly offered by the maquiladoras are holiday trips to the interior of the country, and hats, jackets, and T-shirts bearing legends such as those used by RCA: "RCA and I are a team," "I am part of RCA," or "I collaborate with RCA." According to the workers, these prizes are awarded

... to achieve higher quality. They give us pastry, ice cream, and parties, there in Taxca, or even take the whole production line to eat in Tenampa. When we achieve good production or rejection ratios, perhaps 100% or even only 70, we go with the supervisor, the boss of the work group, and all the operators. ... In Taxca, they know how to value and recognize quality and their workers. In Taxca, the workers think they are the best even

though there are no studies. There is only one level above your supervisor, but everyone knows all the positions and the level of performance of everyone else, so it works out well. ... They tell us that this place is our place but I don't think so. For example, there is this person that hires us. He tells us that we are pure garbage and that is why we are here. We have told this to the bosses, but they do nothing. For another example, I talked to one of the bosses, and he said I had a bad attitude. Well, what I had said was, "Just hear me out. We are taken advantage of all the time, but however much we complain, we aren't given the power to change anything."

In the world of the maquiladora there are

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poor working conditions, punishments, and the glaring disadvantage of being a woman.

... I have to take two buses, really four — two going and two coming. Sometimes the public bus doesn't meet the factory bus and I have to pay. Then we have to be there at six so I have to get up very early. . . . The work is very hard, very dirty. You work with metals, and all the time you are shaking off shavings and picking out splinters. . . . When I cut off that finger they sewed back on, I grabbed it and threw it into my jacket pocket. . . . And then there was the supervisor who walked in with a female maintenance worker that repaired small things. And after a little while, he got her pregnant. Although he was married, he continued to pursue her. She already had a girl. When she felt bad or needed something, the supervisor authorized her time card. And the office realized he signed her card when she wasn't there, so they fired them both.

As the border industries developed, company control spread to the daily life of the workers outside the factory environment. Workers' free time is now managed by the maquiladora through sports, dances, gymnastics, birthday celebrations, festivals, and beauty competitions. According to management these types of activities make workers feel at home. This feeling of being "in a family," is explicitly mentioned in the invitations to workers and their kin.

Workers in the maquiladora in Juárez have their own nightclub, the Malibú, which has room for about 3,000 people and operates when it doesn't conflict with work schedules. Its regulars playfully call it the "Maquilu," a border-beach hybrid, and often party there till dawn. The Malibú nightclub and other similar installations encourage values and needs desired by the maquiladora management. Norma Iglesias quotes workers as saying that before they began to work in the maquiladora, they didn't go out to have a good time, but preferred to stay at home. That changed with work at the maquiladora.

The factory environment does allow many workers to escape, for a time, their poor living conditions. They spend a large part of their free time in the plant's recreational facilities, where they can meet their friends and even bring their family to events organized by the company. In

their imaginations contrasts are sharpened between the modern, industrialized ambience of the factory and the extreme poverty of workers' neighborhoods.

Workers sometimes use company incentives in their own survival strategies, rotating from one maquila to the next in search of good prizes or bonuses for signing on. They seek "good" companies, easier schedules, and better transportation benefits. They seek better working conditions, and especially look for a fun social environment where they can find all they need for their recreation. Networks among the workers help one pick out the best plant. Most workers have a friend or relatives in one plant or another.

Is there a workers' culture on the border? For more than 20 years workers have shared a set of common experiences of work and life in maquiladoras, but it is premature to speak of a "workers' culture," if we understand by this a vision of the world defined by class interests. Similarities in the composition of the work force, in the workers' condition as migrants, and in age are not by themselves sufficient to constitute a culture. Part of workers' culture also resides in the family, the neighborhood, and the borderland context in which distinct roles and identities like the punk, the student, the single mother, and the chola converge. Maquiladora workers' culture is rather a sector shared by, or accessed through, many larger cultural worlds.

As one maquila worker put it:

... well, it's very difficult. It's not that there was no other work — it's where one ends up, the last place you go. If you don't get something in one place, and there's no way, this leaves going to a maquila. . . . I always said, I am never going to work in a maquila, but yet here I am.

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The Mixteco Presence in Tijuana

Francisco Javier Moreno B.

Translated by Olivia Cadaval

A más de 3.000 kilómetros de su lugar de origen, los mixtecos encontraron en Tijuana, Baja California, un territorio base para asentarse y distribuirse. A esta ciudad llegan y se quedan, o bien de ésta salen hacia San Quintín, al sur del estado, o bien hacia el norte, a los campos y calles de California. En ese movimiento se ha ido forjando en Tijuana una comunidad mixteca de más de 5.000 miembros que se llaman a sí mismos paisanos, mixtecos o oaxaqueños y que los demás los nombran inditos, oaxacas, marías, sureños. Se asienta la mayoría de los mixtecos en la colonia Obrera, al suroeste de la ciudad, entre lomas y cañadas que mucho les recuerda a su natal Mixteca o “pueblo de nubes”.

Since 1960, many Mixtecos have migrated more than 3,000 kilometers (2,000 miles) from their home villages in the state of Oaxaca to Tijuana, settling there and using their community as a way station for further migrations south to San Quintín or north to California. In Tijuana a Mixteco community of more than 5,000 members call one another *paisano* (fellow countryman), *mixteco*, or *oaxaqueño* (Oaxaca), while others call them *inditos* (little Indian), *oaxacas*, *marías* (term for Indian migrant street vendors), or *sureños* (southerner). The majority of the Mixtecos have settled in the Obrero district in the southeast of the city, among hills and narrow canyons reminiscent of the landscape in their native Mixteca or “country of clouds.”

In the cultural mix of Tijuana, to which indigenous and mestizo peoples from all over

Mexico continue to migrate, Mixtecos insist that they are an accepted and recognized part of urban society. At the same time most of them continue to explore their remembered traditional culture. Mixtecos in Tijuana still value this cultural heritage, although they perceive that in their present lives it is of little use to them. They still desire aspects of the life in Mixteca, and they return there when they can to celebrate feasts, to check on land holdings, or for other family matters. Mixteca remains a focus of collective memory.

The Mixtecos have achieved recognition among ethnic groups in Tijuana for the way they celebrate the Day of the Dead. To this traditional feast in the popular religious calendar of Mexico, Mixtecos have added mysticism and symbolism beyond the common Catholic practices in Tijuana. Each year members of the Mixteco community are asked to assist in the design and preparation of Day of the Dead altars at educational and recreational centers. The city's primary and secondary schools hold competitions in Day of the Dead altars, in which Mixteco influence has become quite evident in expressive styles not commonly seen in other cities of northern Mexico.

In Tijuana Mixtecos speak their own language among themselves but learn Spanish and English for social and economic survival. Each region of Mixteca from which migration comes has its own dialect, but these sociolinguistic differences are minimized in Tijuana.

Mixtecos draw social distinctions on the basis of “having made it” economically, giving prestige to the older and more successful members of the community, to bilingual Mixteco teachers, and to those with relatives on the other side of the border who send support. Mestizos among the Mixtecos often distinguish themselves in the ethnic slurs they use, the fights they provoke, and the socioeconomic advantage they take. On their

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Curriculum in the Escuela Bilingüe El Pípila includes Mixteco language and culture. Photo by Ricardo García

side, Mixtecos often want to become like mestizos, speaking Spanish, dressing urbanely, and gaining access to higher levels of consumption — although some Mixtecos live better than mestizos in the Obrero district of Tijuana.

Among Mixtecos, women have greater contact with mestizos in the rest of the city, for women sell diverse products in the market places. Mixteco men work mostly in the United States. A large number of young Mixtecos now work in *maquiladora* assembly plants, as domestics, as masons and construction workers, and as gardeners. Some have become public employees.

Mixtecos see language as the key to cultural identity. The permanent flow of migrants to and from Oaxaca has supported the continued use of Mixtecan in Tijuana. And in daily classes, Mixteco teachers transmit knowledge and pride in their language, using it to explain and celebrate the value of their traditions, especially foods, fiestas, songs, and stories.

The rural, ethnic, and community based culture of Mixtecos in Tijuana is undergoing a transformation whose outcome cannot be completely predicted. Many families continue to preserve their culture, while others let traditional practices fall by the wayside, for there is no communal obligation to keep the faith as there is in the Mixteca. Most insist on the community basis of Mixtecan culture, but now also recognize the

existence of individualism. The necessities and opportunities they encounter in the city oblige them to adopt this other kind of identity. Distinction and stratification are becoming more visible, measured in income and expressed in social ostentation.

With all of this, members of the Mixteco community in Tijuana aspire to find a better way of life. They honor their cultural heritage, but finding it not respected and, furthermore, a cause of discrimination, they continue to lose what they value as they confront the need to search for ways of being counted in the larger society. At the same time that they demand respect for their rights as citizens, as workers, and as human beings, they are adopting many aspects of Mexican border culture.

Mixtecos perceive their future in Tijuana is one of hope and possibility. Confronted with returning to the extreme poverty of the Mixteca, the majority seems ready to remain in Tijuana. The cost is a change of identity, never being the same again. The benefit is survival.

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Mixteco Women on the Migration Route

Laura Velasco Ortiz

Translated by Héctor Antonio Corporán

Siguiendo el viaje de algunas mujeres mixtecas que salieron de su pueblo y se instalaron, hasta ahora en Tijuana, aparece el dinamismo de la migración. Cambios como la adolescencia, el noviazgo, el casamiento o la unión, la llegada de los hijos y a veces la muerte, son sucesos teñidos por los vaivenes de la migración.

. . . Una vez que se sale del pueblo la vida cambia. O se encuentra novio, o se casa, o se tiene un hijo. Ya no es la misma que salió . . .

Doña Guadalupe Santillán

Back home it rains hard. That's why rivers overflow and bridges fall down. When our house was flattened, everything got soaked, totally destroyed, even the birth certificates.

I was born in San Miguel Aguacate, a district of Silacayoapan, in the Mixteca region of Oaxaca. As a child I helped my parents pull the weeds in the field. Otherwise, I looked after the cows. I didn't last long in school, because the teacher hit me a lot, and I would spend a lot of time hiding under chairs.

I married at age 13. When I turned 17, I left San Miguel, traveling with my husband to Veracruz and Tres Valles Potrereros to cut sugar cane for Boss Manuel. I used to cut 120 or 125 bundles per week, and my husband, 80 or 85. They paid us 50 pesos for our combined work. Of course, the money was given to him. He was the man.

When my parents died, I left that man. He beat me a lot. I put up with him because of my parents. But, "It's over," I told myself — and grabbed my children and moved to Mexico City, and from there to Juárez. Along the way I would sell peanuts, seeds, candies, and apples. One

day my oldest son said to me, "Look mother, let's go to Tijuana. They say there is plenty of help for poor people there."

And here you have me in Tijuana telling you all this. Go back? No, I won't go back. Everything there is very sad. I tell my children, "If you want to return, go ahead — to each his own." My life is here.

*Doña Guadalupe Santillán*¹

The Mixteca region of Oaxaca still maintains the humble beauty of many of Mexico's indigenous regions — and also their poverty, erosion, uncultivated parcels of land, and old trucks that come and go loaded with migrants. Listening to the stories of Mixteco women who have migrated from their community, one sees in their faces the imprint of these landscapes. Doña Santillán's departure from home, though less common than that of men, is a familiar individual and cultural experience. Mixteco women do domestic work in middle and upper class homes in cities like Mexico City, Oaxaca, Puebla, and more recently, Guadalajara, Nogales, Ciudad Juárez, and Tijuana. They also work as street vendors.

For a long time Mixtecos have been part of the labor migrations to agricultural fields in Veracruz, Morelos, and what could be called the northwestern agricultural strip of Mexico — Sinaloa, Sonora, and Baja California — and even further to the fields of California, Oregon, Wash-

¹These testimonies by Mixteco women who settled in the border city of Tijuana are not intended to be a unified portrait of the female migration from the Mixteca region of Oaxaca. In addition to expressing individual and often unique experiences, they reflect different sub-regions of Oaxaca. The majority of the families established in the Obrera neighborhood of Tijuana are from the Silacayoapan district, especially from the towns of San Jerónimo del Progreso, Santa María Natividad, and Nieves Ixpantepec, and in notably lesser proportion from the district of Huajuapán de León and Juxtlahuaca.

ington, Arizona, and occasionally, Idaho. Mixteco women use this route in lesser proportion than the men, and their experience of it differs markedly, for unlike most men, they usually travel in the company of a family member.

In migration, one's environment is continually changing — a picture that emerges in experiences narrated by some of the Mixteco women who left their towns to settle for the present in Tijuana. One's experiences of adolescence, engagement, marriage, birth, and death, are shaped by the to-and-fro activities of migration. To create their culture, Mixteco men and women migrants have combined urban and rural knowledge; they have spanned short and long cultural distances. In this versatile, regional, migrant culture, migration is a 'permanent event' that becomes part of life, not a brief experience that can be told as an adventure. For these migrants, adventure is all of life. In the shortest time, unexpected change can happen.

I married at the age of 14. My husband was 35. I did not love the unfortunate man — I was already too grown up, and he was from another town. But before, when a man asked for the hand of a girl and the mother said yes, there was no question. You had no choice but to marry.

I went with him to live in his town, but not for long because he was killed in the hills. He used to sell dried pepper that he would bring from Pinotepa Nacional. On his way back, he was attacked on the road by robbers. So, after 11 months I was back at home.

I stayed there for a while, and when I turned 16 an aunt took me to Mexico City to work. I took care of a woman who lived alone — I swept, washed, and ironed for her. When my oldest brother became widowed he came to get me, but my employer offered to raise my wages, and she gave him a tip. That's how I ended up staying longer with her. But then my mother

became ill, and then there was no choice. I had to return home to care for my brother's children and my mother.

Doña Elisa Hernández

Although the reasons a woman first migrates are different in each case, fairly constant factors are her youthfulness and a contact with another migrant that shapes her future. The majority of Mixteco women became migrants in their adolescence, just like the majority of all migrants in our country.

As far back as I can remember, my parents used to send us to haul water on a donkey from a distant river. In those days school was not mandatory like nowadays. Not at all! One was dedicated to keeping house — getting up early to make tortillas or going to the fields to help plant corn. That was the life there — corn, cows, and goats. When things went well we harvested a lot of corn. Otherwise we sold the animals.

My mother worked very hard. When there was a shortage of corn — as we have had in recent months without a good crop — my father would go to yoke the animal, while she bought or borrowed corn, carrying it on her back for three or four kilometers (two to two-and-a-half miles).

That's how it was until we, the children, grew up and began to make it on our own. My parents had never gone outside the town. My brother was the first, and then I followed. He went to Mexico City to work as a bricklayer, and my aunt got me a job with a lady in her house. I was able to visit home regularly.

I finally decided to leave home because it was very difficult for me. My mother would have me prepare six or seven kilos (13-15 pounds) of tortillas — there were about eight of us in the family — for breakfast, lunch, and dinner. It was too much. That's why one day I said, "No, I won't stay here any longer," and left.

Doña Paz Vera

In some cases, like that of Doña Paz Vera, migration is the alternative of choice, while in others it is a result of marriage.

At the age of 15 I met a man of 27. He was a migrant who traveled to and from the

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After years of struggling for a place to ply their trade, Mixteco vendors cleaned and rebuilt the fountain in the Plaza de Santa Cecilia. Today it is one of the major craft markets for border tourists in Tijuana. *Photo by Laura Velasco Ortiz*

Mixteco women vendors arrange their display on their cart in the Plaza de Santa Cecilia in Tijuana. *Photo by Laura Velasco Ortiz*



fields of Sinaloa . . . We dated for a year before I married him . . . when I was 17 years old, he went to the United States. He later returned and said to me, "This time we go together" . . . And we went to work in San Quintín, Baja California.

Doña Natalia Flores

But migration is also sometimes inherited, the destiny of progeny. For families with a migrant tradition, mobility is a fundamental strategy for survival. Children experience their parents' migration as personal and family destiny, integrating it into their lives as an inevitable part of the future.

I migrated when I was 14 years old, about five years ago, now. I left with my father and a younger brother. My mother could not come because she was nursing, and there was no one else to take care of the house. It took us a month to reach Tijuana because we left without money. My father would play the saxophone while my brother and I passed the hat. I am now married to a man I met here. He is from my town back in Oaxaca and works on the other side, the United States.

Doña Juana Flores

It could be said paradoxically that change is

a constant in these women's experience — change in residence, life cycle, and historical moment. These combine to shape the life of a woman who first leaves home under circumstances that bring together personal reasons, family ties, and misfortune.

Once you leave your hometown, life changes. You either find a boyfriend, get married, or have a child. You are not the same one that left.

Doña Guadalupe Santillán

In the course of migration unforeseen events take place. Guadalupe migrated for the first time to Mexico City, and later returned to her town, where she lived for some time. There she gave birth to a child and after a period again migrated to agricultural fields in the northwest:

After my return home from Mexico City I took care of my widowed brother's children. I spent seven years raising them until I married my second husband. I stayed three years with him and had three children. My husband migrated regularly to Culiacán until one day he found another woman and did not return. I was left alone with my children and my mother, without anyone to wait for. And so I also went to work in Culiacán. My children stayed home with my mother. In the fields I met another man. I started to live with him, and together we went to work in Obregón.

Doña Elisa Hernández

Migratory routes of Mixteco women are shaped by events of the life cycle. For example, marriage in the life of the young woman who migrated at 14 to do domestic work in Mexico City might cause her to choose a different migration alternative, perhaps to northern Mexico with her new husband, or with her children alone after a separation. The arrival of children coincides with a return to the place of origin. The growth of the children again changes women's migrations. When the children reach adolescence they usually get married, and then the women seem to stabilize themselves. They settle for longer periods, and like their parents, care for their grandchildren while sons and daughters migrate to California or Baja California.

Constant migration makes 'place of destination' a relative concept — referring to a month in Mexico City, another in Culiacán, others on the coast of Hermosillo, afterwards a few years in Tijuana, or many more in the United States. But the 'final destination' seems to be a Mixteco's own place of origin. This seems the principal ethnic feature of this migratory movement: the constant link with the community of origin.

In this venture women play a notable role. By preserving the home, whether in their Mixteca towns or in intermediate destinations — Mexico City, Ensenada, Tijuana — they make it possible for other members of the family, men and women, to achieve the mobility necessary for travel on old routes or new ones. Their keeping of the home fires includes not only awaiting and welcoming, but also supporting family members who remain at home.

Tijuana is one such migrant home base maintained by women at an intermediate destination. Its location on the Mexico-United States border allows cross-border mobility for some family members, especially the men, to travel between the agricultural fields in northern Mexico and southwestern United States. Mixteco women in Tijuana, in domestic roles and as wage earners, support the growth of the largest ethnic group that settled in Baja California.

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The Texas–Mexican Conjunto

Manuel Peña

One of the most enduring musical traditions among Mexicans and Mexican Americans is the accordion-based ensemble known as *conjunto* (and as *música nortea* outside of Texas). Popular for over 100 years — especially since its commercialization in the 1920s — this folk ensemble remains to this day the everyday music of working-class Texas Mexicans and Mexican *norteaños* (northerners). During the course of its long history, the conjunto evolved into a tightly organized style that speaks musically for the aesthetic and ideological sentiments of its adherents. In the process, this music of humble beginnings along the Texas–Mexico border has spread far beyond its original base, gaining a vast audience in both Mexico and the United States.

The diatonic, button accordion that anchors the conjunto made its first appearance in northern Mexico and south Texas sometime in the 1860s or '70s. The first accordions were simple one- or two-row models — quite suitable for the musical capabilities of the first *norteaño* and Texas Mexican musicians who experimented with the instrument. A strong regional style developed by the turn of the century, as the accordion became increasingly associated with a unique Mexican guitar known as a *bajo sexto*. Another local folk instrument, the *tambora de rancho* (ranch drum), also enjoyed prominence as a back-up to the accordion. In combination with one or both of these instruments, the accordion had become by the 1890s the instrument of preference for working-class celebrations on both sides of the Texas–Mexico border.

In Texas, these celebrations were organized frequently — too frequently for some Anglos,

who voiced their disapproval of fandangos, or “low-class” dances, in the newspapers. For example, the *Corpus Christi Caller* and the *San Antonio Express* on more than one occasion expressed Anglos’ negative attitudes toward *tejano* music and dance. In one report, the *Express* equated music and dancing with idleness and concluded that “these fandangos have become so frequent they are a great curse to the country” (August 20, 1881). This typical attitude developed early on and persisted well into the 20th century.

Despite Anglo disapproval, the conjunto and its dances thrived among *tejano* workers, eventually eclipsing all other forms of music for dancing. Yet, popular as it was, the conjunto remained an ad hoc ensemble until the 1930s. No permanent combination of instruments had been established prior to that time, perhaps because creative and material forces had not yet crystalized to spur radical stylistic development. To be sure, some changes had been wrought by the 1920s, as the button accordion and the *bajo sexto* by now formed the core of the emerging style, while such common European dances as the *redowa* had been regionalized and renamed. The *redowa* itself had been transformed into the *vals bajito*, in contrast to the waltz, which was known as a *vals alto*. Indeed, most of the repertoire for the dance, or fandango, was of European origin and included the polka, mazurka, and schottische, in addition to the waltz and *redowa*. One regional genre from Tamaulipas, Mexico, the *huapango*, rounded out the usual repertoire of conjuntos until World War II.

Beginning in the 1930s, an innovative surge rippled through the emerging conjunto tradition, as performers like Narciso Martínez (known as “the father” of the modern conjunto), Santiago Jiménez, Lolo Cavazos, and others began to strike out in new stylistic directions. This new surge of innovation must be attributed, at least in part, to the active commercial involve-

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Pedro Ayala was one of the early accordion leaders and innovators in the *conjunto* tradition. Photo courtesy National Council for the Traditional Arts



ment of the major recording labels in the music of the Hispanic Southwest. From the 1920s, companies such as RCA Victor (Bluebird), Decca, Brunswick, and Columbia (Okeh) began exploiting the musical traditions in the Hispanic Southwest, hoping to repeat the success they had experienced with African American music since the early '20s. Under the commercial impetus of the big labels, which encouraged record and phonograph sales, radio programming and, especially, public dancing (much of it in cantinas, to the dismay of Anglos and "respectable" Texas Mexicans), musicians like Narciso Martínez began to experiment. By the end of the 1930s, the conjunto had begun to evolve into the stylistic form the ensemble reached during its mature phase in the post-World War II years.

Without a doubt, the most important change came in the 1930s, when Narciso Martínez began his recording career. Searching for a way to stamp his personal style on the accordion, Martínez abandoned the old, Germanic technique by virtually avoiding the bass-chord buttons on his two-row accordion, concentrating instead on the right hand, treble melody buttons. His sound was instantly distinctive and recognizable. Its brighter, snappier, and cleaner tone contrasted with the older sound, in which bajo sexto and the accordionist's left hand both played bass-and-accompaniment, creating a "thicker," drone-like effect. Martínez left bassing

and chordal accompaniment to the bajo sexto of his most capable partner, Santiago Almeida.

