DEFINITIONS OF SELF AND OTHER

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LITERATURE OF NATIVE AMERICANS AND CHICANOS

by

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...because no man is better than
another, any more than every man
is equal, simply because we are
all different from each other.

José Villarreal

with gratefulness to Lyle
and Charlie and Dr. Rohrer

I. INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM AND BACKGROUND

The purpose of this inquiry is to identify and comparatively examine definitions of self (those attitudes and values which constitute one's self-concept) and other (the attitudes and values of Anglo-Americans) as delineated in selected writings by Native Americans and Chicanos and as institutionalized in academic literature. Because Native Americans and Chicanos are subordinated in our society, it will be profitable to analyze some of their writings as self expressions. Minority definitions of self and other are vital because, as Shibutani observed, "To understand what men do we must know something about what each person [or group] means to himself" (Shibutani 1961:248). One aspect of one's self-concept is his concept of the larger group with whom he shares membership; definitions of Anglo-Americans proposed by Native American and Chicano poets will provide a subordinate view of the superordinate population.

The basis for this analysis rests in five assumptions: 1) that "Art...including literature, does not exist in a vacuum, and reflects--and helps to shape--the lives of those who produce it" (Henderson 1973:4); 2) that, via social interaction through the medium of language, man has created for him and creates for himself his conception of "Who I am," his self, and his conception of the others with whom he interacts; 3) "that cultural

values which have been institutionalized in certain segments of the society are represented in the communications of individuals from those segments" (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1968a:373) and 4) can be identified by means of content analysis; and 5) that human behavior is organized and directed (the organization and direction being supplied by an individual's attitude toward himself) and, by means of that organization and direction, predictable (Kuhn 1967:120, 133).

That this inquiry concerns sociology is demonstrated by the sociological nature of the above assumptions. Further, literature by minority authors is one means to affect social change, particularly when discriminatory arrangments have hindered the social development of minority populations. The inquiry is, perhaps more importantly, relevant to sociology because it provides a subordinate group perspective on life in the United States.

Two primary problems encountered in attempting to collect data to be used in a study of literature by Native Americans and Chicanos* are "the legacy left by those who came before" (Hirsch 1973:12), that is, the information provided by Anglo-Americans analyzing facts and fiction concerning the two minority groups,

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* I use the "labels" Native American, Chicano and Anglo-American, as well as Indian, Mexican American and white, to identify the three peoples to be discussed. The term Chicano refers to the approximately five million Americans who came to the United States from Mexico, primarily, or whose parents or grandparents did so. A second dimension in defining the term is that the native language of a Chicano (or his parents or grandparents) is Spanish (Casavantes 1970:26). The term Anglo-American is used as it is by writers of these two minority groups: in reference to white Americans.

and locating and obtaining materials (academic and literary) written by members of the minority groups. The first problem has become even more acute as Native Americans and Chicanos have become "in" subjects for sociologists, editors, linguists, educators--almost all white. Obtaining sufficient minority-written literature to balance the contrasting abundance of Anglo studies remains difficult.

There are several possible reasons for the dearth of literature written by Native Americans and Chicanos. For one, personal observations and discussions at Midwest Sociological Society meetings suggest that a relatively small number of Native Americans and Chicanos are involved in academe, i.e., in positions conducive to sociologically analyzing these two minority groups. Further, in the not-so-distant past, Anglo-American domination of publishing houses and publishers' interest in English language publication (ostensibly because of lack of demand for Spanish-language materials in a nation in which the large majority belong to neither ethnic nor racial minorities) forced Chicano authors to publish in the few Spanish-language media in the United States or in Mexico (Haslam 1970b: 700). "The general situation that impelled Quinto Sol [Publications] into being [in 1967] was the virtual Anglo monopoly of social science studies and characterizations of Mexican Americans, and the consequent distortion--sometimes subtle, sometimes not so subtle--that accompanies this academic colonialism" (Blauner 1971:55-6). In 1971 Blauner reported an informal survey of social science bibliographies in which he observed that less

than ten percent of the literature about Chicanos was written by Chicanos, whereas over half of the materials dealing with Blacks and Asians were written by Blacks and Chinese Americans or Japanese Americans, and an even greater percentage of materials concerning Jews written by Jews (Blauner 1971:56). Likewise, books about Indians were "almost exclusively the work of white authors, and reflected the white man's view of the Indian, his culture and history" (Dillingham 1973:37).

Recently, however, to whatever extent as a result of the "brown" and "red power" movements and the critical acclaim accorded to such writers as Cherokee-Kiowa N. Scott Momaday (Pulitzer Prize, 1969), attention has been focused on the importance of academic analyses of the two groups by Native Americans and Chicanos themselves. Also, the value of their literature, including documentaries, fiction, poetry and drama has been acknowledged and the lack of means of dissemination of manuscripts which hampered Native American and Chicano writers ten years ago is much less a factor today, largely because of the greater number of Native American and Chicano publishers.

In 1961 at the American Indian Conference in Chicago tribal and urban leaders issued a Declaration of Indian Purpose which stated in part:

> We believe in the inherent right of all people to retain spiritual and cultural values and that the free exercise of these values is necessary to the normal development of any people....

In concluding the Declaration, the participants asked for technical and financial assistance in order that Native Americans

TABLE 1

A COMPARISON OF POPULATIONS--NATIVE AMERICANS, CHICANOS, BLACKS, AND THE TOTAL POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES

	% of U.S. population	Median age, both sexes	Life expectancy	Years of school completed for those 25 years and older	% of high school graduates for those 25 years and older	Median income, males, 16 years and older	Median income, females, 16 years & older	% of civilian labor force unemployed, males, 16 yrs. & older	% of civilian labor force unemployed, females, 16 yrs. & older	% of population below poverty level
NATIVE AMERICANS	.4 of 1[a]	20.4	44	9.8	33.3	$3509	$1697	11.6	10.2	38.3
CHICANOS	2[a]	18.6	—[b]	8.1	25.8	$4735	$1892	6.1	8.9	27.7
BLACKS	11	22.3	—[b]	9.8	31.4	$4158	$2041	6.3	7.7	34.8
UNITED STATES	100	28.1	69	12.1	52.3	$6444[c]	$2328[c]	3.9	5.2	13.7

SOURCE: U.S. Bureau of the Census--data compiled from census statistics, 1969 to 1973.

[a]In 1970 the Bureau of the Census identified 763,596 people as "American Indian" and 4,532,435 as being of "Mexican origin" (not to be confused with the total population of those of Spanish origin of 9,072,602).

[b]Data unavailable. [c]U.S. figures for median income are for those 14 years of age and older.

might "regain in the America of the space age some measure of the adjustment they enjoyed as the original possessors of their native land" (Witt 1972:216, 219). In much the same spirit, Chicanos are seeking means by which to obtain in full the rights guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, namely, "civil liberties, property rights, cultural rights and religious freedom" (González, Rudolfo 1972:110). As Table 1 indicates, economically and educationally Native Americans and Chicanos are disadvantaged relative to the United States population as a whole. Economically, circumstances are not as dire for Chicanos as they are for Native Americans.

The ultimate goals of the "red" and "brown power" movements have been defined as self-determination for Native Americans and Chicanos, the opportunity for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness as defined by Native Americans and Chicanos. The immediate goal of both movements, however, focuses upon gaining a voice which is more than that of the superordinate community, i.e., the ability to affect society in order that Native Americans and Chicanos might control their own destinies. As Rudolfo González has written, "There is no inspiration without identifiable images, there is no conscience without the sharp knife of truthful exposure, and ultimately, there are no revolutions without poets" (González, Rudolfo 1972:1). In addition, the writings of these minority members serve as expressions of their viewpoints to the larger society and dominant population.

II. A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The first section of the review of the literature focuses upon the sociology of literature, Mead's concept of the self, the methodology of content analysis, and the concept of stereotype, as these areas relate to a content analysis of minority group poetry. Section two focuses on stereotypic roles and values of Native Americans, Chicanos and Anglo-Americans as they have been institutionalized in the literature.

The Technical Literature

Sociology of Literature

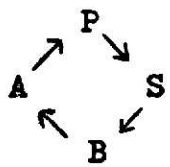
Readings in the sociology of literature have supported my belief that "Art...including literature, does not exist in a vacuum, and reflects--and helps to shape--the lives of those who produce it" (Henderson 1973:4). What and how the artist writes interweaves with the world in which he lives, with the groups to which he belongs and relates, with his audience, with his socioecoromic and occupational position. Chaddha supports this thesis in her summarization of Mueller's and Albrecht's theories on the relationship of literature and society; that is, one can consider the effects of the society on the artist--is he reflecting his own life and tastes, reacting to those forces which influence and control his life, or "escaping" via his writing? Or, on the other hand, one can study the effect of the artist

upon society--is he using his art to influence others, to maintain social control, to provide a means of escape, or is his work meant to be an autonomous (to whatever extent that may be possible) experience? (Chaddha 1963:8). The author may use his art as a journalist, simply to share facts, to inform and report; he may use it to entertain. He may also use his vehicle to share his attitudes and emotions; to persuade or convince; to incite or motivate others to act; to maintain (or define?) group identity, to label and/or characterize the "insiders" and the "outsiders," to define the argot of a particular group (Hertzler 1965:38-65); to try, directly or indirectly, to "impose a vision of life that seems to him desirable" (Orwell 1968:41). Ultimately, in its author's concern with and delineation of human social worlds, their adaptations to them, and their desires to change them, literature is "perhaps one of the most effective sociological barometers of the human response to social forces" (Laurenson 1972:17).

