ETHNIC STUDIES REVIEW

The National Association for Ethnic Studies

The National Association for Ethnic Studies (NAES) was founded in 1971. NAES has as its basic purpose the promotion of activities and scholarship in the field of ethnic studies. The Association is open to any person or institution. The Association serves as a forum to its members for promoting: research, study, curriculum, design as well as producing publications of interest to the field. NAES also sponsors an annual conference on ethnic studies. *Ethnic Studies Review* is an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic peoples. The journal is refereed and provides a forum for socially responsible research. Contributors to the journal demonstrate the integration of theory and practice.

Editorial Advisory Board

ETHNIC STUDIES REVIEW

The Journal of the
National Association for Ethnic Studies

Issue Editor: Faythe Turner

Table of Contents

Book Reviews

Editor's Note

This issue of the journal includes articles that focus on a variety of topics in the discipline of Ethnic Studies. In the first article Gabriel Haslip-Viera challenges scholars to reassess the theory of human development in the Western Hemisphere. Haslip-Viera presents a compelling argument that focuses on the basic claims and methods used by Afrocentrists to support their theory. His concluding section discusses the potential consequences of this theory on future relations among African Americans, Native Americans and Latino Americans.

Jack David Eller investigates the issue of ethnicity as an affective relationship. He argues that affect is a critical element in ethnicity but that current theory of ethnic affect has been counterproductive. Eller introduces two theories—attachment theory and social identification theory—to illustrate his position. Robert L. Perry and Melvin T. Peters concentrate on the African American intellectual of the 1920s, focusing on the sociological implications of the Harlem Renaissance for the African American experience. The article integrates the impact of the work of political activists, a multigenre of artists, cultural brokers and businesspersons.

Jim Schnell addresses the use of African American perspectives as a way to promote a more inclusive understanding of human communications theory. His piece highlights the need for more research that really 'brings in' divergent perspectives to the mainstream of academic curriculum issues. These new views are crucial if the field of communications is to continue to challenge itself from the inside. However, the implications herein discussed can easily be applied to any other discipline for which 'new views' of the world are lacking.

Michael Soldatenko looks at the situation of Chicano Studies from 1970-1985. His essay examines the development and subsequent failure of Perspectivist Chicano Studies. Soldatenko's work highlights that fact that divergent views have always existed within Chicano Studies, and that Chicano Studies is not one standard or narrow view of understanding the experience of people of Mexican descent residing in the United States. The final article is by Ellen Puccinelli, a first place recipient of our NAES Undergraduate Student Paper Competition. Her paper is on Laura Esquivel's novel *Like Water for Chocolate* in its broader contexts of genre resistance and cultural identity.

The wide array of topics and perspectives found in these articles is promising for the Field of Ethnic Studies. Ethnic Studies scholars are becoming more diverse in their approaches to studying and researching our discipline. Additionally, scholars are more willing to 'agree to disagree' and recognize that these potentially difficult dialogues will only help expand and strengthen our discipline from within.

Miguel A. Carranza
University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Afrocentrism and the Peopling of the Americas

Gabriel Haslip-Viera
City College of the City University of New York

This essay focuses on a theory of human development that has been promoted aggressively by a group of Afrocentrists in recent years - that the Western Hemisphere was first populated by "Africoids" or "Black" people who came to the Americas by way of Asia and the Bering Straits with little or no change in their physical or racial characteristics. As discussed in this article, the theory has no support in the evidence collected by scientists in various fields. The essay focuses on the basic claims and methods used by the Afrocentrists to support their theory, including their misuse or misinterpretation of mostly outdated scholarship produced in Europe and the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. A brief concluding section makes reference to the potential repercussions of this theory on relations between African Americans, Native Americans and Latinos of Native American and part Native American background.

Afrocentrism or the Afrocentric view has emerged in recent years as one of the most controversial issues in the rancorous debate over multicultural education in this country. Afrocentrism is frequently used by critics of ethnic studies and multi-culturalism to discredit such movements for their alleged promotion of social and political divisiveness in U.S. society. Critics point to the anti-Semitism, the denigration of European culture, and to the smug sense of racial superiority that they see in much of the Afrocentric literature. But it should also be made clear that Afrocentrism does not constitute a monolithic point of view.

There are different types or different gradations of Afrocentrism. For example, Manning Marable has made a distinction between "scholarly" Afrocentrism and "vulgar" or popular Afrocentrism in his writings.[1] To some degree, this view is accurate, but there is also considerable overlap, and as a result, it is often quite difficult to differentiate between the two.[2]

Afrocentrism or the Afrocentric view has its origins in the nineteenth century black nationalist and pan-Africanist ideas of Edward W. Blyden, Alexander Crummell, Africanus Horton and Martin Robinson Delaney. These were among the first African descended diasporans to positively connect such people to an idealized African continent conceived as ethnically unified. Accordingly, African diasporans were seen as "a family" or "a race" that should identify with or "return to the land of their fathers and be at peace."[3] These ideas and others that focused on the African origins of human culture and civilizations were adopted and developed further in the decades that followed by W. E. B. DuBois, Marcus Garvey, Aimé Cesaire, Leon Damas, Leopold Senghor, Carter G. Woodson, Cheikh Anta Diop, Theophile Obenga, Maulana Karenga and others before they were synthesized and re-conceptualized as Afrocentrism in the mid 1980s by Temple University Professor Molefi Kete Asante. According to Asante, Afrocentrism is a "philosophy," a "worldview," a guide for "personal and social transformation," and a "theoretical instrument for the examination of phenomena" which places African peoples at the "center" of inquiry as "subjects" rather than as "objects" on the margins of the European experience.[4] As we shall see below, Afrocentrism also frequently includes a cultural hegemonism and a racialist view of humanity that tends to privilege "black people" at the expense of other peoples, including Native Americans.[5]

This paper will focus on the racialist views promoted by a number of Afrocentrists and their application to the origins and physical evolution of Native Americans. The view towards Native Americans and other peoples, aside from Europeans and Africans, has not received much scrutiny from the critics of Afrocentrism. The debate up until now has focused primarily on "black" versus "white" issues or on Afrocentrism versus Eurocentrism.[6] In this paper, I will argue that a racialist Afrocentrism which focuses on Native Americans in a hegemonic manner is fundamentally Eurocentric in its orientation. It also should be made clear that the advocates of these views are connected to both the so-called "scholarly" Afrocentrists and the so-called "vulgar" or popular Afrocentrists.[7]

The Afrocentric view towards Native Americans and the peopling of the Americas has been articulated by Legrand H. Clegg II, Runoko Rashidi, Ivan Van Sertima, and Keith Jordan, among others. Their basic premise is rooted in the Afrocentric view that humanity began in Africa and was racially "black" or "Africoid." In the Afrocentric scenario, the early "Blacks" migrated from Africa and populated the entire globe,

including the Americas, before the emergence of "Caucasoids," "Mongoloids" and Native Americans. In an early articulation of this theme, Legrand H. Clegg II developed the scenario further by suggesting that the "Mongoloid" ancestors of Native Americans might have participated in a global conspiracy, led by "their white counterparts," to uproot, defile, annihilate and appropriate the cultural achievements of the "Blacks" who allegedly preceded them.[8]

Underlying this scenario and those of other Afrocentrists is the notion that bands of "blacks" or "Africoids" migrated to Asia, moved north to Siberia, crossed the Bering Strait into Alaska, and populated the Americas without undergoing any kind of perceived biological or evolutionary change. In support of this concept, the Afrocentrists rely very heavily on legends, oral traditions, an earlier generation of African and African American writers, and the cranial or skeletal studies published by racialist scholars from Europe and the United States in the period from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century. Accordingly, the Afrocentrists believe that there were three and possibly four migratory movements from Northeast Asia into the Americas in the period between 40,000 B.C. and 2,000 B.C. The earliest was "possibly" a migration of "Pygmoids" or "Diminutive Blacks" who are described as being of "unusually short stature," with "yellowish" to "dark brown" skin complexions, "tightly curled hair," and in frequent cases, "steatopygia" (unusually large buttocks, especially in women). They are also described as being related to the modern-day "Pygmies," "Negritos," "Negrillos," "Khoi-Khoi," "San," and "Hottentots" (etc.) of Africa, South Asia and the Pacific region.[9]

Although the Afrocentrists are not certain about the migration of "Pygmoids" or "Diminutive Blacks," because "the supporting evidence is extremely sparse and inconclusive," they nevertheless assert that there was a subsequent migration of "Australoids" into the Americas in the period after 40,000 B.C. The "Australoids" are described as being longheaded ("dolichocephalic"), "dark-skinned (invariably black)," with "broad, flat" noses, "fleshy lips," "beetling" brow ridges, "receding" foreheads, "hair that ranges from wavy to straight," and with "alveolar prognathism" or the forward projection of the area above the lips due to large teeth and a robust dental arch. They are also said to be related to the "Mundas" and the "Veddas" of India and Sri Lanka and to the "Kooria" or "aboriginal" population of modern Australia.[10]

In the second or third stage of the Afrocentric scenario, the "Australoids" are followed by "Prehistoric Negroids" or "Clovis-Folsom Point Blacks." These individuals are defined as being a "sub-type of the Africoid race," but the description of this group is somewhat vague. According to Clegg "the 'Negroid' race" is "long-headed, and dark-skinned" with "crinkled or wavy hair, a nose that ranges from broad to keen and lips that are often fleshy," but Rashidi asserts that the "Clovis-

131

Folsom Point Blacks" are related to the "Melanesians" or the so-called "Asiatic Negroids" of the South Pacific region and may be ancestral to these groups.[11]   Scholars have asserted that the "Melanesians" and other so-called "Asiatic Negroids" are a special group,[12] but to the Afrocentrists it is clear that this population is a "sub type" of "the Black or Africoid race" based on their promotion of racial stereotypes and alleged similarities in physical characteristics and appearances.

In the final stage of the Afrocentric scenario, "invading Mongoloids" begin to displace the earlier "Negroid," "Black," or "Africoid" populations in many parts of the Americas (circa 2000 B.C.!). The "resistant Africoids" are said to be "uprooted," "exterminated," and "almost totally absorbed" by the "invading Mongoloids." Quoting Eurocentric scholars, the "Mongoloids" are described as being "longheaded," with "broad faces" and "slant eyes."[13] As the Afrocentrists see it, the "fusion" of the "invading mongoloids" and the earlier "Africoid" populations results in the emergence of the "American Indian" as a physical type by the time of the arrival of the Europeans in the sixteenth century, but they fail to define this stereotype with any degree of precision.[14] It should also be noted that the physical types articulated above are the same ones that were used by the old racialist scholars of Europe, the United States and the other regions of the world that were significantly influenced by this scholarship. As a result, the Afrocentrists rely very heavily on the cranial and skeletal studies that were done by the physical anthropologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

For example, the Afrocentrists make reference to the works of Harold S. Gladwin, Roland Dixon, H.C. Haddon, Earnest Hooton, Arthur Keith, Paul Rivet and other racialist scholars and craniometrists of this period. They also try to utilize their works to support the Afrocentric assertion that the first Americans were "Africoids" or "Blacks." Very often, however, this old and hopelessly out of date scholarship is not used in a very careful or thorough manner. For instance, the Afrocentrists continuously make reference to the "Australoid" and "Negroid" characteristics that were seen in the excavated skulls of Native Americans by the early craniometrists. They fail, however, to report that these same scholars were generally mystified by the overall conclusions of their research. In fact, there was an intense debate within the scholarly community with regard to the origins of Native Americans and their alleged racial characteristics in the earlier part of this century. As a result, Dixon, Haddon, Hooton, Keith and many of the other scholars who studied the subject were generally much more careful in their use of the prevailing racial concepts and terminology than the Afrocentrists would have us believe. For example, Hooton used the terms "PseudoAustraloid" and "Pseudo-Negroid" when he discussed the skulls of Native Americans.[15] At the same time, Dixon, upon whom the Afrocentrists rely very heavily, used the terms "Proto-Australoid" and "ProtoNegroid," when referring to

the same crania.[16] It is also clear that Dixon was not referring to modern Australians or African "Blacks" when he used these concepts or terminology. As he clearly states in his "Racial History of Man" the use of the term "proto Negroid...does not mean that actual Negroes...are supposed to have migrated to the New World."[17] He also states that

> The terms Proto Negroid, Mediterranean, etc. are merely convenient (although perhaps misleading) names for a series of purely arbitrary types which might just as well be denominated by numbers or the letters of the alphabet....[18]
> The Proto Negroid type designates a form of skull which is dolichocephalic, hypsicephalic, and platyrrhine, and carries with it no necessary implication whatever that any other features which we may be accustomed to think of as occurring in Negro crania are also present....[19]
> The name Proto-Negroid...carries with it no implication in regard to skin color, hair form, or any other superficial or structural features which may be found in the modern Negro.[20]
> ...the statement that among a given people the Proto-Negroid Type is strongly represented does not imply that they have or had a black skin or woolly hair.[21]

Of course, the racialist scholars of yesteryear were not able to resolve their differences with regard to the origins of Native Americans and their alleged racial characteristics. This disagreement was one of many factors that eventually led to the collapse of most race theories based on biology, genetics, and morphology by the late 1960s.[22] The effort to subdivide the human species into "Caucasians," "Negroids," "Mongoloids" and other "races" based on skeletal or cranial measurements is no longer taken seriously by the scientific community as a whole,[23] but the Afrocentrists who write on Native Americans and other groups would have us believe that they continue to be both valid and very useful. In the case of Native Americans, what results is the promotion of the old Eurocentric racialist ideal. According to Clegg, the "Indian or red man" is of "Mongoloid stock with a broad head, straight, black hair, broad and prominent cheekbones, and a broad concave nose."[24] In other writings, Ivan Van Sertima, Keith Jordan and others establish additional limitations on their version of the Native American physical type. Accordingly, preColumbian Native Americans could not have been relatively tall in stature, with darker skin color, "aveolar prognathism," "African" noses, "Semitic" noses, "thick lips," or "fully fleshed lips." They also would not have been capable of growing "goatees" or "flowing beards."[25]

133

It should be noted that the Afrocentrists also rely on historical documents and oral traditions in their efforts to find support for their assertion that "Africoids" or "Blacks" were the first Americans. For example, the Afrocentrists make reference to the presumed sightings of "Blacks" in the Americas by European explorers in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, but these references are problematic because they fail to take into consideration the wishful thinking of the Europeans, especially the Spaniards and the Portuguese. Based on their knowledge of geography and their familiarity with the ethnic and environmental concepts of the time, the European explorers were expecting to find "Blacks" in the equatorial regions of the Americas. Christopher Columbus and Americo Vespucci appear to have been rather perplexed by the fact that they could not find "Blacks" in the same latitudes in which they were presumably found on the African continent. As a result, there were a number of reported but unconfirmed sightings of "Blacks" in various parts of the circum-Caribbean region along with reported sightings of monsters, mermaids, Amazons and other types of strange phenomenon that the explorers were also expecting to see.[26]

The Afrocentrists also make reference to a number of Native American or Inuit ("Eskimo") oral traditions, but the quoted stories are very few in number and raise a number of questions that Afrocentrists have perhaps failed to consider. These traditions supposedly make reference to the "Africoid" precursors of "Mongoloid (Indians)" in early America, but there is no certainty that these stories are in fact rooted in the distant past or have not been modified considerably over a period of time.[27] The Afrocentrists also assume that Native Americans have always understood the Eurocentric concepts of race and the racialist use of the term "black" when reference is made to people or the skin color of humans. It is also absolutely clear that the Afrocentrists have chosen to ignore the thousands of legends or stories which place the origins of native peoples on the American continent--in its soil, its rivers, and its environment--not in some distant continent.[28] At this point we should be reminded of the consensus that exists among archeologists and other social ˋscientists with regard to the origins of Native Americans. Based on the evidence that has been collected thus far, it is believed that the ancestors of modern Native Americans began to migrate from Siberia into Alaska and Northwestern Canada sometime between 11,000 and 35,000 years ago. It is also believed that modern Native Americans and Siberians are in part descended from the same ancestral populations of Northeastern Asia.[29]

Based on the "evidence" that they present, it would seem that there is no basis for the Afrocentric assertion that the first Americans were "Africoids" of "Blacks," but they are inclined to articulate their assertions in an often aggressive and preachy manner. This preachy-ness is in part rooted in the alleged conflict between Eurocentrism and

Afrocentrism and is seen in the numerous and often disparaging remarks which are made about the western scholarly tradition in their writings. It is absolutely clear, however, that when it comes to Native Americans (and other non European and African peoples as well) it is this same western scholarly tradition that forms the basis for the Afrocentric assertions. Essentially what is seen is a debate between contemporary Afrocentrists and the Eurocentric scholars of yesteryear over how to define Native Americans and the peopling of the Americas. Any Native American perspective is obviously missing in such a debate. This problem is clearly evident not only in the Afrocentric view of the peopling of the Americas, but also in the Afrocentric view toward Native American culture and its evolution.

Without providing any concrete evidence, Ivan Van Sertima and other Afrocentrists have published books and articles which claim that the ancient "Egypto-Nubians" inspired or created the first Native American "civilizations." They also claim that Africans, particularly West Africans, came to the Americas at various times between 1200 B.C. and 1492 A.D. and entered into peaceful relationships with the "Mongoloid-Indians." However it is also clear that most of these assertions are inspired by Eurocentric rather than Afrocentric ideas.[30] Thus Van Sertima and his colleagues would resurrect the old racial concepts and stereotypes which characterized Eurocentric scholarship prior to the 1960s. They would reintroduce the old outdated skeletal and cranial studies to identify Native Americans as "racial types." They would also revive the old racialist art criticism of figurative art. They would resurrect the old comparative linguistics with its "word list games." And, they would reinstate the old Eurocentric concepts of cultural superiority and what it means to be "civilized."[31]

Despite the protestations of Van Sertima and his colleagues, there is also ultimately what C. Tsehloane Keto calls a "hegemonism" in much of the Afrocentric literature on Native Americans.[32] Clegg and Rashidi may write about the up- rooting, extermination and absorption of earlier "Africoids" by invading "Mongoloids," but an Ivan Van Sertima will maintain that Native Americans emerged as a rather dull-witted and unimaginative people who required the input of the superior Egypto-Nubians in order to develop complex societies and cultures. Thus, not only are the first Americans said to be "Black," but the first American "civilizations" are also said to be "Black."[33]

Although Afrocentrists in general have argued for an "accurate representation of information" and the need to create a new Afrocentric history which will raise the "self-esteem," "self-worth" and "self-respect" of African Americans, we seem to have in this case a rather transparent attempt to use the old racialist Eurocentrism to distort the record at the expense of Native Americans and Latinos of Native American or part Native American background. In particular, Clegg, Rashidi, Jordan, Van

Sertima and their supporters appear to be quite willing to trample on the self esteem of Native Americans by minimizing their role as actors in their own history, by denigrating their cultures, and by usurping their contributions to human development in the name of some distorted Afrocentric version of "accurate representation" and "self-esteem" for African Americans.[34]

NOTES

[1] Manning Marable, "Beyond Racial Identity Politics: Towards a Liberation Theory for Multicultural Democracy," *Race & Class* 35, 1 (July-September 1993): 120-122 and passim. Maulana Karenga has also made a distinction between "Afro-centrism" as an ideology and "Afrocentricity" as a "systematic intellectual" approach to research and study. However, there is no evidence of any agreement on this distinction among self proclaimed Afrocentrists or other interested observers. See Maulana Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies*, Second edition (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 1993), 35.

[2] Afrocentrism or Afrocentricity has been defined in various ways by artists, educators, scholars, political activists and other interested persons. See, for example, Ed Wiley III, "Afrocentrism: Many Things to Many People," *Black Issues in Higher Education* 8:17 (October 24, 1991): 1, 20-21.

[3] As quoted in Kwame Anthony Appiah, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 17, 21; Also, see Molefi Kete Asante, *Kemet, Afrocentricity and Knowledge* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1990), 112-14.

[4] See Molefi Kete Asante, *Afrocentricity* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1988), vii, 2 and passim; Molefi Kete Asante, "African American Studies: The Future of the Discipline," *The Black Scholar* 22, 3 (Summer 1992): 20 and passim; Molefi Kete Asante and Diane Ravitch, "Multiculturalism: An Exchange," *American Scholar* 60, 2 (Spring 1991): 270; Also, see other writings by Asante on this subject.

[5] For examples of this type of literature as they apply to Europe and Asia, see Ivan Van Sertima, ed. *African Presence in Early Europe* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1985); Ivan Van Sertima, ed. *Golden Age of the Moor* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992a); Ivan Van Sertima and Runoko Rashidi, eds. *African Presence in Early Asia* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1995), among other works.

[6] Although Native American scholars are generally familiar with claims that trans-oceanic contacts took place between the Americas and other

continents in the pre-Columbian period, they have published very little on the subject with no apparent reference to Afrocentric claims that the first Americans were "black." In his book, *Africans and Native Americans: The Language of Race and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples,* 2nd ed. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), Jack D. Forbes speculates on possible contacts between the Western Hemisphere and other continents prior to 1492. However, he emphasizes possible journeys by Native Americans to Europe and is very skeptical of claims that Africans came to the Americas in the pre-Columbian period. In contrast to Forbes, Vine Deloria, Jr. has expressed discomfort "with the idea that NO contacts were made" and calls for "a good look at all possible theories of Precolumbian contacts and even the transmission of every cultural trait that is found elsewhere." He also rejects the Bering Strait theory, "Indians, Archaeologists, and the Future," *American Antiquity* 57, 4 (October 1992): 597, calling it a "fictional doctrine that places American Indians outside the realm of planetary human experiences." These statements suggest, however, that Deloria would reject the Afrocentric claim that the first Americans were "black," because in their scenario the "black" migrants supposedly came to the Americas by way of the Bering Straits. See Forbes, 1993, 7-11, 265-66; Vine Deloria, Jr., 1992: 592-98. Also see Vine Deloria, Jr., (*Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* (New York: Scribner, 1995), 45, 48-49, 61-62, 69-70, 73-77, 81-110, 179, 216217, 231 and passim.

[7] The articulation of racialist and hegemonic views towards pre-Columbian Native Americans can be found specifically in Ivan Van Sertima, *They Came Before Columbus: The African Presence in Ancient America* (New York: Random House, 1976); Ivan Van Sertima, ed. *African Presence in Early America* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1992b); Ivan Van Sertima, "African Presence in Early America," in *Race, Discourse, and the Origins of the Americas: A New World View,* ed. Vera Lawrence Hyatt and Rex Nettleford (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995): 66-101 and Clyde Ahmad Winters, "Mexico's Black Heritage," *The Black Collegian* (December-January 1982): 76-84, among other works. For a critique of these views, see Bernard Ortiz de Montellano, Gabriel Haslip-Viera and Warren Barbour, "They were NOT here before Columbus: Afrocentric Hyperdiffusionism in the 1990s," *Ethnohistory* 44, 2 (Spring 1997): 202-203, 215-220 and passim; Gabriel Haslip-Viera, Bernard Ortiz de Montellano and Warren Barbour, "Robbing Native American Cultures: Van Sertima's Afrocentricity and the Olmecs," *Current Anthropology* 38, 1 (June 1997): 420-425, 431 and passim. Reference should also be made here to Manning Marable's view that Ivan Van Sertima belongs to the "scholarly" as opposed to the "vulgar" or popular group of Afrocentrists. See Manning Marable, "Goodbye Columbus: Challenging the Myths of Discovery, Civilization and Racism During the

Columbus Quincentennial," *Black Issues in Higher Education* 8:5 (September 26, 1991), 22, for an endorsement of Van Sertima's work.

8 Legrand H. Clegg II, "Who Were The First Americans?" *The Black Scholar* 7, 1 (September 1975): 34-35, 39.

9 Legrand H. Clegg II, "The First Americans," in Van Sertima, 1992b, 232, 233-34; Ivan Van Sertima, "Introduction," in Van Sertima, ed., 1992b: 24; Runoko Rashidi, "Men Out Of Asia: A Review and Update of the Gladwin Thesis," in Van Sertima, ed., 1992b: 216-19. Rashidi's essay has also been published with a different title in Runoko Rashidi, *Introduction to the Study of African Classical Civilizations* (Chicago and London: Karnak House, 1992): 99-113.

10Clegg, 1992, 232, 234-36; Rashidi, 219-22; Van Sertima, 1992b, 24.

11Clegg, 1992, 232, 236; Rashidi, 223-25; Van Sertima, 1992b, 24.

12For example, recent research has demonstrated that Africans are "genetically" closer to Europeans than they are to "Melanesians" and Australian aborigines. See for example, Luigi Cavalli-Sforza, "Genes, Peoples and Languages," *Scientific American* 265:5 (November 1991): 104-10. Also, see Luigi Luca Cavalli-Sforza, Paolo Menozzi, and Alberto Piazza, *The History and Geography of Human Genes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 302-342 and passim. It should also be noted that the skin color of pre-Columbian Native Americans cannot be determined with any kind of accuracy using current research methods and probably varied to a significant degree. In any case, the Afrocentrists are also quite vague when defining 'blackness' and very often rely on the old 'one drop rule,' ie: that a "Black" person is anyone who has at least "one drop of black blood." See for example, the vague, confused or contradictory definitions for "blackness" that are found in Van Sertima, 1976, xvii.

13Clegg, 1992, 237; Rashidi, 226. It should be noted here that the obsolete or bizarre dates used by Rashidi and Clegg (40,000 B.C., 2,000 B.C., etc.) are mostly those of Harold S. Gladwin. See his *Men Out of Asia* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1947).

14Clegg, 1992, 237; Rashidi, 226-27; Van Sertima, 1992b, 24.

15Earnest Hooton, *The Indians of Pecos Pueblo: A Study of Their Skeletal Remains* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931).

16Roland Dixon, *The Racial History of Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1923).

[17]Dixon, 400.

[18]Dixon, 401.

[19]Dixon, 22.

[20]Dixon, 401.

[21]Dixon, 22-23.

[22]For a recent discussion of this subject, see Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origins and Evolution of a Worldview* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993), 273-310 and passim.

[23]See, for example, the discussion in Steven Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1981).

[24]Clegg, 1992, 231.

[25] Ivan Van Sertima, 1976, 1995, and ed. 1992b.

[26]See Ferdinand Columbus, *The Life of the Admiral Christopher Columbus by His Son Ferdinand,* trans. Benjamin Keen (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1959), 234; *The Journal of Christopher Columbus,* trans. Cecil Jane (London: Hakluyt Society, 1960), xx; Francisco Lopez de Gomara, *Historia general de Las Indias* (Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1932), Vol. 1: 143, 162; Pedro de Martir de Angleria, *Decadas del nuevo mundo* (Mexico: Jose Porrua e hijos, Sucs., 1964),Vol.1: 291; Samuel Eliot Morison, ed. *The Journals of Christopher Columbus* (New York: The Heritage Press, 1963), 66, 268; John Boyd Thacher, *Christopher Columbus: His Life, His Work, His Remains* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1903), Vol. 1: 534; Vol. 2: 369, 380, 388. Reference should also be made to the Afrocentric assumption that all 16th century Europeans employed the same vague, imprecise definitions for terms such as "black, white," (etc.) which are used in our own society at the present time. For a discussion of race terminology and its evolution in Europe and the Americas since the late 15th century, see Forbes, 1993.

[27]Clegg, 1992, 233; Rashidi, 227-28.

[28]See, for example, some of the creation stories by Native Americans which appear in Ella E. Clark, ed. *Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1952); Barbara C. Sproul, ed. *Primal Myths: Creating the World* (New York: Harper and Row, 1979);

Miguel Leon Portilla, ed. *Native Mesoamerican Spirituality: Ancient Myths, Discourses, Stories, Doctrines, Hymns, Poems from the Aztec, Yucatec, Quiche-Maya and other Sacred Traditions* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1980); Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz, eds. *American Indian Myths and Legends* (New York: Pantheon, 1984).

[29]For a recent discussion of the Bering Strait scenario, see David J. Meltzer, *Search for the First Americans* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996); Maureen L. King and Sergei B. Slobodin, "A Fluted Point from the Uptar Site, Northeastern Siberia," *Science* 273, 5275 (August 2, 1996): 624-36; Anne Gibbons, "The Peopling of the Americas: New genetic data suggest that the earliest Americans came from Asia in one or two waves--not more--challenging an earlier synthesis of linguistic, dental, and genetic evidence." *Science* 274, 5284 (October 4, 1996): 31-33; David J. Meltzer, "Monte Verde and the Pleistocene Peopling of the Americas," *Science* 276, 5313 (May 2, 1997): 754-755.

[30]See for example, Van Sertima, 1976, 1995, and the various essays in Van Sertima, ed. 1992b. Also, see Molefi Kete Asante and Mark T. Mattson, *The Historical and Cultural Atlas of African Americans* (New York: Macmillan Publishers, 1991), 15-19; Michael Bradley, *Dawn Voyage: The Black Discovery of America* (Brooklyn, NY: A & B Books, 1992); Anthony T. Browder, *Nile Valley Contributions to Civilization: Exploding the Myths*, Vol. 1 (Washington, DC: Institute of Karmic Guidance, 1992), 209-217; and Karenga, 110-114. Also see other publications of this type.

[31]For a critique of this literature see Ortiz de Montellano, Haslip-Viera and Barbour, 1997:199-234; HaslipViera, Ortiz de Montellano and Barbour, 1997: 419-41.

[32]Keto, an Afrocentric writer, has warned other Afrocentrists to reject "hegemonism," biological race concepts and other Eurocentric ideas, but these admonitions do not seem to have had much of an impact on those persons who are writing about Native Americans. See C. Tsehloane Keto, *The Africa Centered Perspective of History: An Introduction* (Laurel Springs, NJ: K. A. Publishers, 1992), 1, 27, 28-29, 46-47 and passim.