Narciso Martínez's new style became the hallmark of the surging conjunto, just as Almeida's brisk execution on the bajo sexto created the standard for future *bajistas*. Together, the two had given birth to the modern conjunto, a musical style that would challenge even the formidable mariachi in cultural breadth and depth of public acceptance. Indeed, by the 1970s it could be said that the conjunto, known in the larger market as *música norteaña*, was the most powerful musical symbol of working-class culture. Martínez, however, remained an absolutely modest folk musician until his death. He never laid claim to anything but a desire to please his public. Yet, as Pedro Ayala, another of the early accordion leaders, acknowledged, "after Narciso, what could the rest of us do except follow his lead?"

In the years following World War II younger musicians rose to prominence — *la nueva generación* (the new generation), as Martínez himself called the new crop of accordionists. Led by Valerio Longoria, who contributed a number of innovations to the rapidly evolving style, the new generation quickly brought the conjunto to full maturity after the war. Longoria started his trailblazing career in 1947; however, his greatest contributions date from 1949, when he introduced the modern trap drums into the conjunto. Com-

bined with the contrabass, introduced in 1936 by Santiago Jiménez, the drums rounded out the modern ensemble, which after 1950 consisted of accordion, bajo sexto (sometimes guitar), drums, and contrabass (electric bass after about 1955). Longoria also is credited with another major contribution: he introduced vocals into the ensemble, which prior to World War II had restricted itself almost exclusively to instrumental music. After Longoria's move, most of the older genres — redowa, schottische, etc. — were abandoned as the polka and the vocal, in the form of the *canción ranchera* (either in vals or polka time), became the staples of the modern conjunto.

Several highly innovative performers followed Valerio Longoria. Among the most notable is Tony de la Rosa, who established the most ideal conjunto sound in the mid-1950s — a slowed-down polka style, delivered in a highly staccato technique that was the logical culmination of Narciso Martínez's emphasis on the treble end of the accordion. Los Relámpagos del Norte, a group from across the border (Reynosa), made significant contributions in the 1960s, synthesizing the more modern conjunto from Texas with the older norteño tradition to create a style that reached new heights in popularity, both in Mexico and the U.S. When the leaders of Los Relámpagos, Cornelio Reyna and Ramón Ayala, went their separate ways, the latter formed another conjunto, Los Bravos del Norte, and that group went on to make significant contributions in the 1970s that kept the norteño tradition at its peak.

But perhaps the label of "greatest" belongs to a conjunto that had its origins in Kingsville, Texas, in 1954 — El Conjunto Bernal. Led by accordionist Paulino Bernal and his brother, bajo sexto player Eloy, El Conjunto Bernal began early on to lift the conjunto style to new heights, as the Bernals' absolute mastery of their instruments allowed the group to probe the very limits of the conjunto style. Bolstered by some of the finest singers and drummers within the tradition, El Conjunto Bernal came to be acknowledged as "the greatest of all time." The successes of El Conjunto Bernal's musical experiments, especially in the 1960s, have never been duplicated.

Since the 1960s, the conjunto has remained rather static, despite the advent in the 1980s of so-called "progressive" conjuntos, which incorporate newer, synthesized sounds into the basic style. Neither these newer conjuntos nor those who pursue the older style have succeeded in transcending the limits set by El Conjunto Bernal, but this relative lack of innovation has

not slowed the spread of the music. Thus, despite its relative conservatism, the tradition has expanded far beyond its original confines along the Texas–Mexico border. In the last 30 years the music has taken root in such far-flung places as Washington, California, and the Midwest, as well as in the entire tier of northern Mexican border states, and even in such distant places as Michoacán and Sinaloa.

As it spreads its base in the United States, norteño conjunto music, especially as synthesized by Los Bravos del Norte and its successors (e.g., Los Tigres del Norte), continues to articulate a Mexican working-class ethos. In its stylistic simplicity, its continuing adherence to the *canción ranchera* and working-class themes, and most importantly, in its actualization in weekend dances, the conjunto remains the bedrock music for millions of people whose everyday culture is Mexican at its core. More than that, however, the conjunto represents a clear musical and ideological alternative to the Americanized forms that more acculturated, upwardly-mobile Mexican Americans have come to embrace. Accordionist Paulino Bernal best summarized the musico-ideological significance of the conjunto when he recalled the sharp status differences that existed among Mexican Americans of an earlier era:

... at that time there was a division — that he who liked the orchestra hated the conjunto. That's the way it was: "Who's going to play, a conjunto? Oh no!" Those who went with Balde González [a middle-class orchestra] were not going to go over here with a conjunto. (personal interview with the author)

Thus, although nowadays it is patronized by many ethnically sensitive, middle-class Mexican Americans, conjunto continues to represent an alternative musical ideology, and in this way it helps to preserve a Mexican, working-class culture wherever it takes root on American soil. Endowed with this kind of symbolic power, conjunto has more than held its own against other types of music that appear from time to time to challenge its dominance among a vast audience of working-class people.

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La Onda Bajita: Lowriding in the Borderlands

Michael C. Stone

The term “lowriders” refers to automobiles that have been lowered to within a few inches of the road in the expressive style of *la onda bajita*, “the low wave,” or “the low trend.” It also refers to the people who craft them and to those who own, drive or ride in them. On both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border and throughout the greater Southwest, lowriders and their elaborately crafted *carritos*, *carruchas*, or *ranflas* — other names for their vehicles — contribute their particular style to the rich discourse of regional Mexican-American identities. Paradoxically expressed in automotive design, lowriders’ sense of regional cultural continuity contributes a distinctive social sensibility to the emergent multicultural mosaic of late 20th-century North America (Gradante 1982, 1985; Plascencia 1983; Stone 1990).

A synthesis of creative imagination and technical mastery pushed to their limits, cars with state-of-the-art hydraulic technology perform stunt hopping, but raise their “ride” for driving clearance. Skid plates shower sparks into the night when dipped to drag over the pavement, while neon art illuminates windows, trunk, and underchassis. Cultural and religious icons decorate body and interior in bold murals and etched glass, as lowrider caravans move slowly across a complex southwestern social landscape.

Lowriding first drew widespread attention in the late 1970s, sensationalized in “cruising” films like *Boulevard Nights*, burlesqued in Cheech and Chong’s classic, *Up in Smoke*, and framed as cultural curiosity in print (King 1981; Trillen and Koren 1980). In a more serious vein, *Low Rider*

magazine, together with the music of bands like War, and the Luis Valdez film, *Zoot Suit*, evoked images of social and material realities of barrio life in shaping and broadcasting the *bajito* identity and style. As a public forum on Mexican-American identity, *Low Rider* magazine recast pejorative stereotypes — the culturally ambiguous *pocho-pachuco* (Paredes 1978; Valdez 1978; Villareal 1959), the dapper zoot-suiter (Mazón 1984), the street-wise *cholo* homeboy, the *pinto* or prison *veterano*, and the wild *vato loco* (Johansen 1978) — as affirmative cultural archetypes emerging from the long shadow of Anglo domination.

The style apparently arose in northern California in the late 1930s, but evolved in Los Angeles, where its innovators responded to Hollywood’s aesthetic and commercial demands. Yet lowriders also assume a critical stance. They distinguish “low-and-slow” style by asking, “Whose cars are high?” (Trillen and Koren 1980). They censure hot rodders, “who raise their cars, making all kinds of noise and pollution, racing down the streets killing themselves, if not others.” By contrast, lowriding expresses pride in hand craftsmanship learned through community apprenticeship and mechanical work in the military, auto detail shops, and garages, and pride in economy — the practical need to maintain one’s own vehicle inexpensively.

From southern California, migrants transported the style throughout the Southwest. César Chávez recalls that by the 1940s, farmworkers found cars essential to moving quickly from job to job. Cars also embodied social status: “We were traveling around. . . . You always wanted to go into the dance [looking] right . . . [to] come in with good cars — we were migrants and the cars meant quite a bit” (Gutiérrez 1980:43).

Migrants brought lowriding east into Texas. Innovator Richard Salazar says lowriders from Los Angeles founded an early El Paso club, the

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Gustavo "Sleepy" Grado, a Juárez muralist, etched his car window with traditional lowrider motifs — a figure of Christ and a chain. The steering wheel is welded chain. Photo by Lyle Rosbotham

Imperials. Don Américo Paredes recalls that postwar Crystal City, Texas, aficionados would convene at the Dairy Queen to see which car was low enough to knock over a cigarette pack. But lowriding was part of a broader "car culture" (Flink 1975) of antique and custom shows, hot rods, stock cars, drag racing, and demolition derbies. The Nevarez and Salazar brothers, early bajito creators, first exhibited in national custom shows that added El Paso to the circuit in the early 1970s.

Lowriding selects from the symbols of the dominant Anglo culture, and asserts counter meanings that express values in Mexican American experience. A San Antonio native recalls,

Culturally we lived in two worlds. Across the street from our house on Guadalupe Street, the jukebox from Julio's Cantina blared out Mexican *corridos* and *conjunto* music. We learned the words to Jorge Negrete's songs long before we ever heard of Frank Sinatra. The Malt House . . . was West San Antonio's most famous

hamburger and chicken fried steak drive-in. It had a bilingual jukebox [where] we first heard Little Richard and Elvis Presley. No one forced us to choose; we easily accepted both musical traditions (Romo 1986:57).

One veteran explains his nostalgia for "oldies" music, period clothing, and cruising drive-in movies and burger joints as reminders of "the best decade of life . . . [my] teen-aged years" (Gradante 1985:73). Another says, "Lowriding is the Chicano *American Graffiti*," referring to the popular Anglo "cruising" film. Lowriding redefines these prevailing cultural forms with the fluid, multiple, and often conflicting meanings of its bicultural world, celebrating a Mexicano heritage that is also irrevocably American. Lowriding also contests the conformity of mass youth culture, and softens the hard edge of industrial culture. As El Paso lowrider alumnus George Salazar (now a Justice Department attorney, drug rehabilitation activist, and Rio Grande Food Bank chairman) observes,

The Latin can express his flair for the romantic almost anywhere, even taking a product off a General Motors assembly line and giving it an identity. Maybe . . . as more Mexican Americans . . . enter the governing institutions of our country, the same warmth will infect the system. Why not? If we can make something as American as a car reflect our culture, we can probably do it with anything (Weisman 1986:101).

Lowriding is a declaration of cultural pride, a historically resonant expression of contemporary Mexican American identity. Rooted in working class experience, lowriders' hand-crafted improvisations upon industrial style are a self-affirming response to the homogenizing forces of mass production and Anglo cultural ideals.

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Mortars and Metates

Alice Fay Lozano

as told to Ian Hancock

Alice Fay Lozano is one of the Mexican Afro-Seminole. The Seminoles originally came west from Florida, first to Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma in the 1830s, and then to Nacimientito in northern Mexico some 12 years later. In both instances, they were distancing themselves from slave raids into their settlements. In 1870, some of the Nacimientito people came north again into Texas to serve as Scouts for the U.S. Army, settling in Brackettville after they were discharged in 1914. The word seminole is a Creek Indian reinterpretation of the Spanish cimarrón, meaning, among other things, "fugitive." When the British were using Africans and Native Americans as slaves in the Crown Colonies during the 17th and early 18th centuries, a number of those people threw off their yoke of bondage and escaped south into Spanish Florida. Indian Cimarrones, or Seminoles, were not subject to the same harassment as the African Seminoles, and not all of them left Florida, though almost all of the African Seminoles did. In Oklahoma, nearly all of the Indian Seminoles remained, while the African Seminoles continued on to Mexico, and subsequently to Texas.

Today, the Seminoles in Mexico (known locally as Muscogos) are fewer than 200, and a similar number live in and around Brackettville 30 miles north of the Texas border. Although there are Afro-Seminole communities elsewhere — in Oklahoma, Florida, and the Bahamas — the Border Seminoles are different. While retaining their language and many of their traditions,

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both groups have adopted newer elements of culture: those of the frontera norteña. Ms. Lozano lives most of the time in Nacimientito, sometimes spending time with relatives in Del Rio, but preferring the peace and spirituality of her home at the foot of the Mexican mountains. During an afternoon, talking in her yard about an African-looking mortar, which sat on the ground not far from a Mexican grindstone, she commented that the two really represented the Indian and African heritage of her people. I asked her to elaborate.

From the yard around my hacienda in El Nacimientito de los Negros I can look down across the valley to some other homesteads and see men tending their goats and cows, and women hanging their washing out to dry. Here at the foot of the Sierra Madre range, an hour's drive from Melchor Musquíz, Coahuila State's capital city, everything is hushed and peaceful. Only the wind, and the noise of the animals pushing through the brush, break the silence.

In my yard you'll find a mortar and pestle, which we call *maata en maatastick* in our own speech, and you'll find a grinding stone, in Spanish called a *metate y tejolote*. More than anything else, these two tools for preparing food symbolize the dual heritage of our Black Seminole people, for one is African, and the other Indian.

The mortar is far too heavy for me to lift; it consists of an upright oak log about a foot across and two or three feet high, with a depression cut into the top several inches deep. The pestle is about five feet long, and is also cut from oak. It is about three inches in diameter except for the last foot on each end, which is wider, and rounded so that it can crush the dried corn kernels and other things we use it for. The metate is about a foot square with four small feet, and is carved out of one piece of stone. It has a flat top which curves inward slightly, and the tejolote, or grinder, looks like a fat stone cigar and is used



Alice "Nina" Fay Lozano enjoys the tranquility of the Sierra Madre mountains that surround the Muscogo community of Nacimiento de los Negros in northern Coahuila, México. Photo by David Bosserman

with both hands to mash peppers and other things on the surface. Sometimes we also use a *molcajete*, which is like a small stone mortar and pestle, and is used with just one hand.

Things are different now, because some of the homes in Nacimiento have electricity and electric blenders, but food processed that way doesn't come out the same, and it sure doesn't taste as good. Another sign of the changing times can be seen inside the pantry; provisions from Musquíz, or even from Del Rio across the border, are our staples now, but it wasn't always like that. In the early days, everything we ate we grew and prepared ourselves. In leaner times we would go up into the Sierra Madre to cut down the royal palms growing there, from which we could make a flour called *kunteh*. We'd mash and soak the fibers, strain them through a fine sieve, and use their starchy sediment to make tortillas. We don't need to do that any more, but people in Nacimiento still use the natural medicines that grow all around. Plants in the area are brewed into teas to remedy all kinds of ailments. Even the *yerba loca* is boiled with water as a pain reliever, especially during childbirth.

Much of our daily fare is Indian in origin. Some dishes, like *suffki* (a kind of cornmeal porridge) we brought with us from Florida; its name is from the Creek language. Others, like *toli* (sweetened and spiced cornmeal pudding) or fry bread probably come from Mexican Indians. We

also make and eat chorizo, tamales, and all kinds of other regional foods, which are not exclusive to the Seminoles. One popular African dish is sweet potato pudding, which we call *tettuh-poon*. Some of these we make at any time, while others are for special occasions, such as birthdays or funerals or the New Year.

The Border Seminoles differ in some ways from Seminole communities elsewhere, because of our special connection with Mexico. Seminoles in Oklahoma or Florida or the Bahamas for example, don't share that history, and would find some of the things we eat unusual.

Some people think we already spoke Spanish before we reached Mexico, having learned it first in Florida. But one thing is certain, wherever we learned it: Spanish has taken over as our main language in Nacimiento. Only a handful of older folk still speak Seminole. The settlement even has more outsiders living there today than Seminoles themselves, who have moved out to other towns, or up to Texas, especially to Brackettville. With the new interest in our people, and the establishment of the Seminole Center and Museum in Del Rio, and the attention the Folklife Festival has brought us, our own grandchildren are beginning to take a renewed interest in their special history. Our language and culture, our own unique blend of African and Native American and Mexican, may yet survive to be enjoyed by the generations to come.

The Chinese in Baja California

Maricela González Félix

Translated by Héctor Antonio Corporán

Las incursiones iniciales de la población china a Baja California se suscitaron entre 1860 y 1880, cuando los chinos de California inauguraron la Bahía de San Diego con la industria de la pesca del abulón. Posteriormente los chinos arribaron en mayor número con la apertura de las tierras a la agricultura en el Valle de Mexicali en los primeros años de este siglo. Luego de haberse iniciado la expropiación de las tierras y las dotaciones ejidales a fines de la década de los treinta, los chinos quedaron excluidos del proceso de colonización y explotación de la tierra. Con ello los chinos empezaron a concentrarse en las actividades comerciales y de servicios hasta ese momento poco desarrolladas, al tiempo que sus asentamientos se empezaron a ubicar en la ciudad.

The Chinese played an important role in the 19th century development of the California and Baja California coast and border region. They created the first abalone fishing industry along the coast and were a major part of the work force that transformed the border region into the productive Imperial Valley on the California side and the Mexicali Valley on the Baja California side. Chinese have always lived in separate communities, but their presence has greatly contributed to defining the culture of the region, particularly that of Mexicali.

Chinese were attracted to California in the middle of the 19th century by the discovery of gold and the territorial expansion of the United States, which offered job opportunities, high salaries, and possibilities of acquiring farm land. The majority of the migrants were poor farmers

from the province of Canton, who were fleeing poverty and war.

Chinese first came to Baja California between 1860 and 1880. They extended the San Diego Bay abalone industry along the Baja California coast down to Bahía de Tortugas. Chinese migration from the U.S. to the northern border states of Mexico was accelerated by a series of anti-Chinese movements in the United States, culminating in the first Chinese exclusion law in 1882. Chinese settled primarily in Baja California, Sonora, Sinaloa, and Tamaulipas.

Chinese later arrived in greater numbers, drawn by the land and employment promotions of various foreign companies during the last decades of the 19th century, which were aimed at attracting tenant farmers to this scarcely populated region. At the turn of the century, the Colorado River Land Company built irrigation works and opened the Mexicali Valley for agricultural development.

Chinese contractors from California provided the company with the necessary labor to work the virgin lands of the Mexicali Valley at a low cost. The Colorado River Land Company leased the land to independent Chinese contractors, who in turn sub-leased it to Chinese farmers. In this way, the company indirectly controlled the different phases of farming production, making the Chinese intermediaries for United States businessmen in the exploitation of Mexican resources.

The relationship between United States investors, Chinese contractors, and Chinese workers substantially changed after the Mexican government stopped Chinese immigration in 1921. Other factors contributing to the change were the government's 1936 expropriation of land owned by foreign companies in Baja California and the growth of the Mexican population in the peninsula. Chinese and other foreign groups — Japanese and East Indians — were

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excluded from the subsequent redistribution of these lands. As a result, they began to concentrate on commercial and service activities mainly in Mexicali, leaving their earlier, rural agricultural pattern of settlement.

Another important movement of Chinese to the region occurred during the 1930s anti-Chinese movement in Mexico. After the Mexican government cancelled Chinese immigration in 1921, various state congresses approved discriminatory legislation prohibiting marriages between Chinese and Mexicans, creating special zones to isolate the Chinese, and deporting illegal Chinese immigrants.

Part of the life history of an elder Chinese man from Mexicali illuminates those years of conflict:

We left Mexico when I was 12 or 13 years old, more or less in 1931 or 1932. We left Mexico City due to the anti-Chinese campaign. In those days almost all the Chinese were discriminated against and insulted by Mexicans. I remember that when we went to school other kids threw stones and called us *chales*.

Although there were many people who tried to prevent those kids from bothering us, there were always others ready to insult us. So that when some didn't offend us, others were devoted to doing so. They would insult us without reason, only because we looked Chinese. Almost daily we were attacked with stones, and unfortunately, we lived in that situation for more than two years.

The government at that time clearly sought to get the Chinese out of the country, one way or another. As a result, many mixed families were broken. A husband would not be allowed to take his wife with him, much less his children who were born in Mexico. These things took place in various states of the Republic. One could not live in that constant harassment. The government of that time did not want the Chinese in Mexico.

It seems that at that time a group of people with very strong interests had come together, and were devoted to harassing the Chinese. That group, if I remember correctly, was named the Anti-Chinese Party or something like that — I don't remember the name exactly. And in spite of the government's knowing of their activities, it did nothing to stop their cruelties, like those that are said to have happened in the state of Coahuila, where dozens of Chinese lost their lives in confrontations with Mexicans. And in Ensenada we know that some Chinese committed suicide because of that.

Today the Mexican Chinese community supports itself through small- and medium-sized commercial activities like restaurants, real estate brokerages, money exchange centers, hotels, and a variety of retail stores. Recently arrived Chinese usually come with six month residence permits to work in these establishments. Chinese in this western border region have lived for a long time in a contradictory situation of economic integration and sociocultural segregation, a condition which continues today, as exchanges between Chinese and Mexican populations in the region remain predominantly economic.

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Sharing Common Ground: Social Dancing in the U.S.A.

Vivien Chen

with Magaly E. Jarrad and Chan Moly Sam

Dancing is sheer pleasure for socializing, exercise, and self-expression. Dancing means celebration — people gathering together, with food and drink, at weddings, birthdays, graduations, anniversaries, holidays, block parties, for fundraisers, or just at end-of-the-week get-together parties. These social events take place in a variety of settings, from private homes to public parks. Dancing brings people together and continues to play a role in courtship.

Most of us learned to dance by going to parties, by observing our elders or peers, or by studying the technique of particularly good dancers. More recently, young people get a lot of their “moves” from videos and television. From these resources and experiences, we each develop our own style. Music is almost inseparable from social dancing and, for most of us, provides the inspiration to dance.

As an open and adaptive communicative system, social dance is always up-to-date and reflective of its times. Looking closer, one finds that dances are also strongly shaped by their community expressive traditions and social structures. Most dance steps and styles derive their moves from those of earlier dances and movement repertoires.

Dancing brings members of a community together and strengthens cohesiveness by emphasizing shared ethical and aesthetic values. Performing a common vocabulary of movement, in time to a shared repertoire of music, one participates in a culture.

The United States is blessed with a diversity of community dance traditions and new dance forms that have developed from interactions between communities. This exciting American mix has had a profound impact on the popular

cultures of nations across the world. The dance program at this year’s Festival explores social dancing traditions in five communities — an Appalachian community in southwest Virginia, Iroquois communities in upstate New York, and African American, Bolivian, and Cambodian American communities of Washington, D.C. Tradition-bearers will teach dances in workshops, participate in conversations on a variety of themes, and demonstrate skills, repertoires, and performance styles from their communities. In each of these communities, dance is centrally important in the expression of cultural identity. Consider the interplay of dance, community, and identity among two Washington area communities, Bolivian and Cambodian Americans.

Bolivian Dance in Washington, D.C.

For recent immigrant communities such as Bolivians in Washington, D.C., dance sustains an important part of their cultural heritage, reaffirming shared values in a new and rapidly changing environment. Music and dance also bring reminiscences of youth, courtship, and the culturally familiar. When away from “home,” people develop an increased awareness of cultural distinctiveness, and actively embrace what was once taken for granted. Cultural activities may become crucial in expressing one’s group identity and in presenting it to the greater American public.

The Bolivian community is one of the largest Latino communities in the Washington, D.C. area. A majority of the community came from the cities of La Paz, Cochabamba, Santa Cruz, and Oruro, and are of middle class mestizo background. In Bolivia, the population is comprised of 60% indigenous Aymara and Quechua peoples, 30% mixed Indian and Spanish (mestizo), and 10% European (primarily Spanish). Bolivia was under Spanish colonial rule from 1544 to 1824 when a republic was established. Bolivia became a democratic republic with a constitution

“American Social Dance” has been made possible with support from the recording industries Music Performance Trust Funds.