The Self

In view of the great range of available possibilities regarding authors' motivations and the equally great range of effects their works might have it is necessary to focus an inquiry of this nature in its substantive approach. The focus for this study is analysis of self, using George Herbert Mead's definition of the self as being essentially a social structure which arises in social experience (Mead 1934:140). A person has created for him and creates for himself his conception of

"Who I am," his identity, his self-image, and his conception of "who" and "what" others should be via social interaction and language. The individual's conception of his <u>self</u>, based on his perception of the ways others respond to him, directs his behavior. That behavior, in turn, influences the responses of others toward that individual. Kinch (1973:225-7) depicts this concept graphically:



where S = an individual's self-concept

P = the individual's perception of the responses of others toward him

A = the actual responses of others toward the individual and

B = the individual's behavior relevant to the social situation.

The means by which one moves from S→ B→ A→ P→ S, by which the individual defines and redefines his <u>self</u>, are what Mead labeled the <u>me</u> and the <u>I</u>. The <u>me</u> is that part of the self which incorporates one's language, the groups and manners of those groups to which one belongs, one's culture. The organized set of attitudes of others and their corresponding responses which one internalizes--the generalized other who comprise one's community--are the means whereby the "community enters as a determining factor into the individual's thinking" (Mead 1934: 154-5) in defining who he is or ought to be.

The me manifests itself as the conventional, habitual part of the self. The individual's behavior relevant to the social situation, though influenced by the me, is embodied in that part of the self which is spontaneous, creative, innovative, incalculable--the I. Specifically, Mead defined the I as the response of the organism to the attitudes of others (1934:173). The me censors the I in determining the sorts of expression which the I can utilize, although it cannot define specifically what action the I will take (1934:210).

Having organized the individual's attitudes of others into the organized social or group attitudes, the self "reaches its full development...by becoming an individual reflection of the general systematic pattern of social or group behavior in which it and others are all involved..." (Mead 1934:158). Feelings of superiority are a means by which the self is realized and preserved. As Mead notes, "We have to distinguish ourselves from other people and this is accomplished by doing something which other people cannot do, or cannot do as well" (1934:204, 208). When the sense of superiority is expressed functionally (e.g., in terms of one's occupation), "then it becomes not only entirely legitimate, but it is the way in which individuals do change the situations in which they live. We change things by the capacities which we have that other people do not have" (1934:208).

A person (or group) defines its self only as it is able to enter into its own experience and become an object to itself (just as other individuals are objects to him) by taking into consideration the attitudes of others toward it. Language is

the medium by which an individual is able to become an object to himself and thereby to identify his self. As Mead explains, "Language does not simply symbolize a situation or object which is already there in advance; it makes possible the existence or appearance of that situation or object, for it is part of the mechanism whereby that situation or object is created" (1934:78). Humans, then, define their social worlds not by boundaries set by territory or by formal group membership, but by the limits of effective communication (Shibutani 1961:130). Among artists using language--poets, novelists, folk singers--it is appropriate to look for self-expression in their communications.

Content Analysis

Content analysis, perhaps more than any other research method available to social scientists and humanists, has been marked by a diversity of purpose, technique and subject matter (Holsti 1969a:355). In accordance, the definition of content analysis has evolved from that used by Berelson in 1952--"A research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson 1952:18)--to that suggested by Budd, Thorpe and Donohew in 1967--"'A systematic technique for analyzing content and message handling....The analyst is concerned not with the message per se, but with the larger questions of the process and effects of mass communication'" (R.W. Budd, R.K. Thorpe, L. Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications, cited in Carney 1972:5). In the who--says what--to whom--how--and with what effect

formula of any communication, the content analyst measures the what, the message; from systematic and objective identification of specified characteristics within the text, the analyst may make inferences regarding the other four elements of the communication process. His measurement at that point moves between the lines of content to analyze data extracted.

Content analysis "rests on the assumption that cultural values which have been institutionalized in certain segments of the society are represented in the communications of individuals from those segments" (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1968a:373). The content analyst assumes that 1) actual relationships can be established between the content and the intent of the author and/or between the content and the perception, interpretation and impact of that content upon its audience, and 2) that the study of content is meaningful in that it is accepted as a means of communication between the producer and his audience (and the analyst).

Content analysis, according to Janis, provides a means of testing three types of hypotheses which state a relationship between

1) (a) a communicator's environment, his position in the social structure, his personality traits, or his intentions and (b) the kinds of signs which occur in his communication.

2) (a) the kinds of signs which occur in communications and (b) the reactions of the audiences (such as changes in attitudes) which result from perceiving those signs.

3) (a) one kind of sign in a communication and (b) another kind of sign which occurs in the same communication... (Janis 1949:56).

As Pool observes, one could do a content analysis of messages in sealed bottles dropped overboard by unknown persons and then washed ashore, but in terms of application to that which we perceive as reality (or, more accurately, as the author's image of reality), such a study would make little sense (Pool 1959:222).

The most widely used method of measuring the characteristics of content has been quantitative or frequency analysis of the manifest content, that information which actually appears in the document. In its simplest form, frequency analysis involves the simple counting of units (is something there or is it not?). At a more detailed level, the analyst attempts to determine the degree of occurrence of the units, and may compare the number of units against an ideal type or the number of like units used by another subject (Carney 1972:150). This method traditionally assumed that 1) frequency was a valid indicator of the importance or value of any given factor and 2) that each unit of content should be given equal weight (Holsti 1969b:122). (More recently, some studies have attempted to increase validity by ranking, in terms of value or intensity, units of content.) Whether or not frequency is an accurate measure of intensity of attitude has been and is subject for debate. As Pool notes, in that the analyst is measuring attitude as it is expressed in text rather than in the covert feelings of the author, frequency analysis is "probably reasonable for a large class of cases" (Pool 1959: 194).

Quantitative or frequency analysis, which is concerned with the presence or absence of given characteristics for purposes

of inference (George 1959:9), of necessity includes qualitative or non-frequency aspects, "for it both originates and culminates in qualitative considerations" (Kracauer 1952:637). In the initial stages of category formation and in the coding of the content, the investigator will need to be familiar with the customary meanings of words for the users of the language and with the language habits of the communicator (George 1959:27). As systematic as I may be in this study, I am implicated in the too subjective decisions of defining themes used in the poetry by virtue of the fact that my assumptions tend to be those of the dominant white middle-class culture. That I focus on certain words or symbols to begin with is based on the fact that I attribute certain meanings to the words selected. As Steiner explains, this cultural abyss is a high barrier for any Anglo doing scholarly research on or seeking human knowledge of a minority culture, "for the tribal man cfor example] has so many vastly different values, ideas of time and earth, beliefs about human life and religion, that he may use the words of the white man but still be speaking a wholly different language" (Steiner 1968: 292).

Though content analysis historically has been primarily associated with the field of journalism and the counting of column inches and comparison of page location and headline size, it has been used in anthropology, education, history, literature, philology, psychiatry, psychology and sociology. It has been used for purposes as different as settling questions of disputed authorship, determining the goals and means to those goals of

comic strip characters, noting trends or changes in content over a period of time, establishing the correct chronology of an author's work, inferring enemy intention from propaganda, and analyzing the treatment of ethnic minorities in short stories published in popular periodicals.

Content analysis is a "'nonreactive' or 'unobtrusive'" research technique (Holsti 1969b:16); that is, the analyst does not have the opportunity to influence his subject. The content is static, it has been defined before the researcher begins to use it. He cannot, by means of his presence or analysis, alter the original document. This does not suggest, of course, that the analyst cannot influence the outcome of the analysis. As noted, the researcher can decidedly influence the results of a study even in defining themes to be counted. Other advantages in analyzing content rather than behavior are that content can be copied and subjected more easily to the investigations of others; texts are often more readily available than a subject population; and content, continuing through time, provides an excellent means for studies of social change (Stone 1966:19).

On the other hand, one must recognize that the materials available may only tell a part of any story, and, further, that content analysis in any one study will focus only on some aspects of that story (Carney 1972:15). The content may be broken down into units that, when taken out of context, distort the message. Inferences may be drawn from the content to the state of the communicator, his audience and their social situations "without

recognition or assessment of the isomorphisms implied" (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1968a:376).

The primary problem becomes whether or not the interpretation of the content exhibits the viewpoint of its author, or that of its analyst. Various tests have been developed to measure the validity of a content analysis. Subjecting the data to a trained panel for comparative analysis is an effective means which is not within the scope of this study. The validity of the results of a content analysis may also be assessed by correlating the results with the results of external criteria, such as other research (statistical and historical analyses, participant observations and surveys).

