EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

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Explorations in Ethnic Studies is an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. The editorial staff welcomes manuscripts that are in concert with the objectives and goals of the National Association of Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies. Contributors should demonstrate the integration of theory and practice.

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ANNOUNCEMENT: The NAIES Executive Council passed a resolution during the fall meeting establishing the Carmen Carter Memorial Human Rights Lecture. You are invited to make contributions to support the Carmen Carter Memorial Human Rights Lecture.

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WHAT IS ETHNIC PRIDE?

What is ethnic pride?
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Those long gone are in us,
a little earth whereon to grow,
the foundation on which reputations are built.

It is right in feeling
deprived of feeling
ethnic pride. . .more than skin-deep and
in us long before it happened:
the foundation on which reputations are built.

What is ethnic pride?
A convalescent with real humility
taking steps like a college track star. . .
for we have no more to wait,
only more to be!

Judith Lundin
Hazelwood, Missouri

Critique

Judith Lundin's poem successfully conveys both the elusive nature of defining ethnic pride and the certainty that it exists. The poem is successful in its combination of several vital entities: acknowledging one's ancestry, and using it as a foundation for building a reputation; feeling deprived of one's ethnicity and the right to claim it; ethnicity as more than a skin color, rather as a spiritual quality one is born with; and new found pride to heal old wounds and become emotionally strong in one's ethnic identity. The final figure of speech used to define ethnic pride is quite appropriate: "A convalescent with real humility/taking steps like a college track star. . . ."

Alice Deck
Grinnell College

ETHNICITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS:

AN ORGANIZATIONAL AND INDIVIDUAL PERSPECTIVE

George E. Carter

Article I of the Universal Declaration of Human rights adopted by the United Nations in December, 1948, holds: "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." Article II stipulates that everyone is entitled to the rights set forth in the Declaration "without distinction of any kind," including race, colour, sex, language.[1] In the view of many American ethnic people the question of human rights and ethnicity has been and still is one of the most neglected aspects of the revival of ethnicity as a factor in American life. In fact, in some ethnic circles there is concern that the issue of human rights is overly abstract and international, and that ethnic groups need to concentrate on American issues.

In recent months there has been new concern in some ethnic quarters with President Reagan's nomination of Ernest W. Lefever as Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs. While the outcry has been muffled, ethnic leadership has raised a question on the appointment of a man to this post who believes the World Council of Churches is a Marxist leaning group, who has openly supported South Africa and accepted funds from the South African government, and who in 1979 held the position that the United States had no responsibility to promote human rights.[2]

James H. Williams in the October, 1980, issue of the National Association of Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies *Newsletter* notes: "There has been little or no consideration given to the concept of ethnicity as it relates to the issues of human rights." The liberalism of the French and American revolutions, as well as the Marxist tradition "have ignored the impact of ethnicity," preferring to defend the individual from the state and, for the Marxist, defending the "proletariate from capitalist exploiters."[3]

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Williams speaks of the myth of the supposed basic truth expressed more than 200 years ago, ". . .all are endowed by their creator with certain unalienable rights," for it has never applied to "colored ethnics in the United States." The American concern for rights had more to do with property and protection of material gains than with the individual American. Williams calls for the lifting of the national conscience, for the present American mood appears to be drifting away from human rights at a very basic grass-roots level.

Reverend Ben Chavis, the acknowledged leader of the Wilmington 10, released from a North Carolina prison in 1979, wrote in 1978:

> In the United States the present reality for millions of Black Americans, Native American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, Asian Americans and other oppressed national minorities is that the violations of fundamental human rights and freedoms are commonplace. . . .There are literally thousands of people imprisoned solely because of their race and poverty.[5]

By imprisoning Ben Chavis for nearly ten years, the state of North Carolina was allowed to violate the Constitution of the United States, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Convenant of Civil and Political Rights and the Helsinki Final Act Conference on Human Rights.[6]

Gerald R. Gill writes that:

> The past several years, from 1977 to the present, have revealed a clear shift in the attitudes of members of Congress, many leading intellectuals and much of the American public toward both social welfare programs and strategies designed to improve the lives and livelihoods of blacks, other minorities, and the poor. . . .Instead of compassion, one witnesses hostility towards efforts to reduce economic inequities and to overcome the effects of past discrimination. . . .It is not too much to suggest that behind this mania is a growing feeling of meanness.[7]

If Americans are unwilling to support social welfare programs for racial and ethnic groups, it is highly unlikely that Americans will be concerned with their rights. In fact, many Americans, who witnessed the 1980 election results, may have difficulty viewing

ethnic people as human beings.

In the American experience there have been very few ethnic or racial organizations with serious interest in human rights and ethnicity. On the other hand, there have been many ethnic and racial groups interested in civil rights, which are not necessarily the same. In fact, if civil rights groups had been interested in human rights and worked to establish ties with human rights organizations, then the American experience in this field might be entirely different. Human rights, in western societies, has traditionally implied an inherent set of fundamental rights for all persons. Civil rights has implied the intervention of the state or nation and has usually involved protecting the individual from attempts to deny or infringe on such rights. Civil rights are thus protected by law and there is nothing inherent about them.[8] Philip Mason, long associated with the Institute for Race Relations in England, speaks of legal rights and ideal rights. Legal rights can be enforced in the courts of law and ideal rights are those which people have in a just society and are inherent in all human beings.[9]

Human rights, as used herein, refers to the "ideal" rights basic to human existence: a) the right to health--both physical and mental; b) the right to social security; c) the right to clothing and housing; d) the right to food; e) the right to freedom of association; f) the right to work; g) the right to education; h) the right to participate in cultural life; and i) the right of self-determination.[10] These are not abstract rights in the sense of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; these are basic human rights which all human beings have by virtue of their humanity.

Further, in the United States, as elsewhere, we need acceptance and recognition of the International Bill of Human Rights which contains the model for a global community that is at peace with itself. Instead we have a situation in which two-thirds of the world's population is denied the right to an adequate standard of living and some 500 million are denied the right to be free from hunger.[11]

Ethnocentrism, the conviction that one's own group has extraordinary value, linked with a suspicion of anything unknown or different, may be the downfall of society as we know it in the United States. In this country, ethnocentrism permeates the home, books, newspapers, schools, churches, and most other social institutions. Prejudice and acts of discrimination have come to provide excuses for exploitation of certain classes or races and women. What many Americans

forget is that most inter-ethnic conflict results, not from pluralism, but rather from dedication to the *status quo* and an imbalance of power which has racial and ethnic groups at the bottom by design.[12]

As a country, as individuals seeking liberation, as teachers, as administrators in ethnic and minority studies programs, we need to strive to create an informed public opinion which serves as the only real safeguard for human rights. We need to demonstrate that freedom in society, above all else, means that we recognize the justice and creativity of conflict, difference, and diversity. We need to seek an environment of mutual respect where integration will mean "equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of tolerance." We need to act now. We need to strive to have everyone judged in one race classification--human. Gandhi declared some years ago that civilization will be judged by the way minorities are treated.[13] We need to push hard to make up for lost time if we are to be judged by that criterion alone. There is not a single organization in this land that gives serious consideration to human rights and ethnicity. On a broader scale, there are few organizations in the world that give attention to ethnicity and human rights. But, there are some, and that gives us hope.

By far the oldest organization with specific concern for ethnicity and human rights is The Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights and its Committee for Indigenous People, based in London, England. This is the modern version of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and the Aborigines Protection Society, both founded in the early nineteenth century. The present-day group is a direct descendent, and through its consultative status with the United Nations strives to improve the status of oppressed people throughout the world.[14]

The present-day Anti-Slavery Society has three specific goals: 1) the elimination of all forms of slavery and forced labor; 2) the defense of the interests of oppressed and threatened indigenous peoples; 3) the promotion of human rights in accord with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Society has increasingly taken on human rights advocacy "including those of people neither enslaved nor indigenous," but victims who have no other voice. Diplomacy and publicity are the tools of the society and, based on long experience, the officers and members know how to use these weapons well.[15]

Since 1975 the organization has prepared twenty-one

reports covering a range of oppression that most of us cannot even conceive: hunting, killing, and enslaving of the Ache Indians of Paraguay; forced labor in Equatorial Guinea; debt bondage of the Andoke, a South American ethnic group; traffic of persons in Hong Kong; the dispossession, oppression, and killing of peasants in Guatemala, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Honduras, and Bolivia; the condition of tin workers in Bolivia; bonded labor in India; child labor in Morocco, Colombia, India, Hong Kong, and many others. The Anti-Slavery Society became a serious thorn in the side of the Soviet Union in 1977 to the point that an official complaint and motion was made to have its consultative status in the United Nations revoked. The charge was that the Anti-Slavery Society, Amnesty International and the International League for Human Rights "systematically abused their consultative status in order to slander socialist countries."[16] The resolution did not pass or even receive serious consideration except by socialist countries, as defined by the Soviet Union.

In 1978 the Ford Foundation awarded the Anti-Slavery Society a substantial grant for three years of research on oppression in various parts of the world. That work is well underway and will include two reports with reference to the United States, one on American Indians and their status in their native land and the second on the utilization of "servants" by the United Nations delegates and counsels in the United States.

Two other organizations that have made important inroads on behalf of oppressed ethnic groups and individuals are Amnesty International and the Minority Rights Group, both based in London, England, but with offices in the United States. The Minority Rights Group was formed in 1972 as an independent and international non-governmental body to work on behalf of all those denied human dignity and human rights. Registered as a trust in London where its base office is located, the group's scope is worldwide.[17]

The individual behind the Minority Rights Group, its director from the start, is Ben Whitaker. Formerly a lawyer, lecturer in law, and a Labor Party member of the British Parliament from Hampstead, he also served as Junior Minister for Overseas Development from 1966 to 1970. He has written on the police, crime and society, and parks for people, but since 1972 he has devoted nearly all his energies to the Minority Rights Group.[18]

The Minority Rights Group has two major goals. First, "by investigating and publishing facts. . .it

aims to help the position of persecuted or disadvantaged ethnic, religious, or cultural minorities (or majorities) in any country." Second, "by its work it hopes to develop an international conscience with regard to minorities' treatment and human rights."[19]

The Minority Rights Group has no formal membership. Nevertheless, its supporters include persons of nearly every race, religion, nationality, and political view. The reports published by the organization have been universally hailed for their objectivity and accuracy. The politics of any given situation are avoided at all costs. Its base philosophy has been stated by its director who sees each individual as a minority:

> The really unforgiveable inhumanity, I believe, is our habit of viewing a person not as [an individual], but distorted by a group judgment generated by often tribal emotions.[20]

The organization has recently opened offices in Canada and the United States and is actively seeking supporters in both countries.

The third group, and by far the best known, is Amnesty International. Winner of a Nobel Peace Prize, this organization dates back to 1961 and was founded in London, England. The key figure behind the group was Peter Benenson, a prominent lawyer in England. An article by Benenson in the *London Observer*, May 28, 1961, drew attention to the large number of people throughout the world who were being imprisoned solely because of their opinions. The article concluded: "Pressure of opinion a hundred years ago brought about the emancipation of the slaves. It is now for man to insist upon the same freedom for his mind as he won for his body."[21] The primary concern was and still is "prisoners of conscience" without regard to color, around the world. Prisoners of conscience are those people who are imprisoned to prevent them from expressing their opinions. The primary goals of Amnesty International are: 1) to get the prisoner released from jail, usually by a massive public pressure campaign; and 2) to aid the families of prisoners if they can and in whatever ways they can.[22]

In July, 1961, a meeting of national sections of already established groups was held in Luxembourg. Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, and Great Britain took part in the meeting. There are now over thirty national sections. In October, 1961, a third meeting was held in London and established the basic aim for

the organization as "universal implementation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights" and articles nine and ten "of the European Convention of the Rights of Man which guarantee liberty of religion, opinion and expression."[23]

The work of Amnesty International has been impressive over the years all over the world, with some glaring exceptions, including the United States. The intervention Amnesty made on behalf of the Wilmington 10 in North Carolina was its first key victory in the United States and this happened in 1979. The Wilmington 10 were adopted as political prisoners of conscience by Amnesty and appeals on their behalf were made from nearly every corner of the world.[24]

Within the United Nations' structure there is one other organization that deserves mention regarding ethnicity and human rights, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and its subcommission on slavery and native peoples, both coming under the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations (ECOSOC). Organizations granted Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) status with the Council must be concerned with economic, social, cultural, educational, health, scientific, technological problems and related matters "and to questions of human rights."[25]

There is no American ethnic, human, or civil rights organization that has NGO consultative status with the United Nations. Two years ago when the Council heard presentations from indigenous peoples, the American Indian spokespersons were heard as delegates of international groups based outside the United States.[26]

There are many who believe that society's disregard for human rights will cost us dearly in the long run. Given the alienation of ethnic people, especially those in urban centers, the greatest catastrophe we face as a society may result from our disregard of basic human rights. Overpopulation, pollution, nuclear warfare, communism, we may yet deal with; but treating everyone as a human being, with inherent fundamental human rights, regardless of color, may be too much to ask. The gap between rich and poor, the violence in our society, and the growth and decay of modern urban centers have to do with race and human relations. The modern city is at the same time a place of hope and a place of despair, and the changes concerning ethnicity and human rights are going to have to come in the city; they will be much longer coming in the rural areas of the country, homogenous as they are.

Our present-day urban industrial way of life is

dying. It is self-destroying--not only for ethnic groups, they are only in the forefront. The urban industrial way of life is based on a view of egocentric people who are creatures of desires and self-gratification, not as individuals with human rights. We now accept the notion set forth by Peter Drucker called the "marketing concept"--the purpose of industry is no longer to produce goods which are needed by human beings, but rather to create a market.[27]

Ethnicity and human rights should be on the minds of everyone and should be a major concern to all ethnic groups. We all have an ethnic background and we are all human; we have fundamental human rights, and we cannot count on a few international organizations to save the day. Ethnicity, human rights, compassion, understanding, and race relations are all intertwined, and we must admit we do have a problem, and recognize that we are a part of it.

