

*'Don't ya know that I'm loco?' dijo con su pistola en la mano: Chicano
Rap or the Renewal of the Corrido Tradition
Andrea Perales Fernández de Gamboa
Universidad del País Vasco*

The importance of oral tradition within the Mexican population living in the United States remains a consequence of the subaltern condition of the community. Their history is an account of an often harassed and discriminated society, whose folklore has been subjugated to a secondary status within the mainstream Anglo culture. The Mexican-Americans, nonetheless, have not been displaced in isolation; the African-Americans or the Asian Americans, among others, have also accompanied the Mexican-Americans in their social struggles. In the specific case of the Chicano community, from the Mexican-American war of 1846 and its subsequent Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, where the Mexican northern territories were annexed to the United States, to the farm workers' struggle led by César Chávez, the Mexicans' diaspora in the United States has been loaded with discriminatory experiences.

An excellent example of this racial segregation were the migratory movements that took place in numerous U.S. cities in the 1950s, where the great majority of white-middle class families abandoned their houses in the inner-city areas for suburban neighborhoods. The post-industrial abandonment derived in the creation of ghettoized areas in the core-city, where poverty, joblessness and criminalization defined the living conditions of the remaining populace, among whom the majority were ethnic minorities and low-income Anglos. The relegation of these minorities to an unofficial second-class citizenship did not hit the heart of their community; rather it actually served to reinforce the interethnic bonds that both the Mexican-American and the African-Americans had already established in the sixteenth century, when the Spanish conquest and the slave trade assembled. Furthermore, and as Pancho McFarland suggests:

Under Spanish colonial rule Africans and Indigenous Americans remade cultures in diaspora and through mestizaje or mulataje (cultural or biological mixing involving Africans in the Americas). In the postindustrial, neocolonial new world order, Chicanos/as and African Americans borrow and transform aspects of their culture to create hip hop on the West coast. ("Chicano Rap Roots: Black-Brown Cultural Exchange and the Making of a Genre 939)

Thus, the contemporary process of inter-ethnic affiliation from which a sub-culture would emerge, helped prepare the vehicle of opposition against Anglo hegemony. Within these discriminated communities, where young people dominate, hip-hop culture and, specifically rap music, become the agent for this "oppositional culture", since

The strong presence of samples and interpolations of African Diasporic music in Chicano rap suggests the strong influence that black cultures have had on Chicano/a youth. Moreover, the music's heavy bass, polyrhythms, and 'noise' are necessary

elements to tell the stories of postindustrial urban America. ("Chicano Rap Roots: Black-Brown Cultural Exchange and the Making of a Genre" 944)

In the specific case of the Mexican-American experience, oral folklore performs its function as the vehicle for the transmission of traditions and values. The absence of a proper education, due to the impoverished socioeconomic conditions of the group, makes the verbal tool a necessity. According to James C. Scott, "Oral culture is an important part of folk culture and resistance because there is more control over the interaction between the communicators and the audience, place and circumstances than over written communication." (qtd. in Chew Sánchez 9). Orality becomes the key tool to ensure the survival of the community. The isolation and marginalization of the community as well as the increased ghettoisation of the people has allowed them to maintain their heritage free of mainstream influences, as

with nowhere to go, the barrios turns inward. The neighborhood becomes the world, and families carry the weight of that world. The Mexican culture's reliance on intimacy in the private realm appears to help set the stage for both heroic and tragic events in the barrio. (Martínez 17)

The recognition of the existence of a Mexican-American literary and cultural tradition was not made until the Chicano Movement emerged in the sixties. This social and civil rights movement advocated the acknowledgment of the history and customs of the Mexican community inhabiting the United States, as well as their demands for better living conditions. Despite the fact that the renaissance of the Mexican-American body of literature coincided in time with the rising of the *Movimiento Chicano*, the cultural richness of the Mexican-American *folklore* has been preserved for more than two centuries, being the *corrido* (Mexican folk-song), or on a more recent context, Chicano rap, an excellent example of this survival. For this reason, the aim of this paper is to demonstrate how both the *corrido* and rap are particular instruments of resistance utilized by the Mexican-American community against the Anglo hegemony, and furthermore, how Chicano rap performs the original functions of the Mexican-American ballad. To compel the aforementioned thesis, a selection of *corridos* and West coast Chicano rap songs have been selected.