In summary, content analysis is that "phase of information processing in which communication content is transformed, through objective and systematic application of categorization rules, into data that can be summarized and compared" (Holsti 1969b:3). Content analysis cannot prove the bias of a writer; it cannot define precisely what he had in mind when he wrote, nor what effect he hoped to instill in his audience. Rather, content analysis provides a description of the manifest content of any particular piece of communication and enables the researcher to indicate the recurrence or absence of particular symbols, symbols which have been given certain significance or meaning by him, and from that description to infer what he will about the social situation of the author, his intent, and/or the effect upon the audience of the communication.

Stereotype

Among the concepts borne by literary content describing dominant and minority peoples is stereotype. Stereotype has been widely used by social scientists since Walter Lippmann first used the term in 1922, but it has never been precisely defined (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1968b: 259). The term refers to a mental image of a group of persons held by another group which attributes certain characteristics to the group in an oversimplified, distorted manner. A stereotype is a shorthand method of identifying and classifying a group by means of a highly exaggerated picture of some few traits, good or bad. It is an expression of what Berelson and Salter noted in their analysis of magazine fiction: "Heterogeneity breeds generality," that is, the heterogeneity of a group may necessitate (in their study, on the part of authors whose fiction was examined) use of the broadest symbols of identity of a group to facilitate recognition (Berelson and Salter 1946:187-8). As Robinson observed in his study of the Mexican in American literature, "The dark-skinned man is rarely seen, even by those who wish him well, in the reality of his individual being" (e.g., Ralph Ellison's "invisible man") (Robinson 1963:67). The use of stereotypes, in literature as well as in human social worlds, leaves little room for individual variation. Stereotypes tend to be based on preconceived notions rather than direct experience (Hoult 1969:319), and are resistant to modification, even by new, direct experience. They serve as hypotheses: by means of stereotypes we are able to predict, and thereby prepare to deal with, the behavior (expected) of others.

Mention has been made of the "superordinate" Anglo-American population, superordinate referring to those in a position to impose their cultural, technological, organizational, or legal ways on others, and to control the economic benefits--jobs, salaries--available to others. By definition, a population which defines itself as superordinate must have a subordinate population. The superordinate defines himself as virtuous, industrious, highly motivated, and God-fearing. He defines his subordinates as "lazy by nature, morally degenerate, unintelligent, and inherently inferior" (de la Garza 1973:7). As Romano-V points out, self-definition of the superordinate population as superior is not, in the United States, a characteristic only of the Anglo. The dominant population, even if ethnic or racial minority members, tend to define those "beneath" as

> fatalistic, resigned, apathetic, tradition oriented, tradition bound, emotional, impetuous, volatile, affected, non-goal-oriented, uncivilized, unacculturated, non-rational, primitive, irrational, unorganized, uncompetitive, retarded, slow learners, underachieving, underdeveloped, or just plain lazy

and certainly deprived. The causes of a group's inferior status are "somewhere within the minds, within the personalities, or within the culture of those who are economically, politically, or educationally out of power" (Romano-V 1967:7). Their inferior status, in other words, cannot be altered merely by changing the dominant orientation toward life and toward the subordinates, but requires that the subordinated populations themselves act to reduce their powerlessness.

Stereotypic Roles and Values as Institutionalized in the Literature

Native Americans

Anglo-Americans have defined and reacted to Native Americans in a number of ways: as dead, dehumanized museum objects (Josephy 1971a:155); as noble superhumans--the mighty warriors; as depraved, barbarous subhumans--the wino, the red power militant facing newsmen; as "menacing but stupid creatures" simply "fading off into the sunset" (Byler 1974:546-9). Their use of English, in literature or on television and radio, is haltingly highlighted with "ughs" and "me'ums." Rarely, Byler concludes, are Indians in literature given the opportunity to behave as "mere human beings" (Byler 1974:547).

Indians have been stereotyped as being lazy, apathetic, uncommunicative, dependent, superstitious, and indecisive. Not so often is mention made that for many years Native Americans have been defined as legal wards of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and have neither had nor been able to make a number of decisions for themselves. As LaDonna Harris, Cherokee and founder of Americans for Indian Opportunity explained, the Indian who is repeatedly told by whites that he is incapable of doing or does not need to do anything for himself comes to "think of himself as he is thought of in his community"--a self-fulfilling prophecy. "This kind of stereotyping," says Harris, "is one of the most vicious forms of discrimination" (Gridley 1972:90).

Dominican monks in 1544 described Indians as being not acquisitive, and still today, observes D'Arcy McNickle, whites

complain of this characteristic in Indians (McNickle 1962:8). Haddox, noting the idea of present-orientation among Indians, explains that the languages of some tribes have verbs with only a present tense. References to the past or future are inferred from the context of the statement (Haddox 1973:65). Carl Sweezy, an Arapahoe, explained, "We enjoyed time, they (whites) measured it" (Vogel 1972:265).

Haddox further characterizes the Indian way of life as having a strong sense of community, interpersonal harmony and generosity, all an outgrowth of the extended family common to the traditional, if not contemporary, Indian family (Haddox 1973:63). Lawrence Jaramillo, governor of the Isleta, New Mexico, Pueblo, was quoted by Stan Steiner, "'When the Anglo prays, he prays for what he wants, for himself....The last words of the Indian prayer are these: "If there is anything left, let it be for me"'" (Steiner 1968:105).

Vine Deloria, Jr., concludes his observations of what Indians, as defined by stereotypes, are supposed to be by commenting, "The more we try to be ourselves the more we are forced to defend what we have never been. The American public feels most comfortable with the mythic Indians of stereotype-land who were always THERE." Most whites are "still suspicious that the Indian way of life is dreadfully wrong...that there is, in fact, something un-American about Indians..." (Deloria 1969:10, 12). The only good Indian is, if not a "dead Indian," one who exists where whites do not.

Chicanos

In popular American stereotypes Mexican Americans are considered quaint and threatening, asleep at the foot of a neon cactus (an image perpetuated in titles of academic analyses [Hirsch 1973:12], e.g., The Mexican-American: An Awakening Minority, edited by Manual Servin), or easily offended, intensely jealous, cruel, and efficient with a knife (Ríos 1969:15). As J. Edgar Hoover warned three years ago, "You never have to bother about a President being shot by a Puerto Rican or Mexicans. They don't shoot very straight. But if they come at you with a knife, beware" ("J. Edgar Hoover Speaks Out With Vigor," 1970:16).

The Chicano character has been defined as being a direct reflection of his Mexican, i.e., village-folk, cultural heritage. Characteristics often noted include the importance to Chicanos of familial and other primary relationships; lack of time-consciousness, the mañana syndrome; submissiveness, acceptance of conformity; the fact that aesthetic and personal satisfactions are more important than a dynamic, pragmatic way of life (Cabrera 1963:157; Morales 1972:6; Dworkin 1971:76). Like the Native American, the Mexican American has been depicted as the noble, gregarious savage and as the emotionally unhampered, picaresque product of an unsterilized society (Robinson 1963:68) who is oriented to the present and unable to defer gratification. More often than not the term Mexican American brings to mind a migrant worker or a wetback, positions for which "they" are suited according to stereotypes in that they are improvident, undependable, irresponsible, childlike, indolent, and unclean (Simmons 1961:64).

Their values are directed toward tradition, fatalism, resignation, high regard for authority, paternalism, reluctance to change and greater concern for being than for doing (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1970:7). Or it may be a situation of a cultural fear of challenging an authority whose language may not be understood, a fear compounded by not having enough money, support, or legal expertise to challenge the authority (Morales 1972:6). The Spanish-speaking person, Lyle Saunders suggests, is, simply, more likely to accept his circumstances, "'to resign himself to whatever destiny brings'"--or does not bring--him. The Anglo, not so simply, believes it is his duty to struggle, to master the problems and difficulties that beset him (Lyle Saunders, "Cultural Differences and Medical Care," cited in Morales 1972:5). Further, Mexican Americans are stereotyped as being promiscuous, mysterious, unpredictable and hostile toward Anglos. It is not recognized by those who hold such stereotypes that "The whole nature of the dominant-subordinant relationship does not make for frankness on the part of Mexicans or encourage them to face up directly to Anglo-Americans in most intergroup contacts" (Simmons 1961:65).

Octavio I. Romano-V soundly criticizes a number of sociologists, including Ruth Tuck, Lyle Saunders and Julian Samora for perpetuating stale anti-Mexican prejudices in the disguise of social scientific scholarship (Romano-V 1968:34). His primary target is Celia S. Heller, author of Mexican-American Youth: Forgotten Youth at the Crossroads. For example, instead of saying Mexican Americans are lazy, she writes, "The combination

of stress on work and rational use of time...forms little or no part of the Mexican-American socialization process" (Heller 1966: 38). "The kind of socialization that Mexican-American children generally receive at home is not conducive to the development of the capacities needed for advancement in a dynamic industrialized society" (1966:37). In her view, Mexican Americans tend to stress close family ties, honor, masculinity, living in the present, and the notion that inactivity and leisure are dignified, worthwhile goals, and, therefore, they fail to develop habits of self-discipline and time manipulation. "To this day probably most Mexican-American parents continue to be unaware of the extent to which each child's chances for advancement are hampered by the large number of siblings," and, further, "We should keep in mind the fact that [Mexican American children] have first entered school having already acquired a relative inability for and disinterest in the success tasks that are commonly set in school" (1966:41), although they do have better manners than do Anglo children (1966:37). And "there has been some comment in the sociological literature on the lack of internal differentiation among Mexican-Americans as compared with most other groups, in terms of schooling, occupation, and income...this continues to be largely the case" (1966:15), for, after all, "A Mexican is a Mexican." "In summary, Celia S. Heller believes that virtually all Mexican Americans are the same [she does note a <u>few</u> exceptions], that they behave like foreigners [even second and third generation Mexican American youth tend to speak with an accent

(Heller 1966:30)], that the parents are their children's own worst enemies, and that they are fatalistically resigned to all of this" (Romano-V 1968:34-5).