We need, at a broader level, to begin to think about solutions. Any solution will be difficult and will run the risk of being condemned as simplistic or idealistic. One of the more promising developments to emerge in recent years is the concept of global education. Defined as the "process of achieving global perspective," global education is gathering supporters in many countries around the world. Jan L. Tucker suggests that by adding international human rights at the base content for global education, the major weakness seen by critics, that is lack of content, is largely removed. Other, and perhaps related content areas are available: food, population, environmental issues, war and peace studies. "International human rights has an especially important contribution to offer to the content of global education."[28] The addition of ethnicity will add further to the content areas and supplement themes identified by UNESCO in the 1974 recommendations concerning appropriate curriculum areas, "the principle of nondiscrimination," and "equality."[29]

In October, 1978, a major conference on teaching human rights was held at the University of Akron, by the Center for Peace Studies. Presentation topics included: "Human Rights and Peace Studies, Teaching Human Rights, Human Rights and U.S. Foreign Policy, Teaching Human Rights in Social Studies Education, Global Perils, Lifeboat Ethics, and the Meaning of Human Rights." The question of content, or lack thereof, was not even an issue.[30]

A few months earlier, in June, 1978, a symposium on International Human Rights Education was held at the Wingspread Conference Center in Racine, Wisconsin. The

meeting focused on international human rights in primary and secondary school programs and in teacher education. Approaches, objectives, principles, strategies, teacher training suggestions were discussed.[31] Thus the ground work and rationale have been laid. The current need is for increased promotion, refinement, and continued development. Florida International University has a grant from the Department of Education to study the incorporation of international rights into general education and professional programs.[32] One more needed addition is the concept of ethnicity.

Ethnic Studies has an important international obligation which, to date, has been virtually ignored. Nevertheless, education does hold one possible solution in the area of ethnicity and human rights.

One cautionary note regarding education, ethnicity, and human rights must be made. At the 1980 U.N. Sub-Commission on Human Rights meeting, where debate focused on racism and racial discrimination and was devoted "mainly to a discussion of education in human rights," Patrick Montgomery of the Anti-Slavery Society wrote that human rights:

> promises to be a controversial subject, strewn with pitfalls for the unwary. If we are not careful we shall find we have taught people their rights and encouraged them to forget their obligations; or we shall scare them with tales of atrocities or put wrong ideas into their heads; or, lest we do that, refrain from telling them the truth.[33]

Watergate, if nothing else, demonstrated the accuracy of the message. As people devoted to liberation, we need to ensure that the debate, the learning, the education, is not distorted. We need to ensure that global international human rights education is carried out in the spirit of Paulo Freire's concept of liberation and education not being neutral.

In early December, 1980, Amnesty International released its report for 1980, a massive 408 page report, 110 country-by-country review of human rights. No country comes away untarnished. "Half the countries of the world imprison thousands of people for their political or religious beliefs, and torture, summary trials and execution are common. . . ." Amnesty charged that in the United States:

> police brutality, especially towards members of ethnic minorities, is widespread and severe, resulting in death in many cases. Although it

is probably not due to official policy, it is undoubtedly able to occur so frequently because it is officially tolerated.[34]

There is a relationship between human rights and ethnicity. The human rights organizations of the world need to unite and stand firm on violations of such rights wherever they occur.

Notes

This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Third Annual NAIES Regional Conference, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, November 13-14, 1980, and the Ninth Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies, April 21-24, 1981, Las Cruces, New Mexico.

[1]Ben Whitaker, ed. *The Fourth World.* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1972) 5.

[2]*Los Angeles Times.* (March 5, 1981) and the *San Gabriel Valley Tribune.* (March 8, 1981). As of May 26, 1981, Mr. Lefever had not been confirmed by the Senate. The *Los Angeles Times*, among several leading newspapers in the country urged President Reagan to withdraw the nomination. Senate Leaders, Howard Baker and Charles Percy indicate there are problems with Lefever's nomination and confirmation. *Los Angeles Times.* (May 23, 1981) and (May 25, 1981). In early June, 1981, the Senate nominations committee voted not to support Mr. Lefever's appointment and he withdrew his name from consideration.

[3]James H. Williams. "Ethnicity and Human Rights: Raising the National Consciousness." NAIES *Newsletter.* Vol. 5, No. 2. (October, 1980) 19.

[4]Ibid., 19.

[5]Benjamin F. Chavis. *Human Rights in the United States of America.* (United Church of Christ, 1978) 2.

[6]Ibid., 17. The Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, 1975, reaffirmed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and pledged implementation of the fundamental freedoms set forth by the United Nations. A review of the Helsinki conference is currently underway in Madrid, Spain, with the Soviet Union attempting to block adoption of an agenda, delaying the conference, hoping for collapse, see *Los Angeles Times.* (November 11, 1980).

[7]Gerald R. Gill. *Meanness Mania the Changed Mood.* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1980) 1.

[8]Whitaker. Op. cit., 6.

[9]Ibid., 6.

[10]Philip Alston. *Human rights and the Basic Needs Strategy for Development.* (London: The Anti-Slavery Society, 1979) 23-33.

[11]Philip Alston. *Making and Breaking Human Rights.* (London: The Anti-Slavery Society, 1979) 1.

[12]Whitaker. Op. cit., 11.

[13]Ibid., 9.

[14]Patrick Montgomery. "The Anti-Slavery Society, 1973." *Contemporary Review.* Vol. 223, No. 1291. (August, 1973) 1.

[15]*Membership Brochure.* Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights.

[16]*The Annual Report of the Anti-Slavery Society, 1977-78.* (London: The Anti-Slavery Society, 1978) 3.

[17]Whitaker. Op. cit., 9.

[18]Ibid., Dustjacket.

[19]Ibid., 9.

[20]Ibid., 11.

[21]*London Observer.* (May 28, 1961).

[22]*Membership Brochure.* Amnesty International. 2.

[23]Ibid., 2.

[24]Benjamin F. Chavis. Op. cit., 2.

[25]*Resolution 1296.* Economic and Social Council Resolution on Consultative Arrangements. (May 23, 1968) 1.

[26]Patrick Montgomery. Personal communication. (May 8, 1979).

[27]Stephen Verney. *Into the New Age.* (Glasgow: Collins, 1976) 26-27.

[28]Jan L. Tucker. "International Human Rights: A Content Bridge to a Global Perspective." *Global Perspectives.* (October, 1980) 3-6.

[29]Ibid., 5.

[30]June Burton, ed. *Proceedings, Teaching Human Rights, A Dissemination Conference.* (Akron: Center for Peace Studies, 1978) 1-3.

[31]Tucker. op. cit., 5.

[32]Ibid., 5.

[33]Anti-Slavery Society. *Newsletter.* (September, 1980). 2-3.

[34]"World Abuses Cited by Amnesty International." *Los Angeles Times.* (December 10, 1980).

GOD'S SILENCE AND THE SHRILL OF ETHNICITY IN THE CHICANO NOVEL

Joe D. Rodriquez

Ethnic identity has to do with freely choosing a set of values, attitudes, and behavior from one's cultural legacy in order to affirm a unique sense of peoplehood. In the United States ethnic groups such as the Chicano or Mexican American are often stigmatized, and the psychological burden of ethnic awareness can weigh heavily. Yet a healthy sense of ethnic identity is absolutely necessary for a positive self-concept when a person is part of a group that is slighted because of race or appearance. The question then is: how do Chicanos come to terms with their cultural tradition in a society that discourages them from asking who they are?

Fortunately, Chicano novelists have looked hard at Chicano background and past in order to identify sources of self-affirmation and group unity. Their insights into various issues have shown that self-discovery and group solidarity are not isolated matters but parallel ventures. However, these writers have also asked unsettling questions about traditional institutions and accepted ideas and challenged assumptions that many people take for granted:

> "Ah, Mama! I do not want to be something--I am. I do not care about the family in the way you speak. I have to learn as much as I can, so that I can live. . .learn for me, for myself."
>
> "But that is wrong, Richard," she said. "That kind of thinking is wrong and unnatural--to have that kind of feeling against the family and custom. It is as if you were speaking against the Church."[1]

> At four o'clock the youngest became sick. He was only nine years old but since he was paid as an adult he tried to keep up with the others.
>
> "Why my father and now my little brother. Why? He has to work like an animal tied to

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the ground."
Each step that he took toward the house echoed the question "why?" And he didn't know when, but what he said he had been wanting to say for a long time. He cursed God.[2]

What is clear to me after this sojourn is that I am neither a Mexican nor an American. I am neither a Catholic nor a Protestant. I am a Chicano by ancestry and a Brown Buffalo by choice. That ladies and gentlemen is all I meant to say. That unless we band together, we brown buffalos will become extinct.[3]

The quotations from three Chicano novels reflect a relentless questioning of group membership and a preternatural vigilance for keys to the sense of the self. In order to come to terms with who they are, the above personae choose a profound and strenuous rite of passage. They call into question the underpinnings of their moral heritage--religion. Religion is but one avenue of self and group identification, but these excerpts offer dramatic evidence of the kinds of questions and dilemmas that confront a Chicano who asks where he stands in relationship to his ancestry and background. On one hand, pursuing the matter of ethnic identity in this society often involves hard thinking cunningly forged in silence and exile. A person must stand apart from culture and religious tradition in order to find an individual voice. Such arduous exercise of intelligence and will suggests why some individuals might shy away from ethnicity because standing alone is unnerving. On the other hand, asking "Who am I and who are my people?" makes it possible for a Chicano to come to grips with shadowy feelings and thoughts and makes a strong and sure connection with those who share a common legacy. By looking at how three Chicano novels present the quest for ethnic identity in terms of an interrogation of traditional Roman Catholicism, we can see the kinds of issues that confront Hispaños who would draw together as a people.

José Antonio Villareal's *Pocho*, Thomás Rivera's *Y No Se Lo Tragó La Tierra*, and Oscar Zeta Acosta's *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* are vastly different works by distinct authors. *Pocho* is a pioneering novel that traces the acculturation of a Mexican family to life in the United States. The protagonist of this story, Richard, is born in the United States, but he is caught between two cultures, that of his parents and that of his "assimilated" peers. Rivera's short work is written in Spanish (it is published bilingually, translation by Herminio Rios) and reflects the hardships of migrant Chicano workers. The book is a series of

vignettes that expresses the inner life of a precocious Chicano youth rapidly moving toward self-awareness and adulthood. Acosta's *Autobiography* is a boisterous account of a lawyer without a sure sense of identity (ethnic or otherwise) who casts himself adrift on a voyage of self-discovery.

These three works offer sustained examinations of what it means to be Chicano. Through different episodes and characters one overriding concern surfaces--what ties unite the protagonists to other people from the same racial stock and cultural tradition? Coming to grips with their ethnicity causes the protagonists of these stories to look hard at Roman Catholicism. What happens to them may well prove disturbing to those who automatically think of religion as a source of ethnic unity or personal solace. But the questions they raise are a starting point for new and exciting ideas about being a Chicano.

When we first meet Richard Rubio in *Pocho*, he has just made his first confession and he is preoccupied with questions about God and Roman Catholic dogma. Richard's concern with religion is tied to his awareness that he is a member of a stigmatized group of people--the Mexican American. The young boy clearly recognizes that he is measured in terms of Anglo-Saxon protestant values, that his sense of identity is constantly referred to the customs and mores of white people who look down upon his ancestry and appearance. Richard's last name, "Rubio," means blonde or fair in Spanish and is ironic because of his dark mestizo features.

Richard's feelings of being stigmatized as a pariah who has been branded unclean, and his sense of himself as a member of a referred group of people work a strange alchemy upon his understanding of Roman Catholicism. On one hand, the dogma and power of the Church leave a bitter taste in his mouth. They remind him of his position in society and the cruel forces of bigotry and Anglo authority that make him withdrawn and unhappy. On the other hand, he is deeply affected by his mother's reverence for the "suffering" Virgin Mother and Christ who are sources of comfort and security for her. Indeed, Richard is to battle with these two conceptions of Roman Catholicism throughout the novel until he finally repudiates religion.

What seems to spur Richard's rejection of Catholicism is his widening identification of the Church with the social forces that rob him of the opportunity to make his own way in the world. The Church, through the voice of his mother, tells him to endure injustice

and accept his lot in life. But Richard cannot stomach his feelings of disjunction, his sense of inferiority and his rage against the established social order that robs him of the opportunity to define his own identity and better himself.

Richard's disavowal of faith has also to do with a deeply rooted conflict that is part of his cultural legacy. Mexicans are a mixed or mestizo people, the product of the Spanish conquest of the indigenous people in what we now call Mexico. Richard's father tells stories of priests who used the confessional in the service of the rapacious Conquistador--the hated gachupín. There is little doubt that Richard is influenced by his father's railings against these "traitors." Furthermore, Juan Rubio is proud of his heritage as an Indio. He has a high regard for the pleasures of the flesh and he has a mystical reverence for the soil and the rhythms of nature. Richard's Indian heritage runs counter to Catholicism in many ways.

In *Pocho*, faith healing or curanderismo is a clear expression of the conflict between indigenous folkways and Catholicism, the epitome of Spanish culture. Curanderismo is the ritualized use of herbs and certain animals as a healing art and can be traced to native people. The curandero uses prayer, Catholic paraphernalia, and folk remedies to restore health; there is a strange ambience of mystery and magic. The Catholic Church is made uneasy by the Manichean overtones of the proceedings and the "usurpation" of the priest's role. Richard is very sensitive to conflict and he undoubtedly realizes that curanderismo is an expression of his opposed cultural legacy--the Indian and Spanish.

Richard's quest to determine his ethnic identity causes him to examine his religious faith with two remarkable consequences. First, he identifies Catholicism with the oppressive ethos of Anglo society. Secondly, the schism between his Spanish and Indian legacies is brought home to him by his father and the practice of curanderismo. The upshot is that he renounces belief and leaves home to join the service. Richard has a clearer idea of who he is at the end of the story. He knows that he wants an education and that he wants to escape poverty, but he is cut off from his past. It is impossible not to admire Richard's fierce will to be his own man, but the question that haunts the novel's conclusion is how will he come to terms with the people and tradition that have shaped his consciousness.