According to the Mexican-American scholar Américo Paredes' doctoral dissertation *With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and Its Hero*, the origins of the Mexican-American ballad can be traced as far back as the nineteenth century. Paredes defined the *corrido* as what "the Mexicans call their narrative folk songs, especially those of epic themes, which means 'to run' or 'to flow', for the *corrido* tells a story simply and swiftly, without embellishments" (3). These ballads were celebrated as a form of protest by an exploited population, and therefore this vehicle of "popular culture served to express seething collective discontent" (Tatum 11). However, and even if there has been a biased tendency where the term popular culture is connected to "cheap populism", Mexican-American *corridos* prove their literary foundation, their poetically sound structure as well as their content and social implications (Eguíarte Bendimez 86).

The Mexican-American *folklore* emerged as a means of resistance towards the supremacy of the dominating Anglo society. The protagonist of the *corrido*, advocate of the Mexican-American community, "is almost always a solitary, frequently 'ordinary' man, whose fate and deeds transform him into a hero who acquires traditionally-described-as-'masculine' attributes and characteristics such as bravery, honor, patriotism, etc. and consequently becomes a symbol of masculinity" (Ibarraran 38-39). On this basis, the heroic *corrido* of the nineteenth century glorified the outlaws who would combat the injustices suffered by their communities. As an example, "*El corrido de Gregorio Cortez*" gives account of the Texan hero who, according to the legend, beat the Texas Rangers who were chasing him for shooting the sheriff who had wounded his brother:

"Decía Gregorio Cortez,
Con su pistola en la mano;
No siento haberlo matado,
Al que siento es a mi hermano."
(Paredes 158)

In his masterpiece entitled *With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and Its Hero*, Américo Paredes depicted chronologically the birth and decay of the *corrido* of the Lower Rio Grande Valley: 1835 for the former, and 1930 for the latter. The end of the Mexican Revolution and the consequent absence of heroic outlaws, in addition to the urbanization of border towns were decisive for the downfall of the *corrido* tradition. Additionally, American popular music grew in popularity among the Mexican-American youth, confining these ballads to a rural setting. The socially active 1960s, with the struggle of the Farm Workers Movement and the *Movimiento Chicano*, especially with the importance of its community leaders, signified a turning point in the Mexican-American heroic imagery. These social leaders were the protagonists of modern *corridos*, men or women who demonstrated their strength and validity through political and social actions, and whose power relied on their speech, and not on violent actions. As José Manuel Valenzuela asserts:

La fuerza de la tradición popular se expresa en nuevos contextos y situaciones, como los ya señalados en las acciones colectivas y las luchas sociales, su apropiación por algunos de los llamados nuevos movimientos sociales que recuperan esta tradición como recurso de resistencia y disputa política. (92)

(The strength of the popular culture is expressed in new contexts and situations, as the ones already mentioned in collective actions and social struggles, or its appropriation by the new social movements that retrieve this tradition as an instrument of resistance and political dispute. [Translation mine].)

These folk-songs, at that particular time, voiced the demands and concerns of both the Farm Workers and the Chicano Movement struggle, with the leaders as the main protagonists. In this manner, César Chávez, one of the forerunners of the *Farm Workers' Movement*, became the prevalent protagonist of the *corridos*, which would usually glorify his persona and his actions for the Mexican-American peasants. The pacifist behavior was key to their belief of winning their struggle appropriately, since

"if respect for life and truth has been lost, then something essential is missing" (Day 112). The values of this Union were built upon the Catholic cult and, consequently, Chávez, as the modern protagonist of these *corridos*, deserved the most significant symbol of the Mexican and Chicano experiences as an award: the Virgin of Guadalupe.