Steve Gonzales satirizes the acquisitive nature of Anglos for gadgets and "the ultimate" in "The Advertisement" by the American Ethnic Supply Company for the sale of the Mark IV MEXICAN AMERICAN, "the first model to offer you that long-hoped for engineering breakthrough--Multipox Stereotypification," and in doing so summarizes too well the various stereotypes Anglo-Americans hold of Mexican Americans. Simply by turning a dial, one can select the particular Mexican American he needs to suit his particular purpose:

> (1) a familially faithful and fearfully factional folk-fettered fool
> (2) a captivating, cactus-crunching, cow-clutching caballero
> (3) a charp, chick-chasing, chili-chomping cholo
> (4) a brown-breeding, bean-belching border bounder
> (5) a raza-resigned, ritual-racked rude rural relic
> (6) a peso-poor but proud, priest-pressed primitive
> (7) a grubby but gracious, grape-grabbing greaser
> (Gonzales, Steve 1967:12).

But not all stereotypes of Mexican Americans are negative, as one might think Gonzales is suggesting. These people are also stereotyped as musical, romantic (not very realistic), quaint and friendly (but not too bright), and lovers of flowers (Simmons 1961:66; Carranza 1969:40).

Dworkin observed in his article that the social science literature was devoid of studies which analyze Mexican American self-images. He studied native-born and foreign-born Mexican Americans (NBMA and FBMA) of the "low type"--those who economically and socially might be the concern of welfare and action

agencies, rather than the "high type" who more possibly have been assimilated into the Anglo middle class. Native-born Mexican Americans tended to see themselves as emotional, unscientific, authoritarian, materialistic, old-fashioned, poor, uneducated, having little interest in education, mistrusted, proud, lazy, indifferent, and unambitious. Another example, perhaps, of a self-fulfilling prophecy seen in a people so labeled by the dominant population for so long? Foreign-born Mexican Americans, on the other hand, characterized themselves as proud, religious, gregarious, friendly, happy, field workers, racially tolerant, practical and well-adjusted. Dworkin attributed the differences between the two groups to differences in their point of comparison in measuring their present socioeconomic situation. The NBMAs compared their status to that of the dominant Anglo society, the FBMAs to their former even lower class status in Mexico (Dworkin 1971:72-8). Of primary importance in Dworkin's study is that the distinction observed between the NBMAs and the FBMAs should force the researcher to be wary of collectively labeling Chicanos.

One indication of values generally attributed to Mexican Americans is those values included on the Mexican Family Attitude Scale as usually differentiating between the Mexican American and the non-Mexican American or between the ethnocentric Chicano and the assimilated Mexican- or Spanish-American. The list includes loyalty to family group, respect for adults, belief in strict child-rearing practices, present-time orientation, and the need to defend one's honor at all costs when

threatened (Ramirez 1970:69), the spirit of machismo, that a man would "rather die on his feet than live on his knees" (Haddox 1970:34).

One Chicana expressed the importance of respect for the aged to Robert Coles in his study, The Old Ones of New Mexico, "'You should tell the Anglos about our old men and women....I see on television how the Anglos treat their old people: to the garbage heap they go. For me my parents and my husband's parents are the most important people in the world--along with our priest, of course'" (Coles 1973:xi).

In his "Mexican American Devil's Dictionary," Galindo defines Mexican American as

> Chicano, Hispano, Latino, Mexican, Latinoamericano, Boy, Latin American, Legless war vet, Spanish-surnamed, Spanish American. People who refuse to go back to where they came from, namely, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, California, etc. (Galindo 1973:48-9).

The definition points to the diversity of the Mexican American population; the people living in the southwestern portion of what is today the United States were at one time Indian (before the Spanish), Spanish (1595-1823), then Mexican (1823-49), and since that time, if only nominally, Americans. (While most Chicanos do live in the five states mentioned by Galindo, there are hundreds of concentrations in other parts of the United States.)

The term Chicano, whatever its origin, was at one time used by Mexican Americans in an insulting sense referring to lower class Mexican Americans. Recently, the term has been used to identify the more militant, more politicized and often

youthful Mexican Americans whose activities tend to make the headlines. The term is not applicable to all Mexican Americans (though all Chicanos are Mexican American); among older Mexican Americans it tends to remain a term of disapprobation rather than unification (Simmen 1971:xii-xiii). But for the politicized Mexican American who does define himself as Chicano, the word has importance in being the "one unique word of the Mexican American people. Its derivation is strictly internal; it owes nothing to the Anglo penchant for categorizing ethnic groups" (Rendón 1971: 324-5). As the poet Elizondo has written,

> ...I'm Chicano,
> because that's the word I named me.
> None has given me that name,
> I heard it, and I have it.
> . . . . . (Elizondo 1972:25).

"Through the use of the term, he identifies himself as a member of La Raza, and he recognizes his mestizo heritage: part Indian, part Spanish, but now Chicano" (Rodrigues 1973:724). Philip Ortego suggests that the spirit of the word Chicano might be compared to that of the word Black, as Mexican-American might be compared to Afro-American, and Mexican to Negro (Simmen 1972a:54).

In 1971, Simmen defined Chicano as "'A dissatisfied American of Mexican descent whose ideas regarding his position in the social and economic order are, in general, considered to be liberal or radical and whose statements and actions are often extreme and sometimes violent'" (Simmen 1971:xiii). Just a year later, the definition had greatly mellowed and, because of that, perhaps became more acceptable and more applicable to a larger number of Mexican Americans: "'An American of Mexican descent

who attempts through peaceful, reasonable, and responsible means to correct the image of the Mexican American to improve the position of this minority in the American social structure'" (Simmen 1972b:55).

Some of the Mexican American poets define themselves as Chicano; I would suggest that the term is applicable to all of them in that they are all attempting "to improve the position of this minority" by means of their poetry and at times through political action (e.g., Corky González, who wrote the first work of poetry published by Chicanos for Chicanos <u>Yo Soy Joaquin</u> and founded the Crusade for Justice in Denver, and José Ángel Gutiérrez, founder of the La Raza Unida Party and president of the Crystal City, Texas, school board in 1970).

Anglo-Americans

Stereotypic characterizations of Anglo-Americans are most often established by Anglos themselves, without regard to the positive or negative aspects (for themselves or others) of the attribute. Those few <u>recorded</u> minority group stereotypes of Anglo-Americans tend to be based on the minority group's perceptions of the attitudes of Anglos toward the minority group. Not being able to identify the racial or ethnic background of many of the sources available, it is not always possible to discern which group is doing the labeling. Nonetheless, it is possible to portray, to some extent at least, Anglos as seen by themselves and others.

As Cabrera notes, it is the characteristics and value systems of the Anglo-American middle class which are most often

used in projecting the primary values and behavior goals most prized in America (Cabrera 1963:156). Anglo-Americans advocate the spirit of the Protestant ethic (hard work, thrift, material gain, self-reliance and self-determination) and individualism (aggressiveness, independence, optimism); have faith in progress through technology; insist upon personal hygiene; are puritanical, and value education, personal efficiency, stimulation of competition, the future (deferred gratification), punctuality, scientific rationalization, youthfulness, man's perfectibility, and conformity. They tend to have greater concern for doing than for being and for modernity than for tradition (stereotypes taken from Robinson 1963:vii; Cabrera 1963:156-7; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 1970:7; Haddox 1970:26).

As a gross comparative illustration, Hopis, for example, have traditionally believed in asking permission of Mother Earth to live upon her land; the Anglo-American has tended to believe that the land was his, to be mastered, to be used (exploited) for his benefit. Time magazine reporters Ed Magnuson and Keith Johnson wrote in 1970, "Things may get better economically for the Hopis. Coal has been found on Hopi land, and a strip mine is scheduled to open this year" (Magnuson 1970:16). The reporters failed to observe that many Hopi, as well as Navajo, did not want this devastation, this economic "benefit." It is ironic that the motto of the $11.5 million United States pavilion at Expo '74 in Spokane was first expressed by a Native American, Suquamish Chief Seattle in 1854: "The earth does not belong to man, man belongs to the earth" ("Man's Ownership of Earth in Contention at Spokane," 1974:20H).