Y No Se Lo Tragó La Tierra by Tomás Rivera is

about "a lost year," a span of events that the young and unnamed central figure of the novella must comprehend in order to know who he is. The young man is keenly aware that he is Chicano in terms of the dynamics of in and out groups. Like Richard in *Pocho*, his language (Spanish) and the economic position of his family and acquaintances set him apart from Anglo society. The hero shares feelings of group solidarity with those others like him who are down-trodden. But his anger at Anglo injustice is not the same as an assertion of ethnic ties.

The young man's pursuit of selfhood pivots upon religion. Indeed the translated title of the work *And the Earth Did Not Swallow Him Up* refers to the crucial episode quoted in which the youth who has seen so much tragedy and waste of human life intuits that suffering is part of the order of the universe and therefore curses God because he holds Him responsible. The boy's curse has an unexpectedly liberating effect, as does Richard's renunciation of God in *Pocho*. The boy's feelings of relief and his intuition that he now has his feet more firmly on the ground puts religion in a bad light. It is as if religion symbolizes the cruel burden of fate, the weight of economic necessity, and social practice that keeps migrant workers laboring in the fields like brute animals.

Richard's repudiation of religion sets him apart from his family and tradition, but the youth's curse against God in *Tierra* has the opposite effect: it serves to anchor his sense of ethnic identity, although how this happens is very complex. When God remains silent and does not punish the boy, when the earth does not part and swallow him up because of his blasphemy, he is free to cope with life on his own terms. Instead of being caged by religious dogma, the boy is able to feel a part of the surrounding landscape, at home in the natural order. Implicitly, the youth reaches back to his Indian heritage, a tradition connected with the rhythms of the material universe.

Sexuality is, of course, an important aspect of human nature which Roman Catholicism attempts to regulate severely. The youth is indoctrinated by nuns and priests about the danger of the "sins of the flesh." But because his respect for religious dogma has been challenged, he is not able to accept meekly what is drummed into him. On the day of his first communion, he comes upon lovers in *flagrante delicto* and in a superbly rendered epiphany he realizes that sexuality is the token of every person's humanity.

Afterwards, the youth sees everyone around him in

a new light. He looks at his family, neighbors, friends, and realizes that their human desires make them just like him. He feels a strong sense of being united with them not only because of the life they suffer together but also because their lives complement and enhance his sense of being a person. He says, "I would like to see all of those people together. And if I had arms long enough, I should hug them all at once. I wish that I could talk with everybody one more time, all of us one."[4]

Acosta's *Autobiography* is the frenzied musing of a person desperate to make sense of who he is:

> Ladies and gentlemen. . .my name is Oscar Acosta. My father is an Indian from the mountains of Durango [in Mexico]. Although I cannot speak his language. . .you see, Spanish is the language of our conquerors. English is the language of our conquerors. . . they stole our land and made us half-slaves. They destroyed our gods and made us bow down to a dead man who's been strung up for 2000 years. We need a new identity. A name and language all our own.[5]

Acosta's reference to Jesus is very important because he compares his age to that of the crucified Nazarene and finds his own life wanting--fragmented, without purpose. Admittedly, fiercely, Acosta longs to be a Messiah.

The *Autobiography* asks if ethnic identity is the basis for a unified self-concept. Defining his ethnic identity is a difficult task for Acosta because he has been so badly lacerated by racial slurs that he has tried to expunge this matter from his thinking. Acosta, however, comes of age in the late Sixties when Chicanos were demanding that they be heard, and he is swept up in this movement.

As Acosta looks at his roots, he must take stock of Catholicism. And when he does so, he is virtually driven out of his mind because he sees so many perspectives all at once. From the viewpoint of his Indian heritage, Catholicism is an abomination of the Spanish oppressor. However, from the scope of his Hispanic tradition, Catholicism integrates many levels of experience and thus brings peace of mind.

Above all else, Acosta wants to be at peace with himself, but this is impossible because any view that he takes of religion only causes him more grief. He attempts to turn his back on Spaniard and Aztec alike

and becomes a proselytizing Baptist in Panama. But he is unfulfilled in his ministry, and when he studies the Bible in order to determine what he believes, he finds that he has lost his faith.

One of Acosta's many dilemmas is that when he tries to determine who he is in religious terms, he works himself into corners. The credo of the Spanish has destroyed his Indian forebears. Because of his racial ancestry and appearance, he is held in low regard by white Baptists. And finally, he cannot embrace the religion of indigenous Americans because he knows little of their culture. He would have to create himself all over again.

Therefore, Acosta's struggle with religion is a war between multiple outlooks that all make claims upon him which he cannot reconcile. The grinding day-to-day clash of these opposed value systems is highlighted in the *Autobiography* by the many references to drugs. It often seems as if Acosta gets no real pleasure from being under the influence of various substances. Taking drugs does not help him "escape" reality. Instead, drugs appear to make Acosta a mental chameleon better able to deal with the opposed outlooks that switch on his thoughts. But divided as he seems to be, Acosta is sure of one thing: Chicanos must identify their common ground or risk survival.

Whether we agree or disagree with the opinions about religion expressed in Villareal's *Pocho*, Rivera's *Y No Se Lo Tragó La Tierra*, and Acosta's *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo* is not at issue. The point is that by concentrating in these upon the search for self and group identity in light of religion, we can see how the quest for selfhood experienced by the characters can help Chicanos in their own odyssey for themselves. First of all, Chicanos are a blend of cultures and traditions and in a vital way choose who they want to be. There is no monolithic abstraction called Tradition, Culture, or Religion that each must acknowledge in the same way. A Chicano has the latitude to choose between multiple outlooks that are the products of a mestizo (Spanish/Indian) heritage and a history in the United States. Whether Spanish is the primary language or not, whether Chicanos feel more at home with a Roman Catholic or an indigenous view of the world has to do with how the individual Chicano decides upon which aspects of tradition are valuable. What is most important is that a Chicano who raises these questions realizes that personal interests are aligned with those of others who share a common history.

Another important truth that we discover from these three works is that Chicanos must openly come to terms with what it means to be members of a stigmatized and referred group of people. The characters in the novels face certain dilemmas about self-respect and caring for other people that have to be considered in light of the fact that they become jarringly aware of how society denigrates them. If these figures felt more secure about their sense of self and had confidence in their cultural background, they would be better able to explore and develop their full potential without so much pain. The lesson is clear. Chicanos must not let any group tell them who they should be; no group can afford to let others impose standards of beauty or other measures of worth that are degrading. Furthermore, it is good that Chicanos become angry about being stigmatized or forced to feel badly about appearance or roots. This anger can work to change society so that all people are valued for their unique qualities.

The novels powerfully demonstrate how defining one's ethnic identity can be a wrenching experience which some individuals would rather put out of mind. However, the issue of ethnic identity is of the utmost importance because it affects the quality of everyday life.

Notes

[1]José Antonio Villareal. *Pocho.* (Garden City: Anchor, 1970) 64.

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

[3]Oscar Zeta Acosta. *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo.* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1972) 199.

[4]Rivera. Op. cit., 126.

[5]Acosta. Op. cit., 198.

Critique

Among the most important observations made in the course of Joe Rodriquez' essay on the Chicano novel are that 1) an ethnic legacy must be recognized, described, and acknowledged in its complexity and contradictions before it can become a viable part of an individual's identity; 2) ethnic legacies and affiliations, as with all relationships into which individuals are born, can be burdensome liabilities as well as touchstones of sustenance and liberation; 3) an ethnic's unquestioning affiliation with the "group" often leads to a diminishment of personal worth. With his focus on dialectical forces within Chicano life and on ethnicity as a dynamic and problematical condition, Rodriquez supplements other recent efforts to reconsider prevailing assumptions regarding fictive statement and structure in Chicano writing.[1]

Implicitly, of course, Rodriquez reminds us of the unique potential fiction has for rendering--in terms of time, place, and the circumstantial detail of individual lives--the insistent presence of both cultural context and the nagging demands of individuality. Further, we see here that fiction is perhaps uniquely useful for recording and explicating the paradoxes that constantly emerge not only from personal but also from inter- and intra-cultural conflicts (fiction thus helps us verify both the premise and the need for interdisciplinary ethnic study).

More specifically, though, Rodriguez' point is that an incomplete understanding of culture--one void of complexities and contradictions--is tantamount to an incomplete understanding of self; reductive vision from the ethnic perspective is as much to be regretted as myopia in the "outside" world. In fact, one's resolution of intra-cultural conflicts must precede coming to terms with conflicts on a larger scale. As Rodriguez perceptively observes, such resolution typically requires "a profound and strenuous rite of passage" in which the individual questions one or more premises of cultural identity--religion, for example. Particularly important, though, is the observation that the rite of passage is strenuous precisely when the individual has been taught to believe that any questioning of one's own community is a betrayal and that, deprived of membership in the dominant culture, the ethnic must stick uncritically with the comfortable and familiar.

But of course the viability of any group is merely a function of the vitality of individuals, and a key insight of Rodriguez' essay is that unquestioning loyalty to that which nurtures and protects involves the

most elementary of "sell-outs," self-betrayal. In fact, to Rodriguez' observations we might add the reminder that the willingness--from whatever quarter--to "accept" ethnicity and "understand" it quickly usually derives from patronizing, simplistic, and self-indulgent assumptions about both the group as a whole and the individuals that make it up. Rodriguez' rite-of-passage formulation, coupled with our awareness that paternalism often creates in the "child" a kind of permanent adolescence, should further remind us that simply "being" something is essentially a static condition and that the dynamics of "becoming" inevitably demand a challenge to what already is. In this context it is perhaps useful to recall that for two of the quintessential adolescents of modern literature, Stephen Dedalus and Huckleberry Finn, the achievement of selfhood is a direct result of what we might term an unorthodox religious experience--very much like those of the coming-into-being religious rebels in the Chicano novels discussed by Rodriguez. Echoing Lucifer, Stephen asserts that he "will not serve" the church; and Huck, rather than sell out his companion Jim, determines that he's willing to go to hell if that is the price of individual integrity. (W. H. Auden once referred to Huck's response as "a pure act of moral improvisation.") The point of these comparisons is, of course, that individual integrity may only be possible through the isolated individual's challenge to or rejection of that which has the immediate capacity to pacify and seduce, to offer and elicit consolation.

Finally, Rodriguez' essay helps us raise some interesting questions. What, for example, is the role of the *dominant culture* in the nourishment or manipulation of the seductive and subversive forces in ethnic life? What are the implications, for group solidarity and political action, of the observation that individual reconciliations must take place at the expense of received affiliations? To what extent can fiction serve as a tool in the quest for selfhood and the effort to establish a sense of integrity for individual ethnic groups?

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Note

[1]Ramon Saldivar. "A Dialectic of Difference: Towards a Theory of the Chicano Novel." *Melus*. 6 (Fall 1979) 73-92.

The concepts of society and culture, so vital in the pursuit of understanding human behavior, its patterns and effects, are ultimately expressed in the lives of individuals. Cultural values are carried, symbolized, and integrated in the minds of human beings. Innovative individuals challenge and change culture. The crucial intersection of society, culture, and individual has not always been granted sufficiently high priority in social science research to exploit this rich vein. As sociology and anthropology have moved toward quantitative methods, material is often fractured so that society seems peopled by disembodied fragmented men and women. This is regrettable since the case study was previously an important research technique of both disciplines.

Literary genres have long been recognized as powerful reflections of society and culture operating to fulfill, encourage, thwart or destroy protagonists who symbolize the group. The humanistic insights represented in such works can add new dimensions to the concept of ethnicity.

In the analysis of three Chicano literary works (*Y No Se Lo Tragó La Tierra* does not seem to be a novel, technically) forming the basis of "God's Silence and The Shrill of Ethnicity in the Chicano Novel" we get a multidimensional view of the agonies and conflicts generated by America's stratified, heterogeneous society in the mental states and lives of Chicanos. It is doubtful that any strictly sociological study could convey the many facets of psychological trauma or earthy resilience that are expressed in these works.

What constitutes ethnicity is central in the analysis. The powerful bonds of language and religion are often assumed to be the most embracing sources of ethnic identity. Yet we find that for Chicanos in contemporary America religion may well deter the development of the new ethnic identity needed to transform the situation. In these works religion is perceived as one source of passivity which denies the creative identity needed to challenge exploitation and degradation.

The characters in these works give eloquent expression to problems of marginality, problems heightened for the Brown Buffalo by the fusion of Spanish and Indian heritages. His picaresque odyssey conveys the dilemma and possible avenues of solution more graphically than a statistical study could. He tries

assimilation, retreat through drugs, psychiatry, a sojourn south of the border, only to return intent on assisting Chicanos in Los Angeles. One fringe benefit of a paper such as this is motivation to read on. The sequel, *The Revolt of the Cockroach People*, must be read to follow the Brown Buffalo's quest for identity through social activism.

This essay is an excellent demonstration of how an interdisciplinary approach to the study of ethnicity can result in unique contributions. The empathy generated by literary works is combined with the concepts and analysis of social science to enhance depth of understanding. This kind of approach should encourage instructors of ethnic studies courses to include literary works in course bibliographies. While courses in sociology through literature are available in a few schools, they are rare and could richly enhance existing curricula. Techniques for research in literature, such as those explored by Rodriguez, should be increased and refined to provide an expanding field of investigation with promising possibilities.

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ADDRESSING GAPS IN THE DELIVERY OF COMMUNITY SERVICES: THE CASE OF ONE INNER-CITY COMMUNITY

Cecilia E. Dawkins

Introduction

The need for more effective approaches to the delivery of health and social services in inner-city communities is well established. Attempts to improve service delivery in such areas as housing, health care, and job training usually concentrate on strengthening community education efforts and other strategies designed to motivate potential users of community services. Little emphasis has been placed on increasing the communication between different community service providers to achieve better coordination among organizations responsible for service delivery in inner-city communities. As a consequence, major service gaps exist including such problems as duplication of services, limited accessiblity, and the absence of essential services. Such service gaps may go unnoticed unless community service providers and inner-city residents organize to address these problems. This paper reports on a study of community service providers who are working with residents to deal with the problem of service gaps in their inner-city community.