[33]These are the prevailing themes in Van Sertima, 1976, 1995, Van Sertima, ed. 1992b, and Bradley 1992, among other works.

[34]The references to "accurate representation of information" and "self esteem" are found in Asante and Ravitch, 270, 274, and *The Washington Post,* 14 December 1989, DI, D9.

Affect, Identity, and Ethnicity:
Towards a Social-Psychological Model
of Ethnic Attachment

Jack David Eller
Denver, Colorado

Since the days of Shils and Geertz it has been common to refer to ethnicity as a bond, a tie, or an attachment. Shils used the term "tie" in the title of his seminal 1957 article to refer to a set of social relationships, including what he called "civil," "kinship," "sacred," and "primordial." The primordial tie was notable for the "ineffable significance" which social actors attribute to it and to the relationship which it engenders: "the attachment [is] not merely to the other ... as a person, but as a possessor of certain especially 'significant relational' qualities, which could only be described as primordial. The attachment ... is not just a function of interaction."[1]   Subsequently Geertz developed the notion of ethnic "attachment" as an affect and identity, or better yet, an affect-centered identity. The intention, often quite explicit, of these thinkers and the many who followed them was to emphasize the emotional quality of ethnicity as an explanation of its persistence and power. At the same time, as an emotional and not rational phenomenon, ethnicity was expected to decline and disappear under the onslaught of modern rationalizing social forces.

This essay returns to the issue of ethnicity as an affective relationship. It will argue that affect is indeed a critical element in ethnicity but that the theoretical treatment of ethnic affect has tended to be counterproductive. Simply put, the appeal to ethnic "bonds," "ties," or "attachments" has inhibited the analysis of ethnic attachment because

the terms are unarticulated and purportedly in no need of articulation. The unexamined use of affect or the use of unexamined affect as the base of ethnicity has led to the overestimation of its irrationality, underestimation of its variability, and disregard of its social construction.

Therefore, I will sketch a model of ethnic attachment as affect but as *comprehensible* affect. First, I will demonstrate that ethnicity is characterized by an emotional attachment. I will then show how the apparent ineffability of ethnic attachment has misled us. Finally, I will illustrate how conceptually-examined and socially-constructed affect can be brought to ethnicity by introducing two theories of attachment from psychology - - Bowlby's attachment theory and Tajfel's social identification theory - - and exploring in a preliminary way their implications for a social theory of ethnicity. This will contribute to the "psycho-cultural approach to social belonging"[2] upon which a complete understanding of ethnicity depends.

Ethnicity as Affect

Most -- but not all -- theorists seem to agree that ethnicity is essentially or largely a "sentiment," "feeling," or emotion: "ethnicity is *felt*."[3] From this perspective ethnicity is the feeling of being "attached" to some group and/or its symbols or "markers." Individuals experience a certain attendant affect which makes the group and its markers important to their own sense of identity, interest, and destiny.

What holds the individual to the ethnic markers and what makes of him or her an ethnic member and makes of the group an ethnic group is an emotional *attachment*. It is this emotional attachment, most theorists agree, which renders the markers and the group personally significant and which gives ethnicity its distinctive power, pervasiveness, and persistence (and in many eyes perniciousness). Individuals are deeply emotionally involved with or committed to the markers of their group and to other members of the group, and individual identity and action are accordingly based on this affective connection to group and symbol.

However, this being said, ethnicity theory has often not scrutinized this fundamental bridging concept which nevertheless is called upon to do such critical duty in the explanatory process. What is this emotion like? How is the emotional attachment formed? These are questions which are not adequately asked. In fact, in many formulations they are questions which do not *need* to be asked beyond the two assumptions that it carries a high -- an invariantly high -- "emotional loading"[4] for all individuals in all groups and that it is essentially primal, natural, unconstructed and not a function of interaction, that is, primordial.

It is well to remember, given that the subject of this volume is "Ethnicity: Family and Community," in looking for an analogy of ethnic attachment with the qualities of strong, natural, and primal feeling, a

number of theorists have settled upon kinship. Geertz identified a relation between family ties and ethnic "primordial sentiments," the latter arising naturally from the "givens...of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connections mainly" but also community and group social facts.[5] Subsequent theorists have been more forceful: one writes that the "language of ethnicity is the language of kinship,"[6] while another asserts that ethnicity and race are "extensions of the idiom of kinship, and...ethnic and race sentiments are to be understood as an extended and attentuated form of kin selection."[7] In the kinship model of ethnicity kinship is natural, *apriori*, and ineffable emotion in need of no other explanation than its existence. And since many ethnic groups and members stake their ethnicity on idioms of birth, descent, and group history -- the same markers upon which kinship is staked -- the theorists are often led to conclude that ethnicity too is a natural, *apriori*, ineffable emotion. In other words, easily (but not necessarily) this appeal to the kinship idiom can lead theorists back again to primordialism (or the most extreme "naturalist" theory -- sociobiology) in a closed circle of logic.

For many ethnicity theorists, the centrality of emotion positively *demands* a primordialist reading. The very value of primordialism is its focus on "the great emotional strength" of ethnic attachment.[8] In fact, some theorists have thought that primordialism is a necessary way if not the only way to incorporate emotions into ethnicity theory. For Stack without primordialism "the complexity, resilience, and even irrationality of ethnic bonds are likely to be underestimated,"[9] while Scott believes that "we need the primordial approach for a *complete* explanation," especially of ethnicity's "most extreme, strident, irrational aspects."[10] For such theorists the only way they can understand "extreme," "strident," "complex," and "irrational" sentiments and behaviors -- or ones that seem so to them -- is by basing them on emotion construed to be apriori and in the blood, ineffable, ancient, unconstructed, and therefore beyond the pale of the modern world's more "rational" and restrained social organization.

In the end it seems that although emotion and attachment are invoked as critical to the nature (and explanation) of ethnicity in most cases, they are not developed as serious analytical tools; rather, they are taken as a sort of theoretical "first cause," at once overemphasized and undertheorized and overemphasized *because* they are undertheorized. What we need is an elaboration of the notion of attachment, how attachments form, feel, and function. This would necessarily entail a socialpsychological perspective. Toward this objective I now introduce two models of attachment which may have important implications and raise important possibilities for ethnicity theory.

143

Attachment Theory

Attachment theory has spawned both significant literature and significant experimental findings in psychology since its formulation by John Bowlby over thirty years ago. Although its original empirical interests (to explain a set of observations regarding the emotional behavior of institutionalized or otherwise parent-deprived children) and its theoretical intentions (to reformulate an area of psychoanalytic theory without reference to instincts, drives, gratification, or psychic energy) are far from the realm of ethnicity, it has developed concepts and understandings which may be helpful in comprehending ethnic affect.

In Bowlby's words, "attachment theory is a way of conceptualizing the propensity of human beings to make strong affectional bonds to particular others."[11] Literally from the first months of life a human shows a preference for certain other individuals, initially and especially the mother. However Bowlby finds the classical psychoanalytic explanations for such phenomena, which emphasize need gratification and tension reduction, unsatisfactory. For one thing he observed that infants and children who had their relationship with significant adults interrupted presented negative emotional symptoms even when some other adult continued to feed and care for them; on a simple need-gratification model any adult should suffice equally well. Second he learned of the now-famous experiments with animals conducted by Lorenz and Harlow which suggested the presence and power of attachment phenomena. Impressed with these observations Bowlby introduced an "ethological" perspective to the theory of attachment. He posited a behavioral system in humans and other species which generates certain kinds of behavior in certain situations, "the outcome of which is an ongoing relationship, such as maintenance of a specified distance over a comparatively long period."[12] Thus the attachment behavior system which is inherited produces behaviors with the *goal* of keeping proximity to certain preferred others; in his words, attachment behavior is goal-directed and *goal-corrected*. It operates by a kind of feedback process: if too great a distance is perceived between the individual and the attachment figure, behavior is elicited to restore proximity.

Bowlby conceived of the attachment system as a kind of adaptation, and he recognized the relevance of culture and society to his work and vice versa. The system developed in humans, he said, in response to the environment in which the human species evolved, what he called the "human environment of adaptedness" in recognition of the fact that in some ways this environment was or might be different from the contemporary human environment.[13] In this early human environment there would be an adaptive advantage for an infant to keep a care-giver in proximity, so such a behavioral system aiming at attachment would be naturally selected. An attachment system would,

in his account, contribute to species survival.

So within a few months of birth humans begin to show signs of attachment and to perform attachment behaviors. In interaction with a significant care-giver, an "attachment figure", a relationship develops which includes not only instrumental care (like feeding) but an affective component; an "affectional bond" is formed which for Bowlby meant "the attraction that one *individual* has for another *individual*."[14] Attachment thus becomes a social relationship, our first, in which both adult and child are active participants (even if the child's behavior is at first "cybernetically programmed"). Initially through relatively simple interactions like gazing and smiling and then through increasingly complex interactions the two individuals form a bond which each, but especially the weaker partner, acts forcefully to preserve. Ultimately this bond evinces seven major features: specificity, duration, engagement of emotion, ontogeny, learning, organization, and biological function.[15]

1. *Specificity.* The essence of attachment is a preference for one individual, or at most a few individuals, over all others.[16] Even in everyday situations the child's preference for one individual (a mother or father, ordinarily) is easy to observe, as is the child's alarm at separation from her/him; no other individual will do as a substitute. Thus, the specificity of attachment is shown in "the association of the attachment figure with feelings of security" and in "the tendency... to attempt to ward off or to end separation from an attachment figure."[17] Attachment depends upon the child's ability to discriminate among individuals and to value one (or a few) above all others.

2. *Duration.* As a relationship, once an attachment is formed it tends to persist. Attachments are not ephemeral bonds; an attachment may, in fact, last a lifetime or a large portion of a lifetime. Adolescents and adults also display attachment, sometimes to the same figures to whom they were attached as children, sometimes to new ones. Perhaps most interestingly, as will be apparent below, an attachment seems to need no particular reinforcement to endure. Attachment is actually difficult to extinguish once formed, and it "resists extinction even when there appears to be no positive gain from the relationship."[18] It even seems to resist extinction if there are negative consequences. Its endurance, in other words, is not entirely "instrumental" or "rational."

3. *Engagement of emotion.* As we saw above, attachment has instrumental functions (primarily care and feeding) but is not entirely dependent upon or determined by these; it is also a behavior system with its own qualities, especially affective qualities. Maintaining such a bond is a source of pleasure in itself, renewing it "a source of joy," losing it a source of "grief" and fear. Attachment is a unique kind of affect, with its own constellation of positive and negative feelings, although it may be alloyed with other affects to produce different kinds of affective states and social relationships. It has sometimes been equated with love, and

at other times invoked as an element in the love relationship.

4. *Ontogeny*. Attachment, although its source is a behavioral system which is inherited and instinctive, has a genesis and a history, a course of development, for each individual. This ontogeny of attachment is evidenced in several different ways. For one, attachment is not the same at all stages of life or even all stages of infancy. A child normally goes through a regular set of phases: (a) from birth to about twelve weeks, orientation toward humans without a preference for any particular person; (b) from about three to six months, clear preference for one or more discriminated attachment figures; (c) from six months through the second or third year, active efforts in the form of movement and signals to maintain physical proximity to the attachment figure, and (d) after the second or third year, the formation of a "goal-corrected partnership" in which each party can anticipate and appreciate the actions of the other, and the weaker party can tolerate separation with the understanding that it is for some reason and some limited time.[19] Accordingly, attachment behavior becomes more sophisticated over time, and the attachment itself becomes more intense up to a point, after which it becomes gradually less common and less intense.

Another evidence for the ontogeny of attachment is the fact that it can "go wrong," that it can develop in different directions with different kinds of affective outcomes. Several attachment theorists have reported that the attachments which infants form have different characteristics depending on the nature of the interactions with the attachment figure.[20] It is possible in the end that if not enough quality interaction occurs at the critical time for young humans, no attachment may form at all.[21]

5. *Learning*. Clearly, then, although the ability and propensity to form attachments is "natural," the precise "nature and the forms" of an attachment "differ in some measure according to the particular environment in which development takes place."[22] Attachment as a kind of social relationship is learned and constructed in interaction, and the quality of the interaction will shape the quality of the attachment relationship. Neither the fact nor the form of attachment for an individual is a "given." However, the general sense in attachment theory is that the individual tries valiantly to attach to someone (just as Lorenz's ducklings try valiantly to "imprint" on something) and to get that figure to respond and reciprocate, even "despite repeated punishment" or other rebuke. However under such circumstances the attachment may be anemic or deformed by other contradictory affect.

6. and 7. *Organization* and *Biological Function*. I have combined these two features because of their systematic relation. As we have seen, attachment emanates from an inherited behavior system which operates toward a goal through feedback; Bowlby called it cybernetic. It is activated by certain environmental (social) conditions, including separation, "strangeness, hunger, fatigue, and anything frightening."[23] Once

activated it draws upon a repertoire of "attachment behaviors," according to the developmental stage of the individual, the goal of which is to achieve and maintain proximity to another preferred individual. Upon reaching the goal, the individual ceases to exhibit attachment behavior and can direct attention to other matters, the most famous of which are exploration and play.

Significantly, this same organizational pattern – activation, behavior, termination, and emotional "freedom" -- is observed in many other species, including Harlow's monkeys, although of course the particular activating conditions and attachment behaviors are species-specific. However, Bowlby found the attachment phenomenon to be common enough and similar enough to suggest a biological function for it: individual protection and species preservation. Attachment is an evolutionarily-developed, naturally-selected adaptation "the ultimate outcome for which...is neither more nor less than species survival."[24]

Social Identification Theory

Having demonstrated that a psychological theory may shed light on the attachment which many analysts believe underlies social phenomena like ethnicity, we must admit that Bowlby's theory does not provide a complete theory of ethnic attachment. The attachment which Bowlby describes, for example, is juvenile, dyadic, and concrete, whereas the ethnic attachment is adult, group- or community- or even nation-focused, and symbolic, that is, concerned at once with 1) symbols like flags, songs, and insignia, 2) symbolically significant characteristics like skin color, history, or customs, and 3) people whom we do not and probably never will know. A truly inclusive theory of attachment should be able to encompass such psychocultural phenomena within a perspective which is both affective and cognitive.

Social identification theory, henceforth referred to as SIT, which originated from Henri Tajfel's work on the social-psychological processes of group formation, specifically addresses the issue of group identities and group preferences. Tajfel begins by noting that "group" distinctions may exist whether or not relevant groups are actually in social contact and whether or not "clear-cut physical or behavioral cues...exist to facilitate discrimination."[25] He therefore investigated the processes of group formation and group awareness with what he called "minimal group" experiments, which entailed assigning subjects to groups based on an arbitrary category or characteristic (such as "red" and "blue"). Subjects were then asked to make choices or judgments on some task which concerned the group; however, the other members of the group, if there actually were any (often the "group" was purely fictional) were never seen. With no more basis than this, subjects evinced a tendency to judge in preference of their supposed group-fellows, suggesting the

147

existence and operation of some sort of "group sense" and group attachment.

The conclusion drawn by SIT is that the "mere perception of common category membership may be ... necessary and sufficient for group formation."[26]   Social categorization itself, and even more so *situations* and *activities* (even weak ones, like the "minimal group" situation) which direct or compel the individual to think and behave in terms of social categories, lead *first* to identification with some category and *second* to attachment to it. Group membership in this view is "cognitive" or "perceptual" first and affective second: it is an emotional bond to a perceived social category and to membership in said category. In fact, the "personal", that is, person-to-person, attachment (bearing in mind that SIT does not specifically use the term attachment) is construed as less fundamental than the person-to-category attachment: "We may not, after all, tend to join people we like as much as like people we perceive ourselves joined to."[27]   In a real way the attachment to the category rather than to specific people makes the group.

The process of social identification as understood in SIT involves a three part sequence of social categorization, social identity, and social comparison. Social categories exist in virtually all human social situations and certainly in all societies. These categories may be racial, ethnic, local, or any number of others; in a certain sense they are "given" in the sense of social facts "existing prior to the interaction" but not necessarily *apriori*; rather, they are the constructs of earlier interactional patterns and outcomes. At any rate, in interaction individuals are exposed to the categories and their relevance for behavior; individuals learn which category "they are" and how that fact constrains their choices and the expectations which others have of them.

Under normal circumstances experience with social categorization leads individuals to identify with the category and with the others who share categorial membership. Recognition of and identification with a social category (such as an ethnic or racial category) enters into the individual's "self-concept," the "hypothetical cognitive structure" which mediates between the individual's personality and behavior and the external social world. In particular, social categorization and perceived membership in a category lead to the formation of an individual's "social identity," defined as "that *part* of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership."[28] The individual now "thinks like" and "behaves like" a member of the category or, now, *group*.

The final step in the sequence is social comparison. This has two different aspects, one objective or "socially given" and the other subjective. On the objective side society comes complete not only with social categories but with social evaluations of those categories a system

of relative prestige and power as well as particular images and stereotypes, which enter into and affect the interactional possibilities and the social identities of members. The system of groups and of social evaluations of those groups constitutes the environment, the "frame of reference," for social comparison and for the construction of positive or negative social identities which incorporate these evaluations. The subjective aspect is the individual's need for a positive social identity (for what we might call self-esteem) which entails both a sharp distinction from other groups and categories and a positive evaluation of one's own group on some valued criteria. Thus, it is in the interest of a group of this kind to emphasize or maximize the differences between itself and other groups in the social field and to find value in one or more of its own group characteristics; this also helps to account for the common need to denigrate or discriminate against other groups. In fact, on this basis SIT offers its "categorization law": "as category memberships become salient, there will be a tendency to exaggerate the differences on criterial dimensions between individuals falling into distinct categories, and to minimize those difference within each of these categories."[29]

It is critical to note that the theoretical sequence, social categorization-social identity-social comparison, and the entire social identification phenomenon described in SIT, while seemingly natural and easily accomplished, is quite explicitly *learned*. People are not born with a social identity, nor is it accurate to say that they acquire such an identity independent of social interaction by some process of cultural or spiritual osmosis. In fact the whole point of SIT is that people learn social identities, make social judgments, and exhibit social behavior as a result of participation in categorially-organized social interactions in situations in which social categories are a real and salient element of the cognitive and behavioral environment.

Tajfel specifically discusses how the learned aspect of social identity and group membership helps to account for the varying strength and even varying existence of group attachment and group oriented behavior for different individuals at different times. Most basically the presence of categories and relative evaluations of them does not necessarily compel the individual to recognize them nor to identify with them. At the same time some social situations allow or force individuals to perceive categorical differences and group identifications more than others and to consider those differences and identifications in determining their own identity and subsequent behavior. It is entirely possible that the perception of and identification with category and group may initially be absent or weak for any given individual, but if these situations are sufficiently frequent and serious then perception and identification may develop and strengthen. Tajfel says it best when he writes: "Social situations which will force the individuals involved to act in terms of their group membership will also enhance for them some group identifications

which had previously not been very significant to them, or perhaps even create or bring to life group memberships which were previously only dormant or potential."[30]

Correspondingly, once a categorically-based social identity is constructed in the individual, it functions as a lens through which to judge social situations and interactions and by which to organize behavior, as evidenced by the original minimal-group experiments. Turner writes that social identity "monitors and construes social stimuli,"[31] finding or even imputing "group meaning" in social situations. Social circumstances are therefore interpreted *in terms of* social categories and the reigning evaluations of them making it possible to "read into" a situation or interaction a group significance. Furthermore, social identity also serves as a source of individual behavior, behavior which is also conducted in terms of perceived group categories, comparisons, and interests. Ultimately, SIT posits that "social identity is the cognitive mechanism which makes group behavior possible."[32] Then, in more or less extensive fashion for various individuals at various times, social identities and, therefore, social categories as "social facts" can structure the perception, course, and outcome of social interaction. Social identity as premised on social categories and categorically-based group formation is thus an indefinitely elastic phenomenon which can expand and contract with changing social circumstances and changing interpretations of those circumstances.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, both attachment theory and social identification theory give us a view of affective bonds to specific others which are plastic and socially constructed or plastic *because* they are socially constructed. Attachment, in the first case primarily an emotional phenomenon and in the second case primarily a cognitive or identificational one, is seen in both theories as "natural" or "instinctive," but the actual attachments which form are unpredictable, uncertain, and flexible. The two characteristics of plasticity and social construction are crucial to any theoretical exposition of ethnic attachment, which though often powerful, pervasive, and persistent is not always equally so and must be a product of social interaction if it to be a useful social concept.

Thus a social-psychological conception of attachment has the potential to meet the "primordial challenge" of ethnicity for social theory, especially in regard to its apparent givenness, strength, and irrationality. If an attachment phenomenon such as the one described in the theories above underlies ethnicity, then ethnicity is not in fact a result of mere "immediate contiguity and kin connections" but is an artifact of specific and analyzable social experiences and psychological tendencies. Contiguity or kin connection provide the social opportunities to form

attachments and identities by providing contexts of social interaction, but those simple "primordials" are not coercive of either, not in fact nor in form.

First of all, though the propensity to form attachments is natural in humans, attachment is seen in both theories above as learned and situational. Certain specific interactions with specific others actualize the potential attachment and give it its particular characteristics for the individual in question. Though "natural" in principle for humans as a species, each actual attachment is specific to the individual and, more importantly, to the situations in which the individual experiences others and the wider social world. Attachment is "historical" or "biographical" in the sense of its being the product of the encounters between the person and his or her social environment. This realization actually opens up an area of research for ethnicity studies, namely the "socialization" of ethnic identities and attachments.

Second, attachment bridges the theoretical gap between primordialism and circumstantialism by combining affect and interest. Attachment, whether infantile or identificational, is instrumental in a sense; it is born of certain interests and continues to serve certain interests after formation. However, the affective character of the attachment is not totally defined nor limited by those interests, such that it can appear that the affect and the interest are independent or even contradictory for example, that the affect is irrational and perhaps counterproductive in relation to actual interests or that the interest is only a secondary consideration after the affect. But Bowlby notes that attachment arises out of an interest in safety and security and tends to endure once formed, regardless of subsequent experiences, even ones which might seem to extinguish it. Tajfel's appeal to social identity, on the other hand, suggests that the attachment becomes an integral aspect of the self emerging from an interest to know and value oneself but then determining in large part how interests are perceived and how behavior in pursuit of interests is conducted in the future.

Thus, attachment has a "function" which ultimately turns on the preservation or perpetuation or even advancement of the "group." Bowlby says so specifically, and SIT shows that socially-identified individuals tend to act in favor of the group. In a sense the group might be conceived not as a Darwinian population whose fitness is increased by attachment phenomena but as a symbolic population marked and isolated by symbolic boundaries (which may nevertheless become real in such forms as endogamy rules or neighborhoods or even states). As Anderson so rightly noted, such groups are "imagined communities" which emerge through boundary processes which are, in DeVos' words, "basically psychological in nature, not territorial."[33] This is why, as SIT acknowledges in particular, there is no real correlation between the amount of "cultural" difference between categories or groups and the

intensity of the identity and boundary distinctions made by members.

At the same time this attachment does not function to the same extent for all individuals at all times. Both theories above agree that the phenomenon may ultimately be present or absent, strong or weak, and active or dormant in any actual case. Certain specific situational triggers may also activate attachment-oriented or identity-oriented responses or enhance the personal salience of these qualities for the individual, making such responses more likely in the future. Furthermore, the elasticity of its affective and cognitive qualities makes it possible for it to expand and contract, intensify and subside, as circumstances warrant. New terms or situations may become imbued with group significance, and the very boundaries and qualities of the category or group may shift over time.

In the end ethnicity is not just attachment and nothing else; it is one of the many human affiliations based on attachment. Various scholars have noted that ethnicity exhibits multiple aspects of which the affective tie or bond is one. However, to the extent that an attachment is implicated in the psychosocial alloy which is ethnicity, the theories presented above have much to offer in explicating one important facet of the phenomenon. Even more, each theory in its way allows for such an alloy. Attachment theorists after Bowlby have commented on the tendency for attachment to enter into mixtures of psychological processes, resulting in various affective states such as adult love and perhaps even nationalism. SIT very explicitly situates group identity and preference within a field of social categories, social evaluations, and social interactions which opens the social identification process to symbolic and political forces. The particular kinds of categories, groups, and markers which compose ethnic attachment and ethnic identity will distinguish it from other relationships and identities which also contain an attachment at their heart. However, a psychosocially articulate conception of the attachment underlying ethnicity returns this critically important modern phenomenon to the fold of socially-constructed cultural processes.

NOTES

[1] Edward Shils, "Primordial, Personal, Sacred, and Civil Ties," *The British Journal of Sociology* 8: 142.

[2] George DeVos, "Ethnic Pluralism: Conflict and Accommodation," in *Ethnic Identity: CulturalContinuities and Change*, ed. George DeVos and Lola Romanucci-Ross (Palo Alto, CA: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1975), 5-41.

[3] George Scott, "A Resynthesis of the Primordial and Circumstantial Approaches to Ethnic Group Solidarity: Towards an Explanatory Model," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 13: 167.

4 Talcott Parsons, "Some Theoretical Considerations on the Nature and Trends of Change in Ethnicity," in *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, ed. Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 53-83.

5 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 259.

6 Donald Horowitz, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), 57.

7 Pierre van den Berghe, "Race and Ethnicity: A Sociobiological Perspective," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 1: 403.

8 James McKay, "An Exploratory Synthesis of Primordial and Mobilizationist Approaches to Ethnic Phenomena," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 5: 397.

9 John Stack, "Ethnic Mobilization in World Politics: The Primordial Perspective," in *The Primordial Challenge: Ethnicity in the Contemporary World*, ed. John Stack (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 1-11.

10Scott, 157.

11John Bowlby, *The Making and Breaking of Affectional Bonds* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1979), 127.

12John Bowlby, *Attachment and Loss, Volume I: Attachment* (New York: Basic Books, 1969), 72.

13As a characterization of this environment and the social adaptation to it Bowlby invoked the work of Washburn, DeVore, and Turnbull, the latter for a description of the hunting-gathering way of life which he accepted as a model of early human life and culture.

14Bowlby, 1979, 87.

15Bowlby, 1979, 130-1.

16This is illustrated by the famous "stranger situation" experiment, in which an attached child is exposed to an unfamiliar adult; normally, the child shows attachment behavior such as returning to the attachment figure and touching or clinging to her/him.

[17]Robert Weiss, "Attachment in Adult Life," in *The Place of Attachment in Human Behavior*, ed. Colin Murray Parkes and Joan Stevenson-Hinde (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 171-84.

[18]Weiss, 181.

[19]Bowlby, 1969, 266-7.

[20]Ainsworth (1982) describes three kinds of attachments - "secure" or "normal," "anxious," and "avoidant" - each with its distinct interactional ontogeny and behavioral characteristics.

[21]Although the debate continues, it is generally agreed that a kind of critical period exists for forming attachments, so that if no figure presents itself for attachment or acts consistently enough to permit an attachment to form in this period then the whole behavioral system of attachment may go "unactivated."

[22]Bowlby, 1969, 45.

[23]Bowlby, 1979, 131.

[24]Bowlby, 1969, 54.

[25]Henri Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 187.

[26]John Turner, "Towards a Cognitive Redefinition of the Social Group," in *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*, ed. Henri Tajfel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 15-40.

[27]Turner, 17.

[28]Henri Tajfel, *Differentiation between Social Groups* (London: Academic Press, 1978), 63.

[29]Turner, 28.

[30]Tajfel, 1978, 39.

[31]Turner, 21.

[32]Turner, 21.

[33]DeVos, 6.

The African American Intellectual of the 1920s: Some Sociological Implications of the Harlem Renaissance

Robert L. Perry
and
Melvin T. Peters
Eastern Michigan University

This paper deals with some of the sociological implications of a major cultural high-water point in the African American experience, the New Negro/Harlem Renaissance. The paper concentrates on the cultural transformations brought about through the intellectual activity of political activists, a multi-genre group of artists, cultural brokers, and businesspersons. The driving-wheel thrust of this era was the reclamation and the invigoration of the traditions of the culture with an emphasis on both the African and the American aspects, which significantly impacted American and international culture then and throughout the 20th century. This study examines the pre-1920s background, the forms of Black activism during the Renaissance, the modern content of the writers' work, and the enthusiasm of whites for the African American art forms of the era. This essay utilizes research from a multi-disciplinary body of sources, which includes sociology, cultural history, creative literature and literary criticism, autobiography, biography, and journalism.

There were many forces at play from the beginning of the 20th century through the World War, the 1920s, and into the early 1930s that assisted in the emergence of the Harlem Renaissance School of Artists and which encouraged and sustained the growth and vitality of their works, providing wider acceptance for African American cultural subjects than previously possible. Crucial factors in the development of the New Negro era were the vicious racism that ended America's first experiment with living on a democratic basis with African Americans and resulted in the Great Migration (which brought millions of people and their cultural tastes and artistic skills into urban centers of the North), the

wide variety of black political activists who sought to organize and direct the newly urbanized masses and the cultural renaissance, the modern content of the writing of the era, and the European and Euro-American enthusiasm for Black artistry. Due to America's tragic legacy of mono-cultural education and cultural hegemony, the actual import of the New Negro Renaissance was officially and prematurely buried. It took the rediscovery of the Harlem Renaissance by scholars, beginning in the 1960s and working through the 1990s, to clarify the depth of the lasting, universal values that were part and parcel of the movement. Much of this rediscovery indicates just how thoroughly the African American 1920s anticipated the African American 1960s. This paper begins to describe some of the contextual influences upon that seminal moment in African American history and culture.