In Dworkin's study of native- and foreign-born Mexican Americans, the foreign-born Mexican Americans identified Anglos as progressive, democratic, proud, friendly, proper and respectable, and religious. Native-born Mexican Americans characterized them as, among other things, prejudiced, snobbish, having little family loyalty, tense and restless, and hypocritical (Dworkin 1971:75-6). Others have offered support to this image of Anglo-Americans as hypocritical or willing to compromise on moral issues. Mexican Americans may be identified by Anglos as untrustworthy, ruthless, tequilla-drinking villains or as courteous, devout, fatalistic peasants, whichever definition seems most appropriate or beneficial at the moment (Ortego 1972:45-6). The late U.S. Senator Chavez from New Mexico observed, "'At a time of war we are called "the great patriotic Americans," and during elections politicians call us "the great Spanish-speaking community of America." When we ask for jobs, we are called those "damn Mexicans"'" (Anonymous 1972:40). Commenting upon the Anglos' hypocritical views on acquisitiveness, Fred Red Cloud wrote

> I save. String. Bricks. Trees.
> Horses. Leather. . . . . .
> Two white men come. They look at
> the Bricks, Trees, Horses,
> Leather, String. Where'd you
> steal them things they ask.
> They don't listen. They take
> the string from me and they
> twist it into rope. Now they
> put the rope around my neck.
> They hang me from one of the
> trees I saved (Lowenfels 1973:53).

Simmons notes the discrepancy between the expressed belief that "all men are created equal" and should be accorded equal

opportunities, and the reality of holding equality out to minority members as a gift for having assimilated (Simmons 1961:63). That the problem is perhaps less a disbelief in all men being created equal and more a greater interest, on the part of the superordinate population, in activities other than providing equal opportunities for minority members, is suggested by Eugene Tso:

> I was hungry and you
> landed on the moon.
> . . . . . .
> I was hungry and you
> set up a commission.
> I was hungry and you
> told me I shouldn't be.
> I was hungry and you
> had missile bills to pay.
> I was hungry and you said
> "Machines do that kind of work now."
>
> I was hungry and you said
> "The poor are always with us."
> . . . . . .
> I was hungry and you said
> "Blame it on the Communists."
> I was hungry and you said
> "So were my ancestors."
> . . . . . .
> (Lowenfels 1973:66).

Artists whose work base is an ethnic community, who write of issues known and recognized by their ethnic colleagues, may define or express their concepts of <u>self</u> and <u>other</u> in their written communications. The review of the literature suggests several points essential to a delineation of definitions of <u>self</u> and <u>other</u> as expressed in some of the technical writings dealing with Native Americans, Chicanos and Anglo-Americans and in poetry by Native Americans and Chicanos: "Art...including literature...reflects--and helps to shape--the lives of those

who produce it" (Henderson 1973:4); human social worlds are defined by the limits of effective communication; by means of quantitative content analysis it is possible to describe the manifest content of any particular piece of communication; and, as is made evident in the review of stereotypic roles and values institutionalized in the literature, stereotypes function to enable humans to predict, and thereby prepare to deal with, the expected behavior of others.

III. BASES FOR SELECTING CASES, METHODOLOGY, THE DATA

Cultural value patterns, though identifiable, are not uniformly consistent and static. The stereotypes as reviewed in the survey of the literature and those identified in the writings of Native Americans and Chicanos in this chapter present a contrast between "idealized" minority views of life, on the one hand, and "idealized" Anglo-American views, on the other. The purpose of this analysis is to construct, by means of quantitative content analysis, "ideal type" stereotypes of the three populations which can then be compared.

Initially I elected to do a content analysis of novels written since 1959 by Native Americans and Chicanos from (or who wrote about) what I labeled "Chicano-land"--Texas, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, California. Early in the search for available subjects it became apparent that literature by Native Americans and Chicanos moves through a poetry--short-story--novel (fiction) progression, in the case of non-native speakers of English perhaps because, in part, the "language problem is more difficult to overcome in the length and breadth of fiction than it is in the imagery of poetry, in concision" (Milton 1971:v). Chicanos have only recently reached the novel end of the continuum (with the exception of Villarreal's Pocho, published in 1959); Native Americans have only recently reached the short-story stage. For

this reason I concentrated my search for available subjects on poetry written by Native Americans and Chicanos and published since 1960 which dealt primarily with contemporary rather than historical themes and included some references to definitions of self and/or other.

Obtaining a body of poetry with which to work was complicated by several factors. For one, it was hard to identify Native American authors when their works were included in something other than an anthology of Native American art, and less difficult to distinguish between Native American and Chicano authors.* Admittedly, there is at points a fine line between the Native American and Chicano heritage. Secondly, many Chicanos write in Spanish, or use a combination of Spanish and English; I was limited, for the most part, to those works published in English.

As Budd points out, reliability of any research depends upon the degree to which a sample is representative of the universe or population under study (Budd 1963:4). To what extent the sample used is representative of the contemporary poetry written by Native Americans and Chicanos is difficult to say, because the universe to which I had access was limited, first of all, to those works published in English, and, secondly, to those published works which I was able to obtain. The sample consists of a total of 107 poems, 59 by Native Americans, 48 by Chicanos.

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*For example, Rosalio Moises' novel, The Tall Candle, is cited in Jordan's bibliography of Mexican American resources; Avery, in a review cited in Book Review Digest, describes the book as a definite "contribution to the literature of the American Indian" (Moises 1972:916).

Following the review of the literature, it became apparent that there are not overwhelming differences in the social positions of these two minority groups in the Anglo-dominated American society. Several factors, however, led me to anticipate some differences between the definitions of *self* and *other* as expressed in poetry by Native Americans and Chicanos: there are many more Chicanos (five million) than Native Americans (764,000); Chicanos are concentrated in five southwestern states and approximately 70% of them live in urban areas, whereas about 64% of the Native American population live either on reservations or on individual allotments under the supervision of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (*Conservation Yearbook* 1973:99). Therefore, in mass Chicanos have greater access to the dominant Anglo-American population than do Native Americans. To generalize, Native Americans have tasted less of the white man's "caviar" than have Chicanos, and thus have had less incentive to react, to express, in poetry as elsewhere, the conflict present in their social world. It is only as Chicanos have become less burdened by social, economic and class restrictions and have had greater access to educational opportunities that they have become "Chicanos."

With the above situation in mind, stereotypes identified in the poems were categorized as

self by self--the minority characterization of itself

self by other--the minority as they perceive themselves labeled by Anglo-Americans, i.e., "They say we are..."

other by self--the minority characterization of Anglo-Americans

other by other--Anglos as characterized by themselves, according to the Native American and Chicano poets.

The meaning unit for this analysis was defined as the smallest piece of content that makes an assertion (Berelson 1952: 138), and ranged from single words--"bigoted"--to phrases such as "At break of day I say goodnight." The recording unit, that is, the range of text for which occurrence of a meaning unit was tabulated (with the unit weight of one each, even if it occurred more than once in that specified unit of text) (Grey 1942:113-4), was a line of poetry as the poem was printed in the source which I used.

Stereotypes in the Poetry

Figures 1, 2 and 3 depict, by means of intersecting sets, the images of 1) Native Americans, 2) Chicanos and 3) Anglo-Americans identified in the poems by Native Americans and Chicanos. In Figures 1 and 2 the sets contain those characterizations of Native Americans and Chicanos as suggested by (on the left) Anglo-Americans (AA) as revealed in the minority group literature by means of such comments as "they say we are..." (self by other), and by the minority group members (NA, C) (self by self). The intersecting area (I) of both contains those images of the minority members listed both in the self by self and self by other categories. Those characteristics capitalized were mentioned in three or more poems; those underlined appeared also in the review of the literature.

The following are examples of some of the statements categorized as

organic - "blood to bison" (Welch, "In My First Hard Springtime"), "Nature is my mother" (Palmanteer)

tradition-oriented - "I hear the songs of the old ones" (Mitchell, "Wondering of the yonder distance...")

not tradition-oriented - "sus hijos han olvidada la magia de Durango" (your sons have forgotten the magic of Durango) (Alurista, "Must be the season of the witch")

future-oriented - "my people will stand and rise again" (Mitchell, "The Four Directions"), "kicking for pieces of future" (Johnson), "look ahead to one more kill" (Welch, "Blackfeet, Blood and Piegan Hunters")

resigned - "At break of day I say goodnight" (Reeves)

fatalistic - "When I lie down I have a great fear of falling" (Reeves)

poor - "candles bought on credit" (Welch, "Christmas Comes to Moccasin Flat")

impatient - "Urgent Brown" (Salinas, Raúl)

lost - "devoured by computers" (Alurista, "Must be the season of the witch"), "to see where I am/La calle del niño perdido" (street of the lost child) (Garcia, Richard, "I Set Dead Wood Free")

migrant workers - "search for #1's amidst a field" (Goméz).