The survey of the community service providers was undertaken to obtain data on 1) the demographic characteristics of members; 2) the kinds of services provided to this community by the various agencies and organizations; and 3) perceptions that providers have of their low-income clients. This survey is a first step to gather useful baseline data so that this organization can effectively plan and evaluate its activities in the community.

The first part of this paper describes the inner-city community and gives an overview of the organization. The remaining sections present the study. Permission was obtained to circulate a questionnaire to members of the organization. However, it was agreed that the name of the organization, its members, and the community it serves would remain anonymous. Therefore, for the purpose of this analysis, the organization is

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referred to as the COALITION and the community as "an inner-city community."

The Inner-City Community

This inner-city community is a densely populated area. It is composed of people living in a housing development operated by the Chicago Housing Authority. Although the housing development is located within one of the seventy-five community areas as geographically designated by the city's governmental body, the nature of this housing development makes it a community unto itself. The housing development is highly congested. There are twenty-eight sixteen-story buildings covering ninety-two acres of land with forty-seven apartments per acre. The units in this development have the capacity to house 24,430 persons. However, the approximately 20,490 residents of the development are crowded into an area which is two miles long and only one block wide. In addition to overcrowded conditions, many problems are related to the physical environment of the housing development. Inadequate sanitation and safety conditions make the residents especially vulnerable to poor health and accidents.

Based on the census data compiled by the Chicago Housing Authority in 1978, all of the residents in this inner-city community are black. It is a young population with over seventy percent of its members being minors. Of the 4,142 families, only 441 (11%) are two-parent households. In most instances, the one-parent families are female-headed households. The city's housing authority also reports that there are 4.8 persons per family and 3.5 as the average number of minors per family. The median income for families is $4,415 per year. The majority of the families receive various types of public assistance or pensions. The public assistance is in the form of Aid to Families with Dependent Children and general assistance. The pensions are from such sources as social security, governmental programs, and private plans. These demographic characteristics are indicative of the special problems faced by residents of inner-city comunities in Chicago where there is a great need for adequate services in such areas as child and health care, employment and job training, and personal safety.[1]

The COALITION

The COALITION is composed of people in public and private agencies and institutions and residents

committed to working together for the community. The group began in May of 1975. The organizers were residents and people from community agencies and institutions who banded together to address local issues, especially the need for recreational facilities for the youth. The primary purpose of the COALITION has expanded to provide a mechanism for community agencies to come together and coordinate their efforts to serve the community residents. The stated goals are as follows: 1) To identify needs, raise issues, and discuss problems of the community; 2) To work together in order to be responsive to those identified community needs that are within our [the COALITION] capabilities; 3) To coordinate services to prevent duplication and identify gaps in services; and 4) To share information and promote understanding of services and how to obtain them.

The members of the COALITION have used various activities to implement its goals. For example, it is a regular practice at the monthly meetings to "highlight" one of the agencies that provides services to the community. The agency representative describes the community services that are available and how to go about receiving these services. More information is shared than that contained in a pamphlet for prospective clients. This presentation also provides the opportunity for other service providers as well as residents to have questions answered, make suggestions, and comment on any problems they have with that agency's service delivery system.

The agency which makes the presentation benefits from the comments of the residents and other service providers. These comments may influence policies of that agency. The residents and other service providers have the information about that agency and the positive feeling of knowing that their concerns are important and that the comments are considered in decision making.

Additionally, the COALITION has sponsored health fairs, "parenting" workshops, and forums on various topics, such as effective communication and gangs. Although guests are sometimes invited, it is the members of the COALITION who are active participants in these activities.

Methodology

The survey method was used to collect data for this descriptive study. During the last week of August in 1979, a questionnaire was mailed to 43 members of the

COALITION community service providers, who held membership between September of 1978 through June of 1979. These 43 providers represented 29 agencies, institutions, and organizations that serve the area. The questionnaires were mailed to the members at their respective agency addresses to minimize loss of response due to any change in home addresses. One follow-up mailing was made several weeks after the initial mailing to non-respondents. Telephoning was the final effort made by the investigator to reach these individuals. Twenty-seven questionnaires were returned for a response rate of 63 percent; however, only twenty-five individuals are in the study as two of the returns were voided.

Although the COALITION is composed of community residents as well as the community service providers, only the providers are documented in the study. Few residents are listed in the membership book by names and addresses for the past year, and during scheduled meetings, it was a general occurrence that different residents came to the different meetings. Hence, it was difficult to bring together a good number to include in this initial survey. However, the importance of obtaining the characteristics and perspectives of the community residents has not been overlooked. Attempts to document this aspect will occur at a later time, while continuing to monitor the activities and characteristics of the COALITION.

The COALITION Questionnaire

The COALITION questionnaire was designed to provide data on 1) the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of the respondents; 2) selected characteristics of the types of services provided by the employing agencies or institutions of the respondents; and 3) the perceptions of the community service providers as they view their low-income clients whom they purport to serve through the community agencies and the COALITION.

The section of the questionnaire which attempts to measure the perceptions of the providers about their clients was primarily based on Maslow's theory of hierarchical needs. The statements are attempts to obtain the *providers'* perceptions of their clients' abilitites to fulfill the range of needs as conceptualized by Maslow.

To be able to document exactly *how* the clients are viewed by the providers may give us needed perspectives as to whether or not stated goals of the COALITION have a chance of being realized. In the final analysis,

"how" providers view clients may reflect their "investment" in the COALITION as well as their job performance.

According to Abraham Maslow, there is a hierarchy of motivated needs that range from the most simple and basic to the most complex and sophisticated. These five needs are as follows: 1) physiological needs; 2) safety needs; 3) the belongingness and love needs; 4) the esteem needs; and 5) the need for self-actualization. The physiological needs are the most basic and deal with the survival of the individual. If persons are deprived of food, safety, love, and esteem, they hunger more for food than any of the other needs. Their whole existence would center on obtaining food.[2]

It is the assumption of this study that people want to do more than just meet their physiological needs. In other words, it is assumed that they have the desire to fulfill the needs beyond the physiological level. It is also recognized that the clients of the providers are at various levels on Maslow's hierarchical scheme.

After the physiological needs are gratified, the next needs to be satisfied are those dealing with safety. Under the heading of safety needs are: need for structure, order, law and limits, security, protection, and freedom from fear.

The belongingness and love needs emerge after the physiological and safety needs are well satisfied; these needs refer to the person's hunger for affectionate relationships with people in general. With the previous needs--physiological and safety--fulfilled or being met, people will actively attempt to meet their belongingness and love needs.

The esteem needs stem from all individuals' desire to be viewed as having some worth. In other words, the desire for a high evaluation of themselves for self-esteem and for the esteem of others is present.

The need for self-actualization refers to the desire for self-fulfillment. It is the desire to become all that one really wants to be. For one individual, this may be to become an ideal father, or an ideal mother. In another, it may be expressed as the desire to become an effective administrator or teacher.

Findings

Table 1 shows that the twenty-five respondents are twelve males and thirteen females. Eighty-four percent

of the sample is black and ninety-two percent of the respondents are over thirty years of age. As they are providers of a diversity of professional services, it is not surprising that the respondents are well educated. Almost all have had some college education with forty-eight percent at the master's level. Commensurate with these high levels of college education, approximately half of the respondents earned $20,000 or more per year. The profile of the average respondent is that of a black female or male who is over thirty years of age and married. He or she has a master's degree and earns $20,000 or more per year.

TABLE 1. Selected Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

Characteristic	Percent	(Number) N=25
Sex		
Male	48	(12)
Female	52	(13)
Racial group		
Blacks/Afro-Americans	84	(21)
Whites	16	(4)
Age[a]		
21 yrs.--29 yrs.	8	(2)
30 yrs.--39 yrs.	36	(9)
40 yrs.--49 yrs.	32	(8)
≥50 yrs.	21	(5)
Marital Status[a]		
Never married	20	(5)
Married	52	(13)
Separated/Divorced	24	(6)
Education[a]		
High School diploma	4	(1)
1-3 yrs. of college	20	(5)
Bachelor's Degree	20	(5)
Master's Degree	48	(12)
Ph.D.	4	(1)
Income[a]		
$ 5,000-- 9,999 per year	4	(1)
10,000--14,999 per year	8	(2)
15,000--19,999 per year	36	(9)
20,000--or more per year	48	(12)

[a]There is one missing observation; hence, the category does not total to 100%.

Community Service Agency/Organization

The respondents were asked to report all of the types and kinds of services that their organization provided to this specific inner-city community. A checklist of possible services for them to choose from was provided, as shown in Table 2. Space was provided for other possibilities to be written in other than those detailed. Table 2 shows that responses clustered around the services of family and individual counseling, education, and health care. Hence, these twenty-five participants represent twenty organizations that are primarily concerned with providing education, physical and mental health care services to the community.

TABLE 2. Respondents' Listing of the Types of Services Provided to the Community by their Agency or Organization for 1978-1979.

Service[a]	Providing % (number)	Not Providing % (number)
Education	64 (16)	36 (9)
Family Counseling	68 (17)	32 (8)
Individual Counseling	68 (17)	32 (8)
Housing	16 (4)	84 (21)
Health Care	40 (10)	60 (15)
Job Training	24 (6)	76 (19)
Financial Assistance	28 (7)	72 (18)
Child Care	32 (8)	68 (17)
Recreation	36 (9)	64 (16)
Other[b]	28 (7)	72 (18)

[a]Each row will total 100% and (25), respectively.

[b]The other category included such services as child protective services, spiritual guidance, community organizing, and food services.

Specific inquiries were made about the respondents' participation in the COALITION. Sixty percent had attended more than fifty percent of the scheduled meetings during the past year. Table 3 also shows that eighty percent (twenty individuals) were satisfied with the activities of the COALITION. This is an important finding, because of the high degree of volunteerism of the COALITION. If the group is to remain viable, there must be a core of individuals who receive personal satisfaction from its activities. This would probably help to foster a deep commitment to the COALITION.

TABLE 3. Percent of Time in Attendance at COALITION Meetings and Personal Satisfaction with its Activities for 1978-1979.

Variable	Percent (Number)	
Percentage of time in attendance at COALITION meetings		
<25% of time	20	(5)
25-50%	20	(5)
51-75%	32	(8)
>75% of time	28	(7)
	100	(25)
Degree of Personal Satisfaction with COALITION meetings		
Very satisfying	36	(9)
Satisfying	44	(11)
Unsatisfying	8	(2)
Undecided	12	(3)
	100	(25)

A key question was, "Did your agency or organization make any changes in the delivery of services to this community that you can attribute to knowledge gained through the COALITION?" Table 4 reveals that twenty-eight percent of these twenty-five respondents reported that there had been changes. Generally, the changes concerned the reallocation of services in the community and an improvement in agency referral practices.

Table 4 shows, however, that fewer than half of these individuals had participated on special committees during the past year. Most of the respondents were willing to participate in 1979-1980, and two-thirds of them had already participated in activities related to the COALITION other than attending meetings. This may be another indication of a high degree of commitment to the organization.

TABLE 4. COALITION Related Activities of Providers and Their Agencies or Organizations for 1978-1979.

Activity	% Responses		
	Yes	No	Total % (N)
Participation on special committee(s) of COALITION during the past year (1978-1979).	44	56	100 (25)
Willingness to participate on special committee(s) of the COALITION in the coming year (1979-1980).	88	8	96 (24)[a]
Performed other activities related to the COALITION other than attendance at scheduled meetings during the past year (1978-1979).	64	36	100 (25)
Agency or organization made changes in its delivery of services based on knowledge gained through the COALITION.	28	72	100 (25)

[a]There is one missing observation.

Perceptions

Respondents were asked about their opinions and feelings about the clients that they are currently serving in the community. Sixty-four percent of these respondents agreed with the statement: "I am optimistic that most of my clients in this community will be able to achieve a good quality of life," as shown in Table 5. Generally, they did not believe that clients would always need some type of public assistance most of their lives, indicating a positive frame of reference in viewing clients. It may also be inferred that they think the clients have the desire and will achieve some degree of "self-actualization."

TABLE 5. Providers' Perceptions of Their Low-Income Clients Currently Being Served (1978-79)

Perception Statement[a]	% Strongly Agree and Agree	% Neither Agree nor Disagree	% Strongly Disagree and Disagree	Total % (N)[b]
1. I am optimistic that most of my clients at. . .will be able to achieve a good life.	64	12	20	96 (24)
2. Most of my clients have not received the good recognition from others that they deserve.	60	20	12	92 (23)
3. I feel that most of my clients at. . .take advantage of opportunities to improve their educational status.	20	20	56	96 (24)
4. I feel that most of my clients are lacking adequate safety in their current environment.	84	12	0	96 (24)
5. I think that most of my clients at. . .will always need some type of public assistance most of their lives.	32	16	48	96 (24)
6. I feel that most of my clients at. . .take advantage of opportunities to improve their occupational status.	44	16	36	96 (24)
7. I think that most of my clients have a low opinion of themselves.	40	16	40	96 (24)
8. Oftentimes I feel that the reasons that community services are not adequately provided is because of bureaucratic "red tape."	72	12	12	96 (24)
9. In general, most of my clients have very good coping skills for living in their current environment.	68	12	16	96 (24)
10. Each day I fear more for the security of my clients who live in the housing development.	60	20	20	96 (24)
11. The reason why my clients fail appointments is because they do not want my help.	4	12	76	92 (23)
12. I feel that the reason why my clients do not get the breaks they deserve in life is because they are discriminated against because of their race.	48	12	36	96 (24)
13. If I had the opportunity to work with clients from a more affluent community I would take the position instead of working with my present clients at. . . .	4	16	76	96 (24)
14. I try to follow up on any clients who miss an appointment with me.	84	8	0	92 (23)
15. In general, most of my clients seem to experience more emotional and mental ailments than other people in general.	40	20	32	92 (23)
16. Most of the complaints of my clients about physical ailments are not exaggerated.	56	20	16	92 (23)

[a] The strongly agree category was combined with the agree category and the strongly disagree and disagree categories were combined. This was done because of the small numbers in the strongly disagree and strongly agree categories.