During the 1920s the phenomenal and controversial activities of a young generation of African-Americans served to capture the imagi-nation of a wide range of the American population. Expressions of this "Harlem Renaissance," "Negro Renaissance," or "New Negro" were cul-tural in character. Blacks of the era not only created rich modes of liter-ary and musical cultural expression but also struggled to control that expression's image as well as its business affairs. As an intellectual and artistic movement, the Renaissance was firmly rooted in political activ-ism and contained a wide variety of political overtones. Not the least of those who were politically active were the members of the W.E.B Du Bois led National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the millions of members of Marcus Garvey's United Negro Improve-ment Association in African and throughout the African Diaspora. Garvey's expansive, black history-rooted activism colored the spirit of the age. His magazine, *Negro World*, as well as the NAACP's *The Cri-sis* focused on all aspects of the political and cultural climate of the 1920s, and both sought to guide the direction of the flourishing cultural produc-tion. It was Garvey's unparalleled ability to appeal to and raise funds from the masses of blacks world-wide from his Harlem base that made the UNIA a lightening rod for the actions and reactions of all the other groups interested in black uplift: the integrationists, the socialists, and the communists. Garvey was eventually criminalized and deported by his enemies, both within and outside of the race.[1] Definitions of the New Negro, his importance as a model of American Culture, and the intent of his activities were argued by black and white alike. Alain Locke, an African American cultural critic, Rhodes Scholar, and a prominent spokes-man for the Renaissance described the movement as

...the rise from social disillusionment to race pride, from the sense of social debt to the responsibility of social contribution. Each generation will have its creed and that of the present is the belief in the efficacy of the collective effort in the race co-

operation. The deep feeling of race is at present the main-spring of Negro life.[2]

He saw hope for the contemporary Black as resting, "in the reevalua-tion... of the Negro in terms of his own artistic endowments and cultural contribution," although others held opposing views. Replying to poet Langston Hughes and his artistic manifesto, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," in *The Nation*, in 1926 black satirist George Schuyler wrote

> Negro art "made in America" is as nonexistent as the widely advertised profundity of Calvin Coolidge...or the sophistica-tion of New Yorkers. Negro Art has been, is, and will be among the numerous black nations of Africa; but to suggest the possi-bility of any such development among the ten million colored people in the republic is self-evident foolishness.[3]

It is altogether curious that the talented and duplicitous Mr. Schulyer, who was a life long opponent of the radical trends of African Americans, by the 1930s would be busy trying his own Black hand as an artist. He published his hilariously signifying, science fiction satire on racial con-sciousness, *Black No More*, in 1931 under his own name. As well, he cranked out inventive magazine fiction (*Black Empire, The Ethiopian Murder Mystery*, and *Revolt in Ethiopia*) under such pseudonyms as Samuel L. Brooks and Rachel Call.[4]

Despite the 1920s debate over whether the Renaissance was a declaration of cultural autonomy or an exercise in self-delusion, it held the attention of the American public then and influenced future forms of Black artistry on an international scale. In that era Langston Hughes, Zora Neale Hurston, Claude McKay, Wallace Thurman, Countee Cullen, Jessie Fauset, Jean Tommer, Rudolph Fisher, and James Weldon Johnson established reputations as popular poets, short-story writers and novelists. Sociologist E. Franklin Frazier along with historians J.A. Rogers, Carter G. Woodson, and Alain Locke gained a wide readership in scholarly and popular circles. Louis Armstrong, Alberta Hunter, Paul Robeson, Roland Hayes, Duke Ellington, James Reese Europe, Josephine Baker, Gertude "Ma" Rainey and Bessie Smith were but a few of the acclaimed actors, musicians and dancers who became public figures, both here and abroad. Black America experienced in the 1920s a sudden recognition and, in some cases, a sincere appreciation of a few of its talented members. The audiences that received these intel-lectuals and artists fed additional enthusiasm into the movement, pro-moting and encouraging the emergence of other talent, such as A. Philip Randolph and Cyril Briggs in journalism, Angelina Grimke and George Douglas Johnson in drama and Aaron Douglas in art. The prophetic

ideals of the young radicals among the era's creative spirits were vindicated by the work of future artists. Hughes' 1926 declaration, "We younger artists that create now intend to express our individual dark-skinned selves without fear or shame...We build our temples for tomorrow, strong as we know how, and we stand on top of the mountain, free within ourselves,"[5] has proven to be extremely influential throughout the twentieth century. Janheinz Jahn, among others, has noted that the Harlem Renaissance had a direct influence on the Negritude Movement of French speaking Caribbean and African writers.[6] Similarly, writers of America's Black Arts Movement of the 1960s and early 1970s represented their work as "the New Black Renaissance."[7] A final indication of the enduring impact of the New Negro Movement comes from the literary poets of the Hip-Hop generation. The editors of *In the Tradition: An Anthology of Young Black Writers* (1992) assert that, "we are echoes of the Harlem Renaissance- Zora Neale, Langston, Countee, Nella, Claude, et al."[8]

The Pre-1920s Background

"New Negroes" of the Renaissance were emerging from an America that had experienced vast changes in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Industrialization, urbanization, and the rise of the middle class marked the end of the Civil War, with Reconstruction redefining social order and mood. Within this period of change, it was African-Americans who were most greatly affected. From 1890 to 1920 more than two million Negroes left Southern farms for the city and factory.[9] Just two decades later, the proportion of African-Americans residing in urban areas in America had "increased from 28% to 48.2%."[10] Alain Locke described this movement as "a deliberate flight not only from the countryside to city, but from medieval America to modern."[11] Black men and women shifted from an agrarian world to an industrial one, from constituting a peasantry to joining an urban proletariat. One result of the massive migration was the creation of Black Harlem, the center of the Renaissance. Illogical land and building speculation and the resulting frantic "collapse of the real estate values, suddenly transformed an area for the well-to-do into a fashionable slum for New York's Negroes."[12] From 1900 to 1920 the population of Harlem increases rapidly and "it gradually acquired the character of a 'race' capital. Negroes from Africa and the West Indies, from the North and the South...poured into the crucible of the dark Manhattan. Harlem thus provided the Negro artist with an infinite number and variety of human subjects."[13] The crowded city fostered vigorous group life, and the African-Americans began to see their problems collectively. The urban environment put an end to isolated provincial attitudes; traditional ways of thinking, formed as survival strategies during the severe test of slavery, were modified. A general lack of

work gave many of "the Harlem Negroes the opportunity for individual contacts with life and the spirit of New York."[14]

The migration of million of culture-bearing African Americans into the cities included laborers, middle class professionals, and artists alike. Even as the racist "Separate but Equal" was being put into place, the racially distinctive musical gifts of the culture captured the attention of white Americans and set them to dancing. It is of major significance to note that the integral part music plays in most aspects of African American life is a definite retention from African culture which has continually served to produce outstanding artists. The importance of the idea of Africa is reflected in stylistic techniques (much of which remained subliminal) but also in the naming of songs both before and after Marcus Garvey. There were among the early 20th century ragtime tunes such titles as" "African Dreamland," "An African Reverie," "Under the Bamboo Tree," and Eubie Blake's "Sounds of Africa." Early jazz songs featured titles like "Pharaoh Land," "Senegalese Stompe," "South African Blues," "African Hunch," "Shakin' The African," and The Mills Brother's "Jungle Fever."[15] The popular arrival of ragtime music around 1900 set the stage for the introduction of the other musical genres; jazz and blues were already incubating in all Black settings in the Deep South and were trickling into the North. "The Jazz Age actually started in 1912 when musicians first referred to 'jazzing' music but was recognized by the world around 1918 or 1920."[16] The culturally focused activism of a multitalented group of African Americans, generally one generation out of slavery, led the struggle to put their music on America's center stage.

The far-sighted among the oppressed saw in their music a powerful tool to be used in the fight against both segregation and the racist attitudes.... The picket lines and lawsuits broadened opportunities for Black artists in the North, while at the same time there were musical forays into the Southern backwaters by jazz and blues groups who proved to be so popular that they generated integrated audiences despite segregation laws. Then there were the musicians turned radicals. And at the same time community activists aided the music cause, as for example when the NAACP underwrote the first major Black-owned record company.[17]

Key figures at this developmental stage of the New Negro Renaissance included the following cultural pioneers: Lester A. Walton, desegregation activist, theater manager, and theater-page journalist; W.C. Handy: musician, composer, sheet-music businessman, and author; Sherman Dudley: theater booking-agency owner; Jack Johnson: heavyweight champion of the world and jump-starter of Chicago's cabaret business with his integrated clubs; and James Reese Europe: organizer of The Clef Club in New York that started the process of obtaining unionized status for Black musicians and bandleader of the U.S. Army 369th Infantry Band in France that, pivotally, introduced jazz to the world

159

during World War I. Europe, whose Clef Club dates back to 1910, also pioneered the arena of interracial cultural collaboration around Black art forms through work as musical director for the influential dance team of Vernon and Irene Castle.[18] The segregated African American educational institutions of the South were well-organized training schools for many of the future "names" of the Jazz Age and beyond.[19]

The groundwork had been so thoroughly laid that, as Ted Vincent observes in his pioneering socio-cultural study, *Keep Cool: The Black Activists Who Built the Jazz Age* (1992),[20] when "the profiteers...proclaimed the 'discovery' of a new world of music...[they] found a Black civilization that had already provided its musicians with the necessary guidance and institutional support."[21] Much of the struggle of the Roaring 1920s involved the destruction of this hard-won African American cultural infrastructure. As W.C. Handy points out about the demise of a once thriving music publishing firm, "The beast of racial prejudice was rearing its head...Add to such difficulties the bitterness of sharp competition, and you have the materials for a minor tragedy".[22]

Both racial prejudice and previous African American political movements helped to support and define concepts of racial identification and pride that became central to the unfolding of the nature of the Renaissance. The NAACP was an outgrowth of the Niagara movement in which W.E.B. Du Bois was a prominent factor. With his guidance, the organization quickly established a reputation as an upcoming force in the fight to secure full participation in American life for its people. In the pre-Renaissance era, Du Bois used his editorship of the organization's magazine, *The Crisis*, as a forum in which to examine such issues as the anti-lynching campaign and the participation of African Americans in World War I. On the one hand, he recognized that enlistment could serve as a means of stimulating upward mobility for the race; on the other hand, he remained suspicious about what real effect that participation would mean in the context of the historically poor treatment of Blacks in the United States. His reluctance to fully endorse such enlistment proved to be eminently justified. Pride of accomplishment and the realization of strength on the part of Blacks in the military too quickly turned into disillusionment when the troops were pointlessly segregated and continually maligned, even becoming targets in more than a few race riots.

The highly significant and best received novel of the pre-Renaissance era of African American literature was James Weldon Johnson's anonymously issued *The Autobiography of an Ex-Coloured Man* (1912).[23] This book foreshadowed many of the thematic concerns of Renaissance fiction in its depiction of the music driven-urban nightlife social strata. Johnson, himself an internationally popular composer and entertainer, drew upon personal experiences in his portrayal of African American club owners, the emergence of ragtime music, and the in-

tense interest of white artists and fans in the developing milieu. Paul Laurence Dunbar's *Sport of the God* (1902) somberly depicts the disintegration of a decent Southern family in a Babylon-like urban setting. The militant fiction featuring racism and segregation fighting revolutionary themes and characters as in Du Bois' *Dark Princess* (1928) were presaged to a degree by Sutton E. Griggs' *Imperium in Imperio* (1899) focused on nationalist and separatist ideology.

The Forms of Black Activism in the Renaissance

During the 1920s a wide variety of socio-political groups joined in the racial uplift fray and ultimately competed with the NAACP over the question of the leadership of the African American masses. Garvey's UNIA, which had historical roots in the Africa focused nationalism of Martin Delany, Edward Blyden, and Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, among others,[24] was the most successful mass movement of Blacks in modern history. "The UNIA...by the mid-1920s boasted over eleven hundred branches in over forty countries in North, South, and Central America, the Caribbean, Africa, Europe, and Australia."[25] Also on the scene were Cyril Brigg's communist supported African Blood Brotherhood and their magazine, *The Crusader*, and A. Phillip Randolph's socialist monthly, *The Messenger*. Garvey, Randolph, Briggs, and Du Bois were spied upon by J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI.[26] Extraordinary by today's standards was the presence of the Caribbean born Casper Holstein, the developer of Harlem's lucrative numbers racket, which Dutch Schultz eventually invaded. Holstein, a race conscious man of culture, "annually contributed a substantial literary prize" and was fictionalized in Carl Van Vechten's 1926 book, *Nigger Heaven*.[27] Especially close to Garvey, Holstein has been regarded by some scholars, "as one of six individuals without whom the cultural 'Harlem Renaissance' would not have been possible."[28]

All of the groups provided extensive coverage and support of the cultural creations of the Renaissance. This was especially true of the literature, although both Du Bois and Garvey openly quarreled with writers they considered to be wayward, notably Claude McKay. Many of the writers were published in both *The Crisis* and *Negro World*.[29] Garvey's organization was intimately involved with the music. The UNIA had some forty bands regularly performing at its functions and generated several songs like the 1924 hit "West Indies Blues" and "Black Star Line," which lauded Garvey in the manner of contemporary reggae music. Garvey himself composed the lyrics to "Keep Cool" that was advertised in 1927 as "the sheet-music 'Song Hit of the Season'."[30] Both Briggs and Randolph were ardent supporters of music. Briggs went so far as to establish the short-lived firm, The Crusader Music Company, for the publication of radical song lyrics like those of Andy Razaf, Thomas "Fats"

161

Waller's lyricist, the author of "(What Did I Do To Be So) Black and Blue" and one-time editor of *The Crusader* magazine.[31]

The NAACP's attitude toward the music was decidedly more complex and ultimately tragic. Although the organization underwrote Harry A. Pace's Black Swan records in 1921, amply demonstrating there was a lucrative market for African American jazz and blues, Pace's recording of blues artists like Mamie smith, Alberta Hunter, and Trixie Smith became a source of embarrassment to the classical musical tastes of the NAACP hierarchy. Pace once, infamously, refused to record the legendary Bessie Smith. *The Crisis* advertised Black Swan's products, yet regularly ignored reporting on the popularity of jazz and blues and its creators. Faced with internal conflict and pressure from music industry giants as well as unknown others (the company received a shrapnel bomb in a coal shipment in 1922) from without, the company was soon on shaky ground. Before its 1923 demise, Black Swan was emphasizing classical recordings feeling that such works reflected more favorably on the race.[32]

The Modern Content of the Writer's Work

The Puritanism, materialism, and racism that characterized America in the first decades of the twentieth century was rejected by especially the youth among the Renaissance intelligentsia. The younger writers of the 1920s were the educated--"the wayward sons of the rising middle class."[33] Their lives displayed similar rebellious patterns. Langston Hughes, "at the insistence of his businessman father spent a year studying at Columbia University, after which in disgust he shipped out on a freighter to Africa."[34] Hughes would write later, "My father was what the Mexicans call *muy Americano*; a typical American.... He was interested only in making money."[35] Actor Paul Robeson was raised by his run-away slave father, a tough-minded preacher, who demanded perfection from his son. Robeson aspired to his father's values, becoming the third Black to attend Rutgers, getting elected to both the Phi Beta Kappa honorary society and All-American Football Team, and finally graduating from Columbia Law School. He practiced law only briefly, however, then won the lead in *Emperor Jones* with the Provincetown Players. After he quit the law firm, Robeson relaxed and changed. He never bothered to look for another job, and "boast[ed] that he [was] as good a loafer as any man living."[36]

Jean Toomer also pursued literature though his endeavors were not supported by his family, in particular his grandfather, the high-ranking Reconstruction politician from Louisiana, P.B.S. Pinchback. Countee Cullen, son of a noted Harlem minister and one-time husband of W.E.B. Du Bois' daughter, rebelled against formal religion in his novel *One Way to Heaven*. Rebellion from bourgeois values, however, was far from the

162

norm among artists and the intellectuals of the era. A dichotomy of values existed among those associated with the Renaissance. Writers such as Jessie Fauset, Walter White, and Nella Larsen, often identified as the "Rear Guard," projected middle class values in their work. Such conservative writers were often perceived as propagandists trying to placate whites' opinions. Comparing work of the Rear Guard's Larsen to Claude McKay of the Harlem School reveals the posture of both groups. "Bita" in McKay's *Banana Bottom* and Larsen's "Helga Crane" in *Quicksand* were both raised and prepared to participate in a white-dominated culture. Through varying circumstance, however, both characters return to the folk. "That one author (Larsen) interprets this event as a tragedy and the other as a natural expression of cultural dualism is a measure of their respective attitudes towards bourgeois society."[37]

In contrast to the emphasis on assimilation promoted by writers of the Rear Guard was the philosophy of cultural dualism or pluralism characteristic of the Harlem School. Their nationalism was not based on racial considerations alone; it was motivated by factors related to the universal revolt of the modern artist from bourgeois civilization. The Negro intellectual of the 1920s shared fully in the spiritual alienation as an artist which causing him to alter his goals as a Negro. Instead of advocating blind assimilation into a hopeless, materialistic culture, he began to think in terms of preserving his racial identity.

The character of dualism was a "forced attempt to build [the Negro's] Americanism on racial values" and was "a unique social experiment, its ultimate success...impossible except through the fullest sharing of American culture and institutions."[38]

The focus of the Harlem School served, to an extent, to define the subject matter emphasized by the school's writers who chose themes that were distinctively African American. The middle class and middle class materialism were rejected as being white-identified. The lower classes and "folk" of slave origins were embraced as central figures of the new literature: "there are the low-down folk...and they are the majority - may the lord be praised!...They furnish a wealth of colorful distinctive material for any artist because they still hold their own individuality in the face of the American standardization."[39] The work of Langston Hughes and Claude McKay, in particular, often took a Pan-African focus. The folk resisted cultural assimilation, as is indicated in a description of a character in Claude McKay's novel, *Banjo*, which deeply involves the adventures of a Pan-African jazz band in France:

This primitive child, lies kinky-headed big laughing big boy of the world, did not go down and disappear under the serried crush of trampling feet; that he managed to remain on the scene...not machine-made nor poor-in-spirit like the regimented creatures of civilization, was baffling to civilized understand-

ing.... He was a challenge to civilization itself.[40]

Looking at the Renaissance from a half-century away, critic Charles T. Davis enhances McKay's ideas about the folk and the importance of folk wisdom and about their long-term effects on American society and on African-American cultures. He writes that

> what saved the Renaissance was [that] the artists...intelligent, more sensitive, and more compassionate, had made the right guess.... [Today] increasing discontent with the machine age and a mounting dismay at the consequences of nuclear fission...the menace of nuclear war have led to an affirmation of the values of community and a renewed affection for the planet earth. The folk tradition...prospers, affording models for life and for art. This exploration, now an industry constantly expanding, confirms the right of folk knowledge to stand beside formal history, science, and art as one of the pillars of civilization. The cantankerous grandmother of [Ishmael] Reed's *The Free-Lance Pallbearers* may yet receive a Ph.D. in Hoodoo, supported by government funding resembling the benefits of the G.I. bill.[41]

To possess a distinctive culture, a distinctive language must be used. Terms like "ofay" (white man, from pig Latin for "foe") and "red-bone" (a high-toned Black) were used so frequently in the works of the Harlem School that some individual authors writing for mixed audiences, notably Rudolph Fisher in *The Walls of Jericho*[42] and Zora Neale Hurston in "A Story in Harlem Slang,"[43] created glossaries to explain contemporary African American phraseology. All of Langston Hughes' writing was similarly important in the recognition of Black talk as was McKay's fiction. Both of them brought jazz-influenced writing techniques into American literature. And Hughes almost single handedly made the blues form a part of the poets' arsenal.

Frequent motifs contained in the writing produced by the Harlem School dealt with depicting and attacking the sacred cows of sexuality, color caste, and, less frequently, gender relations. In *Banana Bottom*, Claude McKay used sex as a vehicle to dramatize one character's conflict between the Calvinistic austerity of the white missionaries who raised her and the primitive sexuality and simple values of the "Obeah God" folk. In *Cane* Jean Toomer examines sensuality and sexism in portraits of six southern women and the gender exploitation that causes one of them to become a prostitute.[44] The sexuality of young Harlem cabaret dancers was detailed in many works. Some of the works constituted milestones in America literature; the play *Lulu Belle* "was indeed something of a turning point...a play that could be staged that involved sex between white and black, love-making [that had] been going on for three

164

hundred years."[45] The multi-talented Hurston (fiction writer, dramatist, essayist, and anthropologist) foretold the future of women's literature with her ability to write with rare dramatic clarity and satire on the many forms of male sexism. Her landmark short story on spousal abuse, "Sweat" (1926),[46] especially, and her novel length study of marriage and African American male chauvinism, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937)[47], rank her as America's first literary feminist. In this she seems to have taken her cue from the many African American female blues singers that emerged in the wake of Gertude "Ma" Rainey in the 1920s, especially Bessie Smith. A number of Smith's songs certainly represent, "bold efforts to dignify women."[48] Hurston had a large interest in earthy music created by Blacks in the Americas. She collected, recorded, and wrote about it anthropologically in *Mules and Men* (1935) and *Tell My Horse* (1938). Hurston "was a writer of blues songs as well. [Porter] Grainger recorded a Hurston blues titled 'Jelly Look What You've Gone Done'."[49] Grainger was frequently Bessie Smith's piano player in the 1920s.

White Enthusiasm for Black Art Forms

A number of white artists associated themselves with the culture, subject matter and the people of the Harlem Renaissance. Eugene O'Neill was an important pioneer in this vein. His first four plays: *The Moon of the Caribees, The Dreamy Kid* (a play about a Harlem gangster), *The Emperor Jones*, and *All God's Children Got Wings*, dealt with increasingly complex characterizations of African Americans.[50] This trend was followed by Sherwood Anderson's *Dark Laughter* and Du Bois Heyward's *Porgy*, among many other lesser lights. These writers helped create an audience amenable to serious literary treatments of Black subjects. The introduction of African America into mainstream American literature allowed the race's writers access to previously segregated associations and institutions. Personal association with white authors meant an inevitable end to cultural isolation and provincialism and an immense gain in technical maturity for the Black writer. Carl Van Vechten was of major importance as a facilitator of this inter-racial interaction.

Cultural collaboration between the races was not always successful, however. Du Bois identified Eugene O'Neill as being one of the few white artists to have succeeded at sensitively portraying Blacks in his plays. But Charles Gilpin, one of the first successful actors of his race in serious drama argued with O'Neill when playing the role of Brutus Jones in *The Emperor Jones*. He resigned his role in the play because of his insistence that particular language he objected to be changed.

None of the white writers of the period stirred as much controversy as did Carl Van Vechten, author of *Nigger Heaven*. Van Vechten's role in alerting his white colleagues to the New Negro Movement proved

helpful, but how helpful the novel was to the movement remains debatable. "Emphasizing the bawdy and exotic aspects of Harlem life and heavily influenced by primitivistic conceptions, *Nigger Heaven* shattered the complacence of the Negro intelligentsia by threatening to steal their literary thunder."[51]

The presence of white artists in the Renaissance created a certain suspicion that many Black artists' motive for creating was, in fact, merely to entertain rather than to educate white audiences. The suspicion may have been justified: some of the culturally distinctive characteristics which Renaissance writers utilized to emphasize race pride were the same exaggerated aspects in caricatures of Blacks by ignorant and bigoted whites.

Responding to this dilemma in *The Crisis*, Van Vechten compared his work to that of Rudolph Fisher, an African American writer and doctor of medicine whose stories contained controversial urban themes: "If a white man had written [Fisher's Stories] he would be called a Negro Hater. Now these stories would be just as good if a white man had written them, but the sensitive Negro--and heaven knows he has reason enough to be sensitive--would see propaganda therein."[52] Langston Hughes and Countee Cullen replied that any artist must have the right to use any subject material in any way he wishes, according to his own conscience. African-American writers felt that an honest and intelligent audience could distinguish between bigotry and artistic realism.

White participation in the New Negro Movement fostered an image of African Americans that reflected and supported white intellectuals' longing for abandon. The years of the Renaissance were

> years of postwar catharsis of Freud and the sexual revolution, of heavy drinking and defiance of authority...interest in the Negro focused around the cult of the primitive...reflecting the works of Sigmund Freud, it exalt[ed] instinct over intellect, Id over Super Ego, and thus [was] a revolt against the Puritan spirit. For such an artistic movement the Negro had obvious uses: he represented the unspoiled child of nature, the noble savage-carefree, spontaneous and sexually uninhibited.[53]

White audiences' interest in the Renaissance appears to have been so intense it constituted a kind of voyeuristic cult. However, the prevailing image of African American artistic accomplishment was a carefully managed affair by the white establishment.[54] The image of Harlem held by whites was a primitive and exotic one, produced by the popular "slumming" parties and cabarets operated by whites for whites which were, for many, their primary contact with Harlem.

What was tragic and oppressing about Harlem and the general condition of African America was ignored.[55] Langston Hughes main-

tained that despite the optimism of the bourgeois, ultimately, the cultural movement made no discernible impact on the lives of the residents of Harlem. As he put it in the first volume of his autobiography,

> Some Harlemites thought that the millennium had come.... I don't know what made any Negroes think that - except that they were mostly intellectuals doing the thinking. The ordinary Negroes hadn't heard of the Negro Renaissance. And if they had, it hadn't raised their wages any.[56]

Generally speaking serious art depicting Harlem, or Blacks anywhere, did not enjoy commercial success. Among the Black writers of the era, only Claude McKay's controversial *Home to Harlem* attained a large number of sales. McKay compared the reception of this book to being, "like an impudent dog...[moving] right in among the best sellers in New York."[57] The sensational *Nigger Heaven* by Van Vechten ran quickly through several editions, whereas Jean Toomer's *Cane* sold hardly five hundred copies in its fifth year. Du Bois reviewed *Nigger Heaven* making important distinctions about the characters and intentions of whites involved in the Renaissance. Du Bois observed about Van Vechten that "to him the black cabaret is Harlem; around it all his characters gravitate." These cabarets, financed, supported and owned by white New York did not reveal realistic characteristics of Harlem. Both Langston Hughes and Carl Van Vechten knew Harlem cabarets, but it was Hughes who whispered, "One said he heard the jazz band sob when the little dawn was grey. Van Vechten never heard a sob in a cabaret. All he [heard was] noise and brawling."[58]

Different interpretations and values caused criticism of the Renaissance to be sometimes confused and contradictory. Du Bois and *The Crisis* opposed cultural assimilation of the Black, fearing Black Art could be destroyed by "the overemphasis of Ethnics...meet[ing] the Puritans...who conceal their joys and deny them with crass utilitarianism."[59] Yet in a later review Du Bois wrote that Claude McKay's *Home to Harlem*, while it showed evidence of McKay's characteristic cultural content and political intent, "for the most part nauseates me, and after the dirtiest of its filth I feel distinctly like taking a bath."[60] Culturally and politically a militant African American nationalist, Du Bois was already in his mid-fifties when the Renaissance began and his attachment to Victorian values, especially class and sexual values, inhibited to a great degree his ability to assess works of the Harlem School.

Some Renaissance critics suggested the concept of Negro Art promoted a paternalistic segregation. When singer Roland Hayes performed German and French pieces his audiences were surprised and he received moderate applause. The consensus was that Hayes was best with spirituals, or "songs of this race." Some Blacks objected to the

racial concepts of "Negro Art" and the limitations that those concepts imposed: "Even with her eyes closed America must always be able to tell...Negroes were darkies. Perhaps that is why...Roland Hayes is returning to France to live."[61] The assumption that such limitations caused Hayes to retreat to France is not convincing. Protesting not treatment received individually but the values and ethics of America in general, many artists, Black and white, went into voluntary exile in that same time period. Paul Robeson lived in Europe from 1928 until 1939 not because of direct discrimination (by his own account he experienced little) but "as a rebellion against American attitude on race."[62]

Establishment of African American Art in America was considered impossible by one New Negro critic who enjoyed warm response during the Renaissance era because he opined "the Afro-American is merely a lampblacked Anglo-Saxon expressing an unconscious urge toward whiteness."[63] Langston Hughes discounted such negative thinking and sharply criticized members of the middle class for having a "desire to run away spiritually from [the] race...[an] urge...toward whiteness, [a] desire to pour racial individuality into the mold of American standardization, and to be as little Negro and as much America as possible."[64]

However varied reaction to the Harlem School was, its artists and intellectuals understood their world was going through many remarkable and rapid changes. Likewise, the so-called Rear Guard perceived the times with their own genteel views. Nevertheless, whether they turned to the folk for wisdom or whether they plied the turbulent waters of accommodation, Renaissance artists, writers, intellectuals and leaders produced a body of work which served to free African-American to embrace subject matter which they themselves best understood. The New Negro of the Harlem Renaissance helped establish African Americans intellectually, artistically, and socially in American Culture, changing forever the way white Americans could look at African Americans. Langston Hughes said it early into the unfolding of the Renaissance: "It [was] the way people look[ed] at things, not what they look[ed] at, that...changed."[65] The rest of the 20th century has revealed an essential part that changed the way of seeing what has been the solidification of the place of the once feared and scorned art forms of the Harlem Renaissance era in American and world culture. The respected and much imitated place of these art forms is made evident by publication of edited texts that bring the literature and the music into the same field of vision: Art Lange and Nathaniel Mackey's *Moment's Notice: Jazz in Poetry & Prose* (1993); Sascha Feinstein and Yusef Komunyakaa's *The Jazz Poetry Anthology* (1991) and *The Second Set: The Jazz Poetry Anthology, Vol. II* (1996); Eric Sackheim's *The Blues Line: An Anthology of Blues Lyrics* (1975); and X. A. Nicholas' *Woke Up This Mornin': The Poetry of the Blues* (1973). The struggle for African American control of their indigenous culture expression, however, continues.