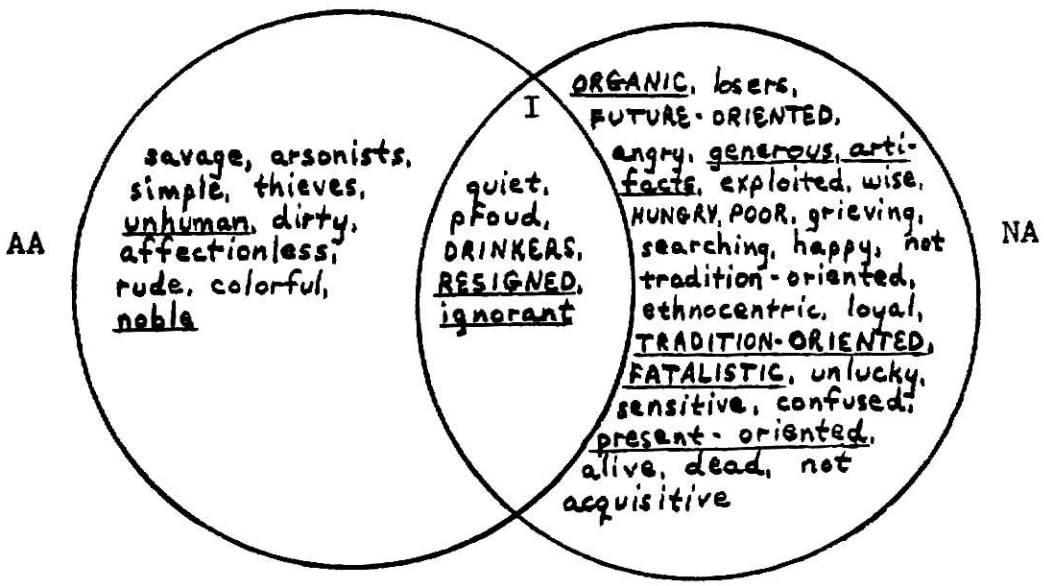


Fig. 1. Native Americans as stereotyped in poetry by Native Americans.

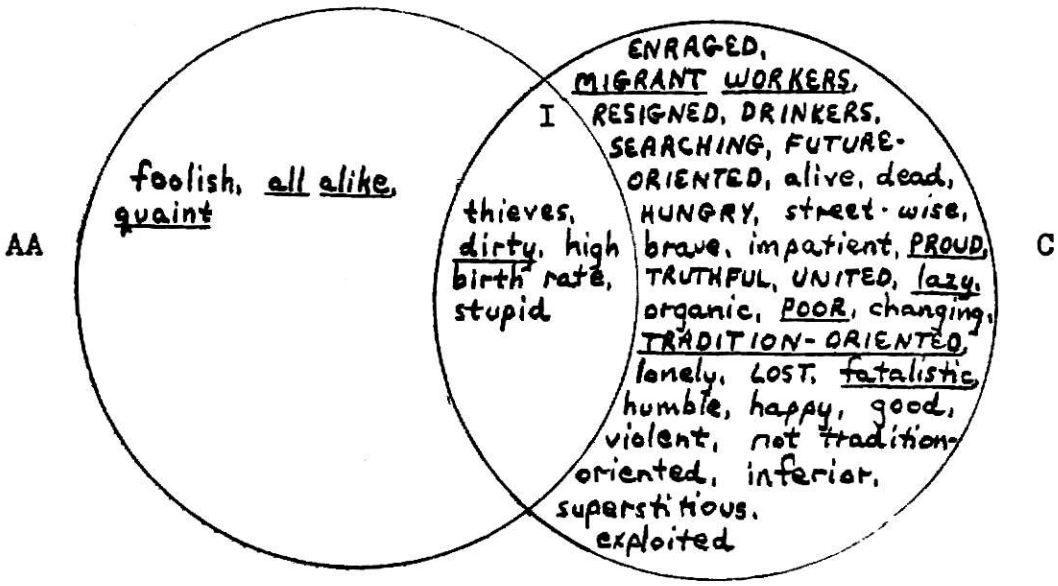


Fig. 2. Chicanos as stereotyped in poetry by Chicanos.

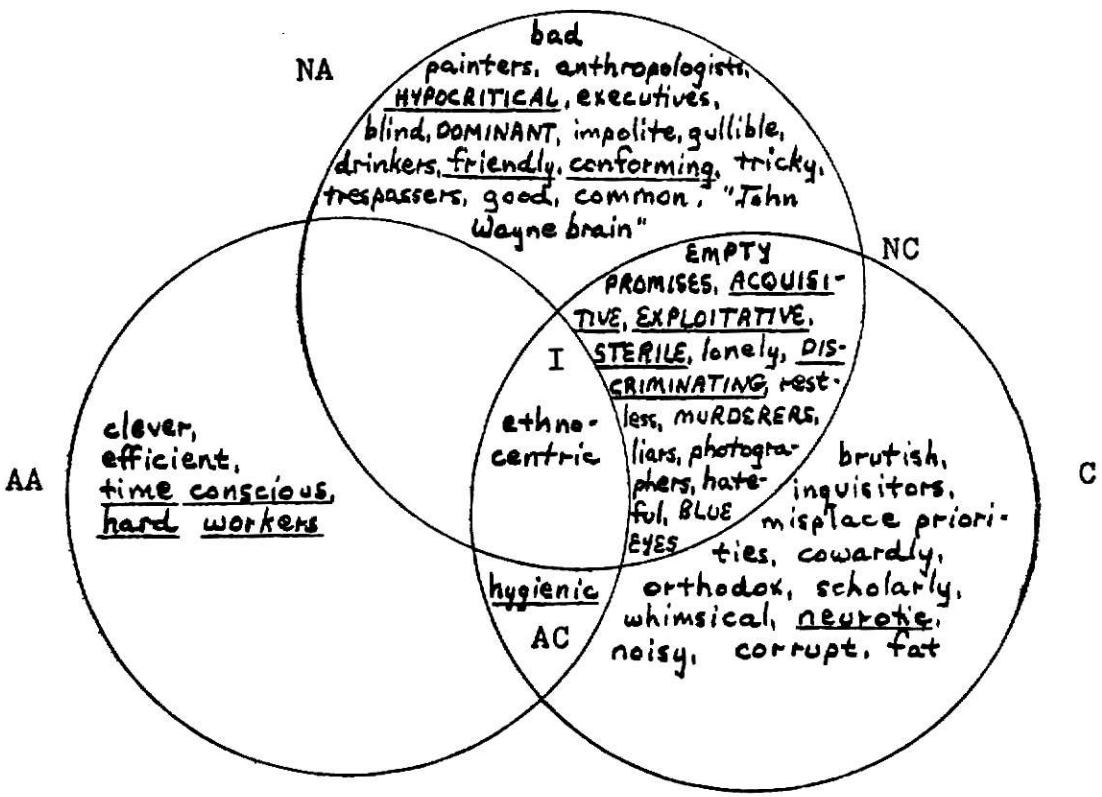


Fig. 3. Anglo-Americans as stereotyped in poetry by Native Americans and Chicanos.

Figure 3 depicts Anglo-Americans as they see themselves (other by other) and as they are seen by Native Americans and Chicanos (other by self) in poetry by members of the two minority groups. The sets AA, NA and C contain those images of Anglos as seen by Anglos (AA), Native Americans (NA), and Chicanos (C). The intersecting area NA-C-AA (I) contains the image all three groups share of Anglo-Americans (as ethnocentric). The intersecting area NA-C (NC) contains those images of Anglos shared by Native Americans and Chicanos; intersecting area AA-C (AC) contains those images of Anglos shared by Anglo-Americans and Chicanos. No characterizations (with the exception of the one in I) were shared by Native Americans and Anglo-Americans. Again, those characterizations capitalized appeared in at least three poems; those underlined appeared also in the review of the literature.

The following are examples of some of the statements categorized as

ethnocentric - "white is right" (Coyote 2), "will never know or want to learn" (Welch, "Harlem, Montana, Just Off the Reservation")

acquisitive - "world of money, promise, disease" (Welch, "The Man From Washington")

exploitative - "last generation--/kills eagles in Wyoming" (Bacon)

empty promises - "superficial contracts" (Goméz)

restless - "all them at once moving" (Bird)

sterile - "believing that with straight lines/are ruled/ the curves of the heart" (Elizondo, "Perros"), "live/ in white enamel clinics" (Elizondo, "Antiperros"), "to the moon they have gone/to plant insolence of asceptic foot.../and a fake rag stiff as death" (Elizondo, "Antiperros")

discriminating - "New books for them?" (Cobos), "looking for.../...the nearest Mexican" (Garcia, Richard, "Gregoria Cortez")

hypocritical - "blue, white and scarlet hypocrisy" (Sainte-Marie, "My Country 'Tis of Thy People You're Dying")

dominant - "force us to send our toddlers away" (Sainte-Marie, "My Country 'Tis of Thy People You're Dying"), "might is the manic-manifestation" (Coyote 2).

Many of the terms used by the poets to label Native Americans, Chicanos and Anglo-Americans express the stereotypes identified. When labeled in the Native American poems, Native Americans were most frequently referred to as Indian and Anglo-Americans as white, white men or white brother (once). Native Americans were also called red, redmen, redskins and Red Muslim, stranger, raven-haired stiffs, warriors, lonely braves, Amerinds and the People. Anglos were also labeled as lighteyes or rain-water eyes, Uncle Sam, pilgrims, spiders and benefactors.

Chicanos, if labeled in poems written by Chicanos, were most often referred to as Chicano, but were also called Mexican, Mestizo, La Raza, Spaniards, Americans, Indo-Hispanos, Latino, Español, greasers, brown and white. In the same poems Anglos were referred to as Americans, puercos (pigs), gringos, anglo, Bastardo, owner, system, other people, blue-eyed wonders, Texas rangers, American witch, dignitaries, pale foreigners and white ones.