"Oiga Señor César Chávez,
Su nombre que se pronuncia,
En su pecho usted merece,
La virgen de Guadalupe."
(*El Teatro Campesino*- "El corrido de César Chávez")

Besides, the glorification of these individuals as modern day heroes brought unity to the Mexican community living in the United States and temporarily evolved in the concurrent *barrio* life. The emergence of the *barrio* culture, as well as bringing together the diverse ethnic minorities, permitted the creation and evolution of a specific Chicano hip-hop culture. A history of common marginalization, denigration and voicelessness helped to establish a relationship between these communities. According to Murray Forman, "hip-hop's cultural practices involve four primary elements: B-Boying (or breakdancing), graffiti, MCing (or rapping), and DJing" (102), but as many rappers claim, it can also comprise all facets of daily experience. This multidisciplinary *folklore* needs to be acknowledged for its condition of a "multiracial, multiethnic phenomenon", and hence, both the rap and the hip-hop culture, become interethnic contact zones, where "young people of various ethnicities come together and exchange ideas, experiences [and] understandings" ("Chicano Hip-Hop as an Interethnic Contact Zone" 173).

As mentioned above, *barrio* life in the inner city areas came about when white middle-class families moved from the centre to the residential suburban areas in the fifties, an action which had negative repercussions on the living conditions of the remaining communities. The isolation and ensuing marginalization of these ethnic groups was also strengthened by the authorities, who ignored the basic educational and economic needs of those *barrios*. The poor housing, as well as the increasing illiteracy and unemployment among the Mexican-American youth, impulsed the proliferation of the Chicano gangs or "street syndicates" (Kelly 65), whose primary goal was "survival through self-reliance" (Sánchez Jankowski 25). Thus, the hostile environment where the community is set has always been in need of a solution. Consequently, and as Américo Paredes suggested in reference to the *corrido* tradition, this particular element of popular culture needs to be employed as an instrument of cultural resistance to express collective values, resistance and social protest (Tatum 12). Similarly, rap music is

an explicit discourse centering the conditions of the inner-city, exploring conditions of racism, and challenging power relation in American society. Emerging in a post-industrial America, (...) hip hop music underscores the isolation and disinvestment that urban spaces experienced in a post-industrial America and the effects of these processes on those who live in these spaces (Pulido 68).

The impact of the Chicano rap form on the Mexican-American community correlates with the success of the Mexican folk-songs in the twentieth century since both musical forms unite an important sector of the neighborhood. Mostly all of the

young people who participate in the hip-hop culture find rap as “uplifting and empowering” as it “provides an expressive outlet for kids and young adults who otherwise do not have many such outlets [and] (...) use their affiliation to form identities and community bonds” (*Chicano Rap* 26). In what McFarland identifies as “hip-hop nation” there are basically young working-class Chicanos/as from inner cities, who have grown up in hostile environments and besides are living under “a war on gangs and drugs that has caused Latinos to become the fastest-growing ethnic group in prison” (26). Hence, it is evident that, in many cases, these lyrics will picture the bellicose *barrio*-life and its negative consequences for the social image of the Mexican-American community. These music groups will always try to represent their lives as an alternative and actual portrait to what the media offers, proclaiming the truth but also expressing criticism upon it.

To begin with, violence, in a general context, and specifically among the gang members of the Mexican-American community and against the police is a constant in the lyrics of many of these songs. Hostility is ever-present, not only in the streets, but also in the media, numbing the audience to fights or even killings. Rap music is no exception to this, and its lyrics portray violence, but similarly, “the socioeconomic conditions in Chicano barrios and a history of celebrating violent heroes in Mexican patriarchal culture also contribute to the unique understanding of and response to violence that we hear from Chicano rappers” (*Chicano Rap* 111). A chronological overview of the history of Chicano music provides an understanding upon the importance of violence among this *folklore*; as the gang specialist Gabe Morales contemplates, “the influence of gangs upon music (...) goes back to the Bandito days of the 1800s. *Corrido* songs were written about the exploits of Mexican rebel leaders and what many sympathizers felt was ‘gringo oppression’ during the Mexican-American war (...) and became even more popular during the Mexican Revolution” (1). Many folk ballads give an account of the violent uprisings during the Revolutionary years (1910-1920). “*La Toma de Cuautla por Zapata*”, by an anonymous author, provides a great example of the aforementioned idea, portraying the fierceness as well as the interpersonal violence within the Mexican society of that time:

“El 13 de Mayo qué gusto tenían
algunos ricos del Pueblo,
porque los rebeldes tal vez entrarían
como un rebaño al degüello;
que el triunfo era de Madero
y que sus palacios pronto quedarían
consumidos por el fuego”.