Men perform the *caporales* dance at Elena and Andres Puña's wedding in Virginia.
Photo by Marlon Vasquez



in 1967. There has been ongoing immigration to the U.S. for more than 30 years, as well as frequent communication between Washington, D.C. and Bolivia as hundreds of families return each February to take part in two-week long Carnival celebrations in Oruro.

Cultural organizations in the Washington community engage Bolivian youth and families in folkloric dances and other social activities throughout the year. Weekend practice sessions provide opportunities for socializing, and July 4th, Hispanic, and Cherry Blossom parades down Constitution Avenue provide public recognition of the Bolivian community and its culture.

During the past 20 years Washington's Bolivian community has come to include "revived" folk traditions as part of its social dance repertoire to a greater extent than before. Dora Castellon, president of Comité Pro Bolivia, an umbrella

cultural organization, observes how social life was a few decades ago:

Growing up in Bolivia I loved to watch my father doing the *cueca*, but I wasn't allowed to dance it. These dances were looked down upon because they belonged to the middle and lower classes. The upper class would go to the balls and dance to music from outside the country, from the United States, like waltzes and rock-and-roll.

As a result of the nationalization of mines in 1952 and agrarian reform in 1953, indigenous communities that were previously kept immobile by a feudal-like political economy migrated to cities and abroad. They introduced their music and dance traditions to a wider society, and indigenous styles of dances such as the *huayño* were infused into the social dance repertoire. Huayño and other mestizo dances have since become part of the repertoire in the Washington, D.C. community.

Sixteen-year-old Andy Lopez participates in dancing as a way of maintaining his Bolivian roots:

In the United States, there are so many different cultures, and everybody seems to know where they come from. So since school doesn't deal with any part of our culture, the only way for us to really find out what our culture is, or just keep our culture, is for us to dance and stick with it.

Vivien T.Y. Chen, curator of the American Social Dance program at the Festival of American Folklife, has researched, performed, and taught dance for several years. She received a Masters degree in Dance and Dance Education from New York University.

Magaly E. Jarrad is a dancer, choreographer, scholar, and teacher from Oruro, Bolivia. She has received prizes for her choreographies at the Carnival in Oruro. Ms. Jarrad currently directs a children's ballet theater in Glen Burnie, Maryland.

Chan Moly Sam is a Cambodian master dancer, choreographer, and scholar. Her publications include Khmer Folk Dance (1987), Khmer Court Dance: A Comprehensive Study of Movements, Gestures, and Postures as Applied Techniques (1987), and Khmer Court Dance: A Performance Manual (1989).

Angel Quinteros, who devotes his Sundays to performing and teaching Bolivian dance, explains, "I love doing dances like *caporales*; it makes me feel very powerful."

For many members of the Bolivian community, dancing is a passion and an essential ingredient at weddings, birthday parties, sweet 15 parties (*quinceañera*), baptisms, Carnival, and Virgin Mary celebrations. At house parties all generations participate. Seniors are often energetic and talented dancers, while children experience dance rhythms from infancy. Three clubs in northern Virginia feature live bands, while social dancing at smaller parties is inspired by record-playing deejays.

Dancing at social functions includes couple and group dances: the *cumbia*, *cueca*, *morenada*, *caporales*, *diablada*, *taquirari*, *huayño*, *carnivalito*, *salsa*, *merengue*, *disco*, and *slow dances*. This dance repertoire is an artifact of the complex cultural and social interactions that have taken place over the past 500 years in Bolivia and now in Bolivian communities in the U.S. It is a record of the inter-relationship of indigenous communities, European immigrants (Spanish, English, French, and Germans), enslaved Africans (brought to work in mines and plantations), nationals of neighboring countries and of the United States, and the international entertainment industry.

Traditionally, indigenous dances such as those of the Aymara and Quechua feature separate lines and circles of women and men, and small running steps moving from side to side that trace small semicircles, recalling agricultural planting movements. Mestizo dances have been influenced by European spatial patterns, dance steps such as skips, hops, and jumps, and the phenomenon of dancing in couples.

Most Bolivian parties start with a pan-Latin dance like the *cumbia*, a Colombian dance with a strong African-derived rhythm. In *cumbia*, dancers turn waists, hips, and shoulders as they step from side to side. Next come livelier dances — *morenada*, *diablada*, and *caporales* — that are featured at the pre-Lenten festivity of Carnival. Although dances for the actual Carnival procession require much practice, their basic steps can be fairly easily done as social dances.

The *diablada* dance represents the symbolic struggle between good and evil. According to traditional belief, the mines in cities like Oruro and Potosi, where much of the population earns a living, are inhabited by Supay, owner of the minerals. Supay was later interpreted by Europeans as the *diablo*, or devil. The community prays to the

Virgin Mary and Archangel Michael to keep the devils in their place and to prevent them from harming its miners. The *diablada* features a tune in 2/4 marching time and bouncy steps, jumps, and kicks while the dancer turns from side to side.

Two dances recall the exploitation of enslaved Africans brought by Spaniards to work in the mines and plantations during the colonial period. According to some, the *morenada* represents the forced march of slaves toward the mines of Potosi in the Andes. According to others, it represents the movements of slaves crushing grapes in vineyards in the Xingas tropical plantation area. The dance is said to have been first performed by the descendants of slaves. *Morenada* is often danced in a circle, with small, slow, side steps and occasional turns, and is accompanied musically by the *matracas*, which simulate the sound of chains or of cranks turning the wine presses.

The *caporales*, a dance created within the last 20 years, borrows features from the indigenous Aymaran *cullaguada* (turning steps from one side to the other with frontal jumps and kicks), has a driving rhythm from *negritos del patador* (an Afro-Bolivian regional dance), and combines shoulder movements from the Brazilian *samba*. Borrowing a personage from the *morenada* dance, the dance depicts the harsh treatment of slaves by the *caporale* (foreman) and his wife on plantations during the colonial period. *Caporales* has gained enormous popularity in recent years and is especially attractive to teenagers, who enjoy the challenge of learning and performing it. Gender roles are very defined in this dynamic dance. Boys and men perform stomping, strong, percussive movements while girls and women perform smaller, flirtatious, and swinging hip movements.

The *cueca* is a popular courting dance for couples. Influenced by the Spanish *sevillanes* in its spatial pattern, the *cueca* is done with a polka-like step. It has four parts. After an introduction and salute, the man dances behind the woman as they travel in a small circle, he pursuing, she teasing, both twirling handkerchiefs. They meet and dance side by side in the *quimba* section, and finish together in the *zapateo* with fast tapping footwork. Drinks are often offered to the dancers before the dance is repeated.

In internationally popular dances such as *merengue* and *lambada*, couples dance apart or in a closed position. Originally from the Dominican Republic, the *merengue* seems to have resulted from a confluence of European contra dance

and an African style of movement. Its rhythm is fast, and when danced in a closed position, partners move as one by taking little side steps as they turn.

After a few slow dances like bolero, parties traditionally close with a carnivalito or huayño, during which everyone joins in or is pulled from their seats. These are joyous dances in fast, 2/4 time featuring small running, stomping, hopping, and jumping movements. The huayño begins as a couple dance with partners holding hands or linking arms. As momentum gathers lines are formed, and dancers wind around the room in circular, zig-zag, or intersecting patterns. Often the bandleader or deejay will give directions such as “pull the ears” or “hands on hips,” “do turns,” “dance on one foot,” or “slow down.” It is not uncommon for women to dance with each other in these dances. Using a variety of cultural resources, Bolivians in the D.C. area enjoy each other’s company and dance out rich identities to themselves, to each other, and to their neighbors.

Cambodian American Dance in Washington, D.C.

Among the Cambodian community in the Washington area, social dancing helps to bring individuals and families together at weddings, New Year’s, birthdays, graduations, and fundraisers. The selection of dances and the way they are danced at parties reflect distinctive cultural history, aesthetics, and ethical ideas as well as recent influences of an American context.

The roots of Cambodian dance span millennia in Southeast Asia. Throughout its 2,000-year history, Cambodian culture has had a fertile interchange with the cultures of India, China, and Indonesia. From the 9th to the 15th centuries, the Angkor Empire fostered a subtle intermingling of Indian and indigenous elements to produce a culture regarded by many scholars as among the richest and most creative in Southeast Asia. At its largest, the Khmer Empire ranged from the border of China into present-day Thailand, Laos, and southern Vietnam. Cambodia became a French protectorate in 1863 and gained independence in 1953. Since 1975, after the fall of Cambodia to Khmer Rouge forces, the Cambodian community in Washington, D.C. has steadily grown to about 15,000. While many immigrated from urban Phnom Penh, a significant number also came from more rural areas in the provinces of Battambang, Siem Reap, and Kampong Thom.

Cambodian social dance uses leaf and flower

hand movements, two of the four basic gestures of classical dance: tendril (*chanol*), leaf (*lear*), flower (*chip*), and fruit (*kuong*). These represent the cycle of fertility and were performed ritually to visualize the creative spirit of plants and flowers. Vuthy Kheav, 30, who grew up on a farm in Siem Reap province, remembers dancing the *ram vong*, *ram kbach*, and *lam leav* in the rice fields at the completion of planting and harvest, to the accompaniment of the *tro*, a two-string fiddle, and *skor dai*, a hand drum. Sochietah Ung, 35, learned to dance at seasonal festivals that featured free movies and social dancing in the evenings. Chan Moly Sam recalls that “Every New Year celebration in Phnom Penh, you heard the pattern of the drum from dusk to dawn, or sometimes throughout the night, for three days.”

Ram vong is always the first dance at any social event, often followed by ram kbach and lam leav. These are all circle dances done in couples in a counterclockwise direction in 4/4 time. In ram vong the female leads while the male pursues her, traveling from side to side, seeking eye contact. Ram kbach, a slow, graceful dance that conveys harmony, is performed with one leg crossing in front of the other as the body inclines diagonally from one side to the other. In lam leav, a courtship dance from Stung Treng province, the partners move in interwoven patterns. *Khmer leu*, from the northern provinces, features a three-count wrist movement. In *saravann*, partners face each other, moving their arms rhythmically, raising and lowering them, opening and closing them like the wings of a bird. The dances allow participants the freedom to do variations and improvisations. For example, in time to the rhythmic pattern of saravann music, a skillful couple can travel forwards, backwards, or sideways to elaborate on the image of a bird rising into the air, soaring, and landing. These dances embody the value of attentiveness in male and female relationships, and they are an important part of courtship.

The dances also express the value of balance and harmony. Dancers cultivate internal balance as their gestures flow rhythmically with the music. Symmetrical movements alternate from one side to the other. Moderation is valued; one should not overdo or neglect movements.

Many Cambodians are equally at ease with European-derived dances. Popular western music and social dances were introduced to Cambodians by Filipinos and the French. In the early 1900s, the Cambodian court received the gift of a large band in residence from the Philippines.



Nara and Sambonn Lek and friends dance the *ram vong*, a traditional Cambodian circle dance.
Photo by Sambonn Lek

The Filipino musicians taught marching music to Cambodian royal and symphonic bands, participated in court ensembles, and performed in jazz bands at nightclubs. The musicians introduced Latin rhythms into Cambodian dance, founding big bands that played at ballroom dances. They developed a kind of music that came to be called *phleng manila*, or Filipino ensemble music. This musical innovation greatly expanded the Cambodian repertoire.

Mr. Lek Chhan, a distinguished dancer now in his seventies, learned European dances — the tango, Boston, cha-cha-cha, rumba, foxtrot, waltz — from his French professor in Phnom Penh. Fellow students also taught each other with recordings and attended nightclubs and bars. Western music was also disseminated by French high school teachers; and in some military academies, high ranking officers received formal training in European-derived dances. The madison was in vogue by the 1950s, and the twist introduced by the popular entertainer Chum Kem upon his return from France in the early 1960s.

At parties in the Washington area, musicians usually play dances in pairs, juxtaposing fast and slow tempos. Contemporary bands usually feature male and female vocalists, lead, rhythm, and bass guitars, and a drum set or synthesizer. In adopting European-derived dance music such as cha-cha-cha or tango, Cambodians retained the rhythms and composed Khmer melodies and lyrics to each song; they simplified the dance

steps. Dances like the cha-cha-cha and madison are interpreted with deft and subtle hip, back, and foot movements.

At social events in Cambodia, dance expressed social relationships and values, and the dance floor often became an arena of gestural eloquence. Traditionally, young men and women were only allowed to socialize with each other at New Year's, which provided a rare and important opportunity to meet, dance, and talk. Women would sit together on one side of the room while the men sat on the other. A man would offer *sam-peah*, a greeting of respect performed to invite a young woman to dance and to take his leave on parting. There was no physical contact in traditional Cambodian dances.

Traditionally, young women were kept close to the family. As they reached their middle teens they entered *chaul mlob*, or "went into shadow," meaning they were not to be seen in public, especially by young men. Young men were freer in comparison and were encouraged to explore the outside world and society.

While women were encouraged to show interest in the court dance traditions, men were groomed to be good social dancers. In an older generation, men danced a flamboyant expressive role compared with women's modest one. Her execution of social dances was not expected to be as creative or as varied as her partner's. Members of older generations expected that at social events, behavior was performed and evaluated

and everyone was watching. A young man seeking a young lady chose his movements carefully, with an eye to impressing her family members present at the event. Moderation and attentiveness were highly valued, while wild and self-involved movements were looked upon with disfavor. While the separation of the sexes is no longer practiced in the American context, the connotations of movement still persist.

At wedding receptions, the bride and groom and their parents initiate the celebration with the ram vong. As revered elders, the parents are the first to give blessings to the new couple through dance. At other functions, the host or another prominent person leads the circle dances.

In the Washington community, seniors participate in social dancing but only minimally in fast genres like the twist, disco, and rock. Youngsters have free range of the floor, often dancing in separate groupings of boys and of girls.

Community members note that while dance movements have remained essentially the same, there have been changes in gender roles. Influenced by the role of women in American society, Cambodian women have become less confined, more assertive, and more nearly equal as dance partners. Many people feel that the dancing is better now with opportunity for more fun.

Phavann Chhuan talks about the importance of dance and community for young people sorting out their identity:

We get the kids to social functions as often as we can, to expose them to Khmer culture, to give them both views. Maybe through peer pressure or group participation they'll see that it's acceptable to do Cambodian dance as well as include other dances with it. We want to bring them up in an environment where people accept different cultures, where the kids will not forget their heritage.

Shaped by traditional ideas of beauty, order, and the individual, social dance is a rich and deep language for communicating ideas and identities. Like a language it is a formal set of categories and transformations that keeps us in touch with centuries of meaning. Yet it is always open to change to serve the needs of the moment. It is a tool for living that enables us to comprehend the voices and actions of others, respond to them, and make them our own.

Washington social dance repertoires continue to evolve and grow as new dances are taught

by relatives, friends, and home videos. Marco Castellon added some football moves to caporales and brought it down to Oruro, Bolivia, where he traded steps and videos with students there. (They showed him a new version of caporales that incorporates a freeze, taking inspiration from hip-hop.) Lashmi Sam brought the newest Cambodian American dance "Harvesting the Shrimp" from Seattle and is teaching it to neighbors in Reston.

The authors want to thank many dancers from the Bolivian and Cambodian communities for sharing their knowledge and wisdom with us, including Adela Baldarrama, Hugo Carillo, Phavann and Natalie Chhuan, Gonzalo Gutierrez, Katherine Guzman, Jhanina Herbas, Vuthy Kheav, Lek Chhan, Sambonn and Nara Lek, Andy Lopez, Maria Lopez, Melina Mendez, Jhonny Meneses, Sesane Ouk, Shirley Peña, Nelson Perez, Angel Quinteros, Sam-Ang Sam, Rithy Sok, Sokhon Soum, Sammang Sun, Sody Tek, Rady and Saroeum Tes, Sochietah Ung, Chinary Ung, Jugo and Alex Urresty, Luis Villarroel, Maria Villegas, and Danett Zepeda.

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Generations of African American Social Dance in Washington, D.C.: Hand Dancing, Hip-Hop, and Go-Go

LeeEllen Friedland

What do the Motown sound and hip-hop music have in common? Each is the musical inspiration for a vital dance tradition that thrives in the African American community of Washington, D.C.

And these two styles of Black dance — the smooth partner coordination and intricate turns of “hand dancing” performed to Motown classics, and the rhythmic steps and weight shifts with elaborate, syncopated arm and torso gestures done to the rhythmic polyphony of hip-hop music — what do they have in common? Each serves as a generation’s prime marker of identity and vehicle for artistic expression. Together with a third style, go-go, they provide artistic alternatives to people of different ages and aesthetic sensibilities.

Hand Dancing

Hand dancing was born and bred in Washington, D.C., during the Motown era, which began in the late 1950s. It is essentially a smooth version of the Lindy Hop that features almost constant hand holding and turning between partners, and several step patterns used to keep time.¹ As musical tempos increased through the 1960s, with successive Motown hits by groups such as the Supremes, Four Tops, and Temptations, hand dancing style developed to suit the fast beat and new rhythms.²

Like popular dance styles before and after it, hand dancing soon became a favorite pastime for teenagers and young adults. It largely eclipsed the older styles at house parties, cabarets, and clubs in Washington’s Black community. Deejays provided the music for dance events and built reputations on the breadth of their record collections and their skill in crafting song sequences.

Local television shows such as the “Teenarama Dance Show,” which ran from 1963-67, featured local teenagers and put hand dancing in the spotlight. Individual dancers cultivated distinctive styles, often incorporating regional variations that developed within the city. Just by the way they danced, hand dancers could be recognized as hailing from Southeast, Southwest, or Northeast Washington. This intra-city variation, and the markedly contrasting dance styles seen on nationally broadcast shows like “American Bandstand,” helped to fortify local opinion that hand dancing was unique to Washington, D.C.³

As the Motown era faded into funk and disco in the 1970s, however, hand dancing was largely replaced by “free dancing” styles, in which partners do not hold hands. Most of the Black teenagers who had grown up hand dancing in Washington made an easy transition to the new free dancing styles, and kept pace as young adults with the new trends in popular Black cul-

¹ Some version of the Lindy Hop, also known as swing or the Jitterbug, was popular from the 1920s through most of the 1950s. Dance historians consider African American dancers the primary innovators of the Lindy form. See Stearns (1964). Arthur Murray’s 1954 dance manual describes single, double, and triple Lindy Hop steps. Variations of these steps are among those performed by Washington-area hand dancers.

² I am indebted to Washington deejay Robert Frye, “Captain Fly,” for insight into the relationship between Motown music and hand dancing. Captain Fly chronicles the progression of popular musical style through the 1950s and 1960s on his radio show, “Oldies House Party,” every Saturday on Washington-area station WPFW (89.3 FM). Along with other deejays devoted to the “oldies but goodies” format, he is a dedicated historian of oldies music and an inveterate record collector.

³ I am grateful to many veteran hand dancers for sharing their knowledge with me, including Florence Barber, Jerome Bettis, Phil Clark, Bobby L. Conway, Lewis Fountain, Althia Harris, Ron Patterson, Preston Walker, and Wayne Williams.

Hand dancing partners improvise an elaborate arm gesture between turns. *Photo by LeeEllen Friedland*



Veteran deejay Captain Fly (Robert Frye) is host of the "Oldies House Party" radio program on WPFW-FM. *Photo by LeeEllen Friedland*

ture. Sometime in the mid-1980s, however, as rap became more commonly heard on the radio and hip-hop grew into a major cultural movement, hand dancers — by this time mostly in their forties and fifties — began to revive their generation's "own" music and dance. This return to artistic roots planted firmly in the Motown era led to a revival of "oldies but goodies" music at Washington-area clubs, cabarets, and radio stations that is still going strong.

Hip-Hop

Hip-hop is not just a dance style; it is a multifaceted world of expression that includes dance, music, a deejay's skilled mix of live and recorded sounds, verbal art (including rapping and other forms), visual arts (such as graffiti), clothing, body adornment, and social attitude. Hip-hop is shared by young people of different cultural backgrounds throughout the United States, but its basic aesthetic ideas are deeply rooted in African American culture.

In Washington's Black community, hip-hop includes social dancing, done by couples (who do not hold hands); and exhibition dancing, done by individuals or sets of dancers who do their most impressive moves and choreographed routines to demonstrate their prowess.

Hip-hop dancing is done to any type of hip-hop music — rapping, singing, or instrumental — with an appropriate beat and tempo. This can also be unadorned rhythm playing, such as a synthesized drum track or an impromptu beat pounded out by hands or with sticks. Social dancing is most often based on relatively simple patterns of stepping and weight shifting, which are overlaid with multiple rhythmic layers of gestures done with the arms, head, and segments of the torso.

Exhibition dancing can include any move used in social dancing, but it features a wider repertoire of fancy stepping patterns; body waves and isolated movements of body parts (as in "popping"); gestures, facial expressions, and other forms of mimicry; acrobatic tumbling, splits, jumps, and spins; and choreographed routines that combine any number of different elements. Not all dancers choose to develop the extraordinary skills of exhibition dancing, but

nearly everyone that participates in hip-hop does social dancing.

Dancing generally happens at clubs, cabarets, and parties that feature hip-hop music. But it can also erupt spontaneously in response to music in schoolyards, neighborhood streets, and homes. Often these informal performances are interspersed with mimicry and acrobatics.

Deejays are the favored source of music for hip-hop dance events. Like those in older generations in the Black community, hip-hop deejays are valued for their skill in gauging the fit between the music and the dancers' mood, for their ability to string together inspiring musical sequences, and for their collections of sound recordings and equipment that allows the greatest range of musical creativity. Most hip-hop deejays are also adept at "mixing," a range of music-making skills including such techniques as "cutting" and "scratching" that involves the manual manipulation of discs on multiple turntables and the interpolation of additional sounds generated by synthesizers, electronic rhythm machines, pre-recorded tapes, verbal art performed by the deejay or others, and a variety of percussion instruments.

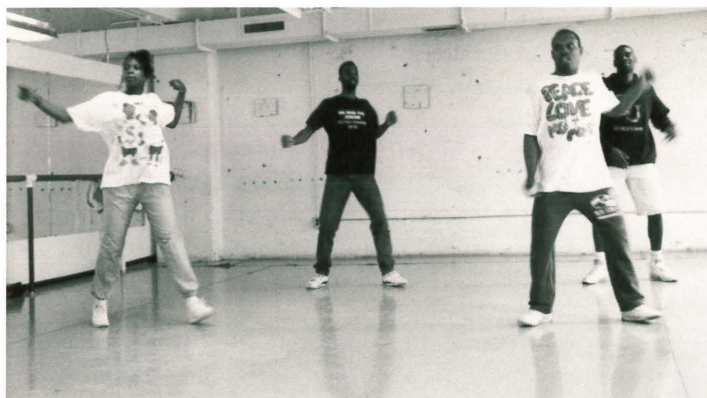
Go-Go

Though hip-hop culture provides the framework for much of the music and dance among young people in the Black community, another style, one unique to Washington, D.C., provides an artistic alternative for many teenagers: go-go. Unlike hip-hop, which except for a deejay's mixing uses pre-recorded music, go-go is danced to live bands that generally include multiple percussionists (playing a trap set, congas, and a variety of small, hand-held instruments) and a mix of keyboard synthesizers, bass, horns, guitars, and vocalists. This "big band" sound is especially well-suited for large public venues such as clubs. The music is funk-derived and incorporates elements of Afro-Cuban and jazz styles.⁴

Go-go dancing has the same basic structure as hip-hop social dancing — stepping and weight shift patterns overlaid with multi-rhythmic arm,

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⁴ My thanks to Michael Licht of the D.C. Commission on the Arts and Humanities for an overview of go-go activities in Washington, D.C. The Arts Commission regularly includes go-go in its cultural programming and currently co-sponsors (with the Malcolm X Cultural Education Center) a Go-go Hotline that lists local go-go events (202 543-GOGO). The Arts Commission has also published a pamphlet on go-go, "What's the Time?"