NOTES

[1]Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *The Cointelpro Papers: Documents From the FBI's Secret War on Dissent in the United States* (Boston: South End Press, 1990), 11.

[2]Alain Locke ed., *The New Negro: An Interpretation* (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1925), 11.

[3]George S. Schuyler, "Negro-Art Hokm," *Voices of the Harlem Renaissance*, Nathan Huggins ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 309.

[4]Robert A. Hill, *Ethiopian Stories* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994), 41.

[5]Langston Hughes, "The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain," *Voices of the Harlem Renaissance*, Nathan Huggins ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 305-9.

[6]Janjeinz Jahn, *Neo-African Literature: A History of Black Writing* (New York: Grove Press, 1968), 214, 228, 244.

[7]Don L. Lee, *Directionscore: Selected and New Poems* (Detroit: Broadside Press, 1971), 24.

[8]Kevin Powell and Ras Baraka, *In the Tradition: An Anthology of Young Black Writers* (New York: Writers & Readers Publishing, 1992), 14.

[9]Robert A. Bone, *The Negro Novel in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 53-4.

[10]Abdul Alkalimat, *Introduction to Afro-American Studies* (Chicago: 21st Century Books and Publications, 1986), 101.

[11]Locke, 6.

[12]Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order 1877-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), 53-4.

[13]Bone, 54.

[14]James Welden Johnson, "Harlem: The Cultural Capital," *The New Negro* (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1925), 301-11.

[15]Norman C. Weinstein, *A Night in Tunisia: Imaginings of Africa in Jazz* (New York: Limelight Editions, 1993), 29.

[16]Ted Vincent, *Keep Cool: The Black Activists Who Built the Jazz Age* (London: Pluto Press, 1995), 2.

[17]Vincent, 1-2.

[18]TimGracyk, "Liner Notes", *James Reese Europe's 369th U.S. Infantry's A Hellfighters Band: The Complete Recordings* (Memphis: Memphis Archives, 1996), 3-33.

[19]John F. Szwed, *Space is the Place: The Lives and Times of Sun Ra* (New York: Pantheon, 1997), 16-32.

[20]Vincent, 1.

[21]Vincent, 1.

[22]W. C. Handy, *Father of the Blues: An Autobiography* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1941, 1991), 199-202.

23Johnson, 301-11

[24]Wilson Jeremiah Moses ed., *Classical Black Nationalism: From the America Revolution to Marcus Garvey* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 27-9.

[25]Tony Martin ed., *Literary Garveyism: Garvey, Black Arts & The Harlem Renaissance* (Dover: The Majority Press, 1983), 2.

[26]Churchill and Vander Wall, 350.

[27]Rufus Schatzberg and Robert J. Kelly, *African American Organized Crime: A Social History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997), 67-8.

[28]Vincent, 181.

[29]Martin ed., *African Fundamentalism: A Literary and Cultural Anthology of Garvey's Harlem Renaissance* (Dover: The Majority Press, 1991), xvi-xvii.

[30]Vincent, 125, 131, 136.

[31]Vincent, 13.

[32]Du Bois, W. E. B. *The Crisis*, Vol. 28-29, (June 1924): 103-5.

[33]Bone, 56.

[34]Edwin R. Embree, *Thirteen Against the Odds* (New York: The Viking Press, 1944), 126.

[35]Bone, 56.

[36]Embree, 245-9.

[37]Bone, 24.

[38]Locke, 12.

[39]Hughes, *The Big Sea: An Autobiography* (New York: Knopf, 1940), 306.

[40]Claude McKay, *Banjo: A Story Without A Plot* (New York: Harcourt Bruce Jovanovich, 1929 (1957)), 314.

[41]Charles T. Davis, *Blacks is the Color of the Cosmos* (Washington, D. C.: Howard University Press, 1989), 74-5.

[42]Rudolph Fisher, *The Walls of Jericho* (New York: Arno Press, 1928, 1969), 295-307.

[43]Zora Neale Hurston, *The Complete Stories* (New York: Harper Collins, 1995), 134-8.

[44]Bone, 72, 82.

[45]Du Bois. *The Crisis*, Vol. 32, (October 1926): 34.

[46]Hurston.

[47]Hurston. *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (New York: Harper Collins, 1937).

[48]Vincent, 147, 231.

[49]Vincent, 147, 231.

[50]Sterling A. Brown, *Negro Poetry and Drama & The Negro in American Fiction* (New York: Athneneum, 1937, 1969), 124-5.

[51]Bone, 61.

[52]Carl Van Vechten, "The Negro in Art, How Shall He Be Portrayed-A Symposium," *The Crisis*, Vol. 31, (March 1926): 219.

[53]Bone, 59.

[54]Barry Singer, *Black and Blue: The Life and Lyrics of Andy Razaf* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), 216-20.

[55]Gilbert Osofsky, "Symbols of the Jazz Age: The New Negro and Harlem Discovered", *American Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 2, (Summer 1965): 234-6.

[56]Hughes, 228.

[57]Wayne Cooper, *Claude McKay: Rebel Sojourner in the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Schocken Books, 1987), 237.

[58]Du Bois. "Books," *The Crisis*, Vol. 24, (December 1926): 31.

[59]Du Bois. *The Crisis*, Vol. 24-25, (November 1922): 7.

[60]Du Bois. "Two Novels," *The Crisis*, Vol. 24-25, (June 1928): 202.

[61]Gustavous Steward, "Segregation de Luxe," *The Nation*, Vol. 131, No. 3402, (17 September, 1930): 295-6.

[62]Embree, 126.

[63]Schuyler, 310.

[64]Hughes, 305.

[65]Hughes. "The Negro in Art, How Shall He Be Portrayed-A Symposium," *The Crisis*, Vol. 31, (April 1926): 278.

Using African American Perspectives to Promote a More Inclusive Understanding of Human Communication Theory[1]

Jim Schnell
Ohio Dominican College

This article addresses the use of African American Perspectives as a means of promoting a more inclusive understanding of human communication theory. It describes contributions by African American scholars as they relate to providing a framework for inclusion of other under-represented cultures in U.S. society (i.e. Asian American, Latin American, etc.). This objective is becoming more and more relevant because of the increased percentage of U.S. citizens who are of non-European origin. Common sense supports the position that an inclusive curriculum, representative of the many cultural groups that compose the U.S., will appeal to the diverse audience educated in the U.S. today and tomorrow.

The education curriculum is never finished. It is dynamic and continually in a state of change. This article focuses on the use of research findings by African American scholars that expands the communication arts curriculum as a means of re-shaping the curriculum so it is more representative of the various cultures that compose U.S. society. This move towards a more multicultural curriculum should encourage eventual focus on all U.S. cultural backgrounds. This article addresses contributions by African American scholars, which are not presented here as a single Afrocentric perspective, and is intended to provide a framework for inclusion of other under represented cultures in the U.S. (i.e. Asian American, Latin American, etc.).

Within five years, roughly 33% of school age children in the U.S. will be of non-European origin.[2] Thus, we have a unique opportunity and obligation to ensure our academic curricula are representative of

these non-European perspectives. Thorough modifications will be a lengthy process. Calls for a more inclusive curriculum representative of the multicultural composition of American society have come from a variety of sources.[3] One frequently hears that we need emphasis on education as a means to help American society get along with itself (in the area of inter-racial/ethnic relations).

The aforementioned inclusive curriculum can obviously be attained only when scholarship representative of all American cultures is included in curriculum expansion efforts. Emphasis on the research of African American scholars within this article is intended as one of the many steps towards an inclusive curriculum. And, obviously, communication arts is but one of the many disciplines to be expanded.

A review of literature on the subject of curriculum development and multicultural inclusiveness reveals little that deals with models for curricular development specifically in communication arts. However, much has been written on curriculum development and multicultural inclusiveness that can be applied in communication arts and other disciplines within the social sciences. Helle Bering-Jensen[4] recommends inclusion of minority contributions in classroom content as a means of supplementing Eurocentric perspectives. Beverly Tatum[5] offers strategies for overcoming student resistance to race-related content. Emphasis on inclusion of culturally diverse works of literature is described in Pforderesher[6] and Post.[7] Michael Harris[8] suggests addressing racial problems through inclusion of African and African American content. Kerry Feldma[9] shows how anthropology departments can be helpful in choosing multicultural education components. Jerry Gaff[10] claims that multiculturalism has won the war against Euorcentrism and that we should move to the next step of creating inclusive programs that are educationally valuable. These views point to the need for expansion of the curriculum. Again, the focus of this article is on the inclusion of African American scholarship as an initial objective, with the inclusion of scholarship representative of all American cultures being the primary, long-term objective.

During the past quarter century many colleges and universities have tried to include minorities in their curriculums through the creation of African American Studies departments that stress black contributions. It is a central premise of the Lilly Foundation grant proposal, that funded the research undertaken by this author, that "if majority students are to gain the benefits of the minority perspectives, we believe that the contributions of minorities should claim their proper place throughout the curriculum and not be relegated to a 'separate but distinct' area."[11]

This author has approached the research of African American scholarship as an opportunity to substantively augment his academic orientation. One could merely use a recipe approach of "just add African American readings and stir" but this would only allow for cosmetic

changes. Rather, this author has approached this as he did his gradu-ate school years. Knowledge learned is intended to become part of his theoretical fabric. Such an approach takes time and thorough analysis. His graduate training was a long in depth period of study. Any serious modifications of that foundation will come through a similar path.

The communication arts discipline covers a wide range of sub-ject areas including public speaking, interpersonal communication, or-ganizational communication, mass media, rhetoric, journalism, public relations, broadcasting, theater, and cross-cultural studies. The author has focused on five courses he teaches: Rhetorical Communication Theory, Mass Media in America, Persuasion, Communication in the Or-ganization, and a Unity in Diversity course. A majority of the works are most appropriate in the Unity in Diversity course. Examples of course modifications will be described to exemplify how curricular change in communication arts can be perpetuated.

Before addressing specific course modifications, it will be help-ful to describe the process through which this author gathered contribu-tions of African American scholars. Essential in this process were visits to the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University. It is the "largest and the most valuable research library in America for the study of Negro life and history" and "the most comprehensive and inter-esting group of books by Negroes ever collected in the world."[12] Such a comprehensive collection of African American scholarship offers a unique opportunity to study African American contributions in a variety of areas.

The author used a variety of key words to search for information relevant to communication arts. The seven most useful key words were rhetoric, communication, narration, persuasion, political oratory, nonver-bal communication, and interpersonal relations. The following lists, in parentheses, the number of relevant titles found under each key word heading: rhetoric (36), communication (75), narration (71), persuasion (6), political oratory (7), nonverbal communication (17), and interper-sonal relations (35).

Rhetorical Communication Theory is an upper-level course at Ohio Dominican College. The course traces the development of rheto-ric from the classical period, to the British period, to the contemporary period. Two primary assignments in the course are a research paper on a significant rhetorician and an oral presentation in class about the re-search. The suggested list of rhetoricians includes individuals repre-senting a variety of perspectives. No African Americans were included in the list. As a result, the following African American names have been added to the list as possible rhetoricians to be studied: W.E. B. DuBois, Sterling Brown, Ralph Ellison, and Toni Morrison. Thus, the list is more inclusive of African American perspectives. Students are also encour-aged to suggest other African American rhetoricians for study.

Students choosing to study the African American rhetoricians

175

might use, as a foundation for their research, works such as *The Anatomy of Black Rhetoric*,[13] *A Comparative Study of Two Approaches for Analyzing Black Discourse*,[14] *Rhetoric of Racial Hope*,[15] *The Relationship Between Errors in Standard Usage in Written Compositions of College Students and the Students' Cognitive Styles*,[16] *From Behind the Veil: A Study of African-American Narrative*,[17] and *Black Communication*.[18] These works, authored by African American writers, focus on African American rhetoric. Again, no single Afrocentric perspective is promoted in this approach.

The Mass Media in America course uses a textbook entitled *Introduction to Mass Media*.[19] It can be supplemented with *Split Image*[20] and *Mass Media in America*.[21] These works better highlight the role of African Americans in mass media. Other sources regarding the role of African Americans are found in an extensive bibliography entitled "Blacks in the Media: Communication Research Since 1978,"[22] published by the Howard University Center for Communication Research.

The Persuasion course describes persuasion theory and contemporary applications of persuasion theory. One of these applications involves persuasion in public speaking. Contemporary public speakers can be used for case study analysis in the course. This is an excellent opportunity to promote inclusion of African Americans (i.e. the Jesse Jackson address at the 1988 Democratic National Convention, the Martin Luther King, Jr. "I Have a Dream" speech, etc.).

The Communication in the Organization course emphasizes communication in interpersonal, group, and organizational settings. African American scholarship can easily be included to enhance understanding of communication processes in these contexts. It is suggested that one simple guideline for text selection in such a course is to analyze possible textbooks regarding the extent of multi-cultural inclusion in case studies, examples, photographs and overall content. This guideline would obviously be beneficial when considering textbooks for other courses in the communication arts curriculum as well.

The Unity in Diversity course is a new course that was developed under the auspices of the aforementioned Lilly Grant. This course is team taught by Judith Abala (a black female) and Jim Schnell (a white male). This course, developed by Abala and Schnell, is an introductory course that explores the implications of belonging to a culturally pluralistic society with all of its richness, complexities, challenges and responsibilities. The course seeks to enhance the ability of students to interact with culturally different individuals who comprise American society. There is no textbook for the course. Instead, a readings booklet allowing comprised of many types of articles has been compiled.

There are a variety of sources by black authors relevant for study in the Unity in Diversity course. Such references include *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*[23] and *African American Communications*.[24]

These works offer perspectives on the complexities of communication among American cultures and can be helpful in enhancing student understanding. Unity in Diversity is an experimental course at the time of this writing. It has the potential for being added to the core requirement courses.

A common objective in all of these courses, regarding inclusion of African American perspectives, is to empower students to discover African American contributions and share their discoveries in class. This allows for the individual student to learn, his/her fellow classmates to learn, and the professor to learn. This empowerment is preferable to an approach that is driven solely by the faculty member. To empower the student to learn the process for discovering African American contributions allows for more self-initiated learning by the student.

Future curricular development will benefit from increased inclusion of other cultural perspectives. These perspectives obviously exist in the communication arts curriculum but, perhaps, not to the degree that they should. We should aim to increase inclusion of all cultural perspectives. The modification process described in this article is offered as a model for future development regarding the creation of a multicultural curriculum.

NOTES

[1]Special thanks is extended to Jannette Dates (Dean, School of Communication, Howard University) for her hospitality and support during my visits to Howard University. I am also grateful to Bill Carroll (President, Illinois Benedictine College) for his support. Funding for the program described in the report was obtained through a grant from the Lilly Foundation.

[2] Channing L. Bete, *Learn About Diversity*. (South Deerfield, MA: 1993), 4.

[3]Michael A. Williams, *Blacks and the Media: Communication Research Since 1978*. (Washington, DC: Howard University, 1990); Dibra Viadero, "Issue of Multiculturalism Dominates Standards Debate," *Education Week* 11, 31 (April 22, 1992), 18; Edmund W. Gordon and Maitrayee Bhattacharyya, "Human Diversity, Cultural Hegemony, and the Integrity of the Academic Canon," *Journal of Negro Education* 61, 3 (Summer, 1992), 405-418.

[4]Helle Bering-Jensen, "Teaching All Things to All People," *Insight* 6,14 (April 2, 1990), 49-51.

[5]Beverly Daniel Tatum, "Talking About Race, Learning About Racism: The Application of Racial Identity Development Theory in the Classroom," *Harvard Educational Review* 62, 1 (February, 1992), 1-24.

[6]John Pfordresher, "Better and Different Literature in Our Time," *Design for Arts in Education* 93, 4 (March, 1992), 2-10.

[7]David Post, "Through Joshua Gap: Curricular Control and the Constructed Community," *Teachers College Record* 93, 4 (Summer, 1992), 673-696.

[8]Michael D. Harris, Afrocentrism and Curriculum: Concepts, Issues, and Prospects," *Journal of Negro Education* 61, 3 (Summer, 1992), 301-316.

[9]Kerry D. Feldman, "Multicultural Education and Antrhropology: 'The Rise of Civilization' as a Foundation Course," *Human Organization* 51, 2 (Summer, 1992), 185-186.

[10]Jerry G. Gaff, "Beyond Politics," *Change* 24,1 (January, 1992), 30-35.

[11]Ohio Dominican College, "Improving Multicultural Climate at a Four-Year College," (1991). A grant proposal funded by the Lilly Foundation.

[12]*The Arthur B. Spingarn Collection of Negro Authors*. (Washington, DC: Moorland Foundation, Howard University Library, n.d., 1947), 1 and 7.

[13]James C. Payne, *The Anatomy of Black Rhetoric*. (Tallahassee, FL: Graphic Communications Associates, 1972).

[14]Leon C. Phillips, *A Comparative Study of Two Approaches for Analyzing Black Discourse*. (Dissertation: Howard University, 1983).

[15]Roy L. Hill, *Rhetoric of Racial Hope*. (Brockport, NY: McDaniel Press, 1976).

[16]Grace C. Cooper, *The Relationship Between Errors in Standard Usage in Written Compositions of College Students and the Students Cognitive Styles*. (Dissertation: Howard University, 1979).

[17]Robert B. Stepto, *From Behind the Veil: A Study of African-American Narrative*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979).

[18]Robert Mullen, *Black Communication*. (Lanham, MD: Universeity Press of America, 1982).

[19]Jay Black and Jennings Bryant, *Introduction to Mass Media*. (Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown, 1992).

[20]Jannette Dates and William Barlow, *Split Image; African Americans in the Mass Media*. (Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1990).

[21]Donald Pember, *Mass Media in America*. (New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1992).

[22]Michael A. Williams, *Blacks and the Media: Communication Research Since 1978*. (Washington, DC: Howard University, 1990).

[23]Molefi Kete Asante, Eileen Newmark and Cecil Blake, *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*. (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publishers, 1979).

[24]James, Ward, *African American Communications: An Anthology In Traditional and Contemporary Studies*. (Dubuque, IA: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1991).

Perspectivist Chicano Studies, 1970-1985

Michael Soldatenko[1]
Santa Monica College

This essay examine the development and failure of Perspectivist
Chicano Studies. By the late 1960s Chicano(a) academics con-
structed several views of Chicano Studies. Not all Chicanos(as) fol-
lowed *El Plan de Santa Barbara* nor interpreted it in the same man-
ner; several expressions of Chicano Studies existed. This essay
traces one such articulation through the writings of Romano and
Carranza who develop perspectivism. In the academy the writings of
Rodriguez and Rocco manifest Perspectivist Chicano Studies. More-
over in the writings of Atencio and the activists of Hijos del sol we
encounter a non-academic expression of this view of Chicano Stud-
ies. The essay ends with the failure of Perspectivist Chicano Studies
to challenge the rise of an empirical driven Chicano Studies.

The on-campus activism by Chicano and Chicana studies pro-
duced a plethora of intellectual styles of knowing in the late 1960s and
early 1970s. The Chicano(a) student movements, together with the boom
in Chicano Studies[2] programs, led to an explosion of academic produc-
tion. While many intellectuals followed the political and intellectual agenda
established by *El Plan de Santa Barbara, El Plan* was not the only pos-
sible option for Chicanos(as) in the academy. The activism that led to
the formulation of *El Plan* also brought to life other configurations of
Chicano intellectual work. There was a time, in other words, when mul-
tiple Chicano Studies coexisted with several possible options of bridg-
ing Chicano Studies and the academy. This chaotic and complex period
witnessed the construction of many styles of Chicano Studies that ex-
pressed distinct intellectual approaches and programs—formulated in a
hostile, aggressive, and turbulent environment. In this essay I will trace
one such tradition: "Perspectivist Chicano Studies."[3]

It is difficult to define Perspectivist Chicano Studies. This vision
lost the struggle to present itself as the legitimate interpretation of Chicano
Studies. By the late 1970s and early 1980s, Perspectivist Chicano Stud-

ies became an increasingly peripheral and fragmented intellectual agenda surviving in corners of some non-research teaching institutions, alternative educational institutions, the arts, and certain community organizations. As victorious "Empirical Chicano Studies" settled in the prestigious institutions and its works were transformed into the canon of Chicano Studies, the perspectivist writers were progressively pushed toward peripheral journals or self-publication. As the "empirics" further disciplined the field, they apprehended Perspectivist Chicano Studies as at best a quaint romantic vision and at worst as irrational and apolitical. Because of the success of the empirics, Perspectivist Chicano Studies never had the opportunity to mature into a concise intellectual style, its practitioners often being isolated. This lack of success allowed enormous variation among perspectivist writing as well as off key, if not contradictory, expressions of this style.

Given these caveats, nevertheless, I believe I can still provide a working definition for this intellectual style. Perspectivists centered their work on formulating a Chicano standpoint that arose from their experience in the US. Critical of social science research and skeptical of academic work, these scholars sought to establish an oppositional epistemology rooted in the process of Chicano(a) identity formation.

To understand this perspectivist position, we need to turn to Chicano(a) early endeavors to understand Mexican thought. In looking over early syllabi in Chicano Studies courses (1968-1975) one can see the influence of Patrick Romanell's *Making of the Mexican Mind*, Samuel Ramos' *Profile of Man and Culture in Mexico*, and Octavio Paz's *The Labyrinth of Solitude*. These texts provided Chicanos(as) with a particular interpretation of the "Mexican character" and, more importantly, with a theoretical/philosophical vision. In particular Romanell's and Ramos' texts introduced Chicanos(as) to the perspectivism of Jose Ortega y Gasset: "a theory of knowledge in 'culturalist' dress."[4] As Romanell defines this view:

> Perspectivism, in brief, is the theory which holds that since reality is composed, like a landscape, of an 'infinite number of perspectives,' some of which we come to know through the 'selective' medium of 'vital reason,' therefore, reality does not possess in itself, 'independently of the point of view from which it is observed, a physiognomy of its own.'[5]

Therefore perspectives constitute reality; truths are points of view, all equally authentic and true. "[T]ruth and error, like life and death, are matters of history and history is a matter of perspectives."[6] What makes Ortega y Gasset's position different from Protagoras' view that each man is the measure of all things, Romanell continues, is the need to restore individuals their national perspectives—a philosophy of culture

(*Kulturphilosoph*). Mexican thinkers, Romanell concludes, found this intellectual vision more acceptable than the various manifestations of rationalism. They found "a 'norm' applicable to Mexico in Ortega's pivotal idea: *"Yo soy yo y mi circumstancia."* Interestingly, in these texts, I believe, we also uncover a key part of the *intellectual* origins of Chicano cultural nationalism and Chicanismo. Chicano(a) readings of these texts gave them a particular reading of Mexican thought, reinforcing the supposed continuity between the "Chicano mind" and the "Mexican mind," and provided an intellectual vision of Chicano politics. Perspectivism's reference to one's circumstances fitted well with Chicano calls for a link between community and university. Readings for these texts further endowed Chicanos(as) with a theory of being and knowledge that could function as the ground for Chicano Studies. The formation of this vision of Chicano Studies is what I trace in the following pages.

INTRODUCTION

Octavio Romano's writings provide the link between Mexican perspectivism and the formulation of Perspectivist Chicano studies. While Romano's essay influenced most, if not all, early Chicano thinkers, the particular solution that Romano presents to the production of knowledge had the greatest influence on Chicano(s) perspectivist thinkers. By briefly tracing Romano's argument we can visualize the genesis of this style. Romano depicts social scientists as scholars who have translated the Mexican American into a masochistic, passive, irrational, fatalistic un-American. Social scientists use concepts, such as "traditional culture," that distort the realities of Mexican American communities by presenting them as ahistorical peoples. Consequently, Romano points out, these scholars engage in "social science fiction."[7] In contrast Romano formulates an intellectual framework so as to overturn the social scientists' myths and begin a real exploration of the Mexican American experience. This approach starts by restoring Mexican American history. From this history Mexican Americans can learn that they carry four distinct ideological trends: indianist philosophy, historical confrontationism, the philosophy of the mestizo, and the immigrant experience.[8] These tendencies reveal the Chicano as an historical and intellectual actor and dismiss the social scientists' endeavor to construct a "true" Mexican or Chicano type. This experience base, Romano continues, is within reach of any Chicano; he simply needs to converse "with los viejos in the barrios." "The picture that emerged from the dialogue with the viejitos was one of constant struggle."[9] This is not the story that social scientists want to depict.

But Romano's argument does not stop here; he moves beyond critique and memory. Initially Romano criticizes individual works, scholars, and methodologies; now he starts to question the field of social

science. In "Social Science, Objectivity, and the Chicanos" Romano historicizes "objectivity" in order to subvert its meaning, and more importantly, undercut its use by social scientists. Objectivity, he notes, demands the separation of events, phenomena, and ideas from personal self-consciousness. This empirical project lies at the center of social science and the humanities. This dualism provides methodological and conceptual legitimacy to social science; it assumes a unity between the laws governing the physical universe and those that govern human behavior. For this reason social science presents itself as value-free, culture-free, and tradition-free—as science. Romano wants us to reject this concept of objectivity given its insistence on the separation of mind and body. Consequently we must also set aside social science studies. Instead Romano proposes to start Chicano research from the perspective of the Chicano subject. Chicano Studies must begin from the "self-image" of the Chicano scholar. Given the failure of objectivity and social science, Chicanos needs to reclaim and rewrite themselves.[10] If this self-image is rejected by non-Chicano social scientists, then in effect, they will have rejected summarily the rationality of the Chicano.[11] As the Chicano becomes subject, social science fades. In this way, Romano alters the relationship between Chicano scholarship, knowledge, and the academy.

Romano, I believe, formulates a perspectivist epistemology in contrast to social science empiricism. This provides a starting point for many Chicano(a) intellectuals that sought an alternative to social science. Unfortunately, Romano himself does not follow up on his argument. We see his work move increasingly toward the arts. While Romano's interests may have always been in the arts, this shift is facilitated by his inability to develop a standpoint position as a methodological tool grounded in the particularities of U.S. political, economic, and societal contradictions.

Though Romano may not have followed through on his epistemic break, his essays provide Chicanos and Chicanas with the intellectual tools in their battle with social scientists' methods, methodologies, and epistemologies. His intellectual vision allows a radical positioning of Chicanos(as) in relationship to the engrossing academic project. He presents a Chicano perspective that supports a Chicano Studies that could avoid the pitfalls of social science. Thus he articulates, though not as clearly as he could, a non-disciplinary non-social science Chicano Studies that could survive, albeit always peripheral and questionable, in the university. Unfortunately Romano did not pursue this discussion; he remains a critic of social science without developing an epistemological and methodological alternative.

Some Chicano(a) scholars felt that university students, faculty, and staff needed an articulated plan for political action that did not find expression in Romano's writing. This endeavor led to the formulation of

Empirical Chicano Studies. Empiric scholars saw the battle for Chicano Studies in two stages. The first and most important stage was the institutionalization of all university programs that dealt with Chicanos(as) under Chicano control. They visualized these programs as part of the overall political struggle for Chicano self-determination. The second concern of these scholars was to develop objective methods that could provide students with knowledge of their cultural, historical, and socioeconomic inheritance. These curricular concerns supplemented the institution-building process. As Rochin notes Chicanos saw the university "as a vital institutional instrument of change."[12]

In 1969 a group of over a hundred students, faculty, staff, administrators, and community folk came together at Santa Barbara to devise a blueprint for Chicano self-determination and liberation—El Plan de Santa Barbara. At the heart of their call for action is using the academy as a weapon in the emancipation of the Chicano community. Juan Gomez-Quinones explains the political vision of his agenda through a reading of Lenin:

> Lenin did not condemn academic reform activity per se. With his unfailing good sense he saw academic protest as good a place as any to start the actions on campus as part of a wider effort for political mobilization.[13]

To implement this political strategy, El Plan presents a schema of institution building in which Chicanos would both control their programs and retain relative autonomy in the institution. Chicano power could then be achieved on campus and university resources directed to the Chicano community. The organized Chicano students and community stand at the center of this political task. In this way, Chicano community interests can be established at the university.[14]

Reynold Macias, Juan Gomez-Quinones and Raymond Castro, building on El Plan, formulate a program to structure Chicano Studies as an academic field by establishing its philosophy and objectives. Chicano Studies, they argue, should be institutionalized within the university where it should be given sufficient latitude to achieve the goals of self-determination and self-definition.

> Chicano Studies, then, in all disciplines and in all areas involve re-definition, re-interpretation, and most importantly, a premise for the above two, ... a change of framework. It in effect affirms a counter culture that is authentically Chicano and universal.[15]

In order to achieve this goal, they want to integrate Chicano Studies into the university by developing a system of institutional units such as stu-

dent services, community development, research and the like. This demands the recruitment of Chicano students, faculty and staff, the development of a program of formal study of Chicano culture and history, the development of support programs, research programs, publication programs, and cultural/social centers in the community. Chicano Studies must be made part of the university at all levels if it is to have any real impact; furthermore these units must be under Chicano control.