Stereotypes in the Academic Literature

Figures 4, 5 and 6 depict the stereotypic images of 1) Native Americans, 2) Mexican Americans, and 3) Anglo-Americans

as identified in the review of the literature. In Figures 4 and 5 the sets contain those stereotypes of Native and Mexican Americans as suggested by (on the left) the Anglo-Americans (AA) and the minority group members (NA, MA). The intersecting areas (I)

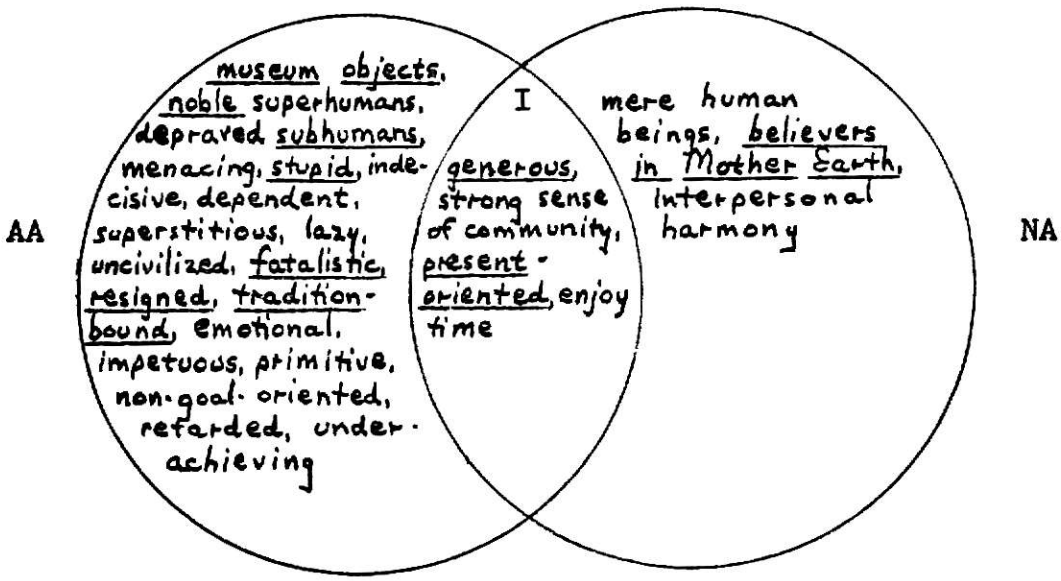


Fig. 4. Native Americans as stereotyped in the review of the literature.

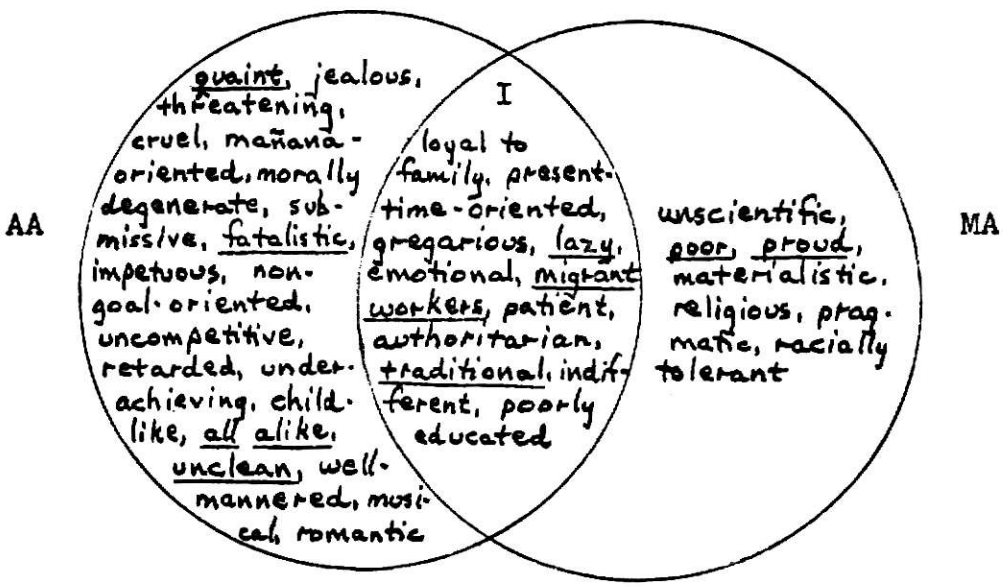


Fig. 5. Mexican Americans as stereotyped in the review of the literature.

of both contain those images of the minority members expressed by both the Anglos and the minority members themselves. Those images underlined appeared also in the stereotypes identified in the minority group poetry.

Figure 6 depicts Anglo-Americans as they see themselves and as they are seen by Native and Mexican Americans in the academic literature. The sets AA, NA and MA contain those images of Anglos as seen by Anglos (AA), Native Americans (NA), and Mexican Americans (MA). The intersecting area (I) contains the images all three groups share of Anglo-Americans--as

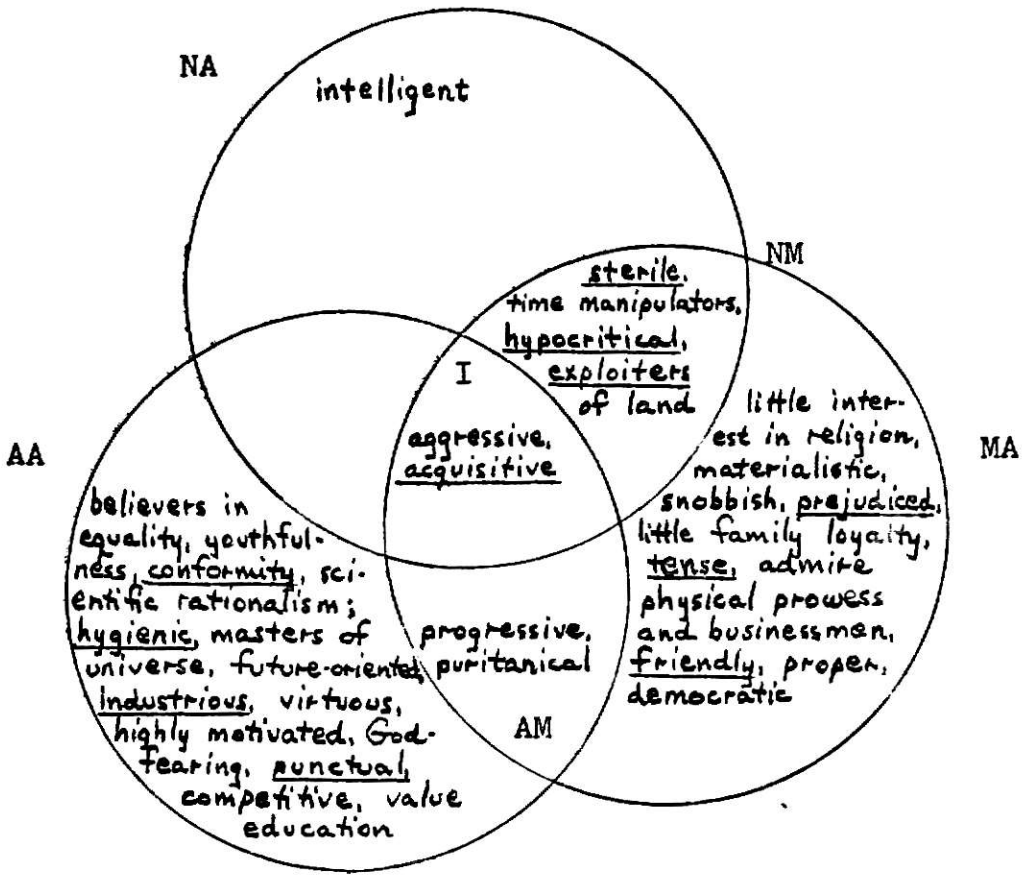


Fig. 6. Anglo-Americans as stereotyped in the review of the literature.

aggressive and acquisitive. The intersecting area NA-MA (NM) contains those images of the Anglos shared by Native and Mexican Americans; intersecting area AA-MA (AM) contains those images of Anglos shared by Anglo-Americans and Mexican Americans. As in the poetry, no stereotypes of Anglos (with the exception of the two in I) were shared by Native Americans and Anglo-Americans. The images underlined appeared also in the poetry.

The only images of Anglos mentioned by all three groups are their aggressiveness and acquisitiveness. Excepting the labels which Anglos and the minority members share, the labels on either side of the intersecting area (I) are frequently in opposition, e.g., belief in equality--hypocriticalness and prejudice; masters of the universe--exploiters of Mother Earth; God-fearing--having little interest in religion; hygienic--sterile (in the sense of being barren of ideas or feelings, caring little for aesthetic values).

As indicated by those terms underlined in Figures 1 through 6, at least a few characteristics of each of the three populations appear in both the poetry by the minority members and in the literature by academics. Native Americans are stereotyped as subhuman, noble, ignorant, resigned, generous, museum pieces, organic, tradition- and present-oriented, and fatalistic; Chicanos are described as all alike, quaint, unclean, proud, lazy, migrant workers, poor, tradition-oriented and fatalistic. On the other hand, Anglos, in both the poetry and the academic literature, are seen as time conscious, hard workers, hypocritical,

friendly, conforming, acquisitive, exploitative, sterile, discriminating and tense.