Kim, Tyrone, Brian, and Mike, members of the hip-hop dance group, the Nasty Boys, practice a synchronized routine. Photos by LeeEllen Friedland

head, and torso gestures — but it is adapted to the slower beat and distinctive go-go rhythms. Though go-go and hip-hop dancing both draw on the same fundamental African American movement repertoire, go-go dancing has its distinctive patterns and frequently uses mimicry like that in movement play and exhibition dancing to generate new dances. Though go-go is very popular with teenagers in Washington's Black community, it has generally coexisted with hip-hop rather than replaced it altogether. Teenagers' interest in go-go appears to fade as they near their twenties and return to the artistic frame of hip-hop.

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Hip-Hop Dance

Anthony Hovington

Hip-hop culture sprang from the hearts of young African Americans and Latinos as a way to express themselves in the inner cities of New York. Beginning around 1973, it became a powerful influence on popular culture across the globe.

To put the dancing being done today in perspective, I interviewed members of the Rock Steady Crew, one of the first b-boy crews to emerge with hip-hop. The term “b-boy” was coined by DJ Kool Herc. It means break-boy. The dance was done to the “break” of the record, the funkier part, the part that was mostly a hard-driving beat. An example of a “break” would be a drum solo in a James Brown record. The Rock Steady Crew still performs and aspires to make hip-hop dancing an accepted art form, like ballet and tap dancing.

“Crazy Legs,” of the Rock Steady Crew in New York, said that hip-hop dancing started as a way out of violence. It kept young people out of trouble. Due to the influence of hip-hop, gang members began to settle their differences by dancing rather than fighting.

Opinions vary on the importance of names in hip-hop dancing. Pee-Wee Dance of the Rock Steady Crew says the crew is named that because “we steady be rockin.” Crazy Legs got his name because he is quite bowlegged and does some unique things with those legs. Pee-Wee Dance is named for his diminutive stature. Also, he is 32 years old, so he is called “the dance that won’t die.”

Some dancers name their moves as well. Break dancing gave us the “continuous backspin,” “windmill,” and the “whirl.” Crazy Legs invented the continuous backspin while Pee-Wee Dance invented the whirl. The continuous backspin was a method of using one’s legs to continue spinning when the dancer would otherwise have come to a stop. Pee-Wee Dance describes the whirl as a move where he spins while low to

the ground, comes back up to his feet, and then lowers himself again while maintaining his spin. Although there is structure to their routines, many times the best performances are the ones that happen instantaneously in a moment of creativity.

There is a tradition involved with hip-hop dancing. Older generations continuously pass on what they’ve learned to younger generations. Almost all the dancers agreed that they learned to dance by going to parties or by getting together with peers when they were younger. Little kids learn by watching their elders dance then going home to practice. Pee-Wee Dance studies styles that are similar but came before, namely buck dancing and the Lindy Hop. He frequents the Schomburg Center in New York to research and to keep his mind focused on the tradition of hip-hop dancing. This style of dancing dates back to Africa because there is one common thread — the music. The music is percussive. It is based on the beat. African communities used the drum as a primary form of communication and modern-day dancers rely on the beat as well.

Hip-hop dancing needs to be nurtured and accepted by those within the communities that hip-hop comes from, places like New York, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Detroit, and Miami, that have large concentrations of African Americans. As inner city youth strive for something to call their own, hip-hop dancing is one way to provide them with the means to control their own energies and to display them at will. Therefore, hip-hop culture and its dances will continue to influence popular culture in the years to come.

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Iroquois Social Dances: A Life of Dance in the Dance of Life

Linley Logan

In traditional communities of the Iroquois, more properly the Haudenosaunee (People of the Longhouse), introduction to dance comes at an early age. Expectant mothers participating in dance introduce the developing infant to the rhythmic movements and melodies. As newborns and infants, children are passed among proud, dancing relatives, accustoming them to the feeling of dance and the lifelong socialization process one embraces through it. Strengthening community solidarity, social dances continue to provide an entertaining environment that binds people together in friendship, courtship, and social identity.

The world is sustained by a continuous renewal of cycles, a balance of life's positive and negative energies. The Ongweh-ohweh-kah (real people), as the Haudenosaunee refer to themselves in ceremony, understand this and the importance of paying tribute to it. Among the people of the Longhouse, ceremonial dances express respect in ritual for the positive energies of renewal in nature. Ceremonial prayer, song, and dance, reinforce each other's significance in the people's expression of gratitude for the life-sustaining gifts from the Creator. In the ceremonial Great Feather Dance, for example, young people are encouraged to dance real hard and young men are told to "yell out in happiness so the Creator will look down to see, hear, and know your joy." Social dance events, like ceremonial events, open with an address recognizing the life-sustaining gifts from the Creator. In both, the importance of all life forms in the natural world is acknowledged, starting with that closest to the Mother Earth and continuing on to that in the male realm of the sky.

Social dances, unlike ceremonials, are not confined behind the doors of Longhouse communities. They may fulfill their purpose of entertainment within a context of ceremonial activities but they may also be held as their own event,

and may even be done outside Iroquois communities, as at this year's Festival.

The Iroquois word for social dances — *guyno,so,ohn anndwadek,note,gawdoe* — literally means "a group of songs for entertainment purposes." Social dance events, or socials, are for everyone's participation within the community and always held in the evening to avoid interfering with the day's responsibilities. In addition to providing entertainment, socials may honor particular events, welcome guests, or raise funds to meet an emergency need. Social dances are sometimes presented outside of their communities and are a useful, educational, and entertaining way of presenting Iroquois culture.

The Longhouse is central to Iroquois culture. Originally developed as the structure for extended matriarchal clan family life among the Iroquois, the Longhouse was the place for all communal activities. At present the Longhouse continues to function in traditional communities as the center for activities such as socials, ceremonies, meetings, condolences, weddings, and funerals. The Longhouse is a humble environment. It has an entrance facing east welcoming the sun, and most Longhouses have separate entrances for men and women. Traditionally, families or clans sit together in the double row of benches along the walls. All Longhouses are heated by woodstoves, and the fire plays an integral role in the observances that are part of the dance. The singers who provide music for the dances usually sit at the center or heart of the activities.

All Iroquois communities have socials even though not all communities have Longhouses. In

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Sheri Waterman, Cecilia Skye, Alan Shennandoah, and Brad Bonaparte dance *Shake the Bush*. Photo by Karen Furth, courtesy National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution

cities where large Native American urban populations are centered, there are only a few criteria for choosing space, and even church basements have been used in some instances.

There is a definite structure to social dance activities. One man, usually a Faithkeeper — the member of a group chosen by clan Mothers that also includes women — assumes the responsibility to direct the evening's events by conferring with the elders present. Each time a dance is decided on, the singers are told first, then individuals are chosen to lead, and finally, a speaker is informed, who addresses the audience in our language, explaining what will take place. The first dance at a social is the Standing Quiver Dance, which is a call-and-response song and shuffle dance that male singers begin by circling the fire (i.e., the woodstove). Its title comes from a former men's practice at social gatherings of sticking their quivers in the ground, with arrow tips down, forming a cone shape; they would then dance around them.

There are approximately 20 dances in the social dance repertoire of the Haudenosaunee. All are done counterclockwise in a circle, about half in single file, half in partners. About a third of the dances are named for animals and grow from respect the Haudenosaunee have for the

gifts of life the natural world freely shares to insure balance and coexistence. Some dances mimic animal movements — the Robin, Raccoon, Duck, Pigeon, Rabbit, Snake, and Alligator dances.

In partner dances that are Iroquois in origin men and women do not touch, although they may do so in dances in the repertoire from non-Iroquois sources. Traditional Iroquois social dances with partners include the Fish, Moccasin, Raccoon, Pigeon, and Shake the Bush dances. Men almost always begin dances. When women join in the dance line, they file into it in alternate spaces from the head of the line to the end. When partners are required, they are never pre-selected, as women fill their dance line from the head to the rear. When partners form double lines, the male is always positioned to the outside of the circle. Theoretically this represents the male role in protecting the community. When partners switch or rotate positions, the male traditionally circles the female partner, allowing her to remain in the true line of dance.

The Haudenosaunee, a matriarchal society, recognize women's power and sustaining role in the cycles of life, and dedicate dances specifically to them. The ceremonial Women's Dance expresses reverence for "the three sisters" (corn,

beans, and squash) in a procession called "Givers of Life." Women's social dance, the Women's Shuffle, done to a different set of songs, expresses gratitude for the fertility of Mother Earth through furrowing, massaging movements.

The cycles of life and renewal are embraced in the Corn, Robin, and Pigeon dances. Corn is an essential fact of Iroquois life and its dance is performed in a double line that symbolizes planted rows. The Pigeon Dance, done in remembrance of the passenger pigeon, recalls imbalance, loss of life, and the importance of recognizing and acknowledging the cycles of life.

Approximately a third of the Iroquois social dance repertoire results from a willingness to share with other cultures. The Alligator, Friendship, Rabbit, Round, Snake, and the Delaware Skin dances are not of Iroquois origin. The Rabbit Dance, acquired from Western cultural groups, is a partner's choice dance in which women can choose a male partner. Partners hold hands, with the male on the inside of the circle. Other adopted dances that differ from traditional Iroquois norms include the Alligator Dance, borrowed from the Seminoles and Miccasukees from the far Southeast, in which, in a manner similar to the Rabbit Dance, partners lock arms and proceed with the male in the interior of the circle.

The instruments that accompany social dance songs are the water drum played by the lead singer and cow horn rattles played by the back-up singers. The water drum is hollowed out, traditionally, but not always, from a single piece of wood approximately five to seven inches in diameter. Individuals have been known to make them with small, manufactured wooden casks or PVC plumbing pipe. The hollow vessel is covered with a stretched piece of leather, which is secured with a cloth- or leather-wrapped hoop of ash wood. Water is poured into the hollow body, and the drum is set upside down, allowing the leather to soak. The wet leather is then stretched tighter to produce the proper resonance. Water brings the drum to life.

Rattles used for instrumental accompaniment originally were made of elm bark, but European contact and introduction of the cow has led to rattles made of cow horn. The rattle's sound comes from lead shot, beebees, beads, or any combination of these placed inside.

Ceremonial instruments differ from their social counterparts in use, material, size, and ownership. The ceremonial rattles, depending on their application, are made from squash,

gourds, or snapping turtle shells. Ceremonial drums are larger than those used for social dances. Ceremonial instruments are never used for other purposes, and in 1974 the Onondaga Council of Chiefs of the Iroquois Confederacy passed a resolution forbidding the sale of religious objects, expressly including ceremonial rattles.

Protecting cultural interests for the security of the Seventh generation (seven generations into the future), is integral to cultural identity. Through joyous movement, dance expresses the strength and pride in identity that emanate from a relationship of respectful coexistence with the natural world. Children are encouraged to experience the joy in dance at an early age, as our elders, watching our children learning to dance, become proudly encouraged about the future of the Seventh generation.

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“Circle up Four on the Old Dance Floor”: Old-Time Dancing in Chilhowie, Virginia

Susan Eike Spalding

A circle of 50 or more smiling dancers completely rings the dance floor, holding hands. At the first notes of the fiddle, they begin a resilient bounce downward in time with the music, and some dancers clog, setting up a group rhythm that can be seen, heard, and felt. The caller says, “All join hands and circle to your left,” and the old-time square dance begins at the congenial Chilhowie Lions’ Club in southwest Virginia as it always does on Friday nights. At the caller’s commands, the dancers weave patterns that involve the whole group, as they drop back to change partners or take hands in a “right hand chain” — right hand to the partner, left hand to the next person all the way around the circle. When the caller says “circle up four,” the dancers form sets of two couples each on the periphery of the circle. They make designs together by taking hands, going under each other’s arms, or changing places, all at the caller’s command. They circle up four again and again, each time making new designs, until the caller finally directs them into several concluding patterns that involve everyone, as individuals and couples travel in lines down the dance floor and join with friends to build a community by ones, twos, and fours. Throughout, the sounds of dancing feet keep time with the bluegrass, country, or old-time music played by the band.

Old-Time Dancing History

Old-time square dancing probably has its roots in several kinds of dance: English country

dancing, Scottish and Irish reels, African ring plays, and Native American social dances. Some believe that from country dancing came “sets” or coordinated group patterns; from reels came couples traveling in paths around each other in groups of four; from ring dances came the circle which begins and often ends the old-time square dance. From all the above-mentioned traditions came the expressive individual footwork known variously as flatfooting, clogging, or buck dancing. Along the way, old-time square dancing has taken in elements of the popular dances of the times, such as African American Charleston steps and rhyming calls of western club square dance figures. In this century, old-time dancing has been a regular recreation for European Americans, African Americans, and Native Americans in the central Appalachian region. It has evolved to its present form over a period of 300 years of interaction among these groups.

Each area has its own characteristic style, and people from one region can tell where another dancer comes from by the way he or she dances. North Carolina, Kentucky, and Virginia dancers have distinct movement styles and incorporate different elements in their square dances. Even within southwest Virginia, each area has its own particular qualities. The stylistic choices made by dancers over generations have been influenced by a variety of factors, including politics, economics, and patterns of migration. For example, old-time dancers in the coalfields region have chosen to include many African-American elements in their dance because of their historical experience. During the first third of the 20th century many African American southerners were brought in to work in the mines, and interethnic solidarity was forged by oppressive living and working conditions. In common dance halls provided by the coal companies people of both groups could see each other’s dancing and trade ideas. As a result, the

Susan Spalding, a Certified Movement Analyst and member of the board of directors of the Congress on Research in Dance, recently completed her Doctorate in Dance at Temple University. She has co-edited a book of papers from two conferences she coordinated, entitled Communities in Motion: Dance, Tradition and Community. Her video documentary Step Back Cindy: Old Time Dancing in Southwest Virginia appeared on PBS in 1991.

local dancing became more percussive, and more angular in appearance than the dancing of other areas such as the Blue Ridge.

In Chilhowie, dancing has been influenced in part by its location in the southern portion of "The Great Valley" of Virginia, east of the coalfields and west of the Blue Ridge Mountains. It stands on a major traffic corridor running from Pennsylvania to Tennessee which has continually brought new residents and new ideas to the Valley since pre-Columbian times. Valley residents have developed a love of variety, which is evident in the many different kinds of dances enjoyed in an evening, in the frequent changes within each square dance, in dancers' desire to learn and practice new steps, in the varieties of music used for old-time dancing, and in the several callers who share the microphone at Chilhowie. Every Friday night at the Lions' Club, along with old-time square dancing, dancers do clogging, in which each person improvises footwork in time with the music. Each evening also includes several waltz and two-step tunes and at least one mixer, such as a Paul Jones or a Broom Dance. In addition to gathering on Friday nights, many dancers attend one of the area's several other

old-time dance establishments on Saturday night and one or two nights during the week. Some get together on Mondays to practice new forms such as country-western line dancing or western club square dancing.

Even though they may be lifetime area residents whose parents danced, some dancers at the Chilhowie Lions' Club have learned only within the last 15 years due to the local renewal of interest in old-time dancing. Chilhowie resident Evelyn Sturgill theorizes that this cultural revitalization is part of a growth in regional self-esteem. "We have learned to appreciate all the things we were ashamed of. We get out our old quilts and things we used to make. We have had a revival of appreciation of our heritage."

Dancing has become the primary form of recreation for many Lions' Club dancers. As Gene and Jane Salyers responded when asked about other recreation, "I don't know what we *did* do before we danced!" Dancing is said to be a source of fellowship, and a community of dancers has developed as a result of seeing each other several times weekly at dances and lessons. Dancer and musician Bill McCall, remembering the unexpected condolences sent by dancers on



Two girls observe and learn clogging techniques from more experienced dancers in Chilhowie, Virginia.
Photo by French Sturgill

the death of his mother, says, "I think people are as congenial as they ever were. I think the reason we don't show it is because we don't visit [as we once did]. I think this [dancing] has sort of overcome some of that." Care is taken that everyone has an opportunity to dance. Caller Kirby Smith says, "If you don't have someone to dance with, come on your own. We'll make sure you get somebody."

Chilhowie's Old-Time Dancing: Form and Style

By the beginning of this century, old-time square dancing had reached its present form. Louise Widener, born in 1899, describes most of the figures danced today as having been done in country homes in her youth; a whole circle would break into small circles of four, and all the small circles would dance at the same time, "making puzzles" by holding hands and going under each other's arms.

Today, each square dance includes an initial circle left and right, swing, promenade, and a large group pattern such as right hand chain, followed by at least six different two couple patterns, and, finally, two to four large group patterns. Many people keep clogging steps going throughout, so that the group rhythm on which the dance depends is audible, and the downward pulse of the whole group on each beat is visible. At the direction of the caller everyone works together in pairs, in groups of four, and in the group as a whole to produce clear designs and synchronized dancing.

In the first half of this century, old-time dancing in the valley surrounding Chilhowie was primarily a rural, home-centered recreation. In some communities dances were held every night in different homes for two weeks around Christmas. In others they were held more or less weekly in homes year-round, as well as in conjunction with cooperative work parties, such as quiltings, corn shuckings, and barn raisings. A fiddle usually provided the music, sometimes accompanied by banjo, guitar, and bass. At home among friends, everyone could take part.

Today's old-time dancing, though it now occurs in public places, still inspires individual expression in the footwork and group coopera-

tion and teamwork in the many small and large patterns. Old-time dancing is still, above all, inclusive rather than exclusive, encouraging everyone to participate, and seasoned dancers are always ready to teach newcomers.

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Music in Metropolitan Washington

Phyllis M. May-Machunda

Washington, the capital city, has long been known for its official culture and public celebrations such as presidential inaugurations, Independence Day pageantry, military band concerts, state funerals, and embassy receptions. Yet it has another reality, one sometimes hidden behind official functions. Washington, the residential city, burgeons with cultures transplanted from beyond urban, state, and national boundaries as well as hybrid traditions newly rooted in an urban environment.

Metropolitan Washington, with over four million residents, is currently home to more than one million African Americans, 250,000 Hispanic Americans, nearly 250,000 Asian/Pacific Americans, and thousands of other peoples from around the world. Unique forces have shaped the cultural development of the distinct yet inter-

dependent residential communities located on the banks of the Potomac and Anacostia rivers. Evolving as a center designed to meet the needs of national politics and government, the city neither developed a culture based on a manufacturing economy nor drew a large European immigrant population as did New York and Baltimore. Instead, it developed a strong workforce geared to service and government. The metropolitan area has been enriched by a continual influx of people from the South and, more recently, immigrants from Central America, the Caribbean, Southeast Asia and the Horn of Africa. For thousands who have moved to the area, the city has been a focal point of ardent dreams, expanding hopes, and magnificent intentions. Viewing the city as an environment of distinctly American possibilities, people have flocked to Washington throughout its 200-year history, in search of refuge, a better life, and greater opportunities for freedom, education, power, respect, employment, and financial security. While some have

"Metro Music" has been made possible with the support of the recording industries Music Performance Trust Funds.



The D.C. Harmonizers sing at a Gospel program in Washington. The Harmonizers, founded in 1952, are one of nearly 80 gospel quartets active in the D.C. area. *Photo courtesy D.C. Commission on the Arts*

come with abundant wealth, others have brought little more than themselves, their values, and their traditions to sustain themselves in their transition to a new situation.

Music is among the most vital of these intangible traditional resources that help to support these Washingtonians. To understand the traditional musics of Washington, we may first look at the variety of communities that create and carry on these traditions.

Urban dwellers characteristically belong to multiple communities such as those based on occupational, religious, residential, social/recreational, familial, and ethnic affiliations. A member of a community may or may not share membership with the people who participate in the various areas of his or her daily life. For example, some Korean Americans in Washington may live, work, and socialize together, but many middle-class African Americans in Washington typically do not. The people with whom African Americans work may not be the same people who live in their neighborhoods or with whom they socialize on a regular basis.

Each community has developed particular institutions and networks of support facilitating social interaction and exchange of information. Some of these communities are defined by geographical boundaries, such as a neighborhood, and traditions may emerge out of that experience. Other communities may lack geographic definition but share common characteristics such as age, ethnicity, occupation, social interests, or even family relationship. The sharing of values, perspectives, and experience creates a basis for the existence and growth of tradition. Music provides a channel for the expression of community-based values.

In large cities such as Washington, traditional communities find economical and efficient ways to disseminate information about their activities. Washington has dozens of ethnic and neighborhood newspapers, bilingual and special interest radio and television programs, church bulletins, flyers, and multi-colored posters announcing upcoming community events not mentioned by mainstream media. Churches, neighborhood schools, restaurants, community centers, and local festivals are a few of the institutions that

support traditional performance. Such community institutions not only disseminate information about the traditions but also may offer a place to construct, rehearse, transmit, and present it as well.

Music is a central part of festive occasions and celebrations as well as an integral feature of everyday life. People mark what they feel is distinctive and valuable through the use of music, frequently accompanied by dance and ritual. For instance, various Asian communities of Washington have maintained some of the seasonal ceremonies of their homelands, such as Lao or Chinese New Year's celebrations. These elaborate and colorful ceremonial events incorporate music, costumes, parades, food, and dance and draw community members from the entire eastern seaboard.

Washington has long been a center of gospel music. Gospel music thrives in a variety of forms in this city, ranging from the harmonies of traditional quartet groups to the sounds of more contemporary soloists, ensembles, and choirs, some of which blend classical techniques with more traditional African American gospel music. African American churches have served as a primary conduit for the transmission of musical aesthetics, even for those who have studied music privately. Hundreds of churches support numerous choirs, smaller family groups, and other ensembles and soloists who provide their memberships with gospel music. They have offered sympathetic and nurturing performance environments for those who have directed their skills to the glorification of the Lord. Gospel music is central to a variety of community events in addition to regular services: for example, pastor, choir, and church anniversary celebrations, as well as funerals are filled with gospel music. Some churches regularly house rehearsals and sponsor concerts by community artists outside of their own membership. These activities and frequent performances at other churches in and out of the city provide opportunities for mutual exchanges of ideas, news, and repertoire.