These thinkers further argue that this process of institutionalization also requires a different philosophy of education. The current framework of cultural pluralism, they emphasize, leads to an ethnocentric education. This philosophy creates institutions that are not geared to the needs of Chicanos and their community. Given this situation, students need a Chicano philosophy of education; this framework would provide students with a relevant education and prepare them for community service resulting in needed political, social, and economic change. Students will develop their leadership skills especially in regard to organizing. Thus their vision of a Chicano philosophy flows from their politics of institutionalization. The Chicano philosophy of education and the institutionalization of Chicano Studies will result in students who will partake in the "reformulation of knowledge in relation to the Chicano" and the transformation of the Chicano's position vis-a-vis the "gabacho system."[16]

What they left unclear is their characterization of knowledge. What does knowledge production mean within newly institutionalized Chicano Studies? Is it any different from any other field? How does it compare to academic knowledge? Their response leaves much to be desired: "A Chicano student must know how to locate the knowledge that he may need for pursuing action."[17] They assume a neutral objective process in knowledge formation; they accept an empiric and instrumentalist perspective of American academic knowledge. They believe that institutional control will have direct impact on the production of knowledge. They returned to the positivism and scientism that the Mexican followers of Ortega y Gasset found unacceptable. This supposition continues to haunt Chicano Studies today.[18]

Chicanismo and Perspectivist Chicano Studies

As more campuses established Chicano Studies programs, some activists were increasingly concerned about the character and direction of these programs. This was especially true in regard to the academic side of these programs. What made a Chicano Studies course any different from any other course? What should the goals of the curriculum be? To respond that these courses dealt with the "Chicano experience," some felt, was insufficient: Chicano Studies also had to provide a vision of life; organization building and institutionalization was found wanting. Chicano Studies had to deal with existence. An ex-

ample is Thomas Martinez's essay, presented at the Chicano Studies Summer Institute in 1970 and later appearing in *Epoca*.

Chicano Studies programs, Martinez observes, need to foster "a philosophy of living—an alternative set of values to those now persisting in Anglo-American society."[19] Fortunately Chicanos possess such an alternative philosophy—Chicanismo. While we should not read Chicanismo as simply a reaction to Anglo society, it does manifest a dissatisfaction with "Anglo-white values." Anglo values emphasize material achievement to prove self-worth. Chicanismo, in contrast, is the antithesis of this value system. Chicanismo, according to Martinez, is about spirituality, honest self-examination, a complete love of life, and consciousness of the here and now. Chicanismo is a variant of the larger humanist tradition missing from mainstream America.

Chicano Studies, Martinez adds, is not about social science alone but about existence. "It is the 'inner' life that is most important in defining worth of self and others."[20] The problem with the university is not only academic; it is about human behavior, responsibility, values, ethics—about humanism. "Do not allow the administrative responsibilities for programs to dictate the development of a 'bureaucratic personality' to the exclusion of Chicanismo values."[21] Chicano Studies must continually preserve and promote this humanism (i.e. Chicanismo) to resist the bureaucratic mentality of the academy. "There is a humanistic tradition inherent in the Chicano culture. It embodies an identification with all that is living."[22] Or as Medina writes, the "existential perception of life is that it could be human being-centered."[23]

According to Gomez-Quinones, a variety of political and intellectual communities utilized Chicanismo throughout the early period of the Chicano movement.[24] For many this spirit embodies the core values of all those struggles with the dominant Anglo society: "Chicanismo [is] the ideology of El Movimiento and of Mexican American politics."[25] Chicanismo draws inspiration from struggles outside the US and the Chicano experience, such as the Cuban Revolution and Black Power. It links various Chicano struggles with the diversity of academic Chicano Studies. For others, however, Chicanismo is also about cultural resistance, humanism, and revolutionary praxis. "Chicanismo is at once an ideology and a cultural expression...the main tenants of Chicanismo are humanism and self-determination. It calls for the humanity of man through revolution."[26]

For this reason, Chicanismo connects to carnalismo; both are rooted in respect.

> Carnalismo is a brotherhood, it is an understanding and an awareness of the concepts—love, nature, peace, culture, and destiny, that allows this brotherhood to evolve....Carnalismo is the philosophy of the Mexican as he transcends political and social philosophies into humanistic terms.[27]

187

Chicanismo therefore can be seen as "a way of life, a spiritual calling, a love, a respect, and a duty." The Chicano, moved by social injustice, sees it as his duty to fight wrongs: "A Chicano does not wag his tongue about injustice and wrong. He acts more than he speaks."[28] In this way, he challenges the dominant belief system and attempts to reconstruct the Mexican American. This reconstruction begins with an appeal to pride in a common history, culture, and "race." *Chicanismo* attempts to redefine the Mexican's identity on the basis not of class, generation, or area of residence but on a unique and shared experience in the United States."[29] This manifests itself in the politics of cultural nationalism and patriarchy.[30]

I do not want to reduce Chicanismo to Perspectivist Chicano Studies or vice versa. Chicanismo permeated all Chicano politics in the late 1960s and 1970s. Therefore the languages of Chicanismo can be found in most expressions of Chicano Studies. However the vision of a living Chicano culture (Ramos' "cultura viviente") as the central core of Chicano Studies, I believe, is what makes Perspectivist Chicano Studies so distinct from Empirical Chicano Studies. This reflects the difference of defining Chicanismo as a political expression or as a philosophy.

Chicanismo As Philosophy

Eliu Carranza formulates a philosophic framework for Chicano(a) perspectivism. Like Romano, he begins with a return to Chicanos' heritage and values. "The Mexican American has had to return to his own, his parent's, his grandparent's values. This is what has made the *movimiento* a reality."[31] But a simple return is not sufficient. Carranza demands that the Chicano honestly confront his past. Not all that is part of this heritage is good; some must be cast aside. Once the Chicano accomplishes his self-evaluation, he can boldly move into new directions, holding fast to the privilege of self-determination. In this way, he makes himself into a human being. "Our point of departure is self-determination; our strategy is confrontation and refutation; our enemy is racism; our goal is *Carnalismo*—flesh of my flesh, bone of my bone, and blood of my blood. This is the essence of Chicano humanism."[32] The Chicano is reborn with the spirit of freedom, truth, and life. For this reason, Carranza believes that this marks the start of a "cultural revolution" by which the Chicano comes into being significantly changing his world view. Chicanismo, Carranza concludes, holds the key for the new humanism that can save the U.S.

This "cultural revolution" parallels an analogous transformation of education. Through this "new" education, the Chicano will decolonize and liberate his mind permitting him to see himself in the face of his fellow. The Mexican American mind will free itself by establishing free

universities, Chicano institutes, or autonomous schools of Mexican American studies that will research, articulate, publish, and disseminate knowledge of the Mexican American. Liberating knowledge, Carranza implies, is not legitimated by social science; this can only come about by Chicanismo.

In a later edition Carranza reacts to the increasing instrumentalization of Chicano Studies; he is reacting to the rise of Empirical Chicano Studies. While he accepts traditionally defined functions of Chicano Studies, such as opposing prejudice and stereotyping as well as serving the community, he also adds that Chicano Studies must help the Chicano to "know himself in his world." The Chicano must dare to be a human being; he must be the agent of his existence and its meaning. Unless the Chicano centers himself in the world as subject, he will be engulfed. "[U]nless Mexican American Studies commits itself to new approaches it, like other departments, will find itself readily assimilated into the existing structure as one more department among departments...."[33] To play with social science without Chicano self determination established is to ask for co-optation.

> Another reason that may account for the term's [Chicanismo] passing may be a predilection of Chicanos toward the social sciences route to knowledge, in effect, to the neglect of the humanities and philosophy. Thus, Chicanismo [is] taken to refer not to the world view which it constituted, but to a group 'life style,' deemed suitable for the statistical approach to truth via the social sciences.[37]

It is only humanism that can resist this instrumentalization.

Chicano Studies, dominated by empiricism, Carranza concludes, erases the Chicano. "The search for the *essence* of the Chicano and the super-Chicano...[has] become a search for what [is] not there..."[35] Empirically driven Chicano Studies reduces the Chicano and his problem to one or two basic perspectives: the colonial or Marxist model is not sufficient. Rather, we need to understand the Chicano through multiple perspectives.

> For the Chicano Movement is in many respects a coming together of many often diverse points of view. The language of each point of view generates a different perspective concerning our situation, our problems, and the kind of solutions called for. Each perspective is important as one among others.[36]

The priests of the movement," Carranza laments, reject this call for perspectivism; they only accept one model of understanding the world.

189

Carranza wants us to recognize our multiple perspectives. Only from one's particular perspective, Carranza emphasizes, can one truly become an "active creative participant."

> "These considerations led me to the proposition that many Mexican-Americans were in possession of the truth of their condition, but had either suppressed it or had learned to ignore it..."[37]

To create an understanding of the world, one must start with one's Chicano experience, with one's being in the world. In this way we can break the "grinding alienation of prejudice and hatred" and everyone can then develop their aspirations. Then we can explore enchantment, life, death, meaning, and love—resulting in Chicano liberation.

To challenge the victorious Empirical Chicano Studies, Carranza proposes Chicanismo as a world-view.

> The need for a conceptualization of reality from the Chicano perspective has never been a more necessary undertaking than at this time. The fact it has never been accomplished heretofore is perhaps sufficient reason for burdening the literary world with yet another philosophical work [*Chicanismo As A World View*].[38]

For Carranza a metaphysical responsibility exists among Chicanos. Carnalismo opens the door to understanding this ethical imperative. Choosing to adhere to principle is the first step in embracing this Chicano *weltanschauung*.

Other Chicanos express similar ideas. E. A. Mares, in his evaluation of Freire, provides an important addition to Carranza's philosophy by introducing the concept of play. Since beginnings and absolutes are not the issue, then fiesta and *homo laudens* become fundamental since they allow a playful and non-oppressive manner of experiencing the world. Unfortunately contemporary society has separated life from fiesta resulting in alienation. Mares believes that only the Chicano and Native American, among the citizens of the US, remain in contact with the spirit of play. "Chicanos do have...in their non-Western or Indian heritage...elements of play and fiestas which serve as a reminder that life is not and need not be a continual dreary pattern of alienation, non-creative work."[39]

Alienation results in dehumanizing structures resting on the mystique of science. Freire's *conscientizacion*, Mares believes, breaks through this fog by raising questions and then posing an alternative course of action, a true praxis, toward self-determination and self-liberation. This praxis is tied to fiesta.

[The] celebration of fiesta under adverse circumstances, may have a great opportunity...for initiating a process of humanization, of restoration of the unity of man and the world, and for the creation of life styles more suitable to a post-technological society.[40]

As Maria Lugones suggests in a later piece, knowledge and *jugeatar* need to work as one.[41]

Many writers employ various aspects of the ideas formulated by Romano, Carranza, Mares and others. None necessarily see themselves as part of a unified school or agenda. Rather they share a need to ground the quest for knowledge as well as knowledge of the Chicano.

Jose Armas' quest to save Chicano cultural identity is one example. He argues that Chicanos are lost because "there is nothing to distinguish themselves as culturally different Chicanos."[42] In order to maintain this identity and therefore establish a humanistic society, the Chicano must develop social responsibility, *a doctrina de La Raza*, and a process to incorporate all Chicanos. With this *doctrina*, Chicanos can promote their values, maintain their cultural identity, and use "them as ready-made alternatives to what the dominant society has."

La Doctrina de La Raza would be the abc's of Chicanismo. The different themes and concepts selected are those that are needed to maintain the essence of La Raza culture. It is important to understand that the culture is learned. No one is born with culture. They learn their cultural attributes. The doctrina program would teach and reinforce those elements of La Raza culture.[43]

In another piece Armas sees the family as the place to begin to formulate and sustain this *doctrina*.

I have suggested that the Chicano cultural concept of "*La Familia*" provides for us a ready-made base from which to build our emerging identity and a humanistic system. Idolizing philosophies of Che, Pancho Villa, Zapata are for the moment, and they serve their purpose, but for a lasting and sane foundation for a humanistic way of life, we must look to our 'Familia.' The goals are for a foundation of brotherhood, a respect for people, a defense of the family that keeps us spiritually alive and a compatible attitude toward the land the keeps us physically alive.[44]

Many essays in *De Colores: Journal of Emerging Raza Philosophies*, edited by Armas, parallel these ideas.[45]

191

Perspectivist Chicano Studies as Academic Project

In the early 1970s, a few Chicano academics questioned the emerging empiricism in Chicano Studies. Influenced by Mexican and Chicano(a) thinking as well as debates in Western Marxism and developments in European philosophy, these scholars endeavored to present an alternative vision. While most of these writers did not necessarily recognize such a project, it is clear, some twenty-five years later, that their work presented a rejection of developing Empirical Chicano Studies and instead called for a different academic project.

The writings of some early Chicano literary critics allow us to explore a manifestation of Perspectivist Chicano Studies. Juan Rodriguez and Carlos Zamora argue that the "uniqueness" of the Chicano experience and identity together with humanism and praxis is the engine behind Chicano literature. Zamora points out that the praxis of humanism must be understood as a political act and therefore as the only salvation from "las fuerzas de la deshumanizacion (the forces of dehumanization)," las "cosificacion (reification)," and "la enajenacion del hombre (the alienation of man)." Therefore the artists' humanist praxis is a necessary aspect of the liberation of humanity. Segade adds that this praxis constructs the Chicano. "Chicano is a synthesized reality that [has] to be recognized and affirmed by those who [are] aware of living it."[46] Chicano literary criticism rooted in a Chicano perspective born from his living experience is an essential part of the political battle for self-determination and liberation.[47]

Juan Rodriquez's early essays articulate this vision. The growing consciousness of the Chicano, he starts, demands self-determination. The Anglo separates the Chicano from his history, culture and *raison d'etre* leaving him "en el mundo vertiginoso del enajenamiento (in the fluid world of alienation)."[48] The Chicano writer returns to this "awareness"[49] that is at the heart of Chicano literature.

> He aqui el postulado basico de toda la literatura chicana: testimonear la vida particular y, por consiguiente, universal del chicano para asegurarle su sitio correspondiente en la familia de la raza humana, sitio que le pertenece por derecho propio, no divino, ni diabolico.
>
> (Here is the basic postulate of all Chicano literature: to give testimony to both the particular and consequently the universal life of the Chicano, in order to assure [his] corresponding place in the family of the human race, a place that [he] earned by [his] own right.)[50]

The artist is able to give the particularities of the Chicano being, especially in relationship with the long struggle against Anglo society. This process breaks the alienation that denies his being. To support his point, Rodriguez turn to Rivera's...*Y no se lo trago la tierra*. Rivera's novel reveals "momentos reveladores en la vida de un pueblo en lucha con su circunstancia y consigo mismo (moments in the life of a people in struggle with their circumstances and themselves)."[51] In this manner, it restores the Chicano to his place in the continuum of humanity.

Raymond Rocco's essays present another example of academic Chicano perspectivism. He formulates a critical position for Chicano researchers. Scholars uncritically accept, Rocco begins, given concepts or theories as universal. Using Romano's and Deluvina Hernandez's critique of social scientists, Rocco turns to see what alternatives might exist to traditional social science.

> The point is that there are many dimensions of "reality" that we never become conscious of. Our use of concepts, our designation of certain phenomena as "facts," really depends on those aspects of the culture which are emphasized as significant, which is ultimately determined by normative criteria.[52]

For Rocco knowledge is not singular nor homogeneous. "If we are to take the role of scientist seriously, then we should be dedicated to the search for as many forms of knowledge as possible." Perspective can provide alternative orientations that generate different research programs. Rocco concludes in his *Aztlan* essay that "[o]ne of the perspectives we must establish is one based on the experience of people who live in Mexican American community."[53]

But Rocco is unsatisfied with this possible conclusion. It is insufficient to merely assert the need to base a perspective on a group's experience. In a later piece for the *Western Political Quarterly* he returns to the importance of clarifying one's theoretical position. He begins with a critique not only of social scientists' research but of social science in general, now grounding his discussion in critical theory.

> They [critical theorists] argue that the majority of theorists and researchers have not recognized that the practice of social science rests on a substructure which is essentially philosophical or theoretical in nature and that any analysis of specific frameworks and methodologies must be firmly rooted in a knowledge of the more basic commitments made at the ontological, epistemological, and logical levels... .[54]

Traditional social science reifies data by abstracting it from relations that provide meaning and significance; it distorts reality. For this reason,

one must be clear what one is doing and why, if not, consciously or not, one accepts the assumptions of social science—objectivity, facts, and truth. It is through praxis in the world that we come to understand knowledge claims.

Chicano scholarship, attuned to the Marxist, Cultural Nationalist, and Internal Colonialist models, seeks to explain the patterns of domination through structural terms. This, Rocco argues, emphasizes one realm of activity and therefore exhibits a reductionist tendency. One can overcome these limitations by translating issues into a theoretical complex defined by critical theory and praxis. Arguing through Leopoldo Zeas' writings,[55] Rocco notes that the role of the intellectual is to mediate between philosophy and history. This mediation aims at the liberation of *la persona* resulting in emancipation from domination. It is by interrogating the "concreteness of historical experience" that we come to self-consciousness. "For philosophy to be philosophy it must achieve consciousness; thought which does not recognize its own circumstances does not reach self-consciousness."[56] These conditions oblige one to practice responsibility. One can imply from Rocco's reading of Zea that just like the "authenticity of Latin American philosophy develops when it begins to assess its circumstances from the perspective of the colonized," so the Chicano will become subject when it acts in the world as self-consciousness.[57]

Perspectivist Chicano Studies, however, as a field, did not survive well in the academy. At one level, the university, especially the research institutions, set the conditions that made this controversial style of intellectual endeavor ineffectual. As the student protests died down, the limited space initially allowed to non-traditional approaches was further restricted. On another level, the system began to devour its opposition. "Chicano Studies have been absorbed. A traditional strategy of the majority system is to get hit, draw back and then devour whatever is hitting it."[58] In this situation, Empiricist Chicano Studies is simply more malleable to the institution. In this atmosphere, Perspectivist Chicano Studies breaks up into different directions losing its already limited cohesion and unity.[59]

A Search for Alternative Pathways

For some Chicanos their experience in institutions of higher learning left little hope for developing a radical and critical perspective within the academy. At best Chicano Studies might help students survive the institution, but one could not expect permanent change. Risco writes about this experience at Fresno State College.

[Y]ou cannot change the system using the system's tools. All you can do is patch up holes. There's is no such thing as a

194

neutral education. It's all political... . No amount of Chicano
Studies or La Raza Studies is going to change the system's
master plan. But maybe Chicano Studies helps Chicanos while
they are on those campuses.[60]

The answer, Risco concludes, is to develop alternative counter institutions.

Of the many alternative institutions that have appeared, the most
interesting is *La Academia de la Nueva Raza* directed by Tomas Atencio.
La Academia begins from the premise that "education has bypassed La
Raza; that the value system underpinning the body of knowledge avail-
able to some of us in the course of our education is a foreign one."[61] So
where does one go from here? One heeds the "oro del barrio (the gold
of the barrio)," the accumulated popular knowledge of the Chicano com-
munities—not just of the past but of the present as well. From this oro
"La Academia proposes to compile a philosophy"[62] to use "life experi-
ence to build the body of knowledge from which people learn."[63]

The preceding argument is sufficient for us to demand a body of
knowledge that embodies the Chicano experience. This dictates our
tasks: we must dig into our past literature, our folklore, our history which
is mostly oral; we must venture into areas related to the social and
behavorial sciences and identify individuals and social behavior patterns
that may reflect the Chicano experience as we struggle for survival.[64]
Therefore, Atencio is critical of the alternative schools that merely mirror
the traditional system. Rather we must build a body of knowledge from
La Raza experience and create a learning experience through dialogue-
-his famous *resolana.*

Another direction that Perspectivist Chicano Studies develops
is in a certain style of community service. These perspectivist writers
formulate an interactive approach in which the community is not trans-
formed into object or problem. Their aim is to push the academy to open
their intellectual space to a different style of logic, a logic that starts with
the living experience of people who become the subject as well as ob-
ject of research. By grounding research on lived experience, Chicano
scholars confront social science. This is more than a conflict between
macro and micro or quantitative and qualitative sytles of research.

Hijos del Sol, for instance, developed a program for children,
youth, and their families based on their experience: "A person's own life
experiences comprise a knowledge base."[65] In this way we escape the
chronic pattern of "El No." "El No" explains the dynamic by which soci-
ety negates personal and group power manifesting itself in the words
"no puedo (I can't)."[66] What we encounter is the development of
"razalogia." Later, Martinez and Vargas expanded on this idea of com-
munity learning process. "Razalogia has evolved out of the attempt to
conceptually describe our approach for developing knowledge

195

that heals, liberates and transforms."[67] This "transformative learning" is the process of creating knowledge "partial to the needs and well-being of the community." What these individuals, who entered community services, learned from the academy had to be completely reconceptualized. "Having critiqued the field of psychology as inapplicable to an understanding of the Chicano reality, we eventually agreed that understanding the "Chicano experience" required sharing from our personal lives."[68]

Thus activity in community services, like La Clincia del las Raza, lead to razalogia—knowledge for Raza by Raza. In this process of learning from our experience, we move away from "no puedo"—an internal devaluation of self—to a reconceptualization of our power. At this stage, the Chicano community needs self organization: "[I] recognized that our communities require, not merely more professionals or services, but an ideology and activism that seek radical change in our social systems."[69] As razalogia develops, it leads to the formation of "progente/provida" network. Clearly the application of razalogia "must be extended beyond the work arena to one's family and community life." By this point razalogia shifts from its Chicano perspective and becomes more appropriately "an approach of transformative learning guiding a conscious community knowing toward advancing human/social transformation."[70]

Perspectivist Chicano Studies on the Essentialist Edge

Perspectivist Chicano Studies could easily cross over into essentialism.[71] Dan Porath, for example, argues that the philosophy of perspectivism is attractive to the "Latin mind" given the Mexican/Chicano tragic sense of life. Drawing on his reading of Unamuno, Oretga y Gasset, Romanell, and pre-Columbian Indian mysticism, he believes that the Mexican is born an existentialist. "Certain 'feelings' are suggested in the deep mysticism of the pre-Conquest world as well as the particular history which Latin America has experienced."[72] Though he notes the role of experience in forming a philosophy of life, he continuously roots this vision in the nature of the Mexican.

> What had been tried then, in attempting to impose the empirical, scientific approach on the Mexican [i.e. positivism], was not to allow a system to develop from the Mexican's own experience, but as an attempt to assimilate the Mexican to an outside source. And the Mexican was too Mexican to buy it.[73]

The true Mexican, Porath insists, is an existential man.

When he turns to Chicanos, he encounters the same spirit in this population. We can trace this from the pachuco to Cesar Chavez, "Corky" Gonzalez, and Romano. Porath distinguishes his understanding of Chicanismo from what one finds in academic Chicano Studies.

"Very little of what was presented to the Chicano had its origins in the barrio, primarily because most of these [C]hicano scholars were not barrio oriented—they had escaped long ago and had become successful in the 'mainstream' culture."[74] Chicanismo, Porath notes, is about the barrio, cultural revolution, and creating a new social being. Most importantly, Chicanismo is about existing in the here and now. As the initial statement of *Con Safos* states: "It is rather an attempt at expressing the entire spectrum of feelings that are the soul of the barrio."[75] One can see an unresolved tension in some perspectivists between essentialism and the desire to ground this perspective in Chicano or Mexican experience.

One theme among perspectivists writers is the Chicanos(as)' native past. This often suggests an essentialist interpretation. For instance at the same time razalogia moves toward transformative praxis, Vargas returns to a romanticized notion of our native past.[76] A. Solis, who influences razalogia formation, is another example of this return to our native roots—not solely in a racial or cultural sense but also in its spiritual significance. "Chicano cultural values are recognized to be within the realm of the Chicano or Native American Spirit...."[77] "It is a shared psychological spiritual force. At that point we begin to see-*in Tloque, in Nahuaque.* "The spirit of Unity-Togetherness, as we practice it, begins to emerge."[78] Where does this come from? Solis points to our native past, to our "tatas."[79] "We are first of all and at the very core or root of our psyche and spirit, Native-Americans of any one or some Mexican Indian tribe(s)."[80] From here we draw our Mexicano-Chicano values, especially harmony and community and the quest for land.[81]

For some Chicanos, the native past governs their vision of the world. These authors believe that their true Chicano being is tied to that indigenous past/present. What stands out from these essays is the role of culture and spirituality. They believe that they can revive the cultural values that were "lost" after 1848. The Chicano, Alarcon argues, must return to Mother Earth. It is spirituality that is at the heart of Chicanismo; the barrio is the vital center of Chicanismo as the home of this native spirit. "The main awareness of the movimiento has its base in the philosophical attitude that the total unity of the Chicano is the principal spiritual force and that the barrio is the center of the "living culture."[82] We must rescue these essential values from Anglo materialist hands. One need only glimpse through much of early Alurista poetry or Valdez's meditations to sense this view. For example in an essay in *De Colores*, Alurista draws a sharp contrast between the Indian world or harmony and balance and the Anglo world.[83] Another example is Valdez' *Pensamientos serpentinos.*[84] Chicano being, they imply, is decided by this native past.[85]

This concern with our indigenous heritage has lead to an enormous outpouring of literary and intellectual work. We could not sepa-

rate early Chicano Studies from the quest of the Chicano's(a's) real and mythic historical identity. The use of Indian motifs, Klor de Alva notes, is due to the preoccupation with the search for identity, an appeal to the great indigenous civilizations of the past as a source of pride, and a quest for a symbolic nexus that can link all Chicanos despite their heterogeneity. In many ways the quest for Aztlan is about this past and our connection to it. When we think of the early poetry and art of the Chicano Movement we cannot escape these motifs and symbols. And yet its meaning and importance varies in our communities. Note how the Teatro Campesino and Luis Valdez reframe "Corky" Gonzalez' *I am Joaquin* by bringing out the indigenous elements more than a reading of the piece might have done. All readings of this native heritage are equivocal. Not all perspectivists essentialize their conceptualization of the native past/ present.

Some Chicano writers, for instance, recall our native past in order to challenge Western epistemology—avoiding essentialist claims. Faced with the social science leviathan, how do we challenge and offer a counter epistemology? Francisco Vazquez asserts the need to utilize epistemological alternatives such as the Aztec search for truth.[86] Raymond Padilla expands on this notion by acknowledging our Western heritage (Socratic, Christian, Hegelian, Marxist, Buberian) but regards it as only part of our intellectual tradition. Therefore we need to look toward our indigenous heritage and legacy, not to live in or reestablish this past but to retake our legitimate heritage.[87] With these resources, we can engage in "chicanizaje"[88] or "chicanology."[89] To other Chicanos, this awareness of our past opens the possibility of "la vida nueva."[90] These readings represent perspectivist vision of our past. The goal is not to resurrect some real historic past but to begin our epistemological transformation from our situation in the world, our becoming, by taking possession of our past and identity.

CONCLUSION

In this essay I trace the genesis and development of one possible style of doing Chicano Studies. Beginning with the work of Romano and Carranza, I draw attention to their perspectivist epistemology. This approach to knowledge privileges the position and context of the knower. This stress on being is reflected in concepts like Chicanismo, carnalismo, and humanism that can produce a culture that makes visible humanity—especially in light of the perceived failures of the Anglo value system.

In the academic world, few have ventured into this style. Most examples could be found in the field of literary criticism. In the academy the struggle against alienation could be accomplished at both the situated position of the Chicano and the universal level of humanity. I use

Juan Rodriguez's essays as an example. From the angle of social science I turn to the writings of Raymond Rocco who presents a critique of instrumentalist knowledge followed by a call to draw a perspective from the experiences of the Chicano community. In this way the scholar becomes an active participant, to recall Zea, in the liberation of *la persona* and thereby humanity.

Unfortunately, Perspectivist Chicano Studies never became a viable choice among research agendas. Therefore the only real option, according to Risco, was to abandon the academy if one desired change. In this essay, I look at a couple of alternative pathways that some Chicanos choose: Atencio's *La Academia de la Nueva Raza* and the community project of Hijos del Sol.

Clearly at the center of this perspectivist project is self-consciousness. A danger, however, exists in trying to ground this self-consciousness. It is easy to step from a perspectivist analysis over to essentialism and nativism. Perspectivist thinkers often drew links to the Chicano native past in order to emphasize the existence of alternative world views. Some could interpret this as creating a Chicano-centric world view, but at this point Perspectivist Chicano Studies had faded.

By the mid 1980s, Perspectivist Chicano Studies as an alternative style of Chicano knowing had evaporated. The lack of an established base in the academy undercut the development of a core of perspectivist scholars. Furthermore the rise of structuralism, poststructuralism, feminism, postmodernism, neo-marxism, and queer theory contested the philosophical ground of the perspectivist camp. But the most damaging impact was the exclusionary politics of empirics. The end result was to vanquish Perspectivist Chicano Studies as a viable alternative.

Nevertheless in challenging Empirical Chicano Studies, perspectivists demonstrated the limitations of this dominant view. The empirics could not escape the partriarchal, logico-deductive, and instrumentalist reasoning that is at the core of the U.S. academy. While empirics may not have achieved all their institutional goals, they did find an intellectual space in the academy. Ironically just as Perspectivist Chicano Studies faded, new contestants arose to critique Empirical Chicano Studies. These new provocations took a variety of shapes, from the radical epistemological attacks by queer theorists and postmodernists to more moderate criticism of the exclusionary politics of empirics by multiculturalists, feminists, and those interested in Latino and/ or American Studies. These issues, however, must be left for another time.

NOTES

[1] I would like to thank Richard Chabran, Mary Romero, Eric Margolis, Ray Rocco, Angelina Soldatenko, and the readers of ESR for their intellectual input. I also want to thank Chicano Studies at ASU for reminding me that exclusionary politics is alive and well.

[2] I have retained "Chicano" since its male usage reflects the gendered politics and epistemology of the *movimiento*, particularly in the academy. This will also help us discern the epistemic break of Chicana feminist though.