[b] Unequal numbers (N's) due to nonresponse to some statements.

Fifty-six percent of the respondents thought their clients did not take advantage of opportunities to improve their educational status. At the same time, they were split in their opinion of whether or not the clients take advantage of opportunities to improve their occupational status.

Most of the participants felt that their clients have very good coping skills for living in their current environment. The majority agreed that the clients are lacking safety in the current environment and feared for the personal security of the clients. The respondents believe the clients have not received the good recognition from others that they deserve.

Implicit from these findings, and using Maslow's terminology, one can infer that the providers perceive that the safety and esteem needs of their clients are not being sufficiently fulfilled. Additionally, almost half (48%) also believe that their clients do not get the breaks they deserve in life because of racial discrimination.

Overwhelmingly, these respondents agreed that they would turn down the opportunity to work with clients from a more affluent community in favor of their present clientele. They also found the activities of the COALITION to be personally satisfying to them.

Conclusions

This investigation provides baseline data for an ongoing study concerning community service providers and their activities in the COALITION for planning, implementation, and evaluative purposes. This descriptive study provides a profile of one group's attempt to address the problem of service gaps in an inner-city community. It documents the twenty agencies and organizations that the twenty-five respondents represent, primarily providing education, family counseling, individual counseling, and health care services.

It is possible that modifications in existing services may be in order based on the population characteristics of residents in the community. Information from community residents about their needs and desires will be necessary before any extensive actions can be decided upon. However, a key finding of this study is that twenty-eight percent of the respondents reported modification in the delivery of services by their agencies and organizations based on knowledge gained through participation in the COALITION. These changes were made to minimize gaps in services. Hence, this kind

of study can be of value for providers and residents in the community because, in the final analysis, any community organization must be able to document its impact in its community.

A major implication of the study is that agencies, institutions, and organizations can certainly benefit from having a profile of people who are most effective in representing their institutions in community-related activities. These respondents appear to have a strong commitment in this community as well as to the COALITION. This is indicated by their preference for working in this community rather than in one which is more affluent. Additionally, a good percentage of participation in COALITION activities is evident. Most organizations in a community which provide personal services to the residents have a community outreach component. It is, however, helpful to have a "profile" of the kinds of staff or administrative people who would be most positive and effective in community related activities for their organization. Subsequent studies of the COALITION will be expanded to include the perspectives of the residents regarding their community, the community service providers, and participation in the COALITION.

Notes

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[1] *Chicago Housing Authority Statistical Report 1978.* (Chicago: Chicago Housing Authority Executive Office, Information and Statistics Division, June, 1979).

[2] A.H. Maslow. *Motivation and Personality.* (New York: Harper and Row, Inc., 1970) 35-47.

Critique

This descriptive study was completed to assess the demographic characteristics of respondents; the kinds of services provided by twenty-eight social agencies, organizations, and institutions; and the perceptions of low-income clients held by providers. The purpose of the survey was to gather base-line data to improve the COALITION's ability to coordinate services and planning as well as to avoid duplication of services.

Although the degree to which the COALITION approach for multiple-problem urban settings in housing projects has been used in other inner cities is not indicated, there has been considerable research on the effects of over-crowding of animals as well as people, health care service, delivery systems, and mental health of the poor. Dawkins' study approaches these problems from a different perspective: the attitudes of those persons who provide the services to inner-city clients.

There are several implications of such a study. Based upon Dawkins' reference to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, it appears that the COALITION's emphasis upon individual and family counseling may be out of touch with their clients' needs. For example, eighty-four percent of the respondents were concerned about the safety of their clients, yet it would appear that this is a low priority of the COALITION member agencies. Because the questionnaire does not elicit specific data about gaps in services, additional data need to be collected from the providers. In future reported research on the COALITION Dawkins should provide a more complete description of each agency and include their source of funding and whether they are branches of larger agencies as this would be a good indicator of the degree of flexibility or change in policy which would be feasible.

As Dawkins suggests, the omission of client data is a very real problem which must be addressed in later studies. However, the author must be commended for addressing this topic, for solutions are certainly needed in the area. She indicates that future studies must be done, and they should--for COALITION approaches can be an effective tool for inner-agency communication.

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Critique

This study has two major implications for human service professionals. First, it identifies some of the essential ingredients that enable human service agencies to be effective. Second, it provides a basis for further research possibilities among the human service professions.

One of the essential ingredients that effective human service professions must have is data-based information. As shown in this study, gathering and utilizing base line data allow planning to occur from the vantage point of what is known rather than what is inferred. Thus, a data base provides focus and direction for planning, moves beyond informal assessments or progress reports, and can effect positive change.

A second essential ingredient is collaboration in identifying gaps in services. Such a collaborative process permits representatives of agencies involved to examine the scope and sequence of their services. As the study indicates, problems such as duplication of services, limited accessibility, and the absence of essential services do exist. Examining the scope of services collectively, or from a collective data base, results in a more precise assessment for determining which services can be extended, eliminated, dovetailed, or compacted. In terms of sequence for delivery of services, again, collective data enables efficient planning for offering services that are prerequisite to others, that can be delivered simultaneously, that should be extensions of others, or that can reinforce others.

A third essential ingredient provided for human service professionals is a profile of personnel, especially a profile that indicates the individual attitudes toward job commitment. Commitment to one's professional role and responsibilities is crucial to one's effective job performance. Dawkins' study has yielded data which demonstrate commitment to the profession and to the community.

Areas for further research that appear to be beneficial to human service professionals include more extensive analysis of the demographic characteristics of the service providers and additional perceptions of providers and residents. Perceptions related to service providers could focus on self perceptions. Specific research questions might include:

1. What are service providers' perceptions related to belief in self and one's ability to make a difference?

2. What are service providers' perceptions related to belief in their co-workers, coalitions, and the collective ability to make a difference?

3. What characteristics do service providers demonstrate that indicate their effectiveness with clients? How do these characteristics relate to characteristics noted in data on the self-perceptions of service providers?

4. What evidence is there to indicate that service providers are able to empathize with clients? Is there a relationship between that evidence and the characteristics noted in the data on self-perceptions of service providers?

5. What is the relationship (or is there a relationship) between expressed and perceived job commitment and effective job performance?

Data on residents' or clients' perceptions of self might also be gathered. Such perceptions could then be compared with service providers' perceptions of residents. Similarly, service providers' perceptions of self could be compared with clients' perceptions of service providers.

One final area for further research might be to explore how coalitions effect modifications in programs. Researchers might seek: 1) to determine the types of changes that can be actualized; 2) to identify the components of the processes that effect change; 3) to identify the factors that contribute to effecting changes. There are undoubtedly many other areas for further research. However, Dawkins' study is one which makes a contribution to the knowledge base of human service professionals who seek to become increasingly effective in their chosen fields.

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THE IMAGE OF GAYS IN CHICANO PROSE FICTION

Karl J. Reinhardt

One of the world's best-kept secrets, until recently, was that a sizable proportion of men and women find their most significant relationships, both emotionally and physically, with members of their own sex. For example, the 1971 edition of *Brief Lives* fails to inform its readers that homosexual relationships were meaningful in the lives of Tchaikovsky, Thoreau, Garcia Lorca or Virginia Wolfe.[1] A most blatant example of this intentional negligence dealing with Chicano writers can be found in *Literatura Chicana: texto y contexto*, in which a selection of John Rechy is given a fourteen-line introduction which does not mention that Rechy is a nationally known, best selling gay activist writer.[2]

The apparent non-existence of gays is not limited to information about creative writers; lesbians and gay men barely exist in sociological studies. In "Sex Roles and the Family," a section of *Chicanos: Social and Psychological Perspectives*, this minority within a minority is left unmentioned.[3] This omission negates the validity of almost everything sociologists produce: can one imagine a national survey of political attitudes which categorizes everyone as Anglo-American or black American, leaving out Hispanic Americans as well as other minority groups? How valid is a survey which presents contrastive attitudes of married persons with those of single persons, when the latter group includes a gay man or woman who has lived with a companion for twenty years as well as a heterosexual who has never formed any relationship with another person?

Because of oppression ranging from death penalties, policies of total extermination, limitation of access to professions, housing and one's own children, to parody, derision and scorn, lesbian and gay men have been kept throughout many ages including our own in "the closet." Coming out of that closet is probably the most significant step in the entire life of most gays. The Chicana poet Veronica Cunningham expresses with great simplicity the anguish of forced secrecy followed by the joy of release in this untitled poem in *Festival de flor y canto:*

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when all the yous
of my poetry
were really
she or her
and
I could never
no
I would never
write them
because
of some fears
I never even wanted
to see.
how could I have been
that frightened
of sharing
the being
and
me.[4]

This paper is a survey of some outstanding pieces of fiction written by men who identify themselves as Chicanos, or are identified as such by others, and whose writings include homosexual references of one kind or another.[5] Most heterosexual persons well versed in Chicano literature are unaware of which writers include gay characters in their writings, or of which writers are themselves gay--even when they are personal acquaintances. The forced secrecy of homosexuality is perhaps greater among Chicano writers than among others in the United States, yet there is no more reason to assume that there are few if any gay Chicano writers than to assume that there have been no homosexual kings of England, Pulitzer prize winners, legislators, musicians, college professors, first ladies, or directors of the FBI.

Preoccupation with homosexuality is rampant in the Mexican culture--a by-product of generalized and exaggerated machismo--and this preoccupation has been passed on into Chicano culture. It manifests itself frequently in very clever conversational give-and-take. The following occurs in *Peregrinos de Aztlán*, a significant novel by Miguel Méndez, which incorporates at least four disparate styles convincingly manipulated:

--¡Epale mariachi! cámbienle, mejor tóquenme la paloma.
--No la sabemos.
--Entonces tóquenme la culebra.
--Que se la toque su abuela.[6]

Such insinuating repartee is constant among men, espe-

cially adolescents, within the Mexican-Chicano culture. Indeed one may hear perhaps dozens of such lines in the course of an evening's conversation among young men. No male who has grown up in the culture can escape having insinuations made, or learning how to parry back. And yet, such plays on words with homosexual innuendoes rarely appear in Chicano literature. This, in spite of the fact that there is a notable tradition in the Latin World for authors to write at least one novel about the years between childhood and adulthood. Among Chicano writers, we find Anaya, Galarza, Rivera, Ulibarrí and others who have produced works dealing partly or wholly with growing into adulthood.[7] While none of these authors is especially notable for a sense of humor, it is still rather amazing that the clever sexual double-entendres are missing.

To a great extent, when homosexuality is mentioned--as opposed to being central to the theme of the work--reinforcement of heterosexual stereotyping of gay persons and even physiology is the norm. In *The Road to Tamazunchale,* a baby is born which is called a "hermaphrodite" with both male and female organs. At the father's insistence, the child is sewn up to appear to be male, even though the *partera* realizes that perhaps the wrong operation was being performed.[8] In reality, babies born with two sets of external genitalia are so rare that the average practitioner may not see a single case in an entire career. The mind-versus-body theme is part of the heterosexual stereotypical image of the homosexual. "A mind trapped in the wrong body" does occasionally occur, but often such persons do not even consider themselves homosexual at all. Understanding of this fact appears in Acosta's *Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo,* in which a male-to-female transsexual--clearly explained as different from a transvestite (i.e., a drag queen)--is treated objectively.[9]

Incidental references, usually unkind to homosexuals occur frequently in many pieces of prose fiction. They have nothing to do with the plot, but simply show that gays are fair game for derision. Again in *Brown Buffalo* we find "fancy-assed fags. . .selling flowers" and other similar passing references in this work and the same author's *Revolt of the Cockroach People.*[10] In at least one instance one cannot help wondering if Acosta, saying "Montezuma was a fag" was not thinking of the other meaning of *maricón*, which means "cowardly" as well as "effeminate male homosexual."[11]

Reflecting general derision of effeminacy, Hinojosa, in *Generaciones y Semblanzas*, has a character who defends his right not to have to make a fancy speech:

"no soy joto, dice. Eso de declamar se lo dejo a ellos."[12]

In the same author's *Estampas del Valle y Otras Obras a coyote* (a lawyer who hangs around the courthouse) "es muy democrático, según él, y allí se le puede ver saludando a todo mundo, altos y bajos, hembras y machos, jueces y reos, putas y queridos etc."[13] The English translation shows, for *queridos*, "Queers," a much more unambiguous word, since *queridos* might be taken as something else, perhaps "pimps" (given the context). Note that the Spanish word *putos* means both. In *Generaciones y Semblanzas*, "No les decía yo a los otros" is incorrectly translated as "That's what I told the others," giving rise to the suspicion that his translations and originals were not necessarily compared thoughout.[14]

In *Peregrinos de Aztlán*, we find "Otra [pared que lleva anuncios publicitarios] con el retrato de un joto famoso, que en el cine grinto le hace al cowboy. . . ."[15] And in J.L. Navarro's *Blue Day on Main Street* "two queens walk by laughing at everything they see with large red eyes. . . . Across the street a teenage boy in soiled pink panties stands next to a Salvation Army group singing 'The Coming of the Lamb.'"[16]

It would appear that gratuitous references to gay males normally present them as identifiable not by their sexuality but by their public appearance; in none of these quotations, which are typical, are sexual activities mentioned.

The long-abandoned "momma's boy" theory lifts its Freudian head in some of the literature. In *Blue Day on Main Street*[17] an Anglo woman seeks young men to seduce, replacing the son whom she had emotionally smothered and who had died in Korea, by implication his only escape from his mother's over-possessiveness and his own resultant homosexuality. The mother-homosexual son theme occurs in *Brown Buffalo*: "The tall, pimple-faced man was a mystic of classic proportions, a Mexican fag who'd never gotten over catching his mother with some man in a Salinas grape vineyard where he learned all his Catholicism."[18]

Occasional reference, however, is made to lesbians, as in Richard Vasquez's *Chicano*, in which a man is asked what had happened to the waitress he had been pursuing.