Gang violence is regarded in a similar manner to those combats between the revolutionaries and the loyalists to the government, and many rap lyrics relate those “battles” between rival gangs. The lack of any social or political power forces, in a certain manner, these men to succumb to violence since “working class men can demonstrate their manliness through interpersonal violence. Interpersonal violence allows working class men who may have little control or power in their lives to, at minimum, control and have dominion over their bodies” (Baker-Kimmons, McFarland 338). This narration, however, is not necessarily the celebration of gang violence; in many cases, the rappers set a critique upon the confrontations between members of the

same community. The Northern Californian group *Funky Aztecs* in "Slippin' into Darkness", mentions and condemns this reality:

"We got black against blacks,
 Browns against browns,
 Whites against whites,
 From government to undergrounds (...)
 (...) With a tear in my eye 'cause
 It's my Raza that I'm killing (...)"

Violence as a means of survival is a motif often used in Chicano rap. The harsh living conditions, where poverty, along with an unstructured family with an often-absent father figure, makes the youngster decide in many cases to join a gang, where he or she will usually find protection and respect. According to Ruben Martinez, "gangs proliferate in the barrio and in the 'hood as a response to public and private failure. The gang is the 'family' or last resort: a family for kids when the parents are absent or abusive or just worn down by the pressure of barrio life, a school when public education disintegrates, a culture into itself when neither side of the U.S.-Mexican border seems to provide any sense of rootedness" (18). Following a similar linearity, the Los Angeles based rapper *Lil' Rob*, in his song "Something 2 Relate", draws attention to the difficulty of abandoning the gangs, since betrayal would undoubtedly signify death. Additionally, the last verse explicitly remarks the necessity of survival in such an aggressive environment which in the majority of the cases implies being part of a gang:

"(...) I see some vatos that I hate
 But I won't hit them up because I'm
 trying to get my life straight
 But they decide to hit me up instead
 I'm on their *leva*, they're the ones who
 want me dead
 So um, what am I supposed to do?
 It's time to show these fools

In the crazy life man their ain't no rules
 And you gotta understand
 I'm doing the same damn thing as any
 other man
 You can call it gang violence or call in
 what you will
 But even the most innocent man will
 kill (...)"

On the other hand, narrations of police abuse are very common motives construed to denounce the injustices suffered by this impoverished community, so that "Chicano rappers attempt to specify elements contributing to their oppression, albeit through a simplistic rhetoric" (Delgado 105). According to McFarland, "repressive legislation and police policies have been used to deal with the rebellious Chicano youth. (...) Moreover, since economic restructuring and job losses have increased in working-class inner-city communities, so too has the police presence" (*Chicano Rap* 122). Both rap groups grown in Los Angeles *Cypress Hill* and *The Psycho Realm* become agent representatives through their lyrics:

"This pig harassed the whole
 neighborhood,
 Well this pig worked at the station.
 This pig killed my Homeboy,
 So the fuckin' pig went on vacation".
 (*Cypress Hill*-*"Pigs"*)

"The enemy dividing those fighting
 Against it weakening our infantry
 We caught on to your big plan
 Separate us into street gangs
 Infiltrate the set put some battles in
 effect
 To distract from your dirty outfit, yeah".

(*The Psycho Realm* – “Enemy of the State”)

The song “Order Through Chaos”, written by *The Psycho Realm*, serves as a historic document for the narration of the events that led to the Los Angeles riots of 1991. The police beating of the African-American Rodney King led to a ferocious uprising of the ethnic minorities in the city. The group denounces in this song not only this particular rebellion, but also the everyday violence occurring in the *barrios*, which, according to McFarland is “the state strategies of containment of people of color” (*Chicano Rap* 120). Furthermore, the rappers, by declaring “They keep order by making street corners gang borders” or “We kill our own and bring sirens”, clearly declare and declaim how the law authorities in many cases exacerbate the violent issues in the *barrios* (*Chicano Rap* 120). Additionally, *The Psycho Realm* also exposes the news media manipulation which in many cases provides an adulterated vision of the community: “Through TV set nonsense/ we sit and fit as the face of violence”.