Some of the newest and most intense secular musical performances in Washington arise from African American youth. Go-go, a dance music tradition born in this city, is usually performed by small bands. Layered rhythmic patterns are blended with call-and-response, percussive instrumental riffs, and quotations from familiar melodies, frequently overlaid with rap and accompanied by coordinated movement. Less complex in their multi-layered structures but

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THE MUSIC PERFORMANCE TRUST FUNDS

Each year since the 1970s, the Music Performance Trust Funds (MPTF) have generously supported musicians performing at the Festival of American Folklife.

The MPTF was founded in 1948. At that time new technology had made long-playing phonograph recordings possible. But sound recordings initially caused performers to lose employment and income, since people could listen to these recordings over and over again without payment to the musicians. Negotiations between the recording industry and the musicians' union established a pool of funds to compensate performers. The recording industry contributes money to MPTF from the sales of LP, cassette, and CD albums.

MPTF support of free, live, public performances like those at the Festival has many important benefits. The exposure that relatively little-

known musicians receive at these performances improves the chances that they will be offered recording contracts. When musicians already have recordings on the market, the performances stimulate increased sales. The events also help raise the level of understanding for a wider range of music and build greater audience appreciation for live performance.

To date, the MPTF has spent more than \$340 million on its projects. MPTF has enabled the Smithsonian to research and present rich talent at the Festival every year for two decades. It has been crucial in our ability to offer many relatively unknown musicians "equal time" with established career musicians. Many of today's well-known artists in fact had their first introduction to the commercial world when they played together with professional musicians on MPTF-funded projects.

related in their uses of rhythmic patterns, repetition, and call-and-response structures are several other forms that have dominated many of the expressive and competitive play energies of D.C.'s youth, including female activities such as cheering, double dutch (a form of jump roping incorporating multiple ropes), and collegiate performance genres such as stepping, a type of fraternal "cheer."

The urban environment offers special opportunities for cultural contact and exchange among a variety of communities and ethnic groups. One example is in the Adams Morgan and Mt. Pleasant neighborhoods, long recognized as the center of cultural activity in the city for Hispanic and African people from the U.S., Central and South American, the Caribbean, and Africa. The Hispanic population in this part of the city consists predominately of refugees from Guatemala and El Salvador, with smaller numbers from Mexico, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. Some groups, such as Cubans, arrived in more than one wave of migration, each from a different social class and carrying a different set of cultural traditions. Many of these communities celebrate select traditions particular to their own cultures. However, in other cases, where fewer community members can pass on specific traditions, many residents of Adams

Morgan have been forced to focus on other traditions similar to their own. This sharing of traditions has resulted in a synthesis or pan-ethnic style, celebrating a multicultural heritage. In this urban milieu Hispanic, Caribbean, and African musicians constantly create new urban performance forms by drawing fragments from known repertoires and styles and transforming them into new expressions through the use of new harmonies, updated texts, and changes in tempo, rhythmic configurations, or performance style. These traditional musicians often learn to play in a variety of musical styles from outside their own cultures in order to satisfy the tastes of their diverse audiences. The events for which they perform are rarely attended solely by their own ethnic communities. The musicians are able to switch musical styles as easily as others switch dialects within a language to communicate to their chosen audiences.

Music is ephemeral, yet enduring. It embodies the values and aesthetics of a culture through words and restructuring of sound. It is flexible enough to incorporate melodies or poetry hundreds of years old, yet able to address the most contemporary issues with relative ease. An integral part of living, traditional culture thrives in urban Washington, D.C., through music.



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Ganga: *Live from Berlin*. International Management.

Jackson, John. *Don't Let Your Deal Go Down*. Arhoolie 378.

The Johnson Mountain Boys. *Blue Diamond*. Rounder 0293.

Kouyate, Djimo. *West African Kora Music*. Music of the World T101.

Mulvihill, Brendan and Donna Long. *The Morning Dew*. Green Linnet 1128.

Oboade. *Kpanlogo Party*. Lyricord 7251.

Hasan Mohammed, originally from Ethiopia, performs at the Twins Restaurant in Washington. *Photo by Balsha Gebretsadik, courtesy D.C. Commission on the Arts*

Li Tian Xiong is a jinghu player with the Han Sheng Chinese Opera Institute. The troupe was founded in 1977 by David Lee to promote Peking Opera in the Washington area. *Photo by Wei-Ye Jia, courtesy D.C. Commission on the Arts.*



Kids' Stuff:

Children's Traditions of Play and Performance in Metropolitan D.C.

Diana Baird N'Diaye

Nowhere is the essence of childhood revealed more authentically than in play. A vivacious and expressive play culture is still created and shared by children within the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area despite TV, Nintendo, other toys and entertainment manufactured by adults, and in the face of ever more difficult realities of growing up in the city. The 1993 Smithsonian Festival of American Folklife highlights some of these traditions of children's play and performance. The Festival presents forms that invite participation by the whole group such as clapping games, ring plays, call-and-response singing, and double dutch. Also presented are genres, such as rhythmic bucket brigades, that are consciously created for an audience.

The program explores the ways children in each generation create, learn, and breathe renewed vitality into forms of play and expressive traditions and the ways they teach them to their peers and to younger friends and siblings. Children in metro D.C. accumulate extensive knowledge and master skills while engaged in creative play shaped by tradition on city streets, in suburban backyards, at recreation centers, at Saturday and Sunday schools organized by ethnic communities, and in school playgrounds.

Many people think of a tradition bearer as an elder who has accumulated knowledge and acquired expertise in a long lifetime of practice. But children's traditions are learned, performed, and passed on within a very short time span, among people who have yet to live two decades.

Curator of "Kids' Stuff," Diana Baird N'Diaye is an anthropologist on the staff of the Smithsonian Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies and the parent of two kids, Albouri, 14, and Mame N'Gone, 12, who have provided valuable expertise for this project. Ms. Baird N'Diaye continues to be involved in issues of educational outreach at the Smithsonian and educational reform in the metropolitan Washington area.

So it is somewhat paradoxical that many of the clapping games and songs featured in the program hark back many centuries, and even the relatively new play traditions presented have been invented during the past few generations. Forms of play are tenaciously long-lasting as each new generation claims ownership. In a painting completed in the 16th century, Dutch painter Pieter Bruegel (the Elder) documented a great variety of children's games played in his native city of Amsterdam. It is remarkable how many of the games that he depicted can be recognized on playgrounds in and around Washington, D.C. today.

In the Washington metro area, as elsewhere, local street play traditions are taught mainly by children to other children. Some remain local and specific to the communities in which they are created and performed. Others travel by word of mouth, observation, and imitation through neighborhoods and towns, across state and national borders, and sometimes even across continents. The demographics of the metro region guarantee a large and diverse children's culture.

The cultural composition of the city is reflected in the neighborhood traditions that children bring to the Festival. Some children are African American and have parents and grandparents who are long-term residents in the metro area or have migrated from states further south. Other children and their families hail from different parts of the Spanish-speaking Americas, while more recent immigrants from countries in Africa and Asia bring games from their homelands. European traditions in music and play songs, transmitted informally and through institutionalized play in nursery schools and kindergarten classrooms, can also be found at the Festival.

Longtime residents of the metro area lament the fragility of childhood and the increasingly dangerous turn of children's games. The nightly newscasts too often remind us that for many chil-

Members of the championship fifth grade double dutch team at Seaton Elementary School in the District of Columbia show some deft moves on Easter Monday's traditional African American family event at the National Zoo.

Photo by Diana Baird N'Diaye



dren growing up in the city, gun-play and pretend games of gangster have turned all too real with deadly consequences.

Children's culture has always reflected the circumstances of its creation, and those times and places have rarely been idyllic for many children. Rhymes and games such as "Ring Around a Rosey" that seem so innocuous today represent children's experience of the epidemics of bubonic plague that ravaged Europe. The words do not seem threatening because the situation they comment on is far away. Yet there *are* modern-day examples. In the 1950s the dangers of contracting polio may have been reflected in children's use of "cooties." And some scholars have pointed to the current children's game of booger tag or booger touch as reflecting anxiety over contracting AIDS. The tales told by contemporary city children may not always be palatable to adults but they both reflect and provide a way of dealing with the situations of real life. In this play of the imagination children seek control over the conditions they meet every day. In these forms they sometimes gain the powers of eloquent expression and cultural transcendence.

Kids' Stuff encourages participation and dialogue as well as demonstration and observation. You are invited, young and old, to join in this celebration of children's play and performance.

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City Play

Amanda Dargan & Steven Zeitlin

This essay is adapted from the authors' recent book City Play. Copyright © 1990 by Rutgers, The State University. Reprinted by permission of Rutgers University Press.

When John Jacob Rascob and his partners transformed the New York skyline by erecting the Empire State Building, they probably never considered that beneath the tower's express elevators the old Sunfish Creek had once formed a natural swimming hole; nor did they imagine that, across the East River in Queens, children would use the switching on of the building's lights to tell the time for coming in from play. Indeed, the architects of American cities did not design stoops for ballgames or sidewalks for jumping rope, and no one considered the hazard to kites when they put up telephone wires. Yet as a result of countless design decisions like these, a young person's experience of New York gradually changed — as streets were paved, buildings grew upward, cars pushed children from the streets, rowhouses filled once vacant lots, and the increasing density led to rooftop games and cellar clubs.

We begin with the idea that we can understand a place — in this case New York City — by exploring the traditional activities that give it meaning. These highly localized and repeated activities shape our experience of the city. Through play, harsh and imposing city objects often made of metal and concrete are imbued

with human values, associations, and memories. Play is one of the ways we develop a sense of neighborhood in a large city. Play is one of the ways a city street becomes “our block.”

Barging out of doors with play on their minds, city children confront stoops, hydrants, telephone poles, lampposts, cars, brick walls, concrete sidewalks, and asphalt streets. Children leaping from the doorways as He-Man and Sheera, or Captain Blood, Superman, or the Knights of the Round Table, have at their disposal an array of swords and shields, which to the uninitiated more closely resemble dented garbage can lids and discarded umbrellas. For the would-be circus performer or ballet dancer, the stoop provides the perfect stage. Those with ball in hand have manhole covers, cars, hydrants, and lampposts to define a playing field. Jumping off ledges, using discarded mattresses and box springs as trampolines, or riding bikes up ramps made from scrap wood, they enjoy the dizzying thrills of vertigo. Each kind of play — vertigo, mimicry, chance, physical skill, and strategy — has its own city settings and variants.

In the crowded, paved-over city, urban dwellers joyfully locate play by incorporating features of the urban landscape into their games; they transform the detritus of urban life into homemade playthings and costumes; and they exert control over their environment, creating and passionately defending private spaces.

In his essay “Fun in Games,” Erving Goffman speaks of play as “focused interaction,” in which rules of playful transformation tell players how the real world will be modified inside the encounter. With the outside world held at bay, players create a new world within. A kind of membrane forms around them. They often experience a sense of intimacy, the closeness of sharing a world apart.

Certain kinds of action outside the game such as an ambulance going by or a building

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Steven Zeitlin is the director and co-founder of City Lore, an organization dedicated to the preservation of New York City's living cultural heritage. He is the co-author of a number of books on American folk culture including A Celebration of American Family Folklore.



Girls perform "cheers" at the Marcy Projects in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn. *Photo by Steven Zeitlin, courtesy Queens Council on the Arts*

manager yelling out the window can cause the play scene to "flood out," bursting the membrane. When we think of playing fields, we think perhaps of diamonds, gridirons, courts, and playgrounds, but a playing field can in fact be anywhere. It is more akin to an energy field that repels forces outside its domain of interest and envelops the players with a force as powerful as their concentration.

Within play worlds, time has its own measures: "We played until it got too dark to see," many people told us. Children play while the last reflection of twilight in the sky still dimly silhouettes a flying ball; they will play while hunger is still possible to ignore. "The heat of day, the chill of rain, even the pangs of hunger," writes Barbara Biber, "are not sufficient to intrude on the absorption of a child at play." Play time is measured not according to minutes and hours but according to the rules and structures of play; time often goes by in a "split second," metered by the turning of a rope or the rhythm of a rhyme: "Doctor, doctor will I die? / Yes, my child, and so will I. / How many moments will I live? / One, two, three, four . . ."

In play, rules and boundaries are defined by the players themselves. This is first base — and so it is. This sidewalk square is jail, this broken antenna is a ray gun — and through the magic of play, they are. Transformation is the process of recasting the rules, the boundaries, the images, the characters of the real world within the boundaries of play. This is at the heart of play: taking a space or an object and devising a new use for it, thereby making it one's own.

As they transform the city for play, children manifest a remarkable imagination. A playful

order prevails. Hydrants, curbs, and cornices of the city become a gameboard. The castoffs of city living — bottle caps, broomsticks, and tin cans — become playing pieces. "The older kids," writes Sam Levenson, "taught the younger ones the arts and crafts of the street." Growing up in an East Harlem tenement, he recalls how

ashcan covers were converted into Roman shields, oatmeal boxes into telephones, combs covered with tissue paper into kazoos . . . a chicken gullet into Robin Hood's horn, candlesticks into trumpets, orange crates into store counters, peanuts into earrings, hatboxes into drums, clothespins into pistols, and lumps of sugar into dice.

Street toys are not "found objects"; they are searched for. A great deal of effort often goes into locating and shaping precisely the right object for play. In Bedford-Stuyvesant, for instance, prized caps for the sidewalk game of skelly were fashioned by filing a Moosehead Ale bottleneck on the curb to produce a glass ring smooth enough to glide along concrete. In Astoria, the best skelly pieces were the plastic caps on the feet of school desks.

Neighborhoods provide different raw materials. In Chinatown, mothers who work in the garment industry provide sought-after items. Jacks are often made from buttons — each "button jack" consisting of a set of five or six buttons sewn together. Children use rubberbands hooked together to create a "Chinese jump rope." The elastic is stretched between the feet of two girls while a third does cat's cradle-like



A boy plays with stilts in the Lower East Side of Manhattan, New York. Photo by Martha Cooper, *City Lore*

stunts with her legs. Sometimes, the ropes are fashioned from white elastic bands which mothers bring home from the factories.

"Play," writes Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "is an arena of choice in many contexts where life options are limited." In a crowded city with its contested arenas, the freedom to play is hardly regarded as a basic human right. In some parts of the city where space is uncontested, a child can mark the boundaries of a play space with a piece of chalk, and nothing more is needed; children can "frame" their play space with boundaries based on mutual agreement. More often, however, the task of establishing play spaces takes on a different character as young and old battle for autonomy and control. Perhaps the toughness sometimes perceived in city children may come from the human battles they fight to earn and maintain the right to playfully transform some autonomous space in the city. Through it all, children strive to gain control over their play worlds. As Alissa Duffy chanted as she and a friend jumped up and down on a dis-

carded refrigerator box, "We're just kids! I am five and he is three and we rule everything!"

The scholarly interest in children's folklore in the United States dates from the work of William Wells Newell, who helped to found the American Folklore Society in 1888. Like many of the scholars who documented children's games after him, Newell was primarily interested in traditional games and rhymes which had survived across generations of children. Collecting from both adults and children in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, Newell believed that the "quaint" rhymes of children were "survivals" and "relics" of ancient song and poetry.

Contemporary folklorists believe that children's rhymes and games are more interesting because of the way they comment on the present rather than the past. Nonetheless, through a century of collecting, scholars have emphasized traditional rhymes and games, transmitted through the generations in fixed phrases. The rhymes and games gathered in these works echo one another, and their texts affirm the conservatism of children, who pass on rhymes with small variations from one generation to the next. In New York, some of the rhymes have a distinctive urban flavor:

I won't go to Macy's any more,
more, more.
There's a big fat policeman at the door,
door, door.
He'll grab you by the collar and make
you pay a dollar.
I won't go to Macy's any more,
more, more.

I should worry, I should care,
I should marry a millionaire.
He should die, I should cry,
I should marry another guy.

Flat to rent, inquire within,
A lady got put out for drinking gin.
If she promises to drink no more
Here's the key to _____'s front door.

But though scholars and laypeople have a longstanding interest in the conservatism of traditional rhymes and games, improvisation has always played a major role in children's play. Bess Lomax Hawes writes about the "apparently paradoxical co-existence of rules and innovation within play." She observed children playing a game whose object was to step on all the sidewalk



A boy plays skelly in the neighborhood of Sunnyside in Queens, New York. Photo by Steven Zeitlin, courtesy Queens Council on the Arts

cracks, an exact inversion of another popular neighborhood game, “step on a crack, break your mother’s back.” She suggests that “only those cultural items which are susceptible to variation have much chance of survival.” Yet, though scholars have noted the improvisatory quality in children’s lore, this kind of play has rarely been thoroughly documented, nor has it received the kind of attention paid to traditional children’s games.

Our work emphasizes the improvisatory side of children’s lore; children may be jumping to the same rhymes, and playing the same games, but they are improvising with the materials, negotiating the rules, and imaginatively fitting them into various city spaces. After all, before a game can be played, the players must agree upon the rules; and in the city, figuring out the rules — deciding just how an abstract set of regulations will apply to this space at this moment — is as important as the game itself. Traditional games and rhymes are testaments to the conservatism of children; but the ways the games are actually played at any given moment, the ways they are adapted to particular urban settings, and the ways they are improvised upon reveals a creativity that is no less important to the legacy.

“Play as a medium of adventure infuses all aspects of city life,” notes Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.

As ‘poets of their own acts,’ players in the city occupy space temporarily: they seize the moment to play as the opportunity arises, inserting the game into the interstices of the city’s grid and schedule. . . . While lacking the kinds of insti-

tutions and spaces controlled by the powers that be, players transform the mundane into an adventure by means of a rope, a ball, a dance or a haircut in spaces occupied for the moment. Those adventures lead in many directions. . . .

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The Jerusalem Festival Project

Amy Horowitz

Once, I was sitting on the steps by a gate at David's Tower. I had placed my two heavy baskets at my side. A group of tourists was standing around their guide and I became their target marker.

"You see that man with the baskets? Just to the right of his head there's an arch from the Roman period — just to the right of his head!"

"But he's moving, he's moving," I said to myself. Redemption will only come when their guide tells them, "You see that arch from the Roman period? It's not important. But next to it, to the left and down a bit, there sits a man who's bought fruit and vegetables for his family."

Yehuda Amichai, 1987

I wonder, Leah, what would it take for two women ripened by age, experience, and heartache to build a bridge of peace rather than a fortress of war?

I do not stretch out my hand to you in strength. This kind of strength means victory at war and I do not wish for any more wars for either of us. Nor do I stretch it out in weakness, for weakness is succumbing to the status quo and I won't accept that. Let us both stretch out our hands in equality and acknowledge each other's humanity and rights.

I ask you to please extend a special salute to the Via Dolorosa in Jerusalem, The Street of Sorrow. It is a road that you and I have been traveling for a long time.

Can we take fate into our own hands and say, "Enough!"

What will it really take?

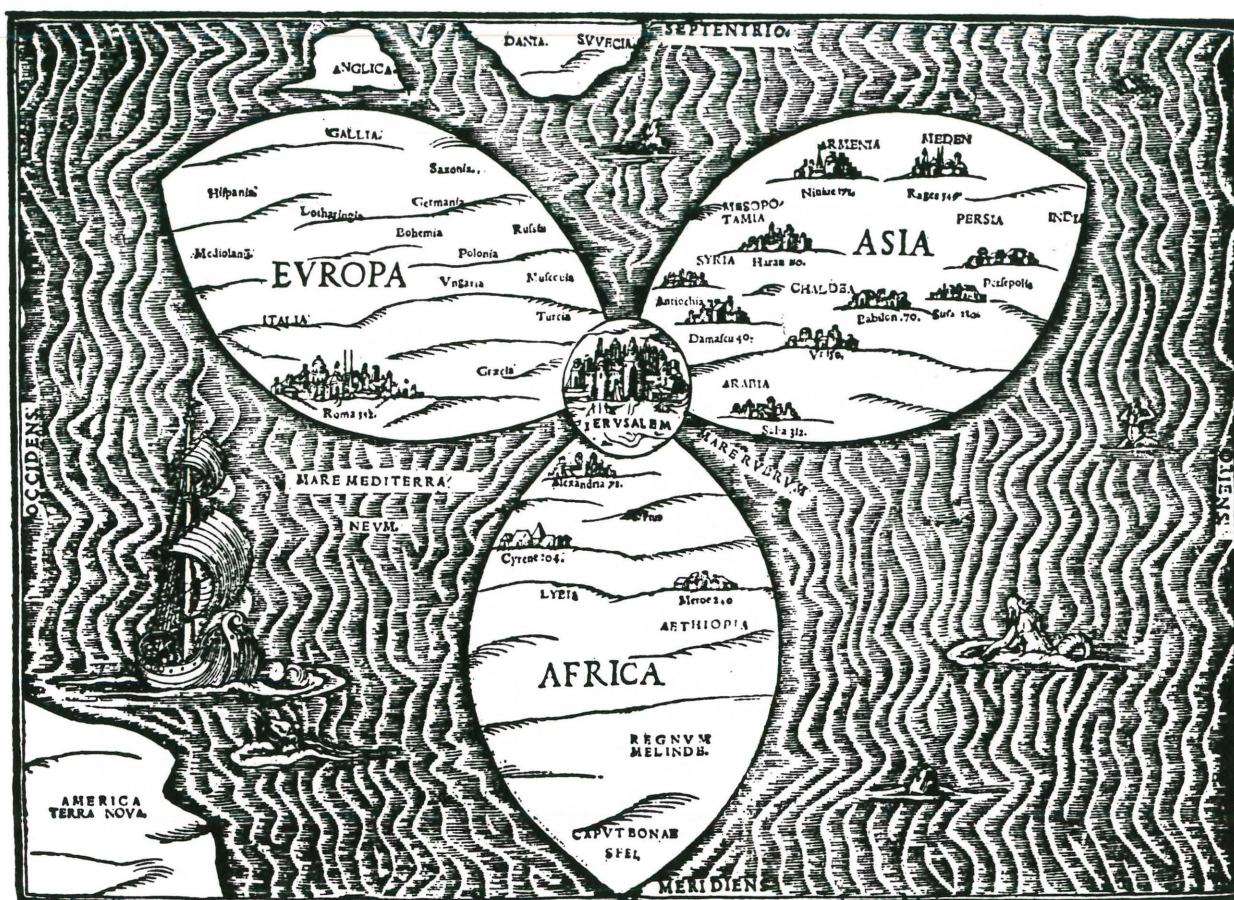
Hala Deeb Jabbour, 1986

For reasons that Mr. Amichai and Ms. Jabbour's words make clear, the Jerusalem Festival project — begun in the summer of 1992 by the Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies to produce a living exhibition at the Festival of American Folklife — has a complicated and difficult task. Its goal is to document and present the cultural expression of the people who live in this ancient city. And accomplishing this means resisting the magnetic pull of the historic sites and addressing the realities of the people themselves who dwell in Jerusalem in 1993. In the August heat, they pause to reflect and catch their breath in a city that has captured imaginations for millennia.

Like many urban centers, Jerusalem is a city of cities. Israelis, mainly Jews, live in West Jerusalem. Palestinians, with a Sunni Muslim majority and a sizable Christian minority, live in East Jerusalem. There are exceptions to these generalities, and as politics constantly reshape the socio-geographical landscape, lives are profoundly affected. You become aware of unmarked cleavages in the city by the color of the municipal buses, by the languages spoken on the street and written on signs, by the clothes people wear, and by the music spilling out of car radios. The boundaries between Jewish and Arab Jerusalem are never really forgotten in the course of daily life.