[3] I have had a difficult time naming this tradition. Initially I called it "Existential Chicano Studies." But readers of earlier versions of this project felt that this term unnecessarily introduced the long history of phenomenology and existentialsim into this discussion. While some of these early Chicano(a) thinkers may have accepted this baggage, others would not have. I found perspectivist much more acceptable. In this manner the influence of Ramos, Romanell, Paz, and Ortega y Gasset can be more fully appreciated (Eliu Carranza, *Pensamientos on Los Chicanos*. Second edition. (Berkeley: California Book Co., 1971) and Dan Porath, "Chicanos and Existentialism," *De Colores* 1:2 (1974), 13).

[4] Patrick Romanell, *Making of the Mexican Mind: A Study in Recent Mexican Thought* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1952).

[5] Romanell, 161. Romanell's citations are from the English translation of Ortega y Gasset's *El tema de muestro tiempo* (Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1923).

[6] Romanell, 161.

[7] Octavio Ignacio Romano-V., "Minorities, History, and the Cultural Mystique," *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought* 2:1 (1967), 7; Octavio Ignacio Romano-V., "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican-American: The Distortion of Mexican-American History," *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought* 2:1 (1968), 23.

[8] Octavio Ignacio Romano-V., "The Historical and Intellectual Presence of Mexican-Americans," *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought* 2:2 (1969), 37.

[9] Octavio, Ignacio Romano-V., "Book Review of *North from Mexico: The Spanish Speaking People of the United States*," *El Grito: A Journal of*

200

Contemporary Mexican-American Thought 3:1 (1969), 52 and 55.

[10]Octavio Ignacio Romano-V., "Social Science, Objectivity, and the Chicanos," *El Grito: A Journal of Contemporary Mexican-American Thought* 4:1 (1970), 5-6, 11-13.

[11]Romano, "Social Science," 12.

[12]Refugio I. Rochin, "The Short and Turbulent Life of Chicano Studies: A Preliminary Study of Emgering Programs and Problems" *Social Science Quarterly* 53:4 (1973), 888.

[13]Juan Gomez-Quinones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement in Southern California 1967-1977* (Santa Barbara: Editorial La Causa, 1978), 8.

[14]Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education, *El Plan de Santa Barbara: A Chicano Plan for Higher Education* (Santa Barbara: La Causa Publications, 1970), 16; Carlos Munoz, *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Generation* (London: Verso, 1989), 138-139; Gomez-Quinones, *Mexican*, 14.

[15]Reynaldo Macias, Juan Gomez-Quinones, Raymond Castro, "Objectives of Chicano Studies," *Epoca* 1:2 (1971): 32.

[16]Macias, 31-33.

[17]Macias, 32

[18]Ignacio Garcia's recent writings reassert this empiricist vision. His analy sis of the development of Mexican American intellectuals ignores individuals who did not share or belong to the empiric school. For Garcia there was and can only be one Chicano Studies—as presented in *El Plan de Santa Barbara* - Ignacio M. Garcia, "Juncture in the Road: Chicano Studies Since 'El Plan de Santa Barbara'" in *Chicanas/Chicanos at the Crossroads: Social, Economic, and Political Change*, David Maciel and Isidro Ortiz, eds. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 182. Potential competitors to Empirical Chicano Studies are dismissed as "disciplines of anarchy" or in the present as various manifestations of "post modern sectarianism" - Ignacio M. Garcia, *Chicanismo: The Forging of a Militant Ethos among Mexican Americans* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 61; Garcia, 1996, 189). Even the serious critique of Chicanas is dismissed as, at best, premature and, at worst, separatist. But the Movement could not help but challenge patriarchy through its liberation rhetoric and through the opportunity *it gave women*

201

my emphasis) to become involved in protest activities (Garcia, 1997, 64). Nevertheless, Garcia is forced to recognize the validity of Chicana assessment of the *movimiento* but then concludes, at the same time, that concentration on the Chicana experience reduced Chicanas influ (ence in the Chicano community (Garcia, 1997, 110). For Garcia the solution to the current crisis in Chicano Studies is to return to the original program for Chicano Studies as established in *El Plan de Santa Barbara* (Garcia, 1996, 195). For a critique of Garcia see Lorena Oropeza, "Making History: The Chicano Movement," *JSRI Occasional Paper Series* Number 17 (East Lansing, MI: Julian Samora Research Institute, Michigan State University, 1997), 1-26.

[19]Thomas Martinez, "Chicanismo," *Epoca* 1:2 (1971), 35

[20]Martinez, "Chicanismo," 38.

[21]Martinez, "Chicanismo," 39.

[22]Martinez, "Chicanismo," 40.

[23]Celia Medina, Chicanos, Existentialism and the Human Condition (San Jose: Marfel Associates, 1974), 34.

[24]Juan Gomez-Quinones, *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise 1940-1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 104-105.

[25]Theresa Aragon de Shepro, *Chicanismo and Mexican American Politics* (Seattle: Centro de Estudios Chicanos, 1971), 1; Alfredo Cuellar, "Perspective on Politics" in Joan W. Moore, ed. *Mexican Americans*(Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1970), 149.

[26]Aragon, *Chicanismo*, 12.

[27]Adrian Vargas, "Carnalismo," *Chilam Balam* 1:3 (1972), 17.

[28]Nephtali De Leon, *Chicanos: Our Background and Our Pride* (Lubbock: Trucha Publications, 1972), 4.

[29]Cuellar, "Perspectives," 153.

[30]The relationship between Chicanismo and feminism is problematic. Alma Garcia, for instance, notes that many Chicanas raise a "collective feminist challenge" to the sexism and male domination in both the *movimiento* and Chicanismo. This criticism came from women's experience with the contradictions of Chicanismo. "From their nationalist base,

these Chicana activists began to evolve also as feminists." - Alma Garcia,*Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 3. Feminism appears, in Garcia's research, as a break from Chicanismo. Ana Castillo takes a different view. She begins by calling attention to the works of Chicanas that examined the racism, sexism, and sexist racism that socially and economically oppressed them; especially the writings of Ana Nieto Gomez [Ana Castillo, *Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 33]. In particular, Castillo calls attention to the "philosophy of the male-dominated Chicano Movement" (53). However Castillo is attracted to the cultural and nationalist attributes of Chicanismo. Castillo argues that women can "assert a pride in their ethnicity" accepting a form of cultural nationalism without falling into patriarchy (95).

31Eliu Carranza, *Pensamientos on Los Chicanos: A Cultural Revolution* (Berkeley: California Book Co., 1969), 4.

32Carranza, *Pensamientos*, 16.

33Carranza, *Pensamientos* (second edition), 21.

34Elihu Carranza, *Chicanismo: Philosophical Fragments* (Dubuque: Kendall/Hall Publishing Co., 1978), 129

35Carranza, *Pensamientos* (second edition), 17.

36Carranza, *Pensamientos* (second edition), 18.

37Carranza, *Chicanismo*, 131.

38Carranza, *Chicanismo*, 132.

39E.A. Mares, "The Fiesta of Life: Impressions of Paulo Freire," *El Cuaderno*, 3:2 (1974), 6. Mares adds later on "The idea of mirth, humor, playfulness as an integral part of life, as an on-going *fiesta*, as a graceful and joyful acceptance of human folly, is as old as the Totonac Period, even older, according to Octavio Paz, and as recent as the insights of a Yaqui man of knowledge" (Mares, "Fiesta," 10).

40Mares, "Fiesta," 14.

41Maria Lugones, "Playfulness, 'World'-Travelling, and Loving Perception" in Gloria Anzaldua, ed. *Making Face, Making Soul: Haciendo Caras* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1990), 390-402.

[42]Jose Armas, "Doctrina de La Raza," *De Colores: Journal of Emerging Raza Philosophies*, 1:2 (1974), 43.

[43]Armas, "Doctrina," 44.

[44]Jose Armas, "La Familia de la Raza," *De Colores: Journal of Emerging Raza Philosophies* 3:2 (1976), 54.

[45]Clearly Armas' work reflects a patriarchal world. His definition of *la raza, chicanismo, la familia* are gendered; they are defined through his male vision of the world. The same, of course is true in the statements we find in Carranza and others. Both perspectivists and empiricists privilege their male position—politically and intellectually.

[46]Gustavo Segade, "Toward a Dialectic of Chicano Literature," *Mester* 4:1 (1973), 4; Gustavo Segade, "An Introduction to Floricanto" in Alurista et al (eds) *An Anthology of Chicano Literature* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976), 3.

[47]Jose Armas, "Introduction" in Jose Armas et al (eds) *Flor y Canto IV and V* (NP: Pajarito Publications, 1980), 10; Juan Rodriguez, "Donde Esta la onda?" *Revista Chicano-Riquena* 3:3 (1975), 3-5; Juan Rodriguez, "La busqueda de identidad y sus motivos en la literatura chicana" in Francisco Jimenez (ed) *The Identification and Analysis of Chicano Literature* (New York: Bilingual Press, 1979), 170-178; Carlos Zamora, "Humanismo y Praxis Artistica," *Mester* 4:1 (1973), 3.

[48]Rodriguez, "La busquenda," 7.

[49]Consecuentemente, un *awareness*, un estar consciente de si mismo, de su circunstancia respecto a la de los otros, un reconocimiento de su otredad, son el *sine que non* de la busqueda de identidad del chicano en la literatura (Consequently, an *awareness*, a consciousness of oneself, of one's circumstances in reference to others, a recognition of otherness, are the *sine que non* of the search for chicano identity in literature)" (Rodriguez, "Donde", 162).

[50]Rodriguez, "La busqueda," 8.

[51]Juan Rodriguez, "Aceramiento a cuatro relatos de ... *Y no se lo trago la tierra*," Mester 5:1 (1974), 16.

[52]Raymond Rocco, "The Chicano in the Social Sciences: Traditional Concepts, Myths, and Images," *Aztlan: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and Arts* 1:2 (Fall 1970), 92.

[53]Rocco, "The Chicano," 92 and 93.

[54]Raymond Rocco, "A Critical Perspective on the Study of Chicano Politics," Western Political Quarterly 30:4 (1977), 562.

[55]For Romanell, Zea is another "neo-Orteguian 'circumstantialist'" (1952, 176).

[56]Raymond Rocco, "Marginality and the Recovery of History: On Leopoldo Zea" *Canadian Journal of Political and Social Theory* 4:3 (1981), 43.

[57]Rocco, "Marginality," 43.

[58]Paul Sanchez, "Memoirs of a Chicano Administrator," in *Parameters of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education* (Hayward: Southwest Network, 1974), 53.

[59]Chicano(a) social scientists created NACS (National Association for Chicano Studies) in 1972 as an organization to unite Chicanos(as) in the academy in order to foster a Chicano agenda. While perspectivists participated in this organization, NACS echoed the empiricist agenda. At an initial meeting held at New Mexico Highlands University in 1973, the directions of Chicano social science were set. First, social science research by Chicanos must be problem-oriented; it was to be committed scholarship. This would satisfy the "activist" character of Chicano Studies. Moreover, social science research was to be interdisciplinary in nature. Third, Chicano practice of social science must break down barriers between research and action. Fourth, Chicano social science must be highly critical and rigorous. Lastly, Chicanos must not limit the scope of their research - Reynaldo Flores Macias ed. *Perspectivas en Chicano Studies* (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Center, 1977), 214-216). The form of this new organization was to be in keeping with the philosophy and direction of the new Chicano social science. Munoz adds that an "[a]greement was reached that traditional social science was to be discouraged within the proposed association in favor of more critical analysis as afforded by the internal colonial and Marxist class analysis" - Carols Munoz, "The Quest for Paradigm: The Development of Chicano Studies and Intellectuals" in Mario Garcia and Francisco Lomeli, eds. *History, Culture, and Society: Chicano Stuides in the 1980s* (Ypsilanti, MI: Bilingual Press, 1983), 30-31. In the third annual conference held in 1975, a session was held on "Chicano Social Science: The Ethnics and Politics of Research" - *El Mirlo Canta de Noticatlan: Carta Sobre Chicano Studies* 2, 9 (1975), 2. All of this parallels the direction of *Aztlan* and, of course, reflects the inspiration of *El Plan*.

[60]Eliezer Risco, "Before Universidad de Aztlan: Ethnic Studies at Fresno State College," in *Parameters of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education*, 1974, 46.

[61]Tomas Atencio, "La Academia de la Nueva Raza: Su Historia" *El Cuaderno* 1 (1971), 6.

[62]Tomas Atencio, "La Academia de la Nueva Raza: El Oro del Barrio" *El Cuaderno* 3:1 (1973), 6.

[63]Atencio, 1971, 7.

[64]Tomas Atencio, "La Academia de la Nueva Raza: Sus Obras" *El Cuaderno* 2:1 (1972), 7.

[65]Samuel C. Martinez and Hijos de Sol staff, *Hijos del Sol: An Approach to Raza Community Mental Health* (Oakland: Casa del Sol, 1981), 19.

[66]Samuel C. Martinez and Roberto Vargas, *Razalogia: Community Learning for a New Society* (Oakland: Razagente Assoc., 1984), 78.

[67]Martinez and Vargas, *Razalogia,* 2.

[68]Martinez and Vargas, *Razalogia* 8.

[69]Martinez and Vargas, *Razalogia,* 16.

[70]Martinez and Vargas, *Razalogia,* 22 and 26.

[71]Essentialist arguments can be found in all styles of Chicano Studies. How we deal with who we are lead to discussions that could essentialize concepts like race, nation, gender, sexual orientation, color, and class. We attribute characteristics to these particular notions ignoring their historical and social nature. Given the intensity of political and social battle, this was possibly unavoidable. I do not want to trace or search out all these incidents of essentializing in Chicano Studies.

[72]Porath, "Chicanos," 13.

[73]Porath, "Chicanos," 11.

[74]Porath, "Chicanos," 18.

[75]*Con Safos* 1:1 (1968): 1.

[76]Roberto Vargas, *Provida Leadership: A Guide to Human/Social Transformation* (Oakland: Razagente Assoc., 1985), 6.

[77]A. Solis, "Chicano Mental Health: Introduction to Chicano Values," *Calmecac* (Verano 1980), 52.

[78]A. Solis, "Traditional Chicano Centering," *Calmecac* (Primavera 1982), 18.

[79]Ana Luisa Bustamante, "La Ciencia en la Tradicion," *Calmecac* (Primavera 1982), 11-17.

[80]A. Solis, "Chicano Values: Living in Balance," *Calmecac* (Primavera 1982), 30.

[81]A. Solis, "Chicano Values—Part III," *Calmecac* (Invierno 1984), 16-20; Ana Luisa Bustamante, "Spiral of Cultural Identity Development," *Calmecac* (Invierno 1984); L.K. Banas, "Donde Estas? Conflicts in the Chicano Movement," *Caracol* 3:11 (1977) 15-77; L.K. Banas, "Donde Estoy?" *Calmecac* (Primavera 1981); Jose Castorena, "La Raza Nueva: The Fire that Does Not Consume Itself," *Regeneracion* 1:3 (1979), 1-2. "On the Black or White Revolutionary's Relation to the Chicano Struggle," *La Causa* 2:1 (1971). The marxist response to these arguments could be very condescending and rough. Recall C. G. C.'s response to Banas in Caracol-"Carta Abierta to L.K. Banas," *Caracol* 4:2 (1977), 18-20.

[82]Justo S. Alarcon, "Historical and Cultural Concepts of Chicanismo." Unpublished paper. Chicano Collection, Arizona State University, 1973, 23.

[83]Alurista, "The Chicano Cultural Revolution," *De Colores: Journal of Emerging Raza Philosophies* 1:1 (Winter 1973), 23-33.

[84]Luis Valdez, *Pensamiento Serpentino: A Chicano Approach to the Theater of Reality* (NP: Cucaracha Publications, 1973).

[85]Klor de Alva argues that this indigenous interest began to fade by the mid 1980s. Even Alurista became less *indigenista* in his writing. "Interest in Mesoamerica in slowly being eroded as questions of identity, pride, and political unity are finding their answers more within a Chicano than a Mexican context" (J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "California Chicano Literature and Pre-Columbian Motifs: Foil and Fetish," *Confluenica* 1:2 (1986), (19). Klor de Alva jumped the gun. For in fact we are witnessing a revival of native spirituality and motifs. We should recognize that major political, ideological, and even interpretive differences exist between the use of indigenous symbols and spiritutality in the early Chicano Move-

ment and their current appropriation by some Chicano groups.

[86]Francisco H. Vazquez, "Aztec Epistemology," *El Grito* 5, 4 (Summer 1972), 74-79. In its formative period Chicano Studies, Vazquez develops, dealt primarily with the critical lack of knowledge about the Chicano population. Recently the focus has expanded to include research on the process by which certain bodies of knowledge are excluded from the established curricula - Francisco Vazquez, "Chicano Studies and a Liberal Arts Education," *Somos* 1:2 (June-July 1978), 37.

[87]Raymond Padilla, "Freireismo and Chicanizaje" *El Grito* 6, 4 (Summer 1973), 79.

[88]Padilla, "Freireismo."

[89]Francisco H. Vazquez, "Chicanology: A Postmodern Analysis of Meshicano Discourse," *American Perspectivism in Mexican Studies* 3 (1992), 116-147.

[90]Federico Sanchez, "Looking Back on Chicano Thought," *Con Safos* 8 (1972), 39-42; Federico Sanchez, "Raices Mexicanas," *El Grito del Sol* 1:4 (1976), 75-87.

Like Sustenance for the Masses: Genre Resistance, Cultural Identity, and the Achievement of *Like Water for Chocolate*

Ellen Puccinelli
Oak Grove, Louisiana

With that meal it seemed they had discovered a new system of
communication . . .

Laura Esquivel's 1989 Mexican novel *Like Water for Chocolate*,
neither translated into English nor published in the United States until
1992, was both an American bestseller and the basis for an acclaimed
motion picture. Interestingly, though, Esquivel's work also seems to be
receiving glimmers of the type of critical attention generally reserved for
less "popular" works. Two particular critical studies composed in English,
one by Kathleen Glenn and the other by Cecelia Lawless, have been
devoted entirely to *Chocolate*, and both of the scholar/authors grace the
faculties of reputable American institutions of higher learning.[1] As a
student whose academic experience has been replete with elitist attitudes
and expressions of disdain for anything that smacks of an appeal to the
masses, I was intrigued by *Chocolate* for this very reason; in a world
where scholarly boundaries seem unalterably fixed, a work that appears
capable of crossing these rigid lines is, in my opinion, both rare and
admirably refreshing. In my studies, I have often hoped for more
communication between "popular" and "scholarly" literature; Esquivel's
novel provides not only opportunities for this dialogue but for other cross-

genre discussions as well.

Significantly, both Glenn and Lawless remark on *Chocolate's* multi-generic character. Lawless opens her study with the following observation:

> Laura Esquivel has written an unclassifiable work, which simultaneously breaks and brings together boundaries of genre so as to concoct something new in Mexican literature. *Como agua para Chocolate.* . . is a mixture of recipe book, how-to household book, socio-political and historical document of the Mexican revolution, psychological study of male/female as well as mother/daughter relations, an exploration into gothic realms, and ultimately, an extremely readable novel.[2]

She later points out that, "In Mexican bookstores *Chocolate* appears on the shelves with bestsellers *and* in the area designated for cookbooks."[3] Glenn, too, identifies "multiple instances of rulebreaking and border-crossing," stating that, in the novel, "Generic divisions are undone, as cookbook and romance, the culinary and the erotic, mingle,"[4] but she goes a step further, noting the scholarly/popular dichotomy and terming Esquivel's work a "hybrid novel" because it includes traits usually associated with both "best sellers *and* objects of academic study."[5]

The novel's barrier-crossing nature, however, does not extend to its cultural boundaries. While Esquivel's work is decidedly multi-generic, it is also a product of its author's Mexican culture, which in turn is part of the larger body of Latin American literature; still more specifically, *Chocolate* belongs to the segment of this literature composed by women. In addition to examining the ways in which Esquivel defies definitions and rules, then, it is important to look at the ways in which she fits into the literary tradition in which she finds her origins.

"Women have," according to Amy Kaminski, ". . . been writing since the earliest days of colonization" in Latin American countries; but, Kaminski also states, "the story . . . of Latin American literature does not mention the names of the prominent female authors in their history."[6] Maureen E. Shea, too, believes that, "Whether oral or written, the voices of women in Latin America have generally been ignored, misrepresented, ridiculed, or silenced by the male-oriented institutions controlling society;"[7] she states, however, that, "Latin American literature, since independence in the early 1800s, has been, with some exceptions, an instrument for exposing injustice suffered by certain segments of the population and for provoking much needed change."[8] Shea's words suggest that Latin American women, themselves oppressed, might tend to write about their own unjust treatment in an effort to stimulate change; Esquivel's work indeed contains elements of this idea.

Gerald Martin treats another aspect of Latin American literature,

which he calls "the myth"; Martin says this is "the continent's own dominant self-interpretation":

> The myth, Romantic in origin, Surrealist in focus, rebellious in orientation, is in essence about the relationship of the New World to the Old. It tells of discovery and conquest . . . .and of desperate struggles . . . to resist, rebel, and liberate . . . . And it shows how the people's dreams, utopias and occasional triumphs become internalized through folk memory and through art which, sometimes at least, can make itself the written record of that memory, and thus unite past, present and future at the level of representation.[9]

Martin applies his concept, which he says is the "writers' collective interpretation of what Latin American history has been about," stating that,

> Each writer . . . can see the myth as their own individual journey through the labyrinth of life (consciousness, knowledge, memory, morality), history or fiction itself. . .
> . . . Each novel, each fictional construct, is itself a journey through the labyrinth.
> The quest for identity, then, has been the central problematic of Latin American culture and the central theme of Latin American literature . . . . [10]

Again, elements of Martin's "myth" are evident in *Chocolate*, offering another way in which Esquivel's novel is a part of its Latin American culture.

Rosemary Geisdorfer Feal, who has studied the way in which women authors fit into the Latin American tradition, offers a suggestion that may be applied to *Chocolate*. She believes that "if anything characterizes 'feminine' narrative, it is the *lack* of homogeneity; in its place is the radical assertion of individuality, the refusal to belong to a category"; the literature of Latin American women writers, states Feal, "is often forged in isolation and in rebellion."[11] Feal's statement suggests a bridge between Esquivel's non-categorizable writing and her neat niche within the tradition of Latin American women writers. Esquivel's unique achievement, which may be examined in terms of its structure, its themes and characterizations, its use of the additionally culture-linked device of magical realism, and its language, emerges as a work that won't be pigeonholed, the strong statement of a suppressed yet powerful voice in a distinctive culture.

I have already addressed *Chocolate's* genre-bending nature.

The physical structure of the novel is one feature of the work that supports this idea; *Chocolate* bears the subtitle "A Novel in Monthly Installments with Recipes, Romances and Home Remedies," and indeed it contains all of the above elements. Glenn summarizes the book's basic layout: "The title page for each of the twelve divisions of the book gives the chapter number, a month of the year, and the name of a recipe."[12] This observation, more perceptive than it appears, immediately demonstrates the blended-genre quality of Esquivel's work; *Chocolate* is at once a novel, organized by chapters; an almanac, divided by months; and a cookbook, composed of recipes.

The material within each section of the novel, however, seems even more amalgamated and remarkable. The book's first segment, for example, begins, as do the following eleven portions, with a list of ingredients (in this case, for "Christmas Rolls") and the term "Preparation: . . . " above the first words of the text.[13] As expected from these cookbook-like introductory elements, the tone of the narration is often impersonal and didactic, with the detached speaker offering rudimentary instructions:

> It is best to use homemade rolls. Hard rolls can easily be obtained from a bakery, but they should be small; the larger ones are unsuited for this recipe. After filling the rolls, bake for ten minutes and serve hot. For best results, leave the rolls out overnight, wrapped in a cloth, so that the grease from the sausage soaks into the bread.[14]

On either side of paragraphs such as this, though, are personal bits of autobiography from the firstperson narrator ("Mama used to say . . . I was especially sensitive to onions, like my great-aunt, Tita"[15]), portions of Tita's chronologically-told tale offered in the distant voice of the storyteller ("From that day on, Tita's domain was the kitchen, where she grew vigorous and healthy on a diet of teas and thin corn gruels"[16]), and dialogue among the "players" in Tita's story (Tita's domineering mother to Tita: "'Baste it and sew it again and then come and show it to me. And remember that the lazy man and the stingy man end up walking their road twice'"[17]). There is no separation of narrator and the subjects of the narration; all a part of the same extended bloodline, Tita's family, and consequently the narrator's family, both live and impart the main story contained in *Chocolate*. Likewise, there is no disassociation between cookbook and novel; they are both simultaneous and elaborately interwoven. Anecdotes and household hints are offered in the same figurative breath, and this breath animates both the storyteller and the cook.

Lawless points out that the serialized format, this "presentation" of the work "as monthly installments," is "a popular strategy for enticing

the reader, often used in Mexican photonovelas and the avidly consumed libros semanales."[18] Glenn concurs with this linking of the novel's form to "popular" fiction by noting that the "overplotting and abuse of coincidence that are found in popular fiction are . . . grist for Esquivel's mill";[19] in fact, "overplotting" seems an understatement when one considers scenes such as the following

> She hadn't anticipated Pedro getting captured by the federales and summarily detained from getting the doctor, or Mama Elena and Chencha being unable to return because of shooting breaking out in the village that forced them to take refuge with the Lobos; so it turned out she was the only one present at the birth of her nephew. She! She alone![20]

This convoluted interweaving of tales is a characteristic of Gothic fiction, as Lawless observes, as is the stifling and untamed setting and the presence of the heroine, her lover, and their tyrannical antagonist;[21] *Chocolate*'s possession of these elements further links it with the pop fiction of the Latin American masses. Glenn notes that many nineteenth-century women's magazines in particular "featured serialized novels, poetry, recipes, and home remedies."[22] In this way, *Chocolate* is aligned not only with its pop cousins but with "women's" literature, as well: "*Como agua* calls attention to activities customarily considered feminine: the reading of women's magazines, the giving and preparing of recipes, and the sharing of remedies and household hints."[23] So *Chocolate*, with its intriguing internal blend of types, offers an outward mingling as well; elements of popular, Gothic, and women's fiction combine with Esquivel's skillful use of language and thematic elements to produce a work capable of crossing audiencespecific boundaries.

Glenn's linking of the novel with feminine traits suggests a multitude of other possible relationships, one of which relates particularly to *Chocolate*'s structure. Amy Kaminski's study of feminist theory and its relationship to Latin American literature treats the work of Elena Garro and the way in which time in Garro's fiction is portrayed; Kaminski says that the circular nature of time in Garro's work is linked to "the female subject and to the bodily apprehension of time as cyclical," and that this is also a feature of Latin American fiction in general.[24] A circular work, according to Kaminski, is one that "ends where it begins," and this concept seems applicable to Esquivel's calendar-based cycle of life, death, and rebirth. Kaminski refers to a "sense of completeness and impermeability" when discussing this phenomenon:

> Though the narrative follows a certain chronology insofar as the unfolding of the anecdote is concerned, the

> narrator frequently invokes other moments in time that
> are equally available, though less or more remote from
> the assumed present from which it speaks. These other
> times are evoked not to situate the moment of the
> anecdote within a greater historical chronology, but, on
> the contrary, to flatten out the differences between
> "before" and "after."25

This culture-linked idea of time figures strongly in Esquivel's work. *Chocolate* opens with Tita's greatniece speaking from a point at least two generations after Tita's own, and a number of years after Tita's death. The story then returns briefly to the months immediately preceding Tita's birth and follows Tita from her auspicious entrance into the world to her death a number of years later. The novel's final paragraph brings the work full circle, returning to the present-time narrator and the narrator's reminiscences about her own mother; as the novel closes, the narrator prepares to make the same Christmas rolls that were offered us in the first chapter, remarking that, "My mama prepared them for me every year."26 The cycle, now complete, will be eternal, the narrator says: "Tita, my great aunt, . . . will go on living as long as there is someone who cooks her recipes."27 This linking of generations lends further support to the idea that all time exists at once, and the arrangement of the death and rebirth ideas suggest the circular concept that dominates Latin American literature.

Glenn observes that, "Recipes, like Proustian madeleines, serve to recuperate the past and thereby expand the time frame of the novel;"28 this idea seems to add to Kaminski's more universal thoughts. We are told by Esquivel's narrator that "smells have the power to evoke the past, bringing back sounds and even other smells that have no match in the present."29 When Tita and Nacha prepare the filling for Rosaura's wedding cake, they take out a previously-prepared container of preserves: "The moment Tita opened the jar, the smell of apricots transported her to the afternoon they made the marmalade."30 After Tita's crisis, as she recovers at John's ranch, Chencha comes to bring her ox-tail soup made from the recipe of Tita's beloved Nacha:

> With the first sip, Nacha appeared there at her side,
> stroking her hair as she ate, as she had done when she
> was little and was sick, kissing her forehead over and
> over. There were all the times with Nacha, the childhood
> games in the kitchen, the trips to the market, the still-
> warm tortillas, the colored apricot pits, the Christmas
> rolls 31

Thus, the past and the present are incontrovertibly connected, always

capable of existing in what traditional thought would term the other's realm. In *Chocolate*, the link, and therefore the story, is the recipe.

As much as Esquivel's genre-blending tactics serve to cross audience lines, though, the author's achievement is not universally iconoclastic; her use of themes and characters fix *Chocolate* firmly in Esquivel's own Latin American culture.

Earlier I referred to Gerald Martin's impression of the Latin American myth, which he believes appears in the work of individual Latin American authors. We may remember that his conception of the myth involves "discovery and conquest," "struggles," and the "resist, rebel, and liberate" sequence, with Martin stressing that the search for identity is inherent in these themes. In *Chocolate*, I see two ways in which this pattern reveals itself, the first involving the kitchen as a kind of symbolic space that must be conquered and the second dealing with Tita's oppression, exile, and eventual liberation.