Many *corridos* of the Mexican-American War and posterior years give a similar account of the abuse suffered by the Mexican-American community in the Texan-Mexican border. The aforementioned “*El corrido de Gregorio Cortez*”, among many others, are representatives of the harassment suffered by those communities, who, after the American victory over the Mexicans, were displaced from their former nationality and became United States citizens. A poor understanding of English, as well as the proliferation of pioneers coming from the East coast in search of new lands to inhabit, led this ethnic minority to a status of second class citizenship which lasted until recently. Subsequently, many ballads demanded social justice, glorified the heroes who fought against the oppressive Anglo system and also ridiculed the Anglos, such as the well-known “*Corrido de Joaquín Murieta*”:

“Por cantinas me metí,
castigando americanos.
“Tú serás el capitán
que mataste a mi hermano.
Lo agarraste indefenso,
orgulloso Americano.”

Despite the fact that both violence and police abuse are very common themes in Chicano rap, it is still the racial pride and the demands for the recognition of their own cultural values through the decolonization of their systems which stand out as the major issues of concern in their lyrics. The necessity to exhibit their *mestizaje* is present in their culture, “in order to situate themselves within a broad and often global history of struggle related to racial discrimination and a demand for civil rights” (“Popular Music and Postmodern *Mestizaje*” 88). Chicano music, thus, emerges as the perfect vehicle to reflect their identity, since as Rafael Pérez-Torres asserts, “the hybridity of music becomes not just a means of blending various cultural influences and styles, but rather a way to highlight the relation quality of Chicano/a identity” (“Popular Music and Postmodern *Mestizaje*” 89).

Chicano nationalism is present through different formulae chosen by the rapper himself. To begin with, *caló* and the street slang are the usual languages found in these songs. The first Chicano rapper in scene, *Kid Frost*, released in 1990 a song entitled “La Raza”, where he specifically addressed the language he used (“the form that I’m speaking is known

as *caló*”), so he could “mark linguistically his Chicano identity” (“Popular Music and Postmodern *Mestizaje*” 90). On the same basis, and according to Fernando Pedro Delgado, “Kid’s Frost use of linguistic resources constructs borders around Mexican-American experiences and Chicano identity. He is delimiting and affirming a particular audience, a strategy with certain artistic and ideology (...) value” (104). Nationalism is very present in the song as well, which he marks specifically by claiming himself to be an “Aztec warrior”, a “Chicano, and I’m brown and proud.” Furthermore, by sampling an old Mexican-American song he “thematizes collective memory in its lyrics and melody (...) to construct what on the surface appears to be a Chicano protonationalism” (Saldivar 128).

Many of the songs advocate a Chicano social consciousness, defending their rights and denouncing the confrontations with the authorities. On the same basis, many of these rappers give accounts of their lives in order to demonstrate, proudly, that, regardless of their living conditions or environment, they have overcome a system which neglects them. For that reason, the rapper from Whittier, *Krazy Race*, in his song “Do You” overtly comments this: “I don’t want to be a product of my environment/ I want my environment to be a product of me”. He subsequently does not want to be affected by what it seems to be a hostile environment, but on the contrary, he aims at to be the one taken as an example by the youngsters living in the *barrios*. The interethnic East Los Angeles band *Delinquent Habits*, on the other hand, proudly remarks how Los Angeles would not be the same without the people of Mexican descent: “It wouldn’t be L.A. without Mexicans”, and furthermore, they explicitly tell the audience, how their community will last forever in California: “My DNA is everlasting” (“This is L.A.”). A nationalistic sentiment of the *barrio* and of the *Raza* is accounted as well as in the Pico Union District’s (California) rap group *Sick Symphonies*’s “In This Lifetime”: “There ain’t no city like my city in this whole world/ (...) I grew up in the ghetto but I love my hood”.