Over 40 Jewish ethnic groups live in West Jerusalem; in East Jerusalem Muslims live together with Christian neighbors belonging to some of more than 15 Orthodox and Western churches represented throughout the city. In both East and West Jerusalem, residents with roots in Asia,

Field research for the Jerusalem Festival project has been made possible by the generous support of the Nathan Cummings Foundation, Ruth Mott Foundation, Microsoft Corporation, and David Schoenbach.



In this map (1580), the world is seen as a clover leaf, and Jerusalem is its center, surrounded by Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Africa, Europe, and America interact with people who can trace their roots for generations in this city.

Who are the women, men, and children of Jerusalem? How do they earn the money it takes to rent an apartment, buy winter olives, and pay taxes? How do they stitch together the traditions that they learned from their parents with the demands and tensions of contemporary life in Jerusalem? How do they hand this cultural legacy over to their children?

Each Jerusalemite has his or her own reasons for living in the city. For some, it is where their forbears have always lived; for others where their forbears have always prayed to live. Still others

came because of a job, a spouse, a college education. For those arriving from war and oppression elsewhere Jerusalem is a refuge, for those unable to return she is a longing.

The Jerusalem Festival project has asked these people to share their knowledge with us and with the American people. In response they invited us into their homes and taught us about the way they live their lives, the problems they face, the traditions they teach their children, the songs they sing, the fabrics they embroider, the stories they heard from their grandparents, the prayers they know by heart, the foods they eat, the jobs they do, the jokes they tell, the rituals that accompany birth, adulthood, and death.

In July of 1992, two parallel research teams, one Israeli and one Palestinian, agreed to participate with our Center in a research project directed by Dr. Galit Hasan Rokem, a folklorist from Hebrew University, and Dr. Suad Amiry, an architect from Bir Zeit University. Together we designed a plan by which 40 Palestinian and Israeli scholars, students, and community members would help us explore the diversity of cultur-

Amy Horowitz is Curator of the Jerusalem Festival project at the Center for Folklife Programs and Cultural Studies at the Smithsonian Institution. She holds an M.A. in Jewish Studies from New York University and is a doctoral candidate at the Department of Folklore at the University of Pennsylvania. She has been Artist Representative for the African American acapella group, Sweet Honey In The Rock for 16 years.



Local community members and scholars jointly carried out research for the Jerusalem Festival project. Serene Hleleh interviews a Palestinian oud player, Abu Ghram at his home. *Photo by Yacub Arefheh*

al life in Jerusalem with an eye to presenting a selection of the findings at the Festival of American Folklife.

The two research teams worked over the past year on different terrains and under different conditions to discover and document their contemporary cultural traditions. Like any road to Jerusalem, their journeys were filled with unexpected twists and turns and constant negotiations to overcome obstacles. These scholars dug beneath the CNN soundbites and their own preconceived notions. They confronted their own feelings about their ancient heritages and uncertain futures as they walked between sunbaked stones. They recorded tales and memories of local residents colored by time and by re-telling across generations and continents. They gathered accounts of pilgrims who made the journey to Jewish, Christian, and Moslem holy places for thousands of years, and they documented present-day tourists who walk those paths today. They examined cultural aspects of headlines, punch lines, demonstration lines, and bus lines. They looked at holidays, soccer games, and the sounds of sellers in the market. They recorded

calls to prayer and the calls to action.

As we listened we began to understand something about how people try to live ordinary lives under extraordinary conditions. Daily existence in Jerusalem is framed by war and conflict, heroic devotion and unquestioning conviction, checkpoints and strikes, and the relentless cameras, expectations, assumptions, and interruptions of outsiders who claim to have the answers to support their version of the truth about Jerusalem.

The aesthetic cultural expressions that emerge in contemporary Jerusalem are as complexly layered as those of any heterogeneous urban environment in which people create an artistic dialogue between traditional repertoires. Unlikely combinations of aesthetics and cultural ideas are brought together by modern technologies like cassettes, faxes, 747's, and microwaves. The result is folklore in motion; Hebrew prayers vocalized in Greek and Turkish melodies change to Quranic recitations amplified in Arabic from local minarets and then again to Armenian folk poetry sung to a western rock beat. The result is contact culture; French croissants laced with a local herb called *zatar*, Eastern European gefilte



School girls stop for a moment from play in the Nachlaot neighborhood. West Jerusalem is made up of over 40 Jewish ethnic groups including communities from Asia, Africa, Europe, and the Americas. Photo by Amy Horowitz

fish served next to Middle Eastern dumplings called *kubbeh*.

Cultural expression in Jerusalem is often a discourse of conflict: jokes about the Hebrew or Arabic dialects spoken by various ethnic or urban groups, songs about the 1967 war as a victory and about the same war as the beginning of occupation. Kurdish Jews in Jerusalem sing ballads to their old friends in Iraq. Palestinian Christians combine lyrics about Christ and the *intifada* in Palm Sunday hymns.

The Jerusalem Festival project searched amidst the monuments and ancient inscriptions for the human beings inhabiting the city today. In our research, we tried to guard against developing a romantic picture of ancient stone and olive tree that omits the daily conflicts, television antennas, laundry lines, and soda bottles sharing the landscape with holy sites. We encouraged ourselves to record the scene complete with laundry flapping and women scrubbing walkways clean of relentless Jerusalem dust. We also tried to avoid romanticizing our approach, our scholarly clarity, and our own attempts at deconstruction lest our cultural vocabulary be taken as a new icon or an authority in itself. Ours is to be *a* picture, not *the* picture.

Cultural Sketches from a Work in Progress

Zalatimo's small pastry shop is a renowned landmark in Jerusalem's Old City for local Palestinians and Arabs throughout the Middle East. The store is tucked slightly back from one of the main streets, Bab Khan Ezzeit, crowded with every kind of small market shop. As we duck into the shop we can hear the bells chiming nearby in the Holy Sepulchre.

Zalatimo is bending over little balls of dough which he swiftly rolls out into circles. He pauses and welcomes us in Arabic, *Salam Aleikum*, (peace be with you). Then he tosses the dough in the air, stretches and lays it out, and fills it with nuts. In an instant the pastry is ready to be baked in the old stone oven.

Zalatimo's father, Daoud Zalatimo, came to Jerusalem from Beirut in 1860 and opened up a family business. Today, his sons and grandsons help him prepare the traditional pastry called *mutabak*. The family tradition is so renowned that people often say "let's go to the Old City and have a Zalatimo."

Zalatimo works almost without pause. Soon trays of pastry sit cooling in the back room



It takes Bashir more than a month to complete a window. He carves designs manually using hand tools and occasionally an electric drill, carefully slanting the angle to allow light to pass through. *Photo by Joan Wolbier*

between ancient pillars that have stood there since the Roman period.

In 1917 ten Armenian craftsmen were brought from Turkey to Jerusalem to help restore the ceramic tiles in the Dome of the Rock. Armenians were enduring persecution and Stefan and Berge Karkashian's father was chosen and took refuge in the Armenian Quarter of the Old City. In Jerusalem, they established a thriving ceramic industry and became integrated into the cultural life of the Palestinian community.

Today pottery adorned with exquisite regional designs — symmetrical Islamic patterns, floral arabesques, and Armenian Christian and Persian themes — is displayed in their shop on Via Dolorosa along with plaques designed by Palestinian artist Kamal Boulatta and others inscribed with Jewish prayers and astrological signs. All the painted brush work is hand done by Palestinian women each with a special style. Their artistry helps to make this pottery unique amongst the crafts of the Old City. Stefan says that he feels his father's shadow and memory behind each ceramic piece in the shop.

We find Bashir Musa Al Muaswis, the only local craftsman of plaster-carved stained-glass windows, intensely focused in his studio in the Haram (the Muslim Holy Shrine which includes the Dome of the Rock and Al Aqsa Mosque). Working in a tradition practiced in the Muslim world since the 12th century, he is helping to restore the stained-glass windows of these holy monuments. The windows create a diffused and spiritual light that reflects on the richly colored 7th century floral mosaic inside the Mosque. These designs decorate the interior space since human and animal imagery is forbidden by the traditions of Islam. The task of carving the plaster is painstakingly slow. The angle of the cut has to be just right in order to catch the light correctly.

Today, the month-long Muslim celebration of Ramadan is drawing to a close. In the ninth month of the Islamic calendar, Muslims fast during the daylight hours to commemorate the divine gifts of the Quran and the Prophet Muhammad. Soon Musa will join with thousands of neighbors as the Haram fills with daily prayers.

Musa learned this craft from a family friend,

Workers prepare the traditional challah dough on Thursday at Motti Lendner's bakery in Beit Yisrael. Photo by Pete Reiniger



Dawoud Abdeen, who had carved some of the earlier plaster windows at Al Aqsa Mosque. When the Mosque was damaged by arson fire in 1969, the Waqf (Muslim Endowment) searched for artisans who could assist in the restoration. They located Abdeen when they noticed that he had signed his name in 1920 on one of the windows that had been burned in the fire. By now an old man, he asked Musa's father for assistance. Musa, then a young boy, accompanied his father and soon began helping out. He tells us that he "stole the secrets of the craft with his eyes."

Yiddish speech and Hasidic dress dominate the narrow streets in Beit Israel, the neighborhood where Motti Lendner's grandfather, having arrived from Rumania, started a bakery at the turn of the century. Motti, a third generation baker, says that today the Orthodox Jewish residents come on Thursday afternoons to buy the challah that is his trademark. In his rolled up shirtsleeves he labors every day alongside his workers. His bakery produces only specially braided challah bread eaten as part of the Friday night Sabbath ritual. Motti explains that there

are secrets to braiding the dough, special touches that insure that the loaves will be *knackedig* (Yiddish for crispy), making a cracking noise when you bite into it.

Motti and the other bakers talk with us amidst mounds of dough: "The verse in Genesis: 'thou shalt earn your bread with your own sweat' is said exactly about this bakery," Motti declares. "This is truly hard work . . . the neighbors here pray for my health and hope I'll keep their supply of challahs until the Messiah will come."

Shmuel Shmueli is a Jewish healer who was born in Jerusalem. For generations his family passed down the mystical wisdom of Kabbalah (a tradition that originated in the Middle Ages). Shmueli draws on this spiritual knowledge when he prays at the *Kotel* (the "Western" or "Wailing Wall"), the most sacred of Jewish sites, and leads special pilgrimages to the tombs of holy sages. And he incorporates his family's healing and mystical traditions when he builds and decorates his *sukkah*, a festive booth where people gather every autumn to celebrate the holiday of Sukkot (Festival of the Tabernacles). According to one

Kabbalistic belief, *Ushpizin*, guests seated in the sukkah are joined by Biblical patriarchs who each represent a different quality of the divine spirit. A special chair and candle are placed in their honor.

Shmueli decorates his sukkah walls with special blessings and pictures of sages from different generations. The picture of his own spiritual leader, the Rav Sharabi, hangs next to the medieval philosopher and physician Maimonides, whose medicinal system he uses in his own healing work.

Thousands of Kurdish Jews came to Jerusalem in 1951 after living for generations in Kurdistan. Their journey to Jerusalem was one of greater cultural distance than aeronautic miles. At home they kept their ancient traditions of praying in Aramaic, cooking Kurdish foods, and observing special rituals like *Saharana* — a celebration of the Torah. At the same time they raised their children as Hebrew-speaking Israelis.

In the 1970s an ethnic revival movement inspired some of the old-timers to formalize their weekly song and dance get-togethers into an ensemble called Sheva Ahayot. Yaacov Yaakov, a community leader, explains:

The 1950s were years of cultural denial and great shame. We took off our famil-

iar garb and tried to say “I am not Kurdi!” But there were those who wept secretly. Then a few began somewhat embarrassedly to dance the old Kurdish dances again.

Their repertoire is sung in Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic and accompanied by the *zorneh*, a traditional double reed instrument with a piercing and captivating voice. Group member Miriam Yehoshua is out of breath after the last song:

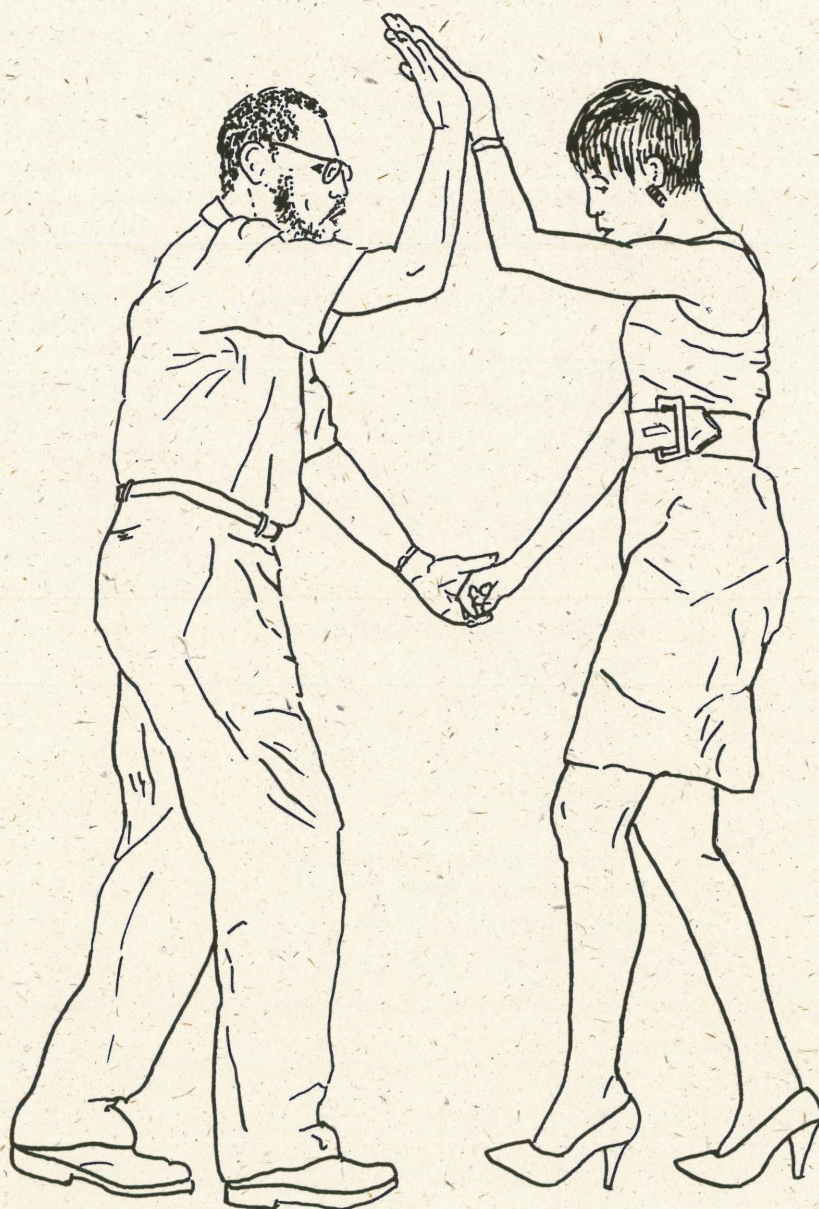
Only we the elders who came from Kurdistan know what to dance when the *zorneh* plays. If they ask me how, I’ll say the same way you understand Tchaikovsky, my feet understand the *zorneh*.

When people weave art and food, song and prayer in a conflicted city their expressions are loomed on the intricate and tense realities of their daily lives, the weight of history and the longing for a more secure future. The cultural creations of Jerusalem’s people present a precious opening through which to see and appreciate the human faces of this enigmatic city. We hope to provide future Festival goers with a unique opportunity to enter this doorway and listen and talk to Jerusalemites on the National Mall in Washington.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

1993 Festival of American Folklife

July 1 – July 5



General Information

Festival Hours

Opening ceremonies for the Festival will be held on the Main Dance Stage in the American Social Dance area at 11:00 a.m., Thursday, July 1st. Thereafter, Festival hours will be 11:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m. daily, with dance parties every evening from 5:30 to 7:00 p.m., and evening concerts from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m.

Sales

Traditional food from the U.S.-Mexico border region, ethnic Indian food from metropolitan D.C., and southern African American barbecue will be sold. See the site map for locations.

A variety of crafts, books, and Smithsonian/Folkways recordings relating to the 1993 Festival will be sold in the Museum Shop area on the Festival site.

Press

Visiting members of the press should register at the Festival Press tent on the Mall near Madison Drive and 12th Street.

First Aid

A first aid station will be available near the Administration area on the Mall. The Health Units in the Museums of American History and Natural History are open from 10:00 a.m. to 5:30 p.m.

Restrooms/Telephones

There are outdoor facilities for the public and visitors with disabilities located near all of the program areas on the Mall. Additional restroom facilities are available in each of the museum buildings during visiting hours.

Public telephones are available on the site, opposite the Museums of American History and Natural History, and inside the museums.

Lost and Found/Lost Children and Parents

Lost items may be turned in or retrieved at the Volunteer tent in the Administration area. Lost family members may be claimed at the Volunteer tent also. We advise putting a name tag on youngsters.

Metro Stations

Metro trains will be running every day of the Festival. The Festival site is easily accessible to the Smithsonian and Federal Triangle stations on the Blue and Orange lines.

Evening Dance Parties and Concerts

Traditional dance music is played every evening, 5:30-7:00 p.m., at the Main Dance Stage in the American Social Dance area. Come dance.

An evening concert featuring groups from the Metro Music program will follow the dance party from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m.

Services for Visitors with Disabilities

To make the Festival more accessible to visitors who are deaf or hard of hearing, an audio loop is installed in the American Social Dance tent. Four sign language interpreters are on site every day at the Festival. Check the printed schedule and signs for interpreted programs. Oral interpreters are available for individuals if a request is made three full days in advance. Call (202) 786-2414 (TTY) or (202) 786-2942 (voice).

Large-print copies of the daily schedule and audiocassette versions of the program book and schedule are available at Festival information kiosks and the Volunteer tent.

Wheelchairs are available at the Festival Volunteer tent. Volunteers are on call to assist wheelchair users and to guide visitors with visual impairments. There are a few designated parking spaces for visitors with disabilities along both Mall drives. These spaces have three hour time restrictions.

Información General

Horario del Festival

La ceremonia de apertura al Festival se celebrará en el escenario principal del Pabellón de Baile Social, el 1^{er}o de julio a las 11:00 a.m. A partir de ese día, las horas del Festival serán de 11:00 a.m. a 5:30 p.m. diariamente con fiestas bailables cada noche de 5:30 a 7:00 p.m. y conciertos de 7:00 a 9:00 p.m.

Ventas

Habrà comida típica de la frontera México-Estados Unidos, comida étnica de la comunidad India del area metropolitana de Washington, D.C., y barbacoa sud-africana americana a la venta. Consulte el mapa del Festival para localizar los puestos de comida.

Se podrá comprar una variedad de artesanías, libros, y discos relacionados con los programas del Festival de 1993 en la carpa designada Tienda del Museo, localizada en la Explanada Nacional.

Prensa

Los miembros de la prensa que visiten el Festival deberán inscribirse en la carpa destinada para la prensa en el Festival localizada en Madison Drive y la calle 12.

Primeros Auxilios

Una unidad de la Cruz Roja Americana se instalará en una carpa cerca del área de la Administración. Las unidades de salud en los museos de Historia Norteamericana y de Historia Natural estarán abiertos desde las 10:00 a.m. hasta las 5:30 p.m.

Servicios Higiénicos y Teléfonos

Habrà facilidades para uso del público y visitantes con impedimentos cerca de todas las áreas de los diferentes programas en la Explanada. Además, podrá utilizar los baños de los museos durante las horas de visita.

Teléfonos públicos se encuentran en la Explanada, enfrente de los museos de Historia Norteamericana y de Historia Natural, y adentro de los museos.

Personas y Objetos Extraviados

Las personas que esten extraviadas o que hayan extraviado a sus familiares, pueden pasar por el Puesto de Voluntarios, en el área de la Administración, para encontrarse con su grupo. Recomendamos que los niños lleven puestas tarjetas con sus nombres. Los objetos extraviados o encontrados podrán entregarse o reclamarse en el mismo puesto.

Estaciones del Metro

Los trenes del Metro estarán funcionando diariamente durante el Festival. Puede llegar a la Explanada Nacional fácilmente si toma el Metro hasta las estaciones Smithsonian o Federal Triangle en las líneas azul o naranja.

Actividades Bailables Nocturnas

Todas las noches habrá música bailable tradicional en el escenario principal del Pabellón de Baile Social desde las 5:30 hasta las 7:00 p.m. Lo invitamos a que venga a bailar.

Conjuntos del programa de Música Metropolitana continuarán con conciertos desde las 7:00 hasta las 9:00 p.m.

Servicios para Visitantes con Impedimentos

Para hacer el Festival más accesible a visitantes con impedimentos del oído, un recodo de amplificación de sonido será instalado dentro del Pabellón de Baile Social.

Todos los días se encontrarán en el lugar del Festival cuatro intérpretes dactilológicos. Consulte el horario y los letreros en cada área para ver su localización. Intérpretes verbales serán proveídos si son solicitados con una semana de anticipación. Por favor llame al (202) 786-2414 (TTY) o (202) 786-2942 (voz).

Para el beneficio de visitantes con impedimentos de la vista, copias del itinerario imprimidas en letra grande y grabaciones del programa estarán disponibles en los kioscos de información y en el Puesto de Voluntarios.

Sillas de ruedas y voluntarios estarán disponibles en el Puesto de Voluntarios para asistir a personas que usen silla de ruedas y para guiar a los visitantes que tienen impedimentos de la vista. Los visitantes con impedimentos podrán estacionarse en los espacios reservados para estos casos que estan localizados a ambos lados de la Explanada Nacional. Estos estacionamientos tienen un límite de uso de tres horas.