The kitchen in Esquivel's novel is what Glenn terms "gendered space."[32] Lawless, too, views the kitchen as significant to the novel and as a gender-specific location, but she provides the added dimension of the kitchen itself as a region of exile in that it is the domain of Tita and the household's Indian servant women, Nacha, Chencha, and Luz: "The kitchen becomes a site for the production of the discourse of the triply marginalized -- the Indian, the servant, the woman."[33] What is important, though, is what ultimately happens to the kitchen and its occupants.

Tita is born in the book's opening chapter "right there on the kitchen table amid the smells of simmering noodle soup, thyme, bay leaves, and cilantro, steamed milk, garlic, and, of course, onion."[34] It is Nacha, "who knew everything about cooking," who becomes completely responsible for Tita's nourishment; therefore, " . . . Tita's domain was the kitchen, where she grew vigorous and healthy on a diet of teas and thin com gruels . . . . Her eating habits . . . were attuned to the kitchen routine . . . ."[35] It may seem, then, that Tita's conquest of the significant territory in Esquivel's novel is not an issue; however, Lawless' comments about the marginalized nature of the kitchen's inhabitants become significant here. Although Tita has immediately *discovered* the new world, so to speak, the novel is the story of her struggles to *conquer*, or master, it.

For Tita, while the kitchen is initially a place of refuge, it serves, too, as the kind of no-man's land that Lawless suggests. Tita is "forbidden to play with her sisters in her own world,"[36] suggesting that the kitchen is a less than desirable location; she is similarly relegated to the kitchen to prepare Rosaura and Pedro's wedding feast "as punishment."[37] When Nacha dies, it is Tita, the black sheep and most marginal member of the family, who is named "to fill the vacant post in the kitchen."[38] And when Tita arrives at John's house, she encounters another kitchen with another outsider ("Katy, a seventy-year-old North American woman") in charge.[39]

Gradually, though, Tita turns the kitchen into more than a safe

haven; as Lawless observes, she "converts this traditionally restrictive and oppressed site for women into a liberating, creative space . . . ."[40] Some of this has been hinted at since the novel's first page; we are told, for instance, early in the work, that, "for Tita the joy of living was wrapped up in the delights of food."[41] Yet Tita goes further, using the kitchen as a place for rebellion and resistance. She furtively nurses her nephew, Rosaura and Pedro's infant son, in the kitchen.[42] She and Pedro use the room for their illicit meetings (see, for instance, the examples of Pedro's encounter with Tita moments after he becomes engaged to Rosaura[43] and of Tita and Pedro's meeting over the grinding stone[44]). She creates things in the kitchen that allow forbidden acts to take place; her preparation of quail in rose petal sauce, for instance, allows for a sort of surreal lovemaking to occur between Tita and her sister's husband:

> It was as if a strange alchemical process had dissolved
> her entire being in the rose petal sauce, in the tender
> flesh of the quails, in the wine, in every one of the meal's
> aromas. That was the way she entered Pedro's body,
> hot, voluptuous, perfumed, totally sensuous.[45]

In a significant scene, the kitchen becomes occupied, at Tita's request, by her cigarette-smoking, wild and wayward sister, now a general in the revolutionary army, and Gertrudis' womanizing sergeant.[46] Working together and following Tita's instructions, Gertrudis and Trevino, both previously inept cooks, simultaneously prepare a tremendously successful batch of cream fritters and transform the kitchen from a refuge for society's outcasts into a fertile place where anything is possible.

Lawless says that *Chocolate* "confers a higher status and power to the traditionally devalued personal sphere of the kitchen," stating that, "A new terrain appears in *Chocolate* . . . ."[47] This seems akin to the conquest of the new terrain of which Martin speaks, and it is in this realm where Tita discovers her identity.

Approached another way, though, Tita represents the oppressed portion of Latin American society that Maureen Shea discusses and that I considered in the early pages of this study. Tita is controlled by the cruel Mama Elena, whose dictatorial and merciless ways make Tita's life oppressive and miserable, and by the archaic traditions of the society, relentlessly enforced by Mama Elena, which add the element of hopelessness to Tita's existence. Because she is the family's youngest daughter, Tita's fate is sealed, as Mama Elena reminds her, "If he intends to ask for your hand, tell him not to bother. He'll be wasting his time and mine too. You know perfectly well that being the youngest daughter means you have to take care of me until the day I die."[48] Mama Elena and this tradition are responsible for the fact that Tita cannot marry her beloved Pedro; when Pedro marries

Rosaura, then, tradition, in the form of her mother, is the real culprit against which Tita must rebel. Her struggle occupies the entire novel.

Amy Kaminski, in her discussion of the works of other Latin American women writers, identifies a "conundrum of political exile":

> Once the narrator has entered the contest, played, and lost, she must leave, for she has heard that unspeakable things happen to those who lose and remain. Banished, she circles the house and discovers its real shape . . . . Only by leaving could she learn the shape of the house . . . . [49]

Kaminski says that the "female exile is empowered with extrahuman capacities" which involve "transcendence and regeneration."[50]

Chocolate fits neatly into Kaminski's conceptualization of the liberated female exile. When Tita finally rebels against Mama Elena, she immediately leaves the ranch house, Mama Elena's domain, and retires to the dovecote, where she returns to an embryonic state; when Dr. Brown arrives, he finds her "naked" and "curled up in a fetal position."[51] John takes her to his own home, where she resides, refusing to speak. It is only the presence of the other "outcasts" (John's North American cook, the mysterious Indian woman in the garden who reminds Tita of Nacha, and finally Chencha, with her healing pot of ox-tail soup) that restores Tita to health. Thus, Tita learns the truth about her life, Kaminski's "shape." She realizes that her life force is to be found in the very things her own society shuns; from this point, then, Tita may go about the business of discovering and establishing her own identity. Only in her exile is Tita liberated.

In the novel's initial chapter, as the story of Tita's birth is related, we learn that Tita is "literally washed into this world on a great tide of tears that spilled over the edge of the table and flooded across the kitchen floor"; after the water dries up, Nacha sweeps up the "residue": "enough salt to fill a ten-pound sack."[52] Glenn sees this scene as "a good example of Esquivel's flaunting of the inverisimilitude of her narrative," stating that this episode and others like it "warn us that what follows cannot be accepted at face value."[53] I believe, however, that Glenn misunderstands Esquivel's use of what is a staple of the Mexican narrative; Esquivel uses the traditionally Latin American device of magical realism to illustrate particular elements of the story, aspects which may be viewed as examples of the "extrahuman" capacities of Kaminski's female exile. Ross Larson identifies magical realism as a portrayal of supernatural and fantastic events and elements "in a matter-of-fact way, combining reality with fantasy for a representation of the world that is not uncanny but essentially true";[54] Larson suggests that this device may be "an author's means of communicating a deeply personal, even a

visionary experience of reality,"[55] and this view seems applicable to *Chocolate*.

When Tita's birth yields the tremendous quantity of salt, enough to use for cooking "for a long time,"[56] Esquivel foreshadows Tita's great contribution to the culinary arts and the way in which she will add flavor to her own life and the lives around her. Rosaura and Pedro's wedding cake, flavored with Tita's own tears, causes each member of the wedding party to become fiercely ill[57]; this effect demonstrates the power of sadness, just as Tita's miraculous ability to nurse her nephew[58] suggests the power of love. Food takes on the ability to heal and to act as an aphrodisiac.[59] In these ways, Esquivel presents reality in her own way, using fantasy-like elements to emphasize and interpret the incidents in the novel to which she wishes to draw attention. *Chocolate*, in addition to addressing the cultural myths of the Latin American society to which its author belongs, places some reliance on traditionally Latin American devices in order to achieve its goals.

Esquivel's loyalty to the dominant ideas of her culture (Martin's myth, and, somewhat secondarily, Kaminski's) is evident in her novel. Esquivel chooses not to be bound by genre and by canonical definitions of audience-specific guidelines, but she embraces the powerful material her own culture has to offer. Her unique interpretations of these elements comprise a large portion of her achievement. The inventive use of language in *Chocolate*, however, is Esquivel's own.

Esquivel constructs an elaborate system of metaphors and word equations in *Chocolate*. Food is the controlling motif, and it is used as a point of comparison for Tita herself time and time again. When Tita hears that Pedro will marry Rosaura, her cheeks turn "red as the apples beside her."[60] A glance from Pedro makes her aware of "how dough feels when it is plunged into boiling oil."[61] Tita is "broken in both heart and in mind" by Pedro's marriage to Rosaura, "like the quail" whose neck she twists before cooking.[62] When she is "lost and lonely," she feels that, "One last chile in walnut sauce left on the platter after a fancy dinner couldn't feel any worse than she did,"[63] and she relates to "the odd, detached way a lettuce should feel at being separated abruptly from another lettuce with which it had grown up."[64] The novel's title is explained when we are told that "Tita was literally 'like water for chocolate' -- she was on the verge of boiling over."[65]

Food is Tita herself, then, and literally the life-force in *Chocolate*. Tita's beloved nephew Roberto is born with a head "shaped like a cone of brown sugar," and within minutes he is "[w]rapped up like a taco"[66]; he allows Tita her one foray into motherhood, literally making her his mother when she begins to produce milk to feed him. Rosaura, a major party to Tita's inability to create a life with the man she loves, is alienated from the start because of her attitude toward food; we learn that it is "Rosaura's picky eating" and her tendency to leave "her food untouched

on her plate" that provoked both the nurturing Nacha's dislike of Rosaura and the rift between the sisters.[67] Finally, Mama Elena, the cartoon-like villain who embodies the most strongly anti-life force in Tita's world, literally perishes from starvation; unable to receive nourishment, she ingests a quantity of ipecac, "a very strong emetic that could cause death."[68]

Similarly, Esquivel uses the metaphor of light and fire to represent sexuality and love, thus offering a different route to her vital spark. A primary example of this equation is offered in John's lecture to Tita on match-making. John explains that phosphorus united with oxygen will "burst into flame very rapidly at an elevated temperature," and he demonstrates this phenomenon by mixing the two elements; when he does so, "an explosion occurred, brilliant, instantaneous, like a flash of lightning."[69] He follows his presentation with the information that "within our bodies each of us has the elements needed to produce phosphorous"; he relates a theory touted by his grandmother, another of the novel's wise Indian figures, that depicts the necessary oxygen as "the breath of the person you love" and the needed warmth as "any kind of food, music, caress, word, or sound . . . ."[70]

Tita has epitomized this metaphor prior to John's story. When Pedro and Rosaura announce their betrothal, she is gripped with "an icy feeling of grief," a "terrible sensation of cold" that no amount of covering and wrapping can cure.[71] On the other hand, when Tita and Pedro are near each other, there is a "spark" between them;[72] Tita feels that the "heat that invaded her body" because of Pedro's glance "was so real she was afraid she would start to bubble."[73]

When "[f]or the first time in their lives, Tita and Pedro could make love freely," Pedro lights "250 candles" in a "now inappropriately named dark room." As the couple consummate their lifelong love, Pedro dies, and with him dies the "possibility of ever again lighting" Tita's "inner fire"; immediately Tita begins to experience a "freezing chill." In an effort to warm herself, she begins to devour a box of candles, thus uniting Esquivel's two metaphoric sources of vitality; as Tita remembers Pedro, "the candle began to burn" and Tita joins her lover in "the lost Eden":

> At that moment the fiery bodies of Pedro and Tita began to throw off glowing sparks. . . The dark room was transformed into an erupting volcano. It cast stone and ash in every direction. When the stones reached high enough, they exploded into multicolored lights. From miles away, people in neighboring towns watched the spectacle, thinking it was fireworks . . . .[74]

Thus, at *Chocolate*'s end, Esquivel's key images are united in a dramatic, vital flourish. We are told that under the layers of ash that

blanket the former site of the ranch house "every kind of life flourished, making this land the most fertile in the region."[75] Food, lovemaking, and fire are drawn together in a climatic display of pageantry that is the life force of Esquivel's world.

Glenn points out that "[t]he association of fire and passion has been made so often in literature and art as to have become commonplace";[76] indeed this seems a reasonable observation. Glenn goes on, however, to maintain that "the passion felt by Tita and Pedro ignites the bed on which they lie, and the ensuing conflagration reduces the ranch to ashes. Their love is, indeed, all-consuming."[77] Here I must take exception to Glenn's analysis. A careful study of the metaphors and their function in Esquivel's work shows that food, fire, and love are not destructive but rather life-affirming and life-producing, in fact life itself. Esquivel's use of cliché must be examined alongside the use of her own unique equations; *Chocolate*'s meaning is found here.

Lawless points out that "[t]he only thing that remains of Tita after the fire is a cookbook from which her great-niece reconstructs and narrates Tita's story. Again . . . the written word resists destruction."[78] This brings up an interesting connection between food and love and language itself, prompting Lawless to remark that, "In *Chocolate*, terms such as 'cookbook,' 'gothic, 'feminine,' 'home' are redefined and remolded in Esquivel's (post)modern attempt to create a place from which her character Tita can speak."[79] Thus, this study has come full circle, returning to the idea of Esquivel's genre-defying and border-crossing novel of mass appeal.

Like Water for Chocolate seems to be in continuous motion, appearing now as a popular novel replete with clichés and soap-opera characters, now as a manifesto of Latin American thought offering powerful messages of exile and independence, now as a multi-faceted work of fiction deserving of critical attention. Esquivel surprises us with bursts of brilliance in particular turns of phrase, reassures us with formula, and enlightens us with combination. *Chocolate* is sustaining and nourishing, food for thought, bread for the hungry, refreshment for the jaded. Esquivel is generous with all.

NOTES

[1] Cecelia Lawless, "Experimental Cooking in *Como agua para chocolate*," *Monographic Review* 8 (1992): 261-72; Kathleen Glenn, "Postmodern Parody and Culinary-Narrative Art in Laura Esquivel's *Como agua para chocolate*," *Chasqui* 23 (November 1994): 39-47.

[2] Lawless, 261.

[3] Lawless, 263.

4 Glenn, 46

5 Glenn, 40.

6 Amy K. Kaminski, *Reading the Body Politic: Feminist Criticism and Latin American Women Writers* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1993), 28-9.

7 Maureen E. Shea, "Latin American Women and the Oral Tradition: Giving Voice to the Voiceless," *Critique* 34 (Spring 1993), 142.

8 Shea., 140.

9 Gerald Martin, *Journeys Through the Labyrinth: Latin American Fiction in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Verso, 1989), 8-9.

10Martin., 50-1.

11Rosemary Geisdorfer Feal, "Women Writers into the Mainstream: Contemporary Latin American Narrative," in *Philosophy and Literature in Latin America*, Jorge J.E. Garcia and Mireya Camurati, eds. (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1989), 120.

12Glenn, 41.

13Laura Esquivel, *Like Water for Chocolate*, trans. Carol Christensen and Thomas Christensen (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 2-3.

14Esquivel, 12-13.

15Esquivel, 3.

16Esquivel, 5.

17Esquivel, 10-11.

18Lawless, 263.

19Glenn, 44.

20Esquivel, 69.

21Lawless, 262.

221

[22]Glenn, 41.

[23]Glenn.

[24]Kaminski, 79-80.

[25]Kasminski, 80.

[26]Esquivel, 241.

[27]Esquivel.

[28]Glenn, 45.

[29]Esquivel, 7.

[30]Esquivel, 29.

[31]Esquivel, 120.

[32]Glenn, 41.

[33]Lawless, 264.

[34]Esquivel, 4.

[35]Esquivel, 5.

[36]Esquivel, 6.

[37]Esquivel, 25.

[38]Esquivel, 44.

[39]Esquivel, 104.

[40]Lawless, 267.

[41]Esquivel, 5.

[42]Esquivel, 76ff.

[43]Esquivel, 16ff.

[44]Esquivel, 64ff.

45Esquivel, 48.

46Esquivel, 181ff.

47Lawless, 268.

48Esquivel, 9.

49Kaminski, 36.

50Kaminski, 38.

51Esquivel, 97.

52Esquivel, 4.

53Glenn, 44.

54Ross Larson, *Fantasy and Imagination in the Mexican Narrative* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona State University Press, 1977), 99.

55Larson, ix.

56Esquivel, 4.

57Esquivel, 37ff.

58Esquivel, 74ff.

59Esquivel, 48ff, 120ff, 235ff.

60Esquivel, 13.

61Esquivel, 14.

62Esquivel, 45.

63Esquivel, 54.

64Esquivel, 132.

65Esquivel, 147.

66Esquivel, 71.

67Esquivel, 28.

68Esquivel, 132.

69Esquivel, 111.

70Esquivel, 111-12.

71Esquivel, 17-18.

72Esquivel, 78.

73Esquivel, 14.

74Esquivel, 237-40.

75Esquivel, 241.

76Glenn, 43.

77Glenn.

78Lawless, 268.

79Lawless, 270.

Book Reviews

Vered Amit-Talai and Caroline Knowles (eds). *Re-Situating Identities: The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Culture.* **(Ontario, Canada: Broadview Press, 1996). 313 pp., $21.95.**

While the lead title of this book, *Re-Situating Identities*, is entirely on target, the subtitle, *The Politics of Race, Ethnicity, and Culture*, is far off the mark. The book is primarily about identity. It has precious little to do with politics. This might be apparent from the contributors, whom the editors identify as sociologists, anthropologists, and cultural theorists. There is not a political scientist among them. The omission, however, is not necessarily indicative of an absence of politics, because sociologists, anthropologists, and cultural theorists often write good politics. That is not the case in this instance. Though the editors make allusions to the politics of scholars and postmodernists and though there are references to politics in some of the articles, this book is not a study of politics.

Re-Situating Identities contains a general introduction and four parts, each of which has its own introduction. The titles of the four parts are: I, Race and Racism; II, The Politics of Identity; III, Memory and Histories; and IV, Nationalism and Transnationalism. Contributing to the twelve chapter discussions are the editors, each of whom has authored a chapter, and twelve other scholars; two of the chapters are co-authored. Most of the scholars (10) are based in Canada or the U.K. The other four have appointments in the U.S. The editors indicate that the work examines race, ethnicity and culture primarily in the three sites: Canada, the U.K., and the U.S., but it is largely an examination of the subjects in Canada and the U.K. There is one article specifically about a case in the U.S., but there is also one specifically about a case in Germany. Most of the articles are case studies. Two are specifically literature reviews of discrete subjects.

The weakest parts of the book are those contributed by the editors. Their general introduction and the introductions to each part are extraordinarily abstract and obscure. Deeply steeped in post modernist vocabulary, they are all but incomprehensible. Additionally, the two articles they contribute are among the weakest in the collection. Apart from being "conceptually. . .provocative," there seems little rationale for combining these twelve articles together in a single volume, just as there appears to be little commonality among the articles in each of the four parts. There is also a weakness in the overall conceptualization of the work. The lead article, by Robert Miles and Rudy Torres, goes to great lengths to abjure the concept of race as an analytical construct in the social sciences, yet the book's subtitle enshrines "Race" as one of its key terms.

Most of the articles examine some aspect of identity: national, ethnic, gender, religious, regional, cultural, local, and/or various combinations of them. On these points many of the articles reveal insights or develop conceptualizations that are strikingly acute. Chapter 3 and the last two parts of the book are particularly strong in this respect.

Despite its substantial weaknesses, the book is an important one. It should be read by Ethnic Studies scholars, especially in the U.S. It broadens one's exposure to important scholarship taking place outside the U.S. (most of the articles have substantial bibliographies). It is a fusillade against the parochialism of U.S. scholarship. The articles abound with brilliant insights, fresh perspectives and neglected subjects of investigation.

Re-Situating Identities is an astounding revelation of the illumination that different vantage points can bring to the profound complexities of the human condition.

David Covin
California State University, Sacramento

Arjun Appadurai. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis, 1996). 229 pp., $18.95 paper.

Modernity at Large is a collection of essays (most of which are reprinted from other sources, e.g., *Public Culture*) that link the themes of modernity and globalization to contemporary everyday social practice, and to group individual identity construction and expression. Appadurai takes up the conditions of modernity which for him include science as a dominant ideology, obsession with technological development, colonial social relations, and the primacy of national communities. Weaving these conditions with issues of globalization, which he defines as instantaneous worldwide telecommunications (phone, fax, and internet), in-

creased international or transnational migration, the expanding scope and impact of mass media, and the surge in global tourism, Appadurai debunks the popular lamentation that globalization inevitably leads to cultural homogeneity. He argues that cultural hegemony certainly predates globalism and has never achieved homogenous social order, but rather is consistently met with resistance strategies that result in the (re)production of local identity or reconstituted group affiliation. Specifically, he cites that India has not become British, but has amalgamated aspects of British culture, elements of microcultural religious groups, and the particular experience of British colonial subjugation to form an identity that transcends the individual components to become a national Indian identity. In this way, Appadurai demonstrates that globalization does not necessarily lead to the erasure of cultural/social difference, but like other cultural contacts, inspires and incites new and resistant strains of group affiliation which ultimately cannot be predicted, nor controlled by the ruling hegemonic forces.

The essays develop a theoretical position/basis for considering, analyzing, and understanding culture, cultural production, cultural consumption, and identity in post-colonial, post-national, global context. Appadurai aptly maneuvers past colonial and national discourse to interrogate how self definition, cultural affiliation, and notions of community (communitas) are (re)created and (re)presented in the presence of an increased variety of cultural icons/symbols, methods of semiotic signification, and modes of resistance in ordinary social practice.

While Appadurai's ambitious project is for the most part successful, he may dwell too long on the individual case of post-colonial India at the expense of considering how colonialism itself was multi-faceted in its development, impact, and legacy. Furthermore, he does not theorize the emergence of globalization in geographies not associated with colonialism in its purest forms, e.g., Sweden, Denmark, Ireland, Guatemala, Finland, etc. Although Appadurai readily admits the British colonial project, as exemplified by the case of India, is a unique socio-economic political manifestation with equally particular resistance strategies, he does not, for depth of argumentation, seriously draw upon other instances of socio-political ethnic contestations; nor does he delve into the facets of globalization in India beyond the colonial experience and legacy, and the influence of mass media on post-colonial Indian nationals. Appadurai's eloquent post-national discussion seems incongruous with his specific unit of analysis, India, the social, political, and geographically bound nation. This use of macro/national ethnicity as a means of self identity and cultural affiliation naturalizes the nation as group while collapsing large social and religious divides, e.g., Hindu and Sikh, and appears to contradict his argument against the nation as an appropriate cultural category.

Also curious is the omission of discussion on globalization. It is

likely that globalization is not monolithic in its diffusion, social significa-
tion, and political salience (e.g., compare Norway and Burundi). While
technology develops rapidly, old technologies remain alive and well in
locales where they are considered progressive and some stages in tech-
nological developments appear simultaneously in some places despite
separation by decades in their advancement and use in more affluent
environments (e.g., telephone and internet).

Appadurai contributes to the study of ethnicity and ethnic iden-
tity by broadening the theoretical possibilities for understanding ethnic
affiliation and empowering individuals and groups to (re)claim their unique
cultural identity. Evoking Benedict Anderson's (1983 *The Imagined Com-
munity*. London: Verso) notion of imagined communities, Appadurai in-
troduces the concept of ethnoscapes, which he defines as "landscapes
of group identity" that in the twentieth century are increasingly
nonlocalized due to new transnational migration patterns and collective
reconstructions of ethnic histories and projects (p. 48). Ethnoscapes
provide a means to bypass the tired debates on cultural and ethnic au-
thenticity and allow for the validation of various, and sometimes com-
peting, forms of cultural affiliation and representation. Together with the
realization that locality is itself not natural, but rather is (re)produced
self-consciously as part and parcel of the identity formation process,
Appadurai legitimates the many ethnic experiences manifested in the
global environment. He is able to discuss the methods of group and self
definition and how globalization does not erase locality, but provides
global citizens with an expansive sets of tools (images, practices, belief
structures, narratives) to appropriate and meld into something multipli-
catively different from the sum of the parts. Using Michel de Certeau
(1984 *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: U of California Press),
Appadurai brings his argument full circle to show how the ethnoscapes
become embodied in the mundane practices of global citizens.

Hope J. Schau
University of California, Irvine

**Mary B. Davis, ed. *Native America in the Twentieth Century: An
Encyclopedia*. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994) xxxvii,
787 pp., $95.00.**

This extensive tome, packed with up-to-date information on con-
temporary Native Americans, is a veritable mother lode for students,
teachers, and researchers in American Indian Studies. Scholars in gen-
eral ethnic studies will find the data useful for comparative work with
other ethnic groups. This single-volume encyclopedia should be snapped
up by all public and tribal libraries as well as schools and universities

wanting to provide their clienteles with sources that are increasingly sought by educational institutions with multicultural curriculum needs and business or administrative offices responding to diversity goals.

Nearly three hundred scholars contributed to this volume. Of these resource persons, an impressive thirty-nine percent have American Indian tribal affiliations. Recognized American Indian contributors include Jeanette Henry Costo, Vine Deloria, Jr., Jack D. Forbes, and LaDonna Harris. The roster of widely-read non-Indian scholars includes A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff, Omer C. Stewart, William E. Unrau, and Andrew H. Whiteford.

As one would expect, this encyclopedia has summary statements for American Indian tribes ranging alphabetically from Abenaki to Zuni, including a good number of small local groups not always included in overview sources. These summaries do not, of course, substitute for the longer historical and ethnographic essays included in the multi-volume *Handbook of North American Indians* sponsored by the Smithsonian Institution. But unfortunately, after more than twenty years, several announced volumes in this series still have not been published. Beyond that matter, this encyclopedia tends to have more current information and preferred tribal designations. This fact assists readers in knowing, for example, that many Ojibwa and Chippewa prefer to be called Anishinabe, the Pee-Posh used to be labeled Maricopa, the Tohono O'odham referred to as Papago, and the Mesquaki designated as the Fox. On the broader scene, the editors follow the preferences of individual contributors in allowing the synonymy of *Native American, Native, American Indian,* and *Indian*. The essays on specific tribes go far in disavowing any naive ideas that American Indians are a "vanishing" people.

Perhaps even more useful than data on individual tribes are considerations of general contemporary topics such as agriculture, Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act, dance, economic development, government policy (from allotment to self-determination), Native American Rights Fund, Peyote Religion, Red Power, repatriation, sovereignty, and Wounded Knee II. Both teachers and students in American Indian Studies classes will greatly appreciate these essays in preparing lectures, writing term papers, and studying for exams.

The encyclopedia has certain topical limitations. For example, the First Nation peoples of Canada are not included nor are there any individual biographies. Such coverage, as candidly acknowledged by the editors, would clearly be beyond reasonable space constraints. This restriction is certainly understandable considering the fact that Gretchen Bataille's recently published biographical dictionary, *Native American Women*, ran 333 pages with a single-focused topic.

To paraphrase Miguel de Cervantes, "The proof of the encyclopedia is in the using." In that respect, I would grade the volume A+.

There is a detailed subject index, a very good cross-topical index, a list of contributors indicating their professional and/or tribal affiliations, twenty-six maps, abundant charts and figures, and some photographs. I have had occasion to look up research items several times during the six weeks since my review copy arrived. In each instance, I found the information I was seeking, thought the essays were tightly-written but illuminating, and appreciated the good cross-referencing system. In perusing various topics pertaining to my teaching interests, I found almost uniformly excellent summaries and appropriate suggestions for further reading.

The price for this book, as with most weighty encyclopedias, is hefty but the rewards within its attractive cover are worth the money. Those with tight budgets might want to seek out the discount price at their next ethnic studies conference!

David M. Gradwohl
Iowa State University

Eugene Eoyang. *Coat of Many Colors: Reflections on Diversity by A Minority of One*. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995). 188 pp., $16.00 paper.

Eoyang's volume is a collection of personal essays that call for a more diverse conception of American culture and society. While the latter, of course, is a familiar if not universally-accepted theme, this actually is an unconventional and highly effective book because of the range of issues it covers and the author's basic writing strategy.

Over the course of ten chapters, Eoyang presents carefully-crafted discussions on who or what is seen as important in America; the teaching of "other" (not "foreign") languages; cultural influences on the accumulation of knowledge; biases regarding literate and nonliterate peoples; differing cultural perceptions of time, identity, and place; the importance of a liberal education; the unsuitability of racial categories; the differential treatment of immigrants; the rhetoric of racism; and the diverse essense of being American. These discussions are enlivened by anecdotes from the author's own experience and by numerous insightful observations on the pitfalls of Western analytic thinking, cultural influences on even familar reference points, and the downside of literacy. Sometimes the discussions are aided by structural devices, such as an examination of the meanings of the word "we" to describe the inclusion and exclusion of various elements in American culture, the conceptualization of immigrants as audible and inaudible as well as visible and invisible to point out differences in their treatment, and the use

by analogy of the biblical story of Joseph and his coat of many colors to analyze America's multicultural past.

Most readers are likely to assess the merits and shortcomings of this book in terms of the content of Eoyang's ideas. This is fine, but it does miss an important point. In presenting his work, the author is following a strategy familiar to traditional Chinese scholars of trying out ideas in hopes of eliciting thoughtful responses, whether confirmatory or in disagreement. He is not stating nicely prepackaged thoughts for passive consumption but rather trying to actively engage the reader. Eoyang's writing succeeds in doing this, in part because it is dynamic, varied, and, to borrow his words from another context, "it has the feel of good conversation." His writing also succeeds because it poses tough questions and comes across as honest, straightforward, and not doctrinaire.

Eoyang's strategy is not without a downside. Many of his ideas are implicitly related, but they are not presented as a coherent body. In addition, his strategy certainly increases the chances that even sympathetic readers will disagree with some ideas and that they will find parts of the book more meaningful than others.