> Charlie laughed. "Turned out she was a Lesbian. 'Magine that? I didn't know it. That joint she worked in was a dyke hangout. She was knocking down on the bulldykes that came

around. I thought it was all tips."[19]

And later in the novel, in a lesbian establishment, ". . .and the argument at the rear drew closer to violence, the massive Lesbians screaming the most profane Spanish he'd ever heard at one another."[20]

There are significant, as well as non-pertinent, gay characters in evidence, about which different conclusions can be drawn. In *Generaciones y Semblanzas* is a minor character: "Al joto que pasaba las pelotas y los quantes le decían la Betty Grable." The equipment boy was not appropriately respectful to one of the players, who used that as an excuse to beat up "Betty Grable." He--the player--was expelled for two weeks, "pero de allí en adelante la Betty Grable se portaba mejor. . . ."[21]

Amid many references to "fags" and "queers," one character in *Brown Buffalo*, José, "my only countryman I'd known in San Francisco," previously mentioned in relation to the "momma's boy" theory, a friend of the narrator, who at least twice comes to the latter's verbal defense in arguments, was "one of the few homosexuals. . . tolerated" at a straight beer-joint, who "had learned to keep the beast in his pockets," and therefore acceptable to "our holy heterosexual company."[22] Another gay, who wandered into the establishment, is intentionally burned with a cigarette by the narrator and thrown out. José, the friend, having witnessed the scene, lets the beast out of his pockets, emerging from the men's room with his clothes in his hands, and causing the narrator to explain, "Except for my cousin Manuel, I have never seen such a long cock."[23] Perhaps, incidentally, this was what had been meant by the description of José as "a mystic of classic proportions."[24] In spite of his long-term friendship with the narrator and his fellow habitués (and with the narrator's former girlfiend), José is ejected from the bar and from the novel.[25] Token faggots keep their place or are banished.

In José Antonio Villarreal's *Pocho*, an agnostic Portuguese philosopher, rejected from his aristocratic family, a believer that "no man is better than anyone, any more than every man is equal, simply because we are all different from each other" settles in California and establishes a platonic relation with a boy, and becomes his mentor.[26] We learn that João Pedro Manõel [*sic*] Alves, alias Joe Pete Manõel, has had some sort of intimacy with both men and women, but is basically a loner. A young girl, one of his unofficial disciples, becomes pregnant by Joe Pete. It is concluded, from urgings from authorities and townsfolk, that Joe Pete

had made inappropriate advances to a number of young people, especially boys. While everyone scornfully maligns Joe Pete, his young male friend can only sit silently and listen. The anticipated trial:

> did not materialize, however, because on the third day after his arrest Joe Pete Manöel went mad. In his confusion and fright, he reverted to childhood. . . . It was not difficult for the authorities to commit him, and he was sent to the Agnews State Hospital for the Insane.[27]

Joe Pete was clearly homosexual; if he did seduce the girl and make her pregnant, he was doing exactly what homosexuals are told they are supposed to do by their families, their church, and their society.

Below the Summit is an incredible work in which every Anglo is a hypocritical bigot and in which we are told that "in Mexico. . .very few people are concerned with lineage whether of a racial or ethnic kind." Torres-Metzgar's book has a central character named Sorveto--a name certainly subject to referential speculation--single, an educated academic Chicano activist, presumably homosexual, perhaps celibate, who is despised for his activism and falsely accused of raping the very sad and lonely Mexican wife of a bigoted Anglo preacher-cutlery salesman, and thus destroyed.[28]

Just as in Hollywood movies of a few years ago a woman who went astray, or even thought of going astray, had to pay for her "sin" and be banished to disgrace, oblivion or death. In the Chicano fiction of the last decades homosexuals must pay the price. A word of warning, however: not many heterosexuals fare well either.

None of the literary examples given so far has had homosexuality as the main theme. One novel in this category is *Tattoo the Wicked Cross* by Floyd Salas, in which the protagonist is destroyed by family and society, a "machote" type brutalized and lost in the world of the penal system.[29] One obvious reading is that Aaron d' Aragon does not become homosexual by circumstances, but would have been in any case. His relationship with his girlfriend is not convincing.[30]

The most significant contemporary gay writer is also the most widely recognized Chicano writer: John Rechy. His latest novel, *Rushes*, brings to greater fulfillment his *engagement* in the male gay world and the devastating effect which the straight world has on the gay. One reviewer says, "Rechy insists that we explore what our

lives mean socially, politically, and morally and that we consider the legacy of acts of humiliation and domination for future generations of gays."[32] Rechy's rage--a word he uses frequently in *The Sexual Outlaw*--bears on this particular aspect when he affirms in that book: "Gay S-M is the straight world's most despicable legacy."[33]

It was mentioned above that the narrator of Acosta's novels has little to do with other Chicanos until he gets into politics. Salas's novel is rejected by some as a non-Chicano novel for similar reasons. Rechy's novels show more than accidental avoidance of Chicano homosexuals with the exception of Rechy himself in his various aliases. In *Numbers* "Johny Rio" sets out to see how many sex acts he can provoke by simply being there within a limited time period; of the dozens of men who take advantage of his availability, not a single one is identified in any way as Chicano.[34] In *Numbers*, as in his other novels, Rechy identifies men, when they remain nameless, in other ways: the fat one, the skinny one, the tall one, the short one, the black, the blond, the dark one (generally in contrast with the blond), but there are no Chicano gays except for the author and narrator himself.

In summation, gays are presented three ways in the writings discussed:

1) incidental gay characters not pertinent to the plot are presented derogatorily in their behavior and their labels, but their "homosexuality" is social, not sexual;

2) gay characters somehow pertinent to the plot must fail, committing or reportedly committing an unacceptable act, with resultant humiliation, insanity or other bad end; or

3) in writings in which homosexuality is central, Chicano characters are excluded from the world described.

With the exception of Rechy, whose gay characters realistically exist, home environment with the traditional scapegoat, the mother, is often the culprit.

The battle of the sexes is raging among Chicano intellectuals. While the women writers pour out their bitterness toward male chauvinism, the men smirk and treat their sisters cavalierly. The poet Abelardo Delgado wrote a sensitive "Open Letter to Carolina. . ." which appeared in a special issue of the *Revista Chicano-Riqueña* entitled "La Mujer."[35] While women have reacted to it, it is men who should read it. But it is

unlikely that any journal will publish a special called "El Hombre."

Notes

This is a revised version of a paper presented at the Eighth Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies, April, 1980, LaCrosse, Wisconsin.

[1]Louis Kronenberger, ed. *Atlantic Brief Lives: A Biographical Companion to the Arts.* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1971).

[2]Antonia Castaneda Shular et al., eds. *Literatura Chicana: texto y contexto.* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1972) 158.

[3]Nathan Murillo et al. "Sex Roles and the Family." *Chicanos: Social and Psychological Perspectives.* Nathaniel N. Wager and Marsha J. Haug, eds. (Saint Louis: The C. V. Mosby Co., 1971) 93-143.

[4]Veronica Cummingham. [Untitled] *Festival de Flor y Canto: An Anthology of Chicano Literature.* Alurista et al. (Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1976) 55.

[5]Most of the selections are works regularly used as texts in university courses in Chicano literature, plus other items selected at random and by personal preference. Special thanks to Nicolás Kanellos who made available his own expertise and access to his personal library.

[6]Miguel Méndez. *Peregrinos de Aztlán.* (Tucson: Editorial Peregrinos, 1974) 23. Superficially the quotation is translated as follows:

> --Hey, musician! Change [tunes], play "The Dove" [a well-known song] for me instead.
> --We don't know it.
> --Then play "The Snake" [not the name of a well-known song] for me.
> --Let your grandmother play it for you.

The verb "toque(n)" however, also means "touch." The names of birds, and the word for "little bird" (*pajarito*) may refer to the penis. "Snake" is an obvious symbol. References to the moral looseness of an interlocutor's female relatives--most often the mother--occur in many popular expressions. The double meaning is:

> --Hey, musician! Change what you're doing, and play with my "birdie" for me.
> --[Not replying to double meaning] We don't know it.

--Then play with my "snake" for me.
--[Now replying to second meanings] Let your grandmother play with it.

[7]Rudolfo A. Anaya. *Bless Me, Ultima.* (Berkeley: Tonatiuh International, Inc., 1972); Ernesto Galarza. *Barrio Boy.* (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971); Tomás Rivera. *Y no se lo tragó la tierra.* (Berkeley: Quinto Sol, 1971); Sabine R. Ullibarrí. *Mi Abuela Fumaba Puros.* (Berkeley: Quinto Sol, 1977).

[8]Ron Arias. *The Road to Tamazunchale.* (Reno: West Coast Poetry Review, 1975) 97-98.

[9]Oscar Zeta Acosta. *The Autobiography of a Brown Buffalo.* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1972) 19.

[10]Ibid., 36. Oscar Zeta Acosta. *Revolt of the Cockroach People.* (San Francisco: Straight Arrow Books, 1973); page references are to Bantam edition (1974) 101, 103, et passim.

[11]Ibid., 228.

[12]Rolando R. Hinojosa-Smith. *Generaciones y Semblanzas.* With English translation by Rosaura Sánchez. (Berkeley: Editorial Justa Publications, Inc., 1977) 115. Translation: "I'm no fag," he says. "The speechmaking I'll leave to someone else," 116. The original Spanish states clearly that the speechmaking is to be left to "fags," not merely to "someone else."

[13]Rolando R. Hinojosa-Smith. *Estampas del Valle y Otras Obras.* With English translation by Gustavo Valdez and José Reyna. (Berkeley: Editorial Justa Publications, Inc., 1973) 115. Translation: "he is very democratic and there he is, always greeting everyone, tall, short, men, women, judges, defendants, whores, queers, etc." 136.

[14]Hinojosa. *Generaciones,* 107, 108.

[15]Méndez. *Peregrinos,* 193. Translation: "another [wall used for posting advertising] with the picture of a famous faggot who plays cowboys in the Gringo movies."

[16]J. L. Navarro. *Blue Day on Main Street.* Berkeley: Quinto Sol, 1973) 66.

[17]Ibid., 4-12.

[18]Acosta. *Brown Buffalo,* 18.

[19]Richard Vasquez. *Chicano.* (New York: Avon Books,

1971) 121.

[20]Ibid., 136.

[21]Hinojosa. *Generaciones*, 67. Translation: "The queer who passed out the baseballs and gloves was called Betty Grable, . . .but from then on Betty Grable passed the equipment to everyone. . . ." 68.

[22]Acosta. *Brown Buffalo*, 46-50.

[23]Ibid., 69.

[24]Ibid., 47.

[25]Ibid., 69.

[26]Jose Antonio Villarreal. *Pocho*. (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1959); references are to Anchor Books edition (1970) 82.

[27]Ibid., 90.

[28]Joseph V. Torres-Metzger. *Below the Summit*. (Berkeley: Tonatiuh International, Inc., 1976).

[29]Floyd Salas. *Tattoo the Wicked Cross*. (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1967).

[30]See also: Teresa McKenna. "Three Novels: An Analysis." *Aztlán*. Vol. 1, No. 2 (Fall, 1970) 47-56; Sister Helena Monahan. *The Chicano Novel: Toward a Definition and Literary Criticism*. (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1972) 85-90.

[31]John Rechy. *Rushes*. (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1979).

[32]E. J. Owens. [Review of *Rushes* by John Rechy] *Upfront America* (February 15, 1980) 18.

[33]John Rechy. *The Sexual Outlaw*. (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1977) 262.

[34]John Rechy. *Numbers*. (New York: Grove Press, Inc., 1967).

[35]Abelardo Delgado. "An Open Letter to Carolina. . . or Relations Between Men and Women." *Revista Chicano-Riqueña*. Vol. 6, No. 2 (Primavera, 1978) 33-38.

Critique

The findings of Professor Reinhardt as they relate to his survey of the image of homosexuals in Chicano prose fiction are interesting and informative, but not surprising given the "macho" mental set often associated with this culture. His first two points, which seem to hold about the homosexual in contemporary society, also seem to be the viewpoint held by most Americans. In other words, a lack of tolerance towards the homosexual is not unique to Chicanos. As for the fact that Chicanos are ignored in writings which have homosexuality as a theme, this probably stems from the tendency for writers in many fields to ignore the role that minorities play in all facets of American life and culture. Just the same, the conclusions arrived at through this survey of Chicano literature provide further insight into a controversial aspect of human sexuality as viewed from one cultural setting and expressed through literature. The research also suggests some other avenues of inquiry into the image of homosexuals as portrayed in other cultures' literatures.

In looking to future research possibilities one avenue of investigation could be the image of homosexuals in literature from an historical perspective. The idea here would be to see if over time the image of homosexuals as found in literature in general or in a particular cultural setting has changed to any extent and if so, in what direction. For example, one might try to find out if attitudes have grown more liberal or conservative in various writings. Or perhaps cultures as reflected in their literatures have taken a cyclical view of homosexuality with some periods being less or more tolerant towards the homosexual in society. The time span covered in such a survey could be whatever the researcher had time and resources to cover.

Another possible direction for further study would be to see how the topic of homosexuality has been treated in the literature of other cultures. Does the image of homosexuals in Chicano literature differ from portrayals in British, French, Arab, or Japanese literature? Such a pursuit, while time consuming, would be an interesting cross-cultural study and might reveal many similarities in points of view or some significant differences.

One might also examine the writings and comments on homosexuals as found in contemporary or historic writings of various theologians. In today's climate of apparently increased levels of intolerance on the

part of some fundamentalist groups such as the so-called "Moral Majority," it might be helpful to those committed to toleration and understanding to find out that there are religious points of view different from those which seem to advocate "Kick a queer for Jesus." Such investigations need not necessarily be restricted to the Judeo-Christian tradition.

Studies such as Professor Reinhardt's should be helpful in defusing a highly emotional and controversial issue by providing information which could help explain the stereotypic images of homosexuals. Perhaps a more objective study of this social issue and the role various cultures' literatures may have played and still play in defining peoples' views of others will increase the general public's understanding of the homosexual, their feelings and contributions as *people*. And perhaps increased levels of understanding will lead to the end of negative stereotyping of people and a greater degree of tolerance in the sense of the democratic ideal.