Participants in the 1993 Festival of American Folklife

U.S.-MEXICO BORDERLANDS

Tijuana, Baja California

Olga Lidia Cortés - Mixteca hat and basket maker

Guadalupe Isabel Flores de Estrada - Mixteca altar maker, cook

Juencio Extrada Maceda - Mixteco storyteller, oral historian, candlemaker

Gloria López López - Mixteca vendor, altar maker, cook

Elia Hilda Maceda Flores - Mixteca altar maker, cook

Ofelia Santos López - Mixteca vendor, oral historian, hat and basket maker, altar maker, cook, weaver

Francisco Paulino Sierra Cruz - Mixteco school teacher

Cathedral City, California

Carmen Moreno - guitarist, singer

Santa Catarina, Baja California

Benito Peralta González - Pai Pai storyteller, oral historian

Tecate, Baja California

José Luis Lee Sandoval - furniture maker

Mexicali, Baja California

Taller Universitario de Teatro

Angel Norzagaray Norzagaray

Heriberto Norzagaray Norzagaray

Loreto Ramón Tamayo Rosas

Alejandra Riaseco de la Peña

Andrés García Moreno

Pedro Gabriel González Castro

San Simon Village, Arizona

Tohono O'odham String Band

Blaine W. Juan - violin, dancer

Joseph Alonzo Garcia - violin, dancer

Frank N. Pedro - guitar

Victor Augustine Garcia - violin

Nacho J. Feleys - snare drum

Mike L. Francisco - bass drum, dancer

Lupe Lopez - Tohono O'odham basket maker

Marie Leon - Tohono O'odham basket maker

Nogales, Sonora

María Gloria Moroyoqui de Roques - Yaqui cook, piñata and flower maker, herbalist

Imuris, Sonora

Anastasio León - birdcage and frame maker

Francisco Silva - birdcage and frame maker

Magdalena, Sonora

Felipe de Jesús Valenzuela - regional historian

Tumacácori, Arizona

María Rodríguez - tortilla maker, flower maker, cook

Tucson, Arizona

Reynaldo B. Hernandez - INS border patrol, storyteller

Arturo Carrillo Strong - author, oral historian

Los Hermanos Cuatro - Yaqui Norteño Band

Jesús Juan Yucupicio - electric bass

Albert M. Yucupicio - accordion

Angel M. Yucupicio - drums

Peter S. Yucupicio - *bajo sexto*

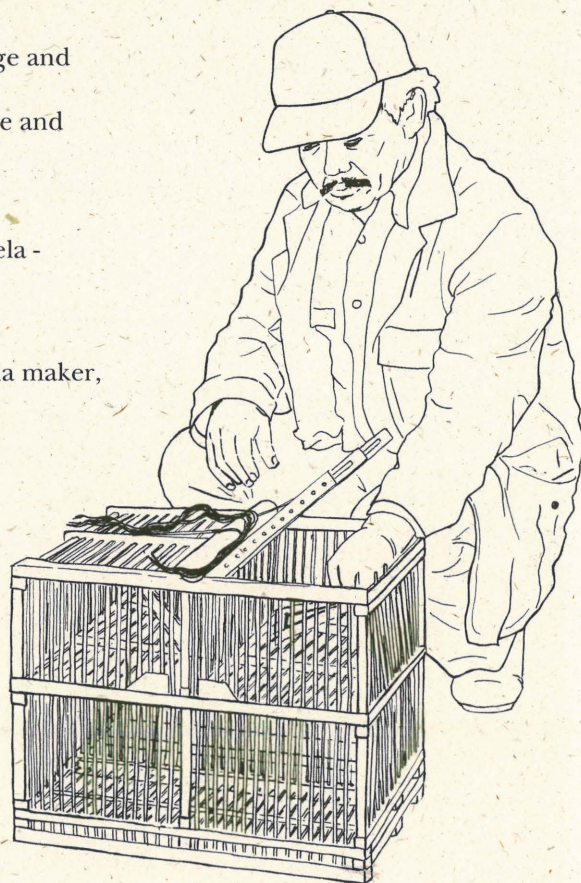
Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua

Brigada por La Paz

Alonso Encina Herrera - muralist

Jesús Alberto "Pee Wee" Rodríguez Medina - muralist

Gustavo "Sleepy" Grado Tiscareño - muralist



Miguel Angel "El Tandy" Sandoval
Lira - muralist
Oscar Ramírez - guitar maker

Los Alegres del Norte - Norteño Band
José Flores Cordova - accordion
Diego Hidalgo Alvarez - *bajo sexto*
Emilio Cháirez Muñoz - *tololoche*

El Paso, Texas

Agustín Castillo - woodcarver,
furniture maker
Carlos Callejo - Chicano muralist
Romulo Frias - lowrider

El Divisidero, Chihuahua

Guadalupe Carrasco Leyva -
quilter, cook

Paso de Lajitas, Chihuahua

Baltazar Rodríguez Puentes -
ranching crafts

Lajitas, Texas

Adolfo O. Rodríguez - ranching
crafts

Presidio, Texas

Richard Mark Bernholz - INS
border patrol, storyteller

Nacimiento, Chihuahua

Gertrude Factor Vásquez - oral
historian, cook, herbalist
Alice Fay Lozano - oral historian,
cook, herbalist

Del Rio, Texas

Ethel I. Warrior - oral historian,
cook
William F. Warrior - oral historian,
storyteller

Laredo, Texas

Armando Flores - blacksmith
María Paredes de Solís - quilter

Monterrey, Mexico

El Palomo y el Gorrión - Norteño
Band
Cirilo "El Palomo" Luna Franco -
accordion, composer
Miguel "El Gorrión" Luna Franco -
drums, composer, vocals
Moisés García - guitar

Hebbronville, Texas

Omar Galván - vaquero,
ropemaker, cook, storyteller

Kingsville, Texas

Joe O. Mendieta - vaquero
horsehair braider

San Diego, Texas

Canuto Soliz - vaquero,
leatherworker, storyteller,
guitarist

Elsa, Texas

Los Hermanos Layton - Conjunto
Band
Antonio V. Layton - guitar, vocals
René Layton - drums
Norfilia Layton González - vocals
Gilbert González - bass guitar
Benigno Layton - accordion, vocals

Brownsville, Texas

Julius Collins - shrimper,
netmaker, cook

AMERICAN SOCIAL DANCE

Square Dancers from Southwest Virginia

Lois B. Buchanan - Glade Spring
Richard C. Buchanan - Glade
Spring
Carl Farris - Chilhowie
Virginia Lee Farris - Chilhowie
Ernest French - Meadowview
Nancy Haworth - Abingdon
William R. Haworth - Abingdon
Mildred Holley - Chilhowie
Glenn Orfield - Meadowview
Sandra Orfield - Meadowview
George V. Owens - Meadowview
Mary D. Owens - Meadowview
David E. Salyer - Abingdon
Janie Salyer - Abingdon
Kirby Smith - caller - Abingdon
Jack Stevens - Meadowview
Lala Stevens - Meadowview
Evelyn W. Sturgill - Chilhowie

French Sturgill - Chilhowie

Barbara Vance - Chilhowie
James Vance - Chilhowie

Southern Country Band

Howard Burchette - mandolin,
fiddle, guitar, vocals - Abingdon
Barton Fritts - bass - Mountain City,
Tennessee
William C. Kelly - fiddle -
Chilhowie
Al Lambert - guitar, mandolin,
banjo, vocals - Abingdon
William H. McCall - guitar, vocals -
Abingdon
Steve Starnes - mandolin -
Abingdon

Cambodian American Dancers

Phavann Chhuan - Rockville,
Maryland
Chhomanath Chhuan - Rockville,
Maryland
John Kheav - Ft. Washington,
Maryland
Vuthy Kheav - Ft. Washington,
Maryland
Sesane Ouk - Sterling, Virginia
Sorabe Phann - Bel Air, Maryland
Chan Moly Sam - Reston, Virginia
Phillip Rithy Sok - Sterling,
Virginia
Nareine Sokhon - Potomac,
Maryland
Sareth C. Sokhon - Potomac,
Maryland
Soum Sokhon - Potomac, Maryland
Jammy Samnung Sun - Herndon,
Virginia
Nadin Samnung Sun - Herndon,
Virginia
Nady Samnung Sun - Herndon,
Virginia
Sody T. Tek - Alexandria, Virginia
Rady Tes - Ft. Washington,
Maryland
Sochietah Ung - Washington, D.C.

Kagnol Band

Kagnol Mol - leader, guitar, organ -
Chantilly, Virginia
Hamany Mol - manager - Chantilly,
Virginia
Sophy L. Hoeung - vocals -
Alexandria, Virginia

Cory Long - vocals - Silver Spring,
Maryland
Mony Ouy - guitar - Woodbridge,
Virginia

New Hello Band

Samnang Sun - leader, keyboards -
Herndon, Virginia
Vutha Pao - lead guitar - Falls
Church, Virginia
Phal Soeung - vocals - Herndon,
Virginia
Earom Tan - guitar - Woodbridge,
Virginia
Chhin Bun Yan - vocals - Herndon,
Virginia

Bolivian Dancers

Juan Leonardo Alanes - Riverdale,
Maryland
Adela Baldarrama - Silver Spring,
Maryland
Carlos Ballesteros - Arlington,
Virginia
Melody Ballesteros - Arlington,
Virginia
Nancy Ballesteros - Arlington,
Virginia
Marco A. Castellon - Silver Spring,
Maryland
Paola Castellon - Silver Spring,
Maryland
Luis H. Fuentes - Alexandria,
Virginia
Luz Fuentes - Alexandria, Virginia
Magaly Jarrad - Glen Burnie,
Maryland
Andy Lopez - Gaithersburg,
Maryland
Jhonny V. Meneses - Alexandria,
Virginia
Maria Teresa Mojica - Oakton,
Virginia
Angel F. Quinteros - Arlington,
Virginia
Leslie Quinteros - Arlington,
Virginia
Lillian Quinteros - Arlington,
Virginia
Giovani Ricaldez - Arlington,
Virginia
Rosemary L. Sejas - Arlington,
Virginia

Alex Urresty - Gaithersburg,
Maryland
Jugo Urresty - Gaithersburg,
Maryland

Generacion Luz

Charlie Barrionuevo - keyboards,
vocals - Falls Church, Virginia
Fermin Barrionuevo - keyboards -
Falls Church, Virginia
Mauricio Barrionuevo - director,
percussion, vocals -
Springfield, Virginia
Juan Carlos Cueto - guitar, vocals -
Arlington, Virginia
Lelis Cueto - percussion -
Arlington, Virginia
Raul Monterrosa - piano -
Arlington, Virginia
Julio Robles - bass, vocals -
Arlington, Virginia

Ollantay

Enrique Coria - *charango* -
Alexandria, Virginia
José Raúl Durán - *charango*, flute -
Silver Spring, Maryland
José Raúl Gonzalez - *charango* -
Alexandria, Virginia
Boris Torrico - flute - Arlington,
Virginia
Rodolfo Torrico - percussion -
Arlington, Virginia

Iroquois Dancers

Brad Bonaparte - Mohawk Nation,
Akwasasne
Sadie Buck - Seneca, Six Nations
Norman B. Hill, Jr. - Cayuga,
Tonawanda
Sue Jacobs - Cayuga, Six Nations
LuAnn Jamieson - Seneca,
Tonawanda
Scott Logan - Seneca, Tonawanda
Mike McDonald - Mohawk Nation,
Akwasasne
Robert Shenandoah - Onondaga
Nation
Keith Shenandoah - Onondaga
Nation
Sherri L. Waterman-Hopper -
Onondaga Nation

Hand Dancers

Florence K. Barber - Washington,
D.C.
Lawrence Bradford - Washington,
D.C.
Kenny Cheeks - Forestville,
Maryland
William H. Eley - Hyattsville,
Maryland
Robert "Captain Fly" Frye - deejay -
Lanham, Maryland
Leroy Green - Capitol Heights,
Maryland
Cynthia Jefferson - Capitol Heights,
Maryland
Addie Robinson - Washington,
D.C.
Cynthia Shelton - Hyattsville,
Maryland
Luvenia Shelton - Washington,
D.C.
Howard Watkins - Fort
Washington, Maryland



Hip-Hop

Anthony Hovington - Silver Spring, Maryland

John "Super Cool" Mackey - deejay - Morningside, Maryland

Denise Richards - Washington, D.C.

The Nasty Boys

Rosetta Fultz-Mackey - Hyattsville, Maryland

Brian Robinson - Temple Hills, Maryland

Chuck Sanders - Washington, D.C.

Kimberly Simpson - District Heights, Maryland

Michael Smith - Washington, D.C.

Tyrone Thornton - Washington, D.C.

KIDS' STUFF

Playground Traditions

Bailey's Elementary School - Falls Church, Virginia

Carmen Boatwright-Bacon - presenter, facilitator

Linh Au

Herber Hernandez

Jacqueline Machado

Linda Mak

Carol Ovando

Srey Saing

Luis Valencia

Other Bailey's students

Brightwood Elementary School - Washington, D.C.

Jean Alexander - presenter, facilitator

Brooke Andrews-Bondgiee

Li Nida Blake

Melissa Carrera

Mykia Carroll

Michelle Davis

Carmen Douglas

Gloria Douglas

Leslie Eustaquio

Victoria Fashoto

Dotty Gay

Stephania Gomez

Carole Green

Porgha Harrell

Cristine Holt

Yolanda Hughes

Georgette Jones

Grace Kelly

Candice Kenner

Kathryn Koo

Crystal Little

Alicia Middleton

Tamisha Miller

Olslani Oyezbola

Olushola Pyne

Kimberlee Roate

Kelia Speight

Wendy Thomas

Daphne Vassor

Marie Williams

Cherell Wilson

Raymond Elementary School - Washington, D.C.

Dorothy Walker - presenter, facilitator

Itivis Alexander

LaTasha Anderson

Tikia Anderson

Dominique Brown

Aisha Clark

Malika Fateen

Shawnte Johnson

Antoinette Titter

Stephanie Williams

Tatiana Wright

Chinese Yo-Yo and Shuttlecock

Washington School of Chinese Language and Culture - Rockville, Maryland

Lily Liu Chow - principal

Chinese Yo-yo:

Bor-Shan Zhu - teacher, facilitator

Hong Yong Chow - teacher

Tom Chi

Cathy K. Chow

James Kung

Elain Szu

Mike Wang

Anita Wu

Leonard Wu

Jacob Yeh

Chinese Shuttlecock:

Ivy Chen - teacher

Wilson Lin

Peter Schwartz

Albert Tsou

Bucket Brigade

Barnett Williams - percussionist, presenter

Draper African Drummers - Washington, D.C.

James Barber

Reginald Bell

James Dudley

Javon Miles

Lorenzo Neil

Neighborhood Cheers

Charles Barrett Recreation Center - Alexandria, Virginia

Maurisette Daniels - cheerleading coordinator

Vanessa Williams - assistant coach

Lynique Scott - captain

LaToya Pittman - co-captain

Larry Tolliver - mascot

Kelly Amolegbe

Tamika Brooks

Chawmia Dowdy

Bridget Dupree

Cassandra Fountain

Tamar Green

Quiana Huff

LaToya Johnson

Tamika Moore

Tasha Washington

Dalecia Williams

Mt. Vernon Recreation Center

Cheerleaders - Alexandria, Virginia

Misty Copeland - coach

Naila Alexander - coach

Shanta Baker

Nanah Bangura

Yonnie Ihedioha

Tahniah Martin

Destiny Porter

Shereva Pretty

Latresa Randolph

Camille Reed

Michelle Ross
Evern Sharpe
Jamie Shipp
Jessica Southall
Natalia Spinner
Kimberly Stewart
Marcellena Thornton

*Nannie Lee Recreation Center
Cheerleaders - Alexandria, Virginia*

Tonya Banks - coach
Christina Copeland
Laresa Dean
Rashanda Grimes
Danielle Hawkins
Iyona Hawkins
Tina Johnson
Tysheea Johnson
Carlita Reed
Laquita White
Racha White

Double Dutch Jump Rope

*D.C. Metropolitan Police Boys and
Girls Club, Greater Washington Area
Double Dutch League*

Montgomery Gardner - presenter,
facilitator
Officer Zenobia Mack - presenter,
facilitator

*Garrison Elementary School -
Washington, D.C.*

Rebecca Herndon - presenter,
coach
Sheila Pickett - assistant coach

Team A (4th Grade)

Larrissa Campbell
Cherri Sparks
Angelina Watkins

Team B (5th Grade)

Jennifer Cole
Octavia Freeman
Ebony McPherson
LaKetha Welcher

*P.R. Harris Educational Center -
Washington, D.C.*

Charlene Jones - presenter, coach

Shantay Fair
Lisa Nock
Rhashelia Outing
Tomika Young

*Seaton Elementary School -
Washington, D.C.*

Montez Delaney - presenter, coach
Shirley Williams - assistant coach

Team A (5th Grade)

Memuna Fofana
Christina Johnson
Crystal McClary
Jennifer McClelland

Team B (6th Grade)

Haja Fofana
Jovanna Joyner
LaShonda Lucas
LaKesha Simmons

Team C (5th Grade)

Beatrice Brooks
Kitea Lewis
LaQuanda Morgan
Regina Williams

Storytelling and Narratives of Childhood

Len Cabral - Cranston, Rhode
Island

Bill Harley - Seekonk,
Massachusetts

Mendel Denise Service -
Washington, D.C.

METRO MUSIC

Baltimore Korean Dancers

Ji Eun Ahn
Soon Hee Ahn
Ayang By Chi
Nanhui Kang
Eun Soo Kim
Hyum Joo Kim
Jung Sook Lee
Hye Sook Lim
Jung Sook Park

Chu Me Yi
Ann Yim
Jum Bok Yim

The Country Gentlemen - Bluegrass

Charlie Waller - guitar, vocals -
Gordonsville, Virginia

Jimmy Bowen - mandolin, vocals -
Nashville, Tennessee

Greg Corbett - 5-string banjo,
vocals - Troy, North Carolina

Ronnie Davis - upright bass, vocals -
Charlottesville, Virginia

Ganga - Bengali Folk Music

Hitabrata Roy - *dotara* - Falls
Church, Virginia

Minati B. Roy - *khmak* - Falls
Church, Virginia

Broto Roy - *tabla* - Falls Church,
Virginia

Krishnakali Roy - *ghungar* - Falls
Church, Virginia

Gospel Pearls

Beatrice Cooper - Washington,
D.C.

Paulette Goodin - Capitol Heights,
Maryland

Brenda Little - Washington, D.C.

Verna Locus - Washington, D.C.

Connie Monroe - Washington,
D.C.

Sam Hubbard and "Reverb" - Gospel

Sam Hubbard - Washington, D.C.

Steve Langley - Washington, D.C.

Reginald Moore - Washington,
D.C.

Bruce O'Neal - Washington, D.C.

Victor Pinkney - Clinton, Maryland

John Jackson - Piedmont blues
guitar - Fairfax Station, Virginia

Johnson Mountain Boys - Bluegrass

Tom Adams - banjo - Gettysburg,
Pennsylvania

Dudley Connell - guitar, vocals -
Germantown, Maryland

Dave McLaughlin - mandolin -
Winchester, Virginia

Eddie Stubbs - fiddle -

Gaithersburg, Maryland

Earl Yager - bass - Spring Grove,
Pennsylvania

Djimo Kouyate - Senegalese griot -
Washington, D.C.

Little Bit A Blues

Warner Williams - guitar -
Gaithersburg, Maryland

Jay Sumerour - harmonica -
Poolsville, Maryland

Andy Vorhees - bass - Poolsville,
Maryland

*Alfredo Mojica and His Orchestra -
Latin Dance Music*

Alfredo Mojica, Sr. - band leader -
Silver Spring, Maryland

Ralph Eskenazy - keyboards -
Wheaton, Maryland

Adrianne Galler Lastra - bass -
Wheaton, Maryland

Jose Lopez - percussion -
Gaithersburg, Maryland

Heather McKay - guitar - Potomac,
Maryland

Alfredo Mojica, Jr. - percussion -
Bethesda, Maryland

Eugene Okonsky - piano - Silver
Spring, Maryland

Scott Young - saxophone -
Wheaton, Maryland

Irish Music & Dance

Winifred Horan - dancer - New
York, New York

Donna Long - piano - Baltimore,
Maryland

Brendan Mulvihill - fiddle -
Alexandria, Virginia

Odadaa - Ghanaian Music & Dance

Yacub Addy - master drummer -
Alexandria, Virginia

Siboney - Cuban Music

Nelson Rodriguez - director -
Washington, D.C.

Veltones - Doo Wop

Joe Herdon - Washington, D.C.

Larry Jordan - Washington, D.C.

Sunny Payton - Washington, D.C.







George Spann - Washington, D.C.

Moe Warren - Bladensburg,
Maryland







Thursday, July 1

U.S. – MEXICO BORDERLANDS



	Mixteco Area	Ramada Stage	Ramada Foodways	Music Stage	El Bordo	El Ranchito Foodways	El Ranchito
11:00							
12:00	Candlemaking	Pai Pai Native American Storytelling		Tohono O'odham String Band	Border Stories	Black Seminole Cooking	Corrido & Ranchera Singing 
1:00			Pimería Alta Cooking	El Palomo y El Gorrión: Norteño	Mural Art & Community	Making Asadero Cheese	Swapping Stories/ Echando Mentiras
			Mixteco Cooking	Los Hermanos Layton: Conjunto	Mural Painting		Border Theater
2:00	Dressing the Altar	Pascola Dance/		El Palomo y El Gorrión: Norteño	Paper Crafts Workshop	Vaquero Cooking	Life on the Border 
3:00	Mixteco Vendors Demonstration	Border History		Los Alegres del Norte: Norteño	Border Imagery in Arts & Crafts 		Corrido & Ranchera Singing
4:00			Pimería Alta Cooking	Los Hermanos Cuatro: Yaqui Norteño	Border Theater 	Fisherman Cooking	Corrido Composing Workshop.
		Crafts & Tourism		Los Hermanos Layton: Conjunto	Border Stories		Recycling Materials 
5:00				Los Hermanos Cuatro: Yaqui Norteño 			

Ongoing demonstrations of lowrider art, weaving, reverse glass painting, mural painting, altar dressing, leather- and ironworking, and traditional ways of making baskets, hats, quilts, piñatas, paper flowers, birdcages, candles, guitars, furniture, rope, pack saddles, and shrimp nets.





AMERICAN SOCIAL DANCE


11:00	Dance Stage	Narrative Stage
	Opening Ceremony	
12:00	 Square Dancing from Southwest Virginia	Cultural Contact in Dance
1:00		Popular Dances of the '50s & '60s
2:00	Bolivian Dances	Hand Dancing Memories from the '50s & '60s
3:00	African American Hand Dancing from Washington, D.C.	Dance & Community 
4:00		Strutting Your Stuff
5:00	Cambodian American Dances	Male & Female Identities in Dance  Motown Lives: The Hand Dance Revival
	Iroquois Dances 	The Bolivian Carnival

METRO MUSIC


11:00	Music Stage
12:00	Alfredo Mojica: Latin Dance Music 
1:00	Gospel Pearls 
2:00	Djimo Kouyate: Griot Stories & Music
3:00	Ganga: Bengali Folk Music Brendan Mulvihill, Donna Long, & Winnie Horan: Irish Music & Dance
4:00	Little Bit A Blues
5:00	Johnson Mountain Boys: Bluegrass

KIDS' STUFF

11:00	Stage
12:00	Double Dutch Jump Rope: Seaton Elementary School
1:00	Playground Games: Brightwood Elementary School 
2:00	Bucket Brigade: Barnett Williams & the Draper African Drummers
3:00	Tales In and Out of School: Bill Harley 
4:00	Neighborhood Cheers: Mt. Vernon Recreation Center
5:00	Chinese Yo-Yo: Washington School of Chinese Language & Culture  Double Dutch Jump Rope: P.R. Harris Educational Center 






5:30 – 7:00 Dance Party	Iroquois Dances
7:00 – 9:00 Evening Concert	Acappella Voices: Sam Hubbard with Reverb/Veltones 

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

Friday, July 2

U.S. - MEXICO BORDERLANDS

	Mixteco Area	Ramada Stage	Ramada Foodways	Music Stage	El Bordo	El Ranchito Foodways	El Ranchito
11:00	Dressing the Altar		Pimería Alta Cooking	Los Alegres del Norte: Norteño	Border History	Fisherman Cooking	Ranching Crafts 
12:00			Mixteco Cooking	Tohono O'odham String Band	Border Imagery in Arts & Crafts		Accordion & Bajo Sexto Workshop
1:00		Pai Pai Native American Storytelling		Los Hermanos Cuatro: Yaqui Norteño	Border Stories	Black Seminole Cooking	Border Theater
2:00	Candlemaking	Pascola Dance		El Palomo y El Gorrión: Norteño	Crafts & Occupations		Swapping Stories/ Echando Mentiras 
3:00		Healing Traditions		Los Hermanos Layton: Conjunto	Border Theater		Chicano Border History
4:00	Day of the Dead Celebration: The Arrival of the Little Angels		Pimería Alta Cooking	Los Hermanos Cuatro: Yaqui Norteño	Guitarmaking Workshop	Making Asadero Cheese 	Border Stories
5:00				Tohono O'odham String Band			Corrido & Ranchera Singing 
				Los Alegres del Norte: Norteño	Border Stories		Corrido Composing Workshop 

Ongoing demonstrations of lowrider art, weaving, reverse glass painting, mural painting, altar dressing, leather- and ironworking, and traditional ways of making baskets, hats, quilts, piñatas, paper flowers, birdcages, candles, guitars, furniture, rope, pack saddles, and shrimp nets.