Similarly, the rap-fusion groups formed in Los Angeles *Aztlán Underground* and *Rage Against the Machine* become much more political in their speeches. Both *Aztlán Underground* with “Decolonize” and *Rage Against The Machine* with “People of the Sun”, describe the processes of colonization of the American continent and their subsequent massacres. For that reason, both groups incite the audience to take political action against a corrupt system which devaluates, and at a certain point, neglects their cultural ancestry. Furthermore, to rise against the system, as is the case of *Rage Against the Machine*, whose Zack de la Rocha “asserted his Chicano identity and identified with third world struggles” (“Chicano Hip-Hop and Postmodern *Mestizaje*” 329) by means of political lyrics: “That vulture came to try and steal ya nam/ But now you got a gun, yeah this is for the people of the sun” (“People of the Sun”). The Californian band, symbolically utilizes the vulture as a figure for the corrupted American system, and by means of the employment of a gun, they incite the audience for revolution. In addition, they pay tribute to those Amerindians annihilated in the Spanish conquest of the Americas. Similarly, *Aztlán Underground*, goes further beyond claiming “We didn’t cross the border/ the border crossed us”, and profusely criticizes the processes of assimilation in Anglo culture appropriated by a certain part of the Mexican-American community:

“You try to be white and its very respectable
But be Xicano and its highly unacceptable
Then we’re termed Hispanic as if we were from Spain
Trying to insert us in the American game
And we’re called wetbacks like we’ve never been here

When our existence on this continent is thousands of years
This is our state of the *indigena* today”.

Besides, the group reclaims their indigenous heritage, not only by affirming their long-term inhabitation, but also by rejecting the controversy of the word “Hispanic”. Their political consciousness is present from the name of the group itself, and therefore consider the Southwestern territories of the United States as the mythical *Aztlán* (original homeland of the Aztecs), and they echo it so in the song by saying “We have returned to Aztlán!”. Similarly, *Rage Against the Machine* also gives references of Mexican history by mentioning *Cuauhtémoc*¹ or some of the old tribes of the Mexican territories (*Maya* and *Mexica*). They recall their indigenous inheritance so they can “show something of their richness of cultural critique in and around (trans)national identity and demonstrate also the dimensions of an emergent Chicano/a oppositional practice” (Saldivar 128) and, thus, add further to the *mestizaje*/ *mulataje* of the Chicano rap (“Chicano Rap Roots: Black-Brown Cultural Exchange and the Making of a Genre” 944).

To sum up, it is essential to understand in the first place that “Hip-hop [and consequently rap as well] is an interethnic contact zone that allows for the creation of new expressive cultures and new identities for young people” (“Chicano Hip-Hop as an Interethnic Contact Zone” 181), and therefore, serves as a vehicle of expression of the demands and concerns of this new generation of Mexican-Americans. Music serves as the place where communities can interconnect, and consequently, “the music affirms that the passage between cultures, between nations, between communities is at once difficult, necessary and inevitable” (“Chicano Hip-Hop and Postmodern *Mestizaje*” 334).

Secondly, the richness and diversity of the Chicano *folklore* serves to the creation and constant renewal of the traditional Mexican-American music, as it is the case of the *corrido*, ancestor in essence of Chicano rap. Both forms of oral poetry are instruments of dissent and resistance against the hegemony of the white American society, as well as vehicles of information and tradition, considering that they maintain in time the historical events of the community.

On the same basis, *Mestizaje* is central to the development of the Chicano identity, since it is necessary to understand the constant navigation of the community between a double-shaped lore and tradition. In this context, hybridity will embody any cultural form of the community, seeing that “it helps articulate a cultural strategy for agency and change while at the same time evoking a sense of historical place and connection by naming a racialized subjectivity” (“Chicano Hip-Hop and Postmodern *Mestizaje*” 325). Chicano Rap celebrates the *mestizaje* of the community, and what is more, and as *Brwn Bflo*² claims in “Never Been Gone” their *barrio* pride as “we gonna represent the underground where we gonna stay forever/ that’s how it’s always gotta be my friend”. Thus, Chicano music in general, and the *corridos* and rap in particular serve not only as instruments of resistance against an domineering Anglo hegemony, but also as a “liberating process inscribed by tremendous political, social and cultural conflict” (“Chicano Hip-Hop and Postmodern *Mestizaje*” 333).