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Critique

In "The Image of Gays in Chicano Prose Fiction," Karl J. Reinhardt surveys a variety of outstanding works of contemporary fiction by male Chicano writers which include homosexual references that are often so hidden that they may not even be apparent to heterosexual readers.

Reinhardt draws three basic conclusions from his research: 1) that gay characters in the fiction surveyed are often incidental rather than central to the plot and are identified not by their sexuality but by degrading social stereotypes of homosexuals; 2) that gay characters who are important to the plot are kept in their place or are punished for their "sin" by being banished for committing an unacceptable act; and 3) that when homosexuality is the central theme, as in the works of gay activist writer, John Rechy, the homosexual characters are never Chicanos.

This survey article is significant in that it provides a beginning and a basis for research into a theme that has barely been touched by literary criticism or

sociological investigation. Although there is a preoccupation with homosexuality and an emphasis on machismo in Mexican and Chicano culture, much of the sexual innuendo common in adolescent male conversation is nearly absent in literature. In short, Chicano homosexuality is still "in the closet." Reinhardt argues that forced secrecy regarding homosexuality is even greater among Chicano writers than among other writers. When homosexuality is dealt with in fiction, it is usually designed to reinforce heterosexual stereotypes of gays and to degrade and deride homosexuals. References to lesbians are even rarer and when included they are brutally derogatory. Lesbians are portrayed as loud, crude, vulgar and profane, if portrayed at all.

Reinhardt's paper should provoke keen interest in and provide a much-needed impetus for further research and literary criticism on the images and attitudes toward gays in Chicano literature. It may also encourage a deeper analysis of the particular stereotypes reagrding homosexuality in Chicano culture.

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Critique

The author speaks truly in stating that gays in literature have remained, for the most part, in the closet. Generally authors have been concerned with presenting a given philosophy, advocating social change, creating aesthetically satisfying literature, not primarily with sexuality, per se. Rather sex has ostensibly served a purpose and has not functioned as a goal, unless one wishes to consider the erotic literature, as, for example, Anais Nin has produced. Nevertheless, it is true that societal bans have been incorporated into the literature. Hemingway toys with the homosexual issue in "Big Two-Hearted River," but his short story and inferences exist solely in the realm of symbolism. Until recently very few American authors, regardless of ethnic origin, have focussed on this subject. Possibly Nathaniel West in *Miss Goody Two Shoes* with the creation of a male fulfilling a female role borders on homosexuality. And of course James Baldwin's *Another Country* deals honestly and straightforwardly with the issue, building his story around a homosexual protagonist. Recently we have seen a flurry of authors tackle the subject, as Marge

Piercy does in *Small Change*. In this novel the protagonist, Beth, finally finds her identity and satisfaction in the Mexican, Wanda. On an international level, the French, always *avant garde*, have pioneered in the area with Gide and much more artistically and fully with Genet. Genet's entire literary outpouring encompasses the gay world: the trials, tribulations, and triumphs of the homosexual hero.

Since the subject of homosexuality has, as our author verifies, been generally ignored or at best ridiculed in Western literature, it is not surprising that Chicano literature, a developing consciousness, has not dealt widely with the subject. To have done so might have distracted the public from the major issue: Chicanismo. Chicano authors have been concerned for the most part with presenting a protest to the *status quo*, a philosophy, or a proposal for existence in an alien world. It is understandable, then, that the primary thrust has been either a realistic reflection of a perceived or idealized Chicano life, or a metaphoric escape from an unbearable situation. Now it may be that such homosexual parries as the critic suggests do occur frequently among males in the barrio, but, rightly or wrongly, authors have been writing to what they saw as "more pertinent matters." Undoubtedly some oversimplified concept of "machismo" has precluded the widespread treatment of the homosexual in the literature, except in derogatory terms. Nevertheless, a beautifully abstract and symbolic novel like Anaya's *Heart of Aztlán* gives a very sympathetic and moving portrayal of the society of men. The emphasis lies on the societal rather than the sexual aspects of such a relationship, not to deny the homosexual, although that may occur in the banter, but to foster the brotherhood. I do not suggest that Anaya creates the "El Hombre" for which the critic pleads; he certainly does not. In that book, as in many books by Chicano authors sexuality is not the issue. In Anaya's book we do not know the sexual preference of most of the characters. Certainly the heterosexuals do not fare too well. In a sense the ambiance of the Socratic dialogues has been introduced as a backdrop for a movement toward Chicano solidarity and ultimate triumph. The purpose is not to focus on differences in the community, but to unify all Chicanos, regardless of their differences, into a single people. Idealistic? Of course. Impossible? Probably. But given the purposes for which most Chicanos have written, it is not surprising that the homosexual has been given only fleeting traditional treatment. Women have fared no better. French literature has developed over many centuries to a point at which it could deal with individual differences artistically without the need to protest or prove.

However, one work which our critic has not considered and which does treat the homosexual sympathetically is Estela Portillo's *Day of the Swallows*. Although the title of this critical work specifies "prose works," we may admit drama which is not poetic. In this drama, laid in the village of Lago de San Lorenzo, Doña Josefa, a very proper matriarch, confesses her love relationship with Alysea. Prior to her confession, she had had a servant's tongue cut out to prevent her affair being known. It is true that Josefa does not reveal her sexual preference publicly; in fact, she suffers some guilt feeling because of it. All of this, the societal milieu, the inner struggles of the lesbian, fit the situation described in the third point of Reinhardt's summation, except for a significant modification. The "bad one" is nullified by a magnificently transcendent scene in which the sexual "offender," gowned in flowing white robes, floats dead upon a sparkling blue lake under a flawless sky. At the end we have these stage directions:

> The voices of the choir, the church bell, the birds on the tree in full life, and the almost unearthly light streaming through the windows give the essence of a presence in the room. . .of something beautiful.

The homosexual love becomes victory, not defeat; the drama is not defiance but glorification.

It might prove valuable to continue research on this subject in three ways:

1) Explore contemporary American fiction to discover *if* and *how* Chicano homosexuals are treated.
2) Trace the development of the homosexual as the theme parallels the growing confidence of Chicano authors.
3) Compare the treatment of homosexuals in mainstream literature and Chicano literature.

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A PROPOSED MODEL FOR ADVOCACY SERVICES FOR MEXICAN UNDOCUMENTED ALIENS WITH MENTAL HEALTH NEEDS

Ramon Salcido

The purpose of this presentation is to discuss the studies that have focused on undocumented aliens from Mexico, to discuss barriers that inhibit their use of mental health services, and to outline ways in which social workers employed in mental health institutions can become actively involved in helping this group. Since 1900, immigration to the United States from Mexico has followed a pattern of continuing legal and illegal entry; legal alien families from Mexico are defined as those who have been legally admitted to the U.S., whereas undocumented families are those residing in the U.S. who have entered illegally. Mexico has supplied more immigrants with United States working visas between 1957 and 1966 than any other country.[1] However, an unknown number of Mexicans enter the country illegally; for example, the AFL-CIO estimates the total number of illegal aliens residing in the U.S. is over eight million.[2]

The ease and frequency of entry of illegal aliens has three primary causes: two thousand miles of continuous border is difficult to patrol;[3] procrastination by the U.S. Congress prevents settling the issue of Western Hemisphere immigration;[4] and the lure of employment opportunities for a poor population living in a third world country continues to exist. If these conditions continue, the United States can expect a continuing immigration of Mexican aliens both legally and illegally.[5] As a consequence, the service delivery system of health and mental health agencies will have to address themselves to the possible availability of services to these aliens.

Immigration from one country to another can cause stress and disruption to family life of illegal aliens. The transfer means the family members' physical and mental health are at risk. Thus, obtaining health and welfare services such as health care, employment, social welfare provisions, and adequate housing can influence the family's capability for coping in another country.

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Illegal status further affects the mental health of family members. The family that has decided to cross the border illegally must cope with fears of apprehension by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Furthermore, the family is vulnerable to exploitation from persons residing in the U.S. because there exists the threat to report the family to the INS.

Jorge Bustamante writes that "the threat of apprehension is always present in the illegal alien's mind and tends to interfere with her or his social contacts."[6] One can speculate that while immigration may be disruptive to family life of all aliens, illegal status imposes anxieties which may affect the use of health and welfare services by illegal families.

Despite the recent attention focused on the special needs of the Mexican American, there is still a widespread lack, even among professionals, of a working knowledge and understanding of the problems facing illegal aliens from Mexico. What problems do undocumented Mexican aliens encounter because of their illegal status? What has been their experiences with health and welfare institutions? How can social workers assist them with services? The following sections describe the studies which have focused on the problems of this group and their experience with institutions and explain the service advocacy can provide.

Review Of The Literature

There are three principle sources of data available on the illegal Mexican alien: (1) migration data, (2) arrest records, and (3) experiences and interviews with aliens. Historical literature, which is primarily descriptive, explains background factors concerning illegal alien movement. These studies deal with Mexico's high birth rate, its economic and employment problems, and its dislocated rural population forced into the labor market of the United States. Other scholars elaborate on the technical revolution within Mexico as a dislocating factor that places large numbers of unemployed rural peasants in border areas in search of employment.[7]

A second source of information is arrest records as reported by the immigration records of law enforcement agencies. Tim Dagadag conducted a study to determine the place of origin from which illegal aliens migrate.[8] The sample consisted of 3,204 selected case records of illegal aliens seized in the Chula Vista

sector of California filed during a six-month period. One finding was that most of the aliens migrated from Central Mexico. The study also found that most illegal aliens were low-skilled laborers searching for employment. Two-thirds were single and the remainder married. There was no category for single-parent families. The study did not include women who were engaged in employment.

Another study, by Parker Frisbe, focused on a 20-year longitudinal analysis of border patrol arrests.[9] The period of study was between 1946 and 1965, and the results show that the flow of illegal aliens was clearly affected by the changes in the economic status of agricultural enterprises within the two countries. It concluded that "push factors were of greater importance than pull factors" and that illegal aliens were not attracted to the U.S. but were forced out by Mexico's economic factors.

The last source of information comes from studies utilizing data from the illegal aliens themselves. These reports consist of personal interviews with apprehended and unapprehended illegal Mexican aliens. One of the most daring studies, using participant observation techniques, was the 1969 experiences of Bustamante.

In Julian Samora's study of illegal aliens, a research assistant (Bustamante) working for Samora assumed the role of an illegal alien. The INS was advised of the study, but not the details. The research assistant left all his identifying papers with a letter from the director of the project in the hands of a lawyer in a U.S. border city. The research assistant went to Mexico and assumed the identity and behavior of a poor Mexican. When he reached the Mexican border, assistance was given by a smuggler who aided a group of illegals in crossing the border. They were apprehended by the Border Patrol and sent to a detention center. A diary and research notes were sent to Samora in the form of letters. Contrary to the findings of previous studies, Bustamante reported that illegals were attracted to the U.S. because of opportunities for work. The process of crossing the border was dangerous and the illegal alien was exploited by the smuggler and rancher. All of the informants were men.

Samora collected data from 493 illegal aliens in detention centers and in the community.[10] He concluded that the movement of illegal aliens was a factor in creating social problems in the United States. Samora considered the illegal alien as creating a series

of problems in communities where they lived; these problems include housing, public health and welfare, deliquency, and crime. He also provided the historical background of illegal migration patterns. A profile of the illegal alien was presented with reasons why they immigrated illegally. All the informants were men.

The most recent study was conducted by Consuelo Lopez.[11] She investigated the differences in family adaptation between undocumented and resident families. The design was descriptive and exploratory. The two hypotheses were: the presence of security will result in resident aliens demonstrating more security in self and environment than undocumented aliens; and undocumented alien families will have a lower family role congruence than will resident families.

The sample consisted of twenty-five resident and twenty-five undocumented families chosen from the Maravilla Health Center in East Los Angeles. It took Lopez a two-year period to collect the data as some aliens were hesitant to be interviewed. The major assumption of the study was that immigrants will undergo a period of resocialization to meet behavioral expectations in America which will differ from those of Mexico. She also investigated the association between the independent variable immigrant status and the dependent variables of role congruence and family role conflict. Some of her conclusions were that illegal aliens had a strong desire to remain in this country; they felt less secure and more anxious than resident aliens; there was no difference in role conflict and role congruence in both groups; and both groups accepted egalitarian norms in family roles.

Lopez's study differed from the others in that the focus was now on the family unit as opposed to single men immigrating. She did not go in depth as to the type of welfare services used by both groups but only included parks, schools, and insurance plans. Another limitation was not inquiring as to the type of supportive services the informal network gave in time of need. The sample was drawn from a health center indicating that both groups knew how to use health resources.

Whereas Lopez concentrated on the family dynamics, Ramon Salcido investigated the use of services and measured perceived stress. Salcido's study examined the use of formal and informal community services between documented and undocumented alien families.[12] The aliens' experiences were viewed within a social

system perspective which focused upon the external systems of the economy, community, and service institutions. The sample consisted of twenty-five documented female aliens and twenty-five undocumented female aliens from Mexico.

The data indicated that undocumented aliens have fewer economic resources and less education than documented aliens. And there was less use of health and welfare services among the undocumented group. Both documented and undocumented aliens made use of the network for services. None of these studies, however, detect and define barriers which prevent the undocumented from maximizing their use of mental health services.

Advocacy Services: A Model For Mental Health

Advocacy can be divided into four areas of practice: (1) family advocacy, in which the social worker represents an individual or family; Hugh et al. recommend that the agency representative fight the battle with the system, with the ultimate goal of showing the client or family how to fight its own battles;[13] (2) community advocacy, in which a board or staff of an agency takes collective action to change a condition affecting the lives of the agency's clients; (3) legislative advocacy, which refers to "any individual, agency, or organization which attempts to influence the course of a bill or other legislative measure," according to Patti and Deal;[14] (4) ombudsmanship, the least familiar of advocacy functions, which "controls and regulates the impersonal, frequently unjust, operations of large bureaucracies such as government departments, universities, correctional institutions, and welfare agencies."[15]

Social workers engaged in mental health services must be capable of using all four interventions (or a combination of the four which best fits the client's situation) to assist the undocumented alien. As members of a mental health team, social workers possess the knowledge and professional skills needed to engage in advocacy.