AMERICAN SOCIAL DANCE

	Dance Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Bolivian Dances	D.J.s, Callers, & Singers: Inspiring the Dance
		"Hip-Hop, You Don't Stop"
1:00	Iroquois Dances	Celebrating Life's Passages
2:00		Dancing Who We Are: Dance & Identity
	Hip-Hop: D.C. Style	Male & Female Identities in Dance
3:00		Dancing Through Generations
	Square Dancing from Southwest Virginia	Free Styling with Rhythm, Breaking Down the Beat
4:00		
	Cambodian American Dances	Strutting Your Stuff
5:00		

METRO MUSIC


	Music Stage
11:00	
12:00	Brendan Mulvihill, Donna Long, & Winnie Horan: Irish Music & Dance
1:00	Odadaa: Music & Dance of Ghana
2:00	Sam Hubbard with Reverb/Gospel Pearls
3:00	Djimo Kouyate: Griot Stories & Music
4:00	Ganga: Bengali Folk Music
5:00	Alfredo Mojica: Latin Dance Music

KIDS' STUFF

	Stage
11:00	Stories My Mother Told Me: Len Cabral
12:00	Double Dutch Jump Rope: Seaton Elementary School
1:00	Playground Games: Bailey's Elementary School
2:00	Bucket Brigade: Barnett Williams & the Draper African Drummers
3:00	Sharing Stories: Bill Harley & Len Cabral
4:00	Neighborhood Cheers: Charles Barrett Recreation Center
5:00	Chinese Yo-Yo: Washington School of Chinese Language & Culture
	Double Dutch Jump Rope: P.R. Harris Educational Center







5:30 – 7:00 Dance Party	Los Hermanos Layton: Conjunto
7:00 – 9:00 Evening Concert	Bluegrass on the Mall: Johnson Mountain Boys/Country Gentlemen

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .





Saturday, July 3

U.S. - MEXICO BORDERLANDS



	Mixteco Area	Ramada Stage	Ramada Foodways	Music Stage	El Bordo	El Ranchito Foodways	El Ranchito
11:00	Dismantling of the Altar	Pascola Dance		El Palomo y El Gorrión: Norteño	Crafts & Materials 		Border Theater
12:00			Candy Making	Los Hermanos Layton: Conjunto	Border History	Fisherman Cooking	Tololoche & Accordion Workshop
1:00		Crafts & Tourism		Tohono O'odham String Band	Border Imagery in Arts & Crafts		Pimería Alta Stories
2:00			Mixteco Cooking	El Palomo y El Gorrión: Norteño	Border Stories 	Black Seminole Cooking	Corrido & Ranchera Singing
3:00	Candlemaking		Pimería Alta Cooking	Los Hermanos Cuatro: Yaqui Norteño	Border Theater		Ranching Crafts 
4:00	Mixteco Vendors Demonstration	Native American Storytellers		Los Alegres del Norte: Norteño	Murals & Neighborhoods 		Border Stories
				Tohono O'odham String Band	Paper Crafts Workshop	Making Asadero Cheese	Corrido & Ranchera Singing 
5:00				Los Hermanos Layton: Conjunto			Border Theater 

Ongoing demonstrations of lowrider art, weaving, reverse glass painting, mural painting, altar dressing, leather- and ironworking, and traditional ways of making baskets, hats, quilts, piñatas, paper flowers, birdcages, candles, guitars, furniture, rope, pack saddles, and shrimp nets.





AMERICAN SOCIAL DANCE

	Dance Stage	Narrative Stage
11:00		
12:00	Cambodian American Dances	D.J.s, Callers, & Singers: Inspiring the Dance
		Sacred & Secular Dance
1:00	Square Dancing from Southwest Virginia	Courtship & Dance
2:00	African American Hand Dancing from Washington, D.C.	Tradition & Innovation in Bolivian Dance 
		Tradition & Innovation in Iroquois Dance 
3:00	Bolivian Dances	Cultural Contact in Dance
4:00	Iroquois Dances	Dance & Community
		Strutting Your Stuff
5:00		
	African American Hand Dancing	The Bolivian Carnival

METRO MUSIC

	Music Stage
11:00	
12:00	Sam Hubbard with Reverb
	Brendan Mulvihill, Donna Long, & Winnie Horan: Irish Music & Dance 
1:00	Ganga: Bengali Folk Music
	
2:00	Gospel Pearls
3:00	Country Gentlemen: Bluegrass
4:00	Djimo Kouyate: Griot Stories & Music
5:00	Odadaa: Music & Dance from Ghana


KIDS' STUFF

	Stage
11:00	
12:00	Stories About Growing Up: Bill Harley 
	Double Dutch Jump Rope: Seaton Elementary School
1:00	Playground Games: Bailey's Elementary School
2:00	Sharing Stories: Bill Harley & Len Cabral 
3:00	Bucket Brigade: Barnett Williams & the Draper African Drummers
4:00	Neighborhood Cheers: Nannie Lee Recreation Center 
	Chinese Shuttlecock: Washington School of Chinese Language & Culture
5:00	Double Dutch Jump Rope: P.R. Harris Educational Center 


5:30 – 7:00
Dance Party

African American Hand Dancing

7:00 – 9:00
Evening Concert







Blues Night: Little Bit A Blues/John Jackson 

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .





Sunday, July 4

U.S. - MEXICO BORDERLANDS



	Mixteco Area	Ramada Stage	Ramada Foodways	Music Stage	El Bordo	El Ranchito Foodways	El Ranchito
11:00	Dressing the Altar		Pimería Alta Cooking 	Los Hermanos Layton: Conjunto			Ranching Crafts
12:00		Celebration Traditions		El Palomo y El Gorrión: Norteño	Murals & Lowriders		Tololoche & Accordion Workshop
1:00			Mixteco Cooking	Los Hermanos Cuatro: Yaqui Norteño	Border Stories	Black Seminole Cooking	Swapping Stories/ Echando Mentiras
2:00		Border Stories		Los Alegres del Norte: Norteño	Border Theater 	Making Asadero Cheese	Conjunto Songs
3:00		Crafts & Tourism		Tohono O'odham String Band	Border Imagery in Arts & Crafts	Vaquero Cooking	Border Stories 
4:00	Candlemaking		Tamalada 	Los Hermanos Layton: Conjunto	Guitarmaking Workshop		Border Theater
	Mixteco Vendors Demonstration	Pascola Dance		Los Hermanos Cuatro: Yaqui Norteño			Border Stories 
5:00		Pai Pai Storytelling		El Palomo y El Gorrión: Norteño	Quilting Workshop		Corrido & Ranchera Singing 

Ongoing demonstrations of lowrider art, weaving, reverse glass painting, mural painting, altar dressing, leather- and ironworking, and traditional ways of making baskets, hats, quilts, piñatas, paper flowers, birdcages, candles, guitars, furniture, rope, pack saddles, and shrimp nets.





AMERICAN SOCIAL DANCE


11:00	Dance Stage	Narrative Stage
12:00	Iroquois Dances	Playing with Rhythm 
		Dancing Who We Are: Dance & Identity
1:00	Hip-Hop: D.C. Style 	Cambodian Court & Social Dance
2:00		Cultural Contact in Dance
	Cambodian American Dances	Strutting Your Stuff
3:00	Square Dancing from Southwest Virginia	"Hip-Hop, You Don't Stop" 
4:00		Ceremonial & Social Dance 
5:00	Bolivian Dances	Hip-Hop Block Party

METRO MUSIC


11:00	Music Stage
12:00	Djimo Kouyate: Griot Stories & Music 
	Ganga: Bengali Folk Music 
1:00	Little Bit A Blues
2:00	Korean Dance Company of Greater Washington
3:00	Gospel Pearls/Sam Hubbard with Reverb
4:00	Brendan Mulvihill, Donna Long, & Winnie Horan: Irish Music & Dance
5:00	Odadaa: Ghanaian Music & Dance

KIDS' STUFF

11:00	Stage
12:00	Stories My Mother Told Me: Len Cabral 
	Bucket Brigade: Barnett Williams & the Draper African Drummers
1:00	Playground Games: Raymond Elementary School
2:00	Kids' Stories Workshop: Mendel Denise Service 
3:00	Double Dutch Jump Rope: Garrison Elementary School
4:00	Bucket Brigade: Barnett Williams & the Draper African Drummers 
5:00	Playground Games: Raymond Elementary School
	Chinese Yo-Yo: Washington School of Chinese Language & Culture 







5:30 – 7:00 Dance Party	Los Alegres del Norte: Norteño
7:00 – 9:00 Evening Concert	An Evening of Latin Sounds: Alfredo Mojica/Siboney 

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .





Monday, July 5

U.S. – MEXICO BORDERLANDS



	Mixteco Area	Ramada Stage	Ramada Foodways	Music Stage	El Bordo	El Ranchito Foodways	El Ranchito
11:00							
	Dressing the Altar		Pimería Alta Cooking	Los Alegres del Norte: Norteño	Guitarmaking Workshop		Swapping Stories/ Echando Mentiras 
12:00		Pascola Dance		Los Hermanos Cuatro: Yaqui Norteño 	Border Stories	Making Asadero Cheese	Accordion & Bajo Sexto Workshop
1:00	Candlemaking		Mixteco Cooking	El Palomo y El Gorrión: Norteño	Paper Crafts Workshop	Black Seminole Cooking 	Border Theater
2:00		Pai Pai Native American Storytelling 		Tohono O'odham String Band	Border Imagery in Arts & Crafts		Corrido & Ranchera Singing
3:00		Healing Traditions		Los Alegres del Norte: Norteño	Murals & Lowriders	Vaquero & Fisherman Cooking	Corrido Composing Workshop
4:00			Pimería Alta Cooking	Los Hermanos Layton: Conjunto	Quilting Traditions		Border Stories 
	Day of the Dead Celebration			Los Hermanos Cuatro: Yaqui Norteño	Border History		Vaquero & Shrimping Crafts
5:00				Tohono O'odham String Band	Border Theater		Chicano Border History 

Ongoing demonstrations of lowrider art, weaving, reverse glass painting, mural painting, altar dressing, leather- and ironworking, and traditional ways of making baskets, hats, quilts, piñatas, paper flowers, birdcages, candles, guitars, furniture, rope, pack saddles, and shrimp nets.





AMERICAN SOCIAL DANCE


11:00	Dance Stage	Narrative Stage
12:00	African American Hand Dancing from Washington, D.C. 	Dancing Through Generations
1:00	Square Dancing from Southwest Virginia	Dances of Courtship
2:00	Cambodian American Dances	Cultural Contact in Dance
3:00	African American Hand Dancing from Washington, D.C.	Male & Female Identities in Dance 
4:00	Iroquois Dances	D.J.s, Callers, & Singers: Inspiring the Dance 
5:00	Bolivian Dances	Dancing Who We Are: Dance & Identity
		The Bolivian Carnival 
		Cambodian Court & Social Dance

METRO MUSIC


11:00	Music Stage
12:00	Brendan Mulvihill, Donna Long, & Winnie Horan: Irish Music & Dance
1:00	Ganga: Bengali Folk Music
2:00	Gospel Pearls/Sam Hubbard with Reverb
3:00	Little Bit A Blues
4:00	Alfredo Mojica: Latin Dance Music 
5:00	Johnson Mountain Boys: Bluegrass 

KIDS' STUFF

11:00	Stage
12:00	Kids' Stories Workshop: Mendel Denise Service 
1:00	Double Dutch Jump Rope: Garrison Elementary School
2:00	Playground Games: Brightwood Elementary School
3:00	Bucket Brigade: Barnett Williams & the Draper African Drummers 
4:00	Neighborhood Cheers: Mt. Vernon Recreation Center
5:00	Pass It On – Metro Play Traditions: Mendel Denise Service 
	Chinese Shuttlecock: Washington School of Chinese Language & Culture
	Kids' Play: Catching, Jumping, Rhyming, & Making Music 

5:30 – 7:00 Dance Party	Bolivian Dances
7:00 – 9:00 Evening Concert	An Evening of West African Music and Dance: Odadaa/Djimo Kouyate 

Schedules are subject to change. Check signs in each program area for specific information.

Sign language interpreters will be available for selected programs. Programs that will be interpreted are marked with the symbol .

- Information
- First Aid
- Beverage Concession
- Restrooms
- Food Concession
- Accessible to Mobility Impaired

MADISON DRIVE



Administrative

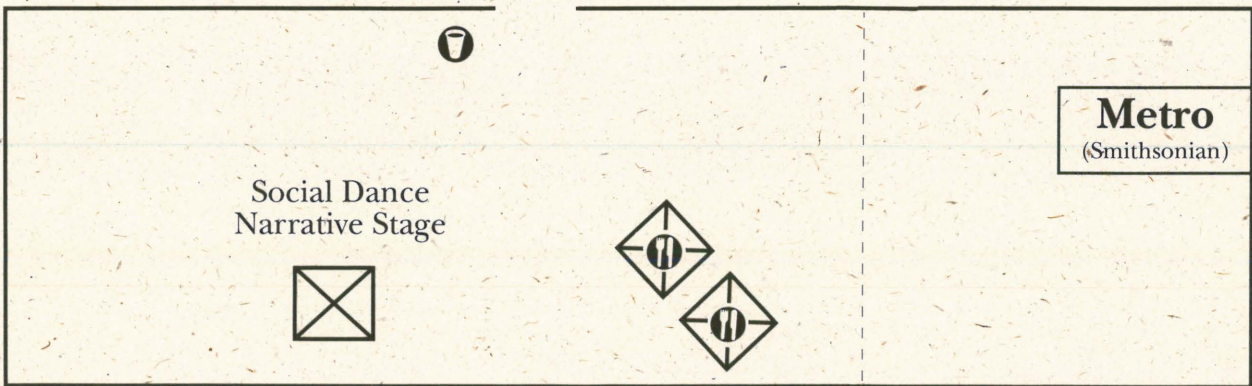


Red Cross



Pre

American Social Dance



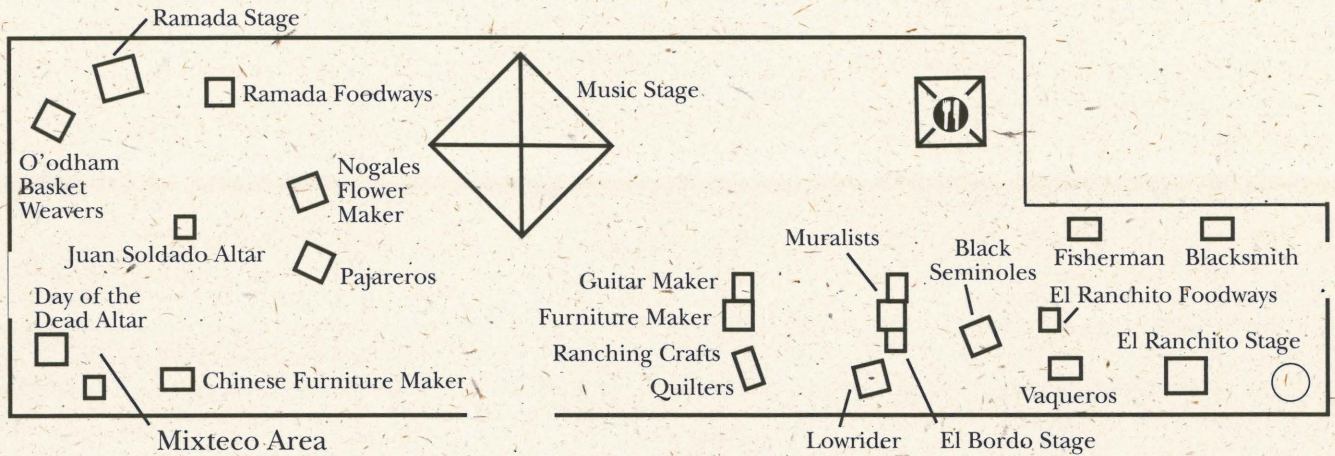
Metro
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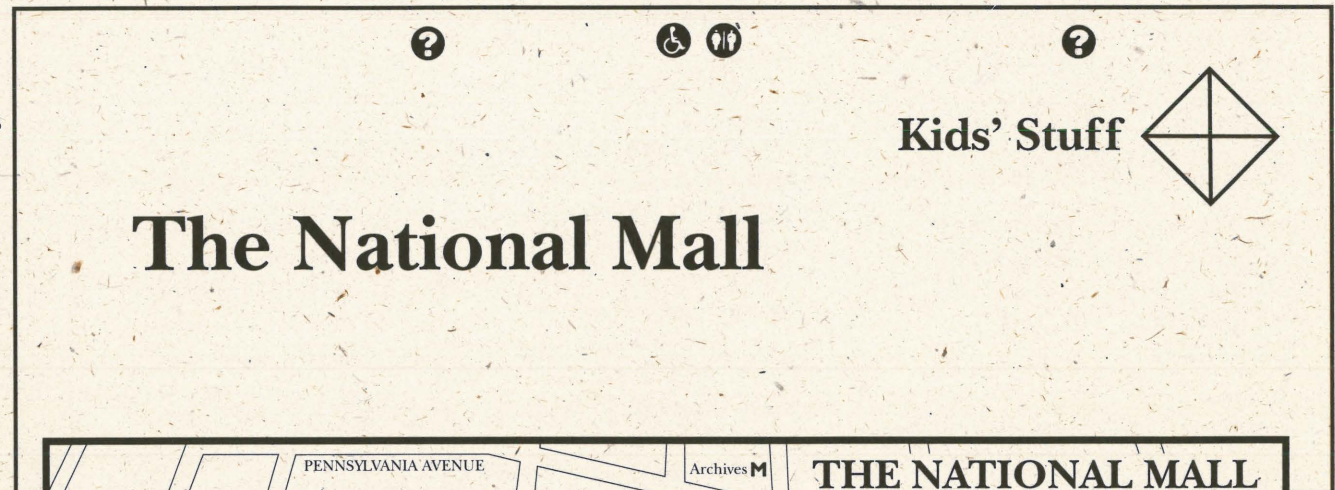
Metro
Mu
Stage

JEFFERSON DRIVE

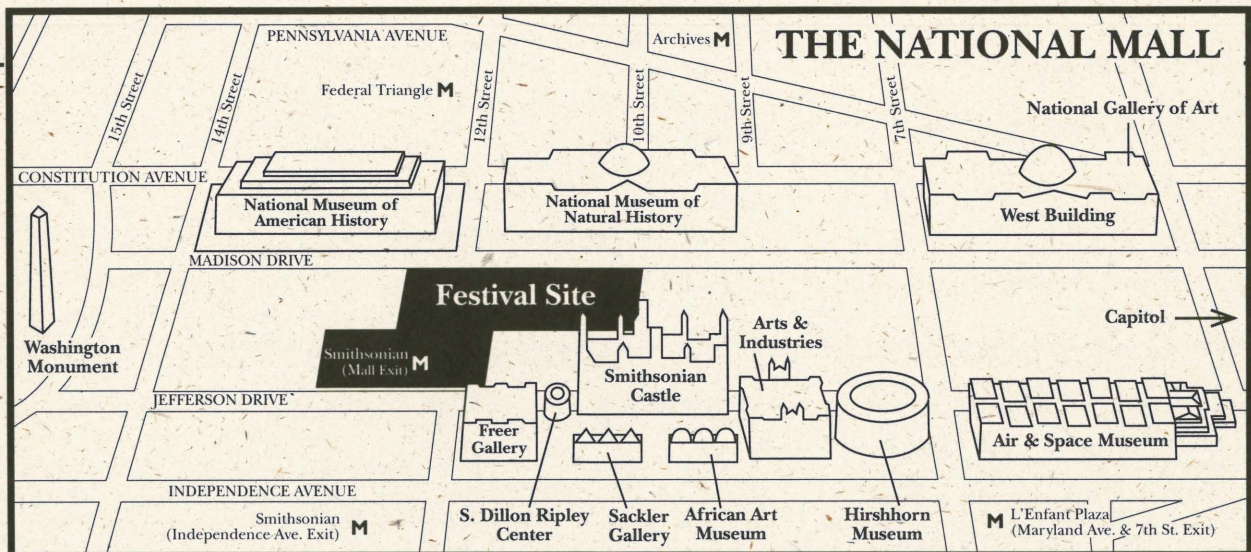
Festival Site Map



U.S. – Mexico Borderlands



The National Mall



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Bailey's Elementary School, Fairfax
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A norteno group plays traditional music from the U.S. - Mexico border.

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Music of Indonesia 1: Songs Before Dawn (SF 40055)

Music of Indonesia 2: Indonesian Popular Music (SF 40056)

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Music of Indonesia 4: Music of Nias and North Sumatra (SF 40420)

1992

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New Mexico: Native American Traditions (SF 40408)

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Coming Soon

Borderlands: From Conjunto to Chickenscratch; Music of the Rio Grande Valley and Southern Arizona (SF 40418). September 1993.

This recording features musical traditions of the U.S. - Mexico border region, similar to those presented at the 1993 Festival of American Folklife. The recordings were licensed from four local record companies that specialize in music of this region, and represent a variety of of-borderland genres. Compiled with the assistance of the Texas Folklife Resource Center, Austin, Texas. September 1993.

Look for these and many other Folkways recordings in the Festival Museum sales area, ask for them at your local record store, or order directly by mail or phone from Smithsonian/Folkways Recordings, 414 Hungerford Drive Suite 444, Rockville, MD 20850; phone 301/443-2314, fax 301/443-1819, Visa and Mastercard accepted.



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Mahalia Jackson: I Sing Because I'm Happy; Interview with Songs (SFSP 90002). 1952 interviews with Mahalia Jackson, interspersed with several of her songs. Published to accompany the book *Got To Tell It: Mahalia Jackson, Queen of Gospel* by Jules Schwerin, Oxford University Press 1992. Cassette only.

Coming Soon

Music and Dance Traditions of St. Lucia, West Indies (SF 40416). A selection of St. Lucian traditions produced in collaboration with the Folk Research Centre of St. Lucia. August 1993.

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