Notes

¹ The Aztec ruler when the Spanish Empire conquered Mexico.

² This rapper named himself Brown Buffalo in order to honor the famous Chicano lawyer Oscar ‘Zeta’ Acosta, famous for his political and social activism during the *Chicano Movement*.

Works Cited

- Anonymous. "Corrido de Joaquín Murieta". Canales de Zamora, Jess and Grant Evans. *College of Liberal Arts. The University of Texas at Austin*. 2002. Web. 20 December 2010.
- Anonymous. "La toma de Cuautla por Zapata". Ibarra Rivera, Gilberto and Jose Carlos Cota Osuna. *Bibliotecas Virtuales de Mexico: Emiliano Zapata 1909-1919*. 2003. Web. 20 December 2010.
- Aztlán Underground. "Decolonize". *Sub-Verses*. D-3 Entertainment, 1998. CD.
- Brwn Bflo (Brown Buffalo). "Never Been Gone". *Never Been Gone*. Brwn Bflo Records, 2009. CD.
- Chew Sanchez, Martha I. *Corridos in Migrant Memory*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. Print.
- Cypress Hill "Pigs". *Cypress Hill*. Sony, 1991. CD.
- Delgado, Fernando Pedro. "Chicano Ideology Revisited: Rap Music and the (Re)articulation of Chicanismo". *Western Journal of Communication*. 62.2 (1998): 95-113. Web, 20 January 2012.
- Delinquent Habits. "This is L.A.". *Here Come the Horns*. BMG, 1998. CD.
- Eguarte Bendímez, Enrique A. "El corrido mexicano: Elementos literarios y culturales". *Rilce*, 16.1 (2000)77-92. Web. 30 November 2011.
- El Teatro Campesino. "El corrido de César Chávez". "Las voces de los campesinos". Chatfield, LeRoy. *Farm Worker Documentation Project*. Si Se Puede Press, 2004. Web. 18 January 2010.
- Forman, Murray. "Keeping It Real? African Youth Identities and Hip-Hop". *Critical Studies: Music, Popular Culture, Identities*. Ed. Young, Richard. New York: Rodopi, 2002. (89-118). Print.
- Funky Aztecs feat 2Pac. "Slippin' into Darkness". *Día de los muertos*. Raging Bull, 1995. CD.
- Ibarraran Bigalondo, Amaia. "Depictions of Fatherhood in Contemporary Mexican/ Chicano Corridos". *Op. Cit.*, 12 (2010): 35-55. Web. 2 April 2012.
- Kelly, Raegan. "Hip Hop Chicano: A Separate but Parallel Story". *It's Not about a Salary... Rap, Race and Resistance*. Ed. Cross, Brian. NY: Verso, 1993 (65-76). Print.
- Kid Frost. "La Raza". *Hispanic Causing Panic*. Virgin, 1990. CD.
- Lil' Rob. "Something 2 Relate". *Crazy Life*. Familia Records, 1997. CD.
- Martínez, Rubén. "East Side Stories: Joseph Rodriguez's Images of East L.A.". *East Side Stories: Gang Life in East L.A.* Ed. Rodriguez, Joseph, Ruben Martinez and Luis Rodriguez. New York: Powerhouse Books, 1998. (9-33). Print.
- McFarland, Pancho. *Chicano Rap: Gender and Violence in the Postindustrial Barrio*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008. Print.
- . "Chicano Rap Roots: Black-Brown Cultural Exchange and the Making of a Genre". *Callaloo*: 2006, 29.3: 939-955. Web. 20 October 2011.
- . "Chicano Hip-Hop as an Interethnic Contact Zone". *Aztlán*: 2008, 33: 173-182. Web. 20 October 2011.
- Morales, Gabe. "Chicano Music: An Influence on Gang Violence and Culture". *Journal of Gang Research*, 10.2 (Winter 2003):55-63. Web. 15 January 2011.
- Paredes, Américo. *With His Pistol in His Hand: A Border Ballad and Its Hero*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1958. Print.