The advocacy program should incorporate some basic principles as part of service delivery. Central to the concept of advocacy is that the undocumented have legal and consumer rights. Hence, advocates must view their undocumented clients as ordinary consumers, regardless of their backgrounds or ages. An inseparable corollary is the assumption of the human rights of each client. Showing respect to individuals regard-

less of their cultural background is an intrinsic part of service delivery, and the goal of the advocacy system should be to provide humane treatment and emotional support for each client, as well as specific information.

Another principle of advocacy is the provision of an environment conducive to the physical, intellectual, and emotional well-being of the undocumented within the health care institution. If the institution creates an environment inimical to the will-being of the undocumented patient, the advocate should notify the proper authorities within the institution. Maintaining maximum contact between the mental health institution and the community comprises the last and encompassing principle of advocacy service, because the isolation of mental health personnel from the Mexican community they serve has been a major factor in preventing effective delivery of services to that community.

Barriers

The application of these practices and principles of advocacy would serve to mitigate some of the problems which have been identified in the review of the literature. Barriers can be conceptualized in three distinct dimensions which inhibit the utilization of mental health services by undocumented aliens: problems within the individual; obstacles in the environment; and barriers within the institution. Lack of education, unfamiliarity with mental health services, and negative perceptions of institutions are the problems which inhibit the undocumented from using mental health services. The obstacles in the environment are restrictive eligibility requirements, insensitivity to Mexican cultural values, and communication problems.

The Individual

Counseling and consumer education are two direct forms of service the social worker can provide to the undocumented to make the most effective use of services. Counseling should provide information on what mental health services are available and to what degree they can be of benefit. Counseling should also describe institutional procedures and hospital procedures which are not understood because of language differences. Too often, this group is not familiar with what mental health services is about. All necessary information must be conveyed in a clear and concrete manner, without condescension.

The Environment

The social worker has an important role to play in making the environment responsive to the needs of undocumented aliens. Political action and brokerage advocacy are the indirect services in which the worker can be a partisan advocate for changes in the present Social Security and Medi-Caid Programs which restrict benefits. By lobbying directly with citizens' groups in the Mexican American community for these changes, the social worker can influence the legislative process at a governmental level useful to clients. Likewise, if immigration laws could be changed to allow amnesty for persons sixty-five and over who have resided in this country for more than five years, this would make a large percentage of the Mexican population and Mexican elderly eligible for SSI and Medi-Caid benefits.

Brokerage, on the other hand, entails acting as an intermediary between the client and existing services in the community.[16] Brokerage, in this context, recognizes the dependence of the individual on the social environment, and facilitates change by maximizing the resources available to the client.[17] For example, a Mexican senior seeking mental health services may be faced with inadequate housing, no medical or social security benefits, and no alien documentation. In such a case, the social worker should review the client's existing resources. If none exist, the worker would then seek out adequate resources for the client. In this way, brokerage expands the role of the advocate beyond the boundaries of the hospital setting to make sure that the client reaches the appropriate services.

The Institution

Advocacy services which confront the barriers created by the institution are both direct and indirect. Ombudsmanship deals directly with individuals within the health care institution, but research deals with individuals only indirectly. Ombudsmanship is concerned with correcting administrative problems and errors within the health institution. Unlike the broker, the ombudsman does not link up resources for needy clients, but pinpoints obstacles the institution presents to patients. Ombudsmanship provides an advocate to represent clients who believe their needs are not being met because of red tape or that they are being given the run-around by an insensitive staff.

Research, in contrast, approaches institutional change indirectly.[18] The advocate may investigate and document patterns of service complaints and interview clients to determine if they are satisfied with the services provided by the institutions. This research would verify if the services provided are those needed by service consumers and detect gaps in the services. Research also specifies the barriers in measurable terms which enable the advocate to predict events which may occur again if conditions are not changed.

Counseling and consumer education, political action and brokerage, ombudsmanship and research are all active practices in which social workers can engage. All should be pursued within mental health institutions so as to ensure the maximum utilization of existing services by undocumented aliens.

The following case history demonstrates the efficiency of such a system. The services provided are problem recognition, counseling, consumer education, and brokerage;

> Mr. A., sixty-five years of age, is an illegal alien from Guadalajara, Mexico. He speaks only Spanish. He has no schooling, so he cannot read in Spanish or English. Mr. A., has no family in the area; only the friend from whom he rents a small room, and with whom he shares food.
>
> Mr. A. has resided in the U.S. for more than twenty years and has paid Social Security contributions and taxes from his pay as a dishwasher just as native-born Americans do. He presently draws $80.00 a month from odd jobs he does in the neighborhood. Mr. A. is sick, yet he feels that he is not entitled to health and welfare benefits he supported with his taxes and Social Security contributions. He also fears deportation by the INS. Fortunately, he came to the attention of a social worker at the community health center. With assurance that he would not be turned over to the INS and that the services were free, Mr. A. received health screening at the center. Later diagnosis revealed Mr. A. had severe diabetes.

The social worker gained Mr. A.'s trust and recognized his lack of resources as the major obstacle to using the health and other services he needed. The advocate advised Mr. A. about current immigration laws which might make him eligible for resident alien status. As

a resident alienhe would be eligible for Medi-Cal and SSI provisions. After identifying Mr. A.'s reasons for not seeking health care, and informing him of his rights under immigration law and as a consumer, the advocate used brokerage to resolve his medical problems and get the paperwork underway for residency status and welfare benefits:

> The worker's first concern was obtaining the medication for Mr. A. He purchased the medication with petty cash funds alloted for that purpose. The worker then accompanied Mr. A. to a United Way-funded agency for assistance in applying for resident alien status. A week later, the worker accompanied Mr. A. to the welfare office to provide support, and to make sure he understood the necessary forms before signing them.

Mr. A.'s case shows how the advocate recognized the client's problem, overcame the language difficulty and lack of education, informed him of his legal and consumer rights, and showed him how to obtain the necessary services from the appropriate institution. Advocacy provided Mr. A. with the medical treatment he needed and served to connect him with the required services.

Conclusion

It is essential to the effectiveness of an advocacy program that the social work administration and the mental health administration agree on the purpose and scope of advocacy services, so that together they can provide a structure in which advocacy services can develop. Utilizing existing resources, wherever possible, maintaining close contact with the Mexican community the institution serves, adhering strictly to the basic humanitarian principles of advocacy, and working together, social workers can transcend the barriers that have prevailed against consumers within institutions, as well as overcoming the cultural and environmental obstacles to full utilization of mental health care services among the disadvantaged.

Notes

[1]Leo Grebler, Joan Moore, and Ralph Guzman. *The Mexican American People.* (New York: The Free Press, 1970).

[2]*Los Angeles Times.* (17 September 1972) 16.

[3]Commission of Western Hemisphere Immigration. *Report of the Commisaion.* (Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1969) 3-4.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Jorge A. F. Bustamante. "Through the Eyes of a Wetback: A Personal Experience." *Los Mojadoes: The Wetback Story.* Julian Samora, ed. (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971) 107-128.

[7]Whitney W. Hicks. "Economic Development and Fertility Change in Mexico." *Demography.* Vol. 1, No. 3(August, 1974) 407-421. Leo Grebler. *Mexican-American Study Project.* Advance Report 2 (Los Angeles: Division of Research, Graduate School of Business Administration, University of California, 1965). Jorge A. Bustamante. "The Wetback as Deviant: An Application of Labeling Theory." *American Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 77, No. 4(January, 1972) 709. Alejandro Portes. "Return of the Wetback." *Society.* (March/April, 1974) 40-46.

[8]Tim W. Dagadag. "Source and Regions and Composition of Illegal Mexican Immigration to California." *International Migration Review.* Vol. 9(Winter, 1975) 499-510.

[9]Parker Frisbe. "Illegal Migration from Mexico to the United States: A Longitudinal Analysis." *International Migration Review.* Vol. 9(Spring, 1975) 3-15.

[10]Julian Samora. *Los Majados: The Wetback Story.* South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1971).

[11]Consuelo Lopez. *Immigrant Status Security and Family Role Conflict: A Comparative Study of Resident Aliens and Undocumented Aliens from Mexico.* D.S.W. Dissertation (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1976).

[12]Ramon M. Salcido. "Undocumented Aliens: A Study of Mexican Families." *Social Work.* Vol. 24, No. 4 (July, 1979) 306-312.

[13]Howard Hugh, et al. "Relevant Agency Programs for the Large Urban Community." *Social Casework.* Vol. 51, No. 4(April, 1970) 203-204.

[14]Rino J. Patt and Ronald B. Dear. "Legislative Advocacy: A Path to Social Change." *Social Work.* Vol. 20, No. 2(March, 1975) 108-113.

[15]Donald Fritz. "The Advocacy Agency and Citizen Participation: The Case of the Administration on Aging and the Elderly." Paper presented at the 1978 *Annual Conference of the American Society for Public Administration.* (November, 1978).

[16]Ronald C. Frederico. *The Social Welfare Institution.* (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1976).

[17]Ibid.

[18]Orlin Malicher. "A Role for Social Workers in the Consumer Movement." *Social Work.* Vol. 18, No. 1 (January, 1973) 65-66.

Critique

With the data we have the evidence of need, with the proposed method, we have been offered a logical approach to difficult conditions, but what we need now is a method for overcoming the extraordinary conditions. Salcido's contribution is both an offering and a projection of one of a number of serious social problems in the United States. As an offering, this paper provides data sustaining the structure and validity of a model; as a projection, Salcido focuses the phenomena of United States/Mexican border relations as that situation concerns United States nationalism and Mexican aliens who are illegal residents, especially in southern California. The here and now situations, identified by Salcido, as they pertain to "minority" individuals in the United States, continue without effective intervention from social workers who are training in the mores of traditional social and behavioral science epistemology.

Nothing stands out so clearly as Salcido's statement that "Despite the recent attention focused on the special needs of the Mexican American, there is still a widespread lack, even among professionals, of a working knowledge and understanding of the problems facing this particular population." But the question is: Where would the American social worker receive the kind of training which Salcido claims they lack as a class? To put it another way, where would the social workers be significantly exposed to the works of such comprehensive social scholars as Rudolfo Alvarez, Kenneth Clark, Jonathan Kozol, Ivan D. Illich, and a number of others who have experience and discarded the Darwinist-based social and behavioral science of American institutions of learning? There is little

hope that the social worker would be able to carry out the responsibility of delivery without such exposure.

A key element in Salcido's proposal is that a system of delivery for undocumented Mexican aliens is needed for mental and physical health care. The author's assumption is that the "human rights" of each client is an "inseparable corollary" to health care delivery services; these are significant elements. The progressive stance must always focus on the human rights issue. But where is one to find a meaning of human rights in America which is unhyphenated, and one which ensures a sound and unambiguous meaning, providing a relevant basis for advocacy services? The N.A.A.C.P. of seventy years is a case in point--where either by special plea, advocacy, or turning to disruptive civil demand, the resulting condition shows cooptation, dissipation, delay, and dissolution.

It is helpful to turn to psycho/historical scholars who have not been steeped in the social Darwinist dogma and tradition when confronted with problems concerning human needs. *Celebration* by Ivan D. Illich (New York: Doubleday, 1969) is a careful study and an explicit view of the range of problems derived from America's nationalistic policy in the ghettos of Latin America and the United States. W.E.B. DuBois' *Souls of Black Folk* in 1903 demonstrated the causal nature of the problem which Salcido addresses. Jonathan Kozol's masterful study, *The Night is Dark and I Am Far From Home*, is a finely articulated exposé of the educational preparation for social workers. In *Dark Ghetto*, Kenneth Clark's introduction is a rich resource for forming a new structure for social advocacy production in the face of intransigence. Kwane Nkruma's *Consciencism* (London: Panaf, 1964) and John Kenneth Galbraith's celebrated *Affluent Society* introduce ideas that provide critical views of the American reality which are essentially required for the "Model of Advocacy Services for Mexican Undocumented Aliens with Mental Health Needs."

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Critique

Mexican undocumented aliens are and will continue to be a presence in the United States. This proposal cites a 1972 study of an estimated eight million illegal aliens in this country, a figure that has climbed sharply since that date. Positive contributions toward improving the living and working situations of this population are, therefore, necessary and important.

Salcido has incorporated useful research into the proposal and then has extended this to a model for social workers to use on behalf of their Mexican clients. There does need to be, however, in order to clarify the functions of advocacy, a sharper delineation made in the material between single alien needs and those of family units and between rural and urban population problems.

Another contribution Salcido could make is to implement the pro-advocacy position with a pamphlet or written format designed for workers in this field: students training to become social workers; social workers already employed by social service institutions; and community activists. While this format need not be as ambitious as, say, Judy Katz's *White Awareness: A Handbook for Anti-Racism Training* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), it could include specific strategies, exercises, even simulation games, as well as lists of available materials and services. A manual or handbook for use in the classroom or workshop, or in other appropriate situations, would lead to greater knowledge and understanding by the social worker of the particular needs and problems of the target population. One cannot underestimate the resistance or inertia of institutions to the advocacy concept, and the "Proposed Model" thus extended could be a strong agent for change.

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The Executive/Managerial Woman: An Annotated Bibliography. Charles C. Irby, Katherine B. Seibert. $3.00

Single issues of *Explorations* and the *Newsletter* are available for $5.00 each.

THE EDITOR NOTES

The issues affecting ethnics, minorities, and the poor have changed little throughout the years; the primary issue, undergirding all others, however, is social justice and its attainment. We are hopeful that the membership will share with others the celebration of ethnicity provided in this issue of the journal, for ethnicity is more than an academic concern.

As a visionary organization, NAIES seeks solutions to problems relating to social justice and the wedding of the academic and non-academic communities. The authors for this issue of *Explorations* have presented information reflecting the concerns of the organization as a whole, but this information equals nothing if you file it conveniently upon your well-organized bookshelf.

Charles C. Irby