Eoyang's basic writing strategy is related to a perspective that underlies many of his ideas. This perspective is the need to reexamine things from more than one point of view and to understand the benefits of such a process. It is an often-touted but deceptively difficult and easily-ignored perspective that has particular relevance for the American ethnic experience.

<div align="right">Russell Endo
University of Colorado</div>

Fred L. Gardaphe. *Italian Signs, American Streets: The Evolution of Italian American Narrative*. (Durham and London, Duke University Press, 1996). 241 pp., $16.95 paper.

This indispensable interpretation of Italian American narrative literature can fruitfully be used in many ethnic and cultural programs. It is a study distinguished by familiarity with vernacular Italian American culture, as well as consciousness of the losses as well as gains in education in the dominant WASP culture. Trying to reconcile the difference between what Antonio Gramsci called the organic intellectual and the assimilated intellectual, Gardaphe has adopted "a culture-specific criticism that is sensitive to both Italian and American cultures."

The author "grew up in a little Italy in which not even the contagiously sick were left alone. . . . The only books that entered my home were those we smuggled in from public institutions." Nevertheless he became a book reader. At the end of a college and graduate school

education limited to "American" writers, Gardaphe wrote a doctoral dissertation proving there was an Italian American literature beyond mafia stories. In this book that evolved from the dissertation, his aim is to lessen the ignorance of those his grandfather called "merdicans," as well to lessen the ignorance "of those the merdicans used to call guineas and wops."

Following Vico, Gardaphe's premise is that Anglo-American literature has reached its "period of decadence," whose "exhaustion" needs the vitality of literature of ethnic outsiders. He tracks the stages of the three generations that it has taken for Italian/American literature to become wine: the early mythic mode wherein immigrants idealized figures usually grandparents; rebellion against both Italian and American cultures that produced a "hybrid Italian American culture;" assimilation and its discontents marked by the recovery "or reinvention" of ethnicity; and contemporary "breaking and entering the canon." He notes the collision between the oral traditions of peasants who arrived in the United States and the WASP culture's hegemonic uses of literacy, the chasm between the two cultures felt by first immigrants ("in Italy there used to be more miracles"), and the postmodern strategies of Italian/American authors who use WASPprotagonists to convey Italian values, a strategy Gardaphe brilliantly recognizes as the strategy of our peasant forebears for millennia, "creating a masquerade" so that *Italianita* can enter the mainstream without detection.

In the epilogue, Gardaphe considers emerging writers, often women, whose literature marks a break from preceding Italian/American writers. Formed by passionate first-hand encounter with Italy, as well as breadth of knowledge, this may be the *Italianita* that can ground rootless fourth and fifth generation Italian/Americans, as well as offer the possibility of transformation of American culture. Newer writers have a knowledge of prehistory and world history that makes them aware that their Italian/American experience is but the ragged end of an ancient Italian tapestry whose major strands are prehistoric migrations from Africa, neolithic migrations from west Asia, and migrations from and to that region of the Asian peninsula latterly called Europe. Migrations of Italian/Americans to the United States at the end of the 19th century occurred just at the point when the dominant WASP culture was fencing boundaries of white WASP hegemony presenting a dilemma for Italian/Americans: upward assimilation to white WASP culture or identification with other "peoples of color" and resistance.

Perhaps the gift of newer Italian/American writers to a multicultural America will be the *Italianita* of peasants, and others, whose values are *justice, equality, and transformation.* Transformation may have to await everyone's realization that we are all peoples of colors ultimately of Africa, that African migrations to all continents after 50,000 B.C.E. left everyone on earth with these values, an inheritance con-

veyed in the oral tradition as well as our genes--what Antonio Gramsci called the *buon senso* of all peoples.

Lucia Chiavola Birnbaum
Berkeley, California

Herman Gray. *Watching Race: Television and the Struggle for "Blackness."* (University of Minnesota Press, 1995). 224 pp., $34.95.

Professor Herman Gray offers a fascinating, highly analytical, and well-researched account of race (and gender) mirrored in the prism of televised images. Focusing mostly on the decade of the 1980s, in an almost razzle-dazzle and didactic fashion he explores the deep sociological and political manifestations of televised racial imagery and its effects on the well-being of American society.

Gray's book is a "televisual" combination of Toni Morrison's discourse on race imagery in *Playing in the Dark* (Harvard, 1992) and Cornel West's socio-political treatise in *Race Matters* (Vintage, 1994). His 10 chapters don't always seamlessly flow, as if initially written for different audiences, but each is bridged with an overall rationale brilliantly stated in the Introduction. Framed "largely within the time-span that begins with the election of Ronald Reagan as President (1980) and ending with the airing of the last episode of *The Cosby Show*, which took place during the Los Angeles riots on April 30, 1992," the author interprets the televised images of race in the aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement, which led up to the Republican backlash against The Great Society.

Watching Race thankfully includes gay/lesbian concerns. But this needed perspective in ethnic studies falls glaringly short in Chapter 8 regarding *A Different World*, the author's favorite TV show (along with *Frank's Place* and *Roc*, with *In Living Color* his least favorite.) For all its so-called "imaginatively use(d) (of) the dominant conventions of the genre to saturate its televisual world with blackness . . . " (p103), Gray fails to point out how *A Different World* overlooked opportunities to address black gay/lesbian issues. Perhaps understandable from the show's creators' viewpoint given the recent demise of *Ellen*, still, Gray's critical analysis is glaringly omitted. So were controversies about black student-athletes vis-a-vis the athletic enterprise, which sociologist Harry Edwards has long made a national issue. Gray does address black athlete recruitment in *Frank's Place,* and black homosexuality in *Roc* and *In Living Color*, but won't the milieu of the Historically Black Colleges make inter-

collegiate athletic exploitation and gay/lesbian marginalization all the more significant to an African American experience?

Reestablishing his critical lens with *Roc*, Gray observes the casting of macho-man Richard Roundtree from 1970's *Shaft* as a gay man in an interracial relationship, thus providing astute insight about media's construction and deconstruction of black heterosexuality. But most TV watchers already knew this actor had challenged his so-called macho image in an earlier *Roots* episode begging an angry slave-master (George Hamilton) not to whip him. Obviously aware of this, Gray does not mention it, perhaps because juxtaposing such imagery of (black) masculinity, or the diminishment of it, might support conventional notions of masculinity vis-a-vis an image of homosexuality.

Gray skillfully demonstrates his repartee at word-smithing, which at times is a bit overbearing. For instance, he overuses the word "discursive." Still, the ebb and flow of his impressive narrative have an analytical and conceptual complexity reflecting intimate knowledge of the material and the skill to deliver it.

Clarence Spigner
University of Washington

MaryCarol Hopkins. *Braving a New World: Cambodian (Khmer) Refugees in an American City*. (Westport: Bergin & Garvey, 1996). 192 pp., $55.00 cloth.

Cambodians, officially classified as Asian Americans, are a part of this large group which contributes to the country's fastest growing minority population. The Cambodians in Middle City, the pseudonym of a Midwestern city, however, live in a world unlike any resembling those in middle Asian America. They are victims of poverty, of dangerous urban housing and of social isolation. The majority are of poor health, illiterate in English, and too old or too distracted to learn. Hopkins' study of this community is classic ethnography, describing in vivid details the ordinary family and Buddhist ceremonial life of the Cambodians as they adapt to an American city. She interprets for the reader her intimate knowledge of a people and its community, covering topics on how Cambodians meet their basic needs in an alien environment, their patterns of kinship and social organization, their traditional values in a new setting, and the individuals and their institutions as agents of culture change. There is a chapter on Cambodian children in American schools and one on maintaining traditional culture and the barriers to change. Her assessment of the community stems from a systematic comparison with

life in Village Svay, a community in Cambodia studied by May Ebihara in the early seventies, and with typical "American" ways of doing things. Some of Hopkins' anthropological comparison resemble a tedious checklist unless one is interested in Cambodian's Eskimo kinship pattern and its varying uxorilocal (matrilocal), virilocal (patrilocal), amitalocal (resides with bride's mother's sister) residence pattern, for instance.

A major contribution of the book in Hopkins' analysis of the Cambodians' continued misery and isolation after fifteen years in Middle City. She identifies the following related factors as barriers to their successful adjustment: the effects of Pol Pot's slave camps and the trauma of war, misguided Federal policy on refugees, aid agencies' failure to comprehend the enormity of the problems, and sponsors and churches who withdrew help because most believed in a refugee's immediate 'self reliance.' Hopkins contends that differences in cultural orientation between Cambodians and Americans make it difficult for the typical Cambodian to be economically active, socially mobile and eligible to receive a fair share of resources. A problem in adopting a cultural perspective is that it can too easily perpetuate the myth that to be a Cambodian one *must* be poor and disadvantaged and is therefore intrinsically different from being a non-Cambodian. As individual Cambodians who have moved away from Middle City clearly illustrate, even where hopelessness and misery are deeply entrenched, there is some scope for Cambodians to advance individually and collectively within the opportunity structure of society, perhaps becoming "Asian Americans" in the process. But Hopkins' main job here, after all, is to conduct an anthropological study of a group of refugees struggling in a new world, and there aren't many anthropologists or writers who can do it better than this.

ChorSwang Ngin
California State University, Los Angeles

Paul Kivel. *Uprooting Racism: How White People Can Work For Racial Justice*. (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1996). 243 pp., $16.95 paper.

Uprooting Racism, by Paul Kivel, is a deceptively simple book which covers a lot of ground. Kivel defines racism, places it in context, specifies its effect on certain groups, and shows how to fight it.

He begins with, "This is a book about racism for white people" and goes on to explain what it means to be white in a society which institutionalizes oppression and social injustice based on a definition of "whiteness." Privilege, benefits, seeing whiteness as normative, and tactics

which minimize, deny, or avoid responsibility for racism are all discussed succinctly and directly.

Part II of the book, "The Dynamics of Racism," speaks to the defenses white people often exhibit in order to disassociate themselves from racism. Chapters cover economic scapegoting, fear and danger, eroticism and exoticism, and arguments which attribute reverse racism to those who complain about racism, exhibit anger, or practice separatism.

The next part of the book provides a contrast with the previous defensive arguments. Here, Kivel explains how to be a "strong white ally," which depends on listening, accepting legitimate anger, and taking accusations of racism seriously. He shows how recognizing racism, talking about it, and taking a stand should result from listening to people of color. The well-taken, if somewhat conventional, example of confronting ethnic jokes is given as an example. More helpful, if very brief, is his explanation of buzzwords which signal arguments based on racist supposition, such as "welfare mothers," "illegal aliens," "terrorists," and "political correctness."

Kivel particularizes racist ideas about people of mixed heritages, Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino/as, and Jewish people. Attitudes toward each one of these ethnic groups are explained with reference to history and current stereotypes in a context of power and racist dynamics.

The part on "Fighting Institutional Racism" discusses how racism is manifested in public policy, at work, in education and schools, with the police, within the criminal justice system, and in religion. It also explains the purpose of affirmative action. These short chapters have final codas telling how to reverse or overcome the racism in each social institution.

Finally, Kivel shows white people how to become activists against racism. He discusses the necessary work of educating and confronting the members of one's family and members of our workplaces and organizations in order to work towards "democratic, anti-racist, multiculturalism." These final chapters also contain the more sophisticated distinctions between watered down multiculturalism which increases tokenism and unequal distribution of resources and a multiculturalism which addresses racism and has as its agenda a strategy for ending racial injustice.

More than one-third of the chapters in *Uprooting Racism* end with questions, lists, or assessments which ask readers to apply what they have just learned to their own lives. These exercises underscore the purpose of this book: to make people aware of racism, to increase their understanding of the issues surrounding it, and to become involved in effecting a more just and equitable society. There is a good bibliography as well.

While *Uprooting Racism* is an excellent introduction to racism, it is

also helpful for advanced race workers who may not always feel able to articulate the issues as clearly as Kivel does. Thus, it is aimed differently at a wide audience. It will define and contextualize racism clearly and directly for the beginning student. At the same time, it will enable the advanced reader to focus on the essential issues.

Sandra J. Holstein
Southern Oregon University

Thomas J. La Belle and Christopher R. Ward. *Ethnic Studies and Multiculturalism.* **(Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 1996). 155 pp., $16.95 papers.**

Within the barely 133 pages of this book, the authors, LaBelle and Ward, carefully examine the timely, important, and controversial issues swirling around the roles and placement of ethnic studies and multiculturalism in academe. The straightforward examination of the origin of the discipline of ethnic studies and the development of multiculturalism are confined to three parts: "Historical and Conceptual Backdrop," "Multiculturalism and Ethnic Studies: A Contemporary View," and "The Context and Strategies for Addressing Diversity." Two generally well-written chapters comprise each the three parts. Part 1 of the book is especially informative. The authors provide an insightful historical context into which the reader can locate the observations and recommendations offered later regarding the contemporary challenges facing multiculturalism and ethnic studies on college and university campuses. Chapter 1, "Ethnicity, Multiculturalism, and Higher Education in the United States prior to the 1960s" is a useful overview discussion of the historical roots to the contemporary discussions of ethnic studies, multiculturalism, and diversity.

Labelle and Ward attempt in *Ethnic Studies and Multiculturalism* to provide an even-handed examination of the subjects comprising the title of the book. And yet, it seems as though they are uncomfortable with, or a bit uncertain about, the eventual place of ethnic studies in college and university curriculae. I have the impression, especially from Part 3, "The Context and Strategies for Addressing Diversity," that they believe that ethnic studies ought to best be seen as a transitory academic phenomenon. Given the several constraints against ethnic studies, e.g., budget cuts and backlash politics among them, the authors tilt towards favoring the believed efficiency of a multicultural, that is, integrative approach to teaching about this nation's ethnic heritage. Apparently, they are of the opinion that the more ethnic specific approaches common to methodologies used in ethnic studies don't recommend themselves to the task of building stronger human relationships.

I wish LaBelle and Ward had made a more forceful defense of the presence of both ethnic studies and the multicultural project. Each has its role to play; and each can be complementary. Ethnic studies must be seen as an emerging paradigm shift in the social sciences and humanities. As such ethnic studies must continue to probe, construct, and advance new vistas of knowledge about the experiences of ethnic groups and especially people of color in the United States. This is a project which by its very nature will be confrontational and controversial. This tension is healthy in the academy. It forces us—including ethnic studies disciplinarians—to reexamine our own bases of knowledge, understanding, and practice.

On this point, this book raises some crucially important questions emanating out of the national discourse regarding ethnic studies, multiculturalism, and diversity. Some of these questions concern multiculturalism; what are its instructional objectives? Does the concept provide cover for those hostile to ethnic studies? Is multiculturalism ethnic studies? Is ethnic studies multiculturalism? These are some of the questions with which scholars in both ethnic studies and multicultural and diversity projects must grapple, and preferably together.

This book serves importantly as the catalyst for raising these questions; this book challenges us to do some serious introspection and planning with regard to determining the relationships between ethnic studies and multiculturalism as important dimensions of a national and international diversity project. Therein rests the value of *Ethnic Studies and Multiculturalism*.

Otis L. Scott
California State University

David R. Maciel and Isidro D. Ortiz, eds. *Chicanas/Chicanos at the Crossroads: Social, Economic, and Political Change.* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1996). 258 pp., $16.95 paper, $40.00 cloth.

Judging from the concerns shared by a majority of its contributing authors, the dominant theme throughout this four-part interdisciplinary anthology is the relatively few gains for Chicanas/os since the Brown Power Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. A central theme in Part I concerns the recent influx of Latin American immigrants, a rise among the foreign-born, and the continuing concentration of Chicanos/as amongst the unemployed, the underpaid, and the destitute despite their

high labor force participation. Aggravating these trends are recent na-tivistic measures to restrict housing, schooling, and citizenship prospects for Latin American immigrants and xenophobic media depictions of Chicanas/os. Some of the recommendations offered to combat a grow-ing Chicana/o underclass include expanding educational and social pro-grams for young children/teenagers, assisting poor families, retraining workers, and developing a progressive immigrant policy that acknowl-edges the economic contributions of migrant workers.

A number of essays on Chicana/o politics in Part II reveal the troubling persistence of political powerlessness, educational exclusion, and language discrimination. The popularization of a pan-ethnic Latino/Hispanic identity has empowered some Chicanos/as but has also fu-eled attacks against Latin American immigrants and U.S.-born Spanish speakers. Denied funding by conservative administrations in the 1980s, the leading Chicana/o advocacy groups (e.g., LULAC, NCLR) were com-pelled to seek corporate grants requiring them to articulate "within the minority community. . .the good will and material achievements of the corporation" (pp. 118-9). Another significant development during the post-1970 years was the growing efforts on the part of Mexican régimes to protect Mexican immigrants and to promote Mexican culture abroad, as well as to court Chicano/a political and business leaders.

In Part III, the historians Guadalupe San Miguel and Ignacio García examine the present conservative trend in *el movimiento*, its de-emphasis of *indigenismo*, and the rise of moderate middle-class activ-ists. While San Miguel acknowledges their commitment to fighting as-similation and discrimination, Garcia laments their alleged disregard for the founding premises of *el Plan de Santa Barbara*. Although García concedes the institutional barriers under which Chicano/a Studies pro-grams, faculty, and students operate, he weakens his call for revitalizing the field by over-generalizing, stating that that older scholars, students, ethnic studies faculty, neo-marxists, and radical feminists have only a weak grasp of, or a token commitment to, Chicanismo.

The final part of the book concludes with two insightful essays focusing on recent scholarship on Mexicanas and Chicanas. A major conceptual advance in Chicana Studies, as noted by Adelaida R. del Castillo, has been the shift from studying traditional families and ideal sex-roles to the adoption of gender, ethnic and class theories. She chal-lenges scholars to re-examine the simplistic binary framework *machismo-marianismo* in view of the cultural flexibility that drives gendered rela-tions in Mexican and Chicana/o culture. Beatriz M. Pesquera and Denise A. Segura surveyed the attitudes of Chicana faculty and graduate stu-dents toward the Women's Movement. Not surprisingly, they found that Chicanas considered it insensitive to ethnic/racial/class biases and un-willing to address the sources of inequality and exploitation. As a result of continuing under-representation in the women studies ranks, where

their work is often seen as divisive, the authors conclude, Chicanas and other women of color face increasing difficulties in seeking vital mentoring and research opportunities.

Jorge L. Chinea
Wayne State University

Chon Noriega and Ana M. Lopez, eds. *The Ethnic Eye: Latino Media Arts*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996). xxii, 289 pp., $19.95.

In recent years, there has been an increased interest in the relationship between the media arts and the Latino communities of the United States. A number of important books and essays have been published on the subject, most notably Chon Noriega, ed. *Chicanos and Film: Representation and Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), George Hadley-Garcia, *Hispanic Hollywood: The Latins in Motion Pictures* (New York: Carol Publishing, 1993), and Gary D. Keller, *Hispanics and United States Film: An Overview and Handbook* (Tempe, Arizona: Bilingual Press, 1994). In fact, there have been so many books, edited collections, and essays published on the subject in recent years that they are beginning to bump into each other in dramatic ways. A very recent example of this is the re-publication in Clara E. Rodriguez, ed. *Latin Looks:* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1997) of Lillian Jimenez's 1993 essay "Moving from the Margin to the Center: Puerto Rican Cinema in New York," which also appears in this excellent, slightly earlier collection of essays edited by Chon Noriega and Ana M. Lopez.

The Ethnic Eye: Latino Media Arts is in fact limited mostly to a discussion of film and video. The volume is divided into two sections: "Critical Mappings" and "Close readings." As the editors note, the first section "provides thematic histories" for Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Cuban cinema, and for Latino gay and lesbian independent film and video, while the second section "provides a series of close readings of individual texts, drawing upon diverse critical discourses and historical sources"(p. xiii).

There are a number of fine essays in this collection, most notably Chon Noriega's own essay "Imagined Borders: Locating Chicano Cinema in America/America" and Frances Negron-Muntaner's "Drama Queens: Latino Gay and Lesbian Independent Film/Video," which, as the title suggests, cuts across Latino sub-national categories to focus on Latino gender and sexuality. Also quite valuable are the "close readings" of the films, multimedia and videos, such as "Stand and Deliver"

(1987) by Ilene S. Goldman, "American Me" (1992) by Kathleen Newman, "Bedhead" (1990) and "El Mariachi" (1993) by Charles Ramirez Berg, and "Welcome to America's Finest Tourist Plantation" by C. Ondine Chavoya; however, there is one minor complaint.

The editors and some of the contributors are much too defensive or concerned about the appropriateness of terms such as "Latino," "Hispanic," "Latino media arts," and so-on (see especially, p. xx). This defensiveness reflects a concern or enthusiasm for the theoretical and methodological approaches that are used by "post modernists" and "cultural studies" practitioners with their "deconstructions" and "discourses." However, this reader feels that the terms "Latino," "Hispanic," and "Latino media arts" will remain important as long as immigrant Latinos and/or Latinos of mixed sub-national identity remain important as an identifiable population or category in the demography and ethno-racial discourses of U.S. society. In fact, demographic projections for at least the next thirty years suggest that the Latino population will continue to grow proportionally. At the same time, the politics of the last twenty years does not encourage us to believe that ethno-racism and ethno-racial discourses in U.S. society will come to an end any time soon.

Gabriel Haslip-Viera
Hunter College, CUNY

Tey Diana Rebolledo. *Women Singing in the Snow: A Cultural Analysis of Chicana Literature.* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1995). 250 pp., $16.95 paper.

The first book-length study of the Chicana literary tradition, *Women Singing in the Snow: A Cultural Analysis of Chicana Literature* is a superb work and salient contribution to Chicana literature and criticism. A companion volume to *Infinite Divisions: An Anthology of Chicana Literature* (U of Arizona Press 1993), Rebolledo's book takes its metaphorical title from the image of Chicanas using the "blank page" as a means for channeling their creative energies despite the fact that they are often faced with "a cold, inhospitable, and unreceptive culture" (ix). As she notes, "although there have been many attempts to silence Chicanas, they have continued singing, speaking, and writing" (ix).

At the center of Rebolledo's argument is the idea that Chicana writers have gained subjectivity by using their multiple identities to create a discourse of their own. She demonstrates this point by tracing the social, cultural, and historical development of Chicana literature from

1848 to the present as well as discussing major writers' works, important myths and archetypes, and key theoretical issues. Implicit in Rebolledo's discussion is her belief that Chicana writers are equally influenced by early female Mexican writers such as Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz and Rosario Castellanos as they are by the popular and oral heritage of Mexican culture (e.g., as seen in such figures as La Llorona and La Malinche).

The volume is divided into nine chapters. The first two chapters address early Chicana literary influences, with a particular emphasis placed on New Mexican writers, Nina Otero-Warren, Cleofas Jaramillo, and Fabiola Cabeza de Baca. Chapters four and five provide an excellent explanation of the various cultural icons that pervade Chicana literature. Particularly impressive is Rebolledo's thorough discussion of Nahuatl goddess Coatlicue's evolution from earlier pre-Columbian female figures. Chapters five through eight are dedicated to tracing the construction of a Chicana identity and the development of the Chicana writing process. Describing the various ways Chicana writers are the "cooks" of their culture, Rebolledo uses this metaphor as a point of departure for discussing the complex identity politics intrinsic to Chicana writing. The final chapter explores the representation of the "wicked" woman in Chicana literature and how Chicana writers have broken taboos by writing their bodies and by transgressing into traditionally male spaces. Again, along with a detailed analysis of contemporary Chicana writing, Rebolledo highlights the extraordinary contributions of the Nahuatl culture. The volume's notes and bibliography also deserve special mention. The notes are rich with additional information and the bibliography is extensive in scope. Both serve as a valuable resource for the reader.

Women Singing in the Snow is a must-read for anyone interested in Chicana Studies. Ambitious in its breadth, the book succeeds in providing a strong, comprehensive approach to understanding Chicana writing. More impressive, however, is Rebolledo's personal investment in this endeavor. Throughout her analysis, it is clear that she cares deeply about her subject matter and has made an effort to bring integrity to her work. As a result, this book not only gives a much needed voice to an important yet marginalized literature, but also sets the critical framework necessary for furthering this challenge.

Maythee Rojas
Arizona State University

Flore Zephir. *Haitian Immigrants in Black America: A Sociological and Sociolinguistic Portrait.* **(Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 1996). 180 pp., $59.95 cloth.**

Zephir explores Haitians' identification with Americans through the transitional nature of Haitians' ethnicity, roles of languages, the roles of bilingual educational programs, the generational transmission of Haitian ethnicity, and Haitians' and Black Americans' relationships. For historians and sociologists who are unfamiliar with the history of Haiti and Haitians in American, this book is informative and insightful, especially because of its useful maps and tables.

Scholars interested in migration and adaptation are provided with helpful demographic information on Haitians' immigration and settlement in America. Very relevant is a critical discussion of Haiti's history and the resulting effects in the behavior and attitudes of Haitian immigrants in New York.

Haitians' triple invisibility is explained with reference to their dilemma over ethnicity, race and language. Their notion of race and ethnicity conflicts with that of Americans. Hence, this theme of subordination based on blackness in America, becomes Haitians' quest not to be Black Americans or African Americans, but to identify themselves through their ethnicity and culture. The effects these issues have on Haitians' settlement in New York when they realize that inequality is part of their American existence would encourage interesting scholarly discussions. Zephir explores Haitians' ethnocentric perspectives on African Americans. Haitians identify with African Americans' struggle against racism, but believe in Haitians' ethnic superiority. Their views on assimilation, isolation, intermarriage, and adaptation show their strong need to be Haitians while maintaining strong cultural ties to their homeland.

Zephir makes a genuinely interesting argument for language being "real" and essential as Haitians' collective inheritance - the uniting force in the construction of their identity. The notion of ethnolinguistic vitality using status, demography, and institutional support shows that Haitians are not ambivalent about their distinctiveness in US society.

Creole language is a marker of ethnolinguistic identity, serving as an emblem of ethnicity to combat American racism. Haitians seek to preserve their distinctiveness and educate others about those distinct features. Social class definition is built around the symbolic functioning of language, for French is a social marker not an ethnic one.

The specific functions of Creole, French, and English languages are discussed in the context of ethnic maintenance. Haitians' patterns of language use involving high and low density networks of individuals, code-switching to denote class divisions, and intimate versus nonintimate relations should be interesting to linguists.

The examination of cultural aspects of hegemonic relations be-

tween White Americans and Haitians is a topic that is relevant to scholars interested in cultural pluralism. Although Zephir specifically referred to educators, this book makes a poignant case for public and private policymakers to seriously review their notions of a multicultural America, where equality of conditions and status for each citizen should be a reality.

This book also cautions us to socio-psychologically, historically, and politically review our notion of skin color as a unifying force among various Black groups, who wish to retain their cultures and nationalities, because there is no monolithic minority and Black population in American society. Although some of Zephir's ideas and Haitians beliefs are shared by other Black English Caribbean immigrants, there are many obvious differences with respect to languages and Haiti's history which this book highlights.

<div align="right">
Aloma M. Mendoza
National-Louis University
</div>

Notice for Contributors

Ethnic Studies Review is a multi-disciplinary, non-specialized international journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, methodological considerations, theoretical concerns, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. *Ethnic Studies Review* is a forum for the exchange of ideas.

The editorial staff welcomes manuscripts integrating theory and practice; the staff is equally interested in receiving manuscripts which are exploratory in nature. Contributors should note carefully the following procedures for submissions:

A. Manuscripts should be typewritten, double-spaced (including notes) and are not to exceed twenty-five pages (including notes).

B. *Explorations* publishes neither bibliographies nor reference lists with articles.

C. Notes should conform to the humanities style as found in the Chicago *Manual of Style* as follows:

Book

[1]Tomás Rivera, *Yo No Se Lo Tragó La Tierra* (Berkeley: Justa, 1977), 55.

Journal

[2]Orlin Malicher, "A Role for Social Workers in the Consumer Movement," *Social Work* 18 (January 1973): 65-66.

Newsletter Article

[3]James H. Williams, "Ethnicity and Human Rights: Raising the National Consciousness," *NAIES Newsletter* 5 (October 1980): 19.

Newspaper Article

[4]"Robert Moses, Master Builder, Is Dead at 92," *New York Times*, 30 July 1981, Midwest edition.

Article in a Book

[5]Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization," in *Handbook of Socialization*, ed. D. Goslin (New York: Rand McNalley, 1969), 347-580.

Thesis/Dissertation

[6]Michael G. Karni, *'Yhteishyra' - or For The Common Good: Finnish Radicalism in the Western Great Lakes Region 1900-1940* (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1975), 115-95.

Subsequent References

[7]Williams, 20.

Additionally

[8]Informational notes are acceptable.

D. Submit *four* copies of manuscript with author name(s), institutional affiliation, and acknowledgements appearing on a separate cover page.

E. Clip proper postage to self-addressed envelope.

F. Authors must be members of the Association when their works appears in the journal.

G. It is assumed that work submitted for review has not been previously published and is not scheduled for publication elsewhere.

H. NAES has a style manual available upon request.

All submissions for *Ethnic Studies Review* are refereed by two or more persons, and it usually takes two months for the reviewers' reports.

Submit all materials to:

Miguel A. Carranza, Editor
Ethnic Studies Review
Institute for Ethnic Studies
University of Nebraska-Lincoln
Lincoln, NE 68588-0335

NAES Patrons

College of Liberal Arts and Sciences
Arizona State University

College of Arts and Sciences
University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Institute for Ethnic Studies
University of Nebraska-Lincoln

Ethnic Studies Department
California State University Sacramento

Ashton W. Welch
Creighton University