It must be recognized that the above sets 1) focus most generally upon the value system of middle class Anglos, 2) reflect a combining of those characteristics listed by both native- and foreign-born Mexican Americans, and 3) contain only the stereotypes mentioned in a relatively small number of poems and analyses. As previously noted, the stereotypes present a contrast between "idealized" Native American and Chicano views of life, on the one hand, and "idealized" white views, on the other. It is important to note that a review of stereotypes, while helping to construct "ideal type" stereotypes, still is only a review of stereotypes, not a blueprint of the values, needs, desires and beliefs of the subject populations.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Perhaps the most important point made evident by the content analysis of poetry by Native Americans and Chicanos is that both groups define themselves as minorities, in that, because of their race, creed, color, or national origin they are denied equal access to the rights and benefits accorded to many Anglo-Americans in the United States. There are many more similarities than differences between the stereotypes the two groups have of themselves. What differences there are tend to focus on specific activities, e.g., Chicanos identify themselves as migrant workers, Native Americans do not. Both peoples identify themselves as angry or enraged, ignorant, happy, future-oriented, tradition-oriented, fatalistic, and lost or confused, among other things. As indicated by those images included in intersecting areas I, NC and NM in Figures 3 and 6, Native Americans and Chicanos tend to agree on their stereotypes of the Anglo-American. Differences focus on particular relationships between the Anglo and the minority group, e.g., Native Americans characterize Anglos as anthropologists, bad painters and trespassers.

That the poets are "exploring the core issues of what it means to survive while others thrive" (Lowenfels 1973:77) is evidenced in their descriptions of the <u>self</u> as hungry, poor, exploited, and resigned, while the Anglo-American is seen as acquisitive, exploitative (of the environment and of humans),

sterile, discriminating and hypocritical. The primary difference between Native Americans and Chicanos, on the one hand, and Anglo-Americans, on the other, is in terms of the orientations of the three groups toward their environment--human and earthly. This difference is apparent in the stereotyping of Native Americans and Chicanos as generous, loyal, sensitive, gregarious and organic, that is, aware of the oneness of man and the physical world in which he lives. Neither Native Americans, Chicanos or Anglo-Americans describe Anglos as "people-oriented"; rather, they are characterized as punctual, efficient, competitive and materialistic. These stereotypes lend support to Mead's theory that a group defines its <u>self</u> by responding to the attitudes of <u>others</u> toward it; while Anglos are stereotyped as clever, efficient, exploitative and discriminating, Native Americans and Chicanos are defined as exploited and inferior.

The poetry strongly refutes the stereotype of Native Americans and Chicanos as present-time-oriented (only one poem mentioned such an orientation). Both minorities define themselves as proud, searching and future-oriented. Being future-oriented does not preclude being aware of one's traditional or cultural heritage, as expressed by both Native Americans and Chicanos.

Language, the vehicle of poetry, functions not primarily to describe, but to evoke action and responses, to create meanings that will have overt expression in oncoming phases of social action (Miller 1973:73). The characterizations of Native Americans, Chicanos and Anglos enunciated in the minority poetry

might be considered more than mere descriptions of peoples, perhaps as "calls to action," in that the "enemy," or the outsider, as well as one's own group, the self, is identified.

The fact that a piece of art, such as a poem, may be affected by the heritage and environment of the artist, the world about which he writes, and the world into which his art enters (Gordon, Walter K. 1968:5) presents several possibilities for research in terms of sociological analyses of the writings of minority authors. For example, what is the role of the poet in a revolution? What is the effect of a particular body of literature upon its intended audience? To what extent do the writings of the middle or upper classes communicate the authors' intentions to an audience of Dworkin's "low type"? Daykin's statement that "literary art reflects the ideas and thoughts prevalent at a given period and as these ideas and thoughts change" (Daykin 1937:46) suggests that a trend analysis of historic through contemporary Native American literature would be fruitful. Trend analysis could also provide an interesting means of depicting change in minority portrayals of Anglo-Americans.

In analyzing the poetry it was noted that lines containing denunciations of Anglos appeared six times more often in poems written by foreign-born Chicanos than in those by native-born Chicanos. This anti-other trend on the part of foreign-born Chicanos is contrary to Dworkin's study on the stereotypes and self-images held by native- and foreign-born Mexican Americans. Dworkin found foreign-born Mexican Americans to be more favorable than the native-born in their opinions of and toward Anglo-Americans. Dworkin attributed the differences between the two

groups to differences in their points of comparison of their present socioeconomic situation, the foreign-born comparing their status to that of their former even lower class position in Mexico, the native-born comparing their status to that of the dominant Anglo society (Dworkin 1965:72-8). One possible explanation for this difference between Dworkin's results and those of the present study is that Dworkin studied "low type" Mexican Americans; the Chicano poets who were identified as being foreign-born are all college professors. The results of these two studies would suggest that additional research is needed to determine the effects of the social class of artists upon their attitudes toward self and other, as herein defined.

As Raymond Williams has noted, "People use art and thought (often distorting actual works) to confirm their own patterns, at least as frequently as they really learn from them" (Williams 1961:120). I have learned a great deal about the people, places and experiences behind the cries for red and brown power; to what extent I have distorted the messages of the Native American and Chicano artists I cannot judge. Both the validity and reliability of the research will be increased by greater experience in analyzing content and a panel of independent competent judges reacting to the terminology selected and defining the limits of the meaning units to an acceptable level of agreement. These steps would increase the value of the research as a scientific analysis, but they would not necessarily increase the accuracy of the interpretation of the content (only the poets themselves can contribute at this point).

There are at least several possibilities available to those interested in sociologically analyzing minority literature. It must be kept in mind, however, that "Interpretation is not identical with understanding; it is one manifestation of it" (Deese 1969:42). The primary benefit of an analysis such as this may be that it serves, like the poetry, to broaden our knowledge of ourselves (Haslam 1970b:709).

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DEFINITIONS OF SELF AND OTHER

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF LITERATURE OF NATIVE AMERICANS AND CHICANOS

by

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The purpose of this inquiry is to identify and comparatively examine definitions of self (those attitudes and values which constitute one's self-concept) and other (the attitudes and values of Anglo-Americans) as delineated in selected writings by Native Americans and Chicanos and as institutionalized in academic literature. Minority definitions of self and other are vital because, as Shibutani observed, "To understand what men do we must know something about what each person [or group] means to himself" (Shibutani 1961:248). One aspect of one's self-concept is his concept of the larger group with whom he shares membership. Stereotypes identified in the writings of Native Americans and Chicanos and in the survey of the academic literature present a contrast between "idealized" minority views of life, on the one hand, and an "idealized" Anglo-American view, on the other. "Ideal type" stereotypes may be constructed and then compared.

Five assumptions provided the basis for the research: 1) that "Art...including literature, does not exist in a vacuum, and reflects--and helps to shape--the lives of those who produce it" (Henderson 1973:4); 2) that, via social interaction through the medium of language man has created for him and creates for himself his conception of "Who I am," his self, and his conception of others with whom he interacts; 3) "that cultural values which have been institutionalized in certain segments of society are represented in the communications of individuals from those

segments" (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1968a:373) and 4) can be identified by means of content analysis; and 5) that human behavior is organized and directed (the organization and direction being supplied by an individual's attitude toward himself), and, by means of that organization and direction, predictable (Kuhn 1967:120, 133).

Two situations supported the belief that there would be many similarities and fewer differences between stereotypes of the populations found in the poetry by Native Americans and Chicanos. First, both are considered subordinate by the dominant Anglo community, and, as revealed in the content analysis, both concur with the Anglo definition of their status. Secondly, Chicanos have tasted more of the white man's "caviar" than have Native Americans; as they have become less burdened by social, economic and class restrictions and have had greater access to educational opportunities they have become "Chicanos," in politics, in the courts, in schools, in their poetry. Native Americans have more recently sampled the "caviar," but they, too, are demanding a much larger share of what they define as the "caviar" (land, cultural freedom, health care, legal and educational services).

Comparison of the stereotypes identified revealed many more similarities than differences between the images Native Americans and Chicanos have of themselves. What differences there are tend to focus on specific activities, e.g., Chicanos identified themselves as migrant workers, Native Americans did not. Both peoples identified themselves as angry, ignorant,

happy, future-oriented, tradition-oriented, fatalistic, loyal and confused, among other things. The two minorities tended to agree on their stereotypes of Anglo-Americans. Differences focused on particular relationships between the Anglo and the minority group; e.g., Native Americans characterized Anglos as anthropologists, bad painters and trespassers.

Native Americans and Chicanos were stereotyped as being hungry, poor, exploited and resigned; Anglo-Americans were seen as acquisitive, exploitative (of the environment and of humans), sterile, discriminating and hypocritical. Native Americans and Chicanos were stereotyped as generous, sensitive, gregarious and organic, that is, aware of the oneness of man and the physical world in which he lives; Anglo-Americans were described as punctual, efficient, competitive and materialistic.