INFORMATION TO USERS

While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this manuscript, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted. For example:

- Manuscript pages may have indistinct print. In such cases, the best available copy has been filmed.

- Manuscripts may not always be complete. In such cases, a note will indicate that it is not possible to obtain missing pages.

- Copyrighted material may have been removed from the manuscript. In such cases, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, and charts) are photographed by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each oversize page is also filmed as one exposure and is available, for an additional charge, as a standard 35mm slide or as a 17"x 23" black and white photographic print.

Most photographs reproduce acceptably on positive microfilm or microfiche but lack the clarity on xerographic copies made from the microfilm. For an additional charge, 35mm slides of 6"x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography.
Gonzalez, Alberto

THE RHETORIC OF APOCALYPSE: AN INQUIRY INTO THE AScriptive VALUES IN CHICANO SELF-PRESENTATION

The Ohio State University

University Microfilms International
300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Copyright 1986

by

Gonzalez, Alberto

All Rights Reserved
PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark ✓.

1. Glossy photographs or pages □
2. Colored illustrations, paper or print □
3. Photographs with dark background □
4. Illustrations are poor copy □
5. Pages with black marks, not original copy □
6. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page □
7. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages □
8. Print exceeds margin requirements □
9. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine □
10. Computer printout pages with indistinct print □
11. Page(s) □ lacking when material received, and not available from school or author.
12. Page(s) □ seem to be missing in numbering only as text follows.
14. Curling and wrinkled pages □
15. Dissertation contains pages with print at a slant, filmed as received □
16. Other □

University Microfilms International
THE RHETORIC OF APOCALYPSE: AN INQUIRY INTO THE ASCRIPITIVE VALUES IN CHICANO SELF-PRESENTATION

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University

By

Alberto Gonzalez, B.S., M.A.

***

The Ohio State University

1986

Dissertation Committee:  Approved by
J. J. MaKay
R. Monaghan
J. O. Stewart

Adviser
Department of Communication
Copyright by
Alberto González
1986
For those, both in and out of my life, who had faith.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I gratefully acknowledge the encouragement and insight of Dr. John J. MaKay throughout the preparation of this study. Thanks also to the original staff of WMEX-FM, your cooperation and concern speaks more than these pages. To my family, continued thanks, your patience was always welcome.
# VITA

**October 15, 1954** B.S., Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio

**1977** M.A., Department of Communication, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

**1980** Instructor, Speech Communication, University of Minnesota, Morris; Morris, Minnesota

## PUBLICATIONS


# TABLE OF CONTENTS

| DEDICATION | ii |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | iii |
| VITA | iv |

**CHAPTER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I. GENERAL CONCERNs TOWARD THE CHICANO APOCALYPTIC</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prologue</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of the Problem</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of Chicanismo and Apocalypse</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Review of Pertinent Literature</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Method and Rationale</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhetorical Ascription</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Procedures</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Outline</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of References</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. THE MEXICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY: AN INITIAL PROFILE</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demographic Profile</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Biographical Profile</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Perceptions Which Inhibit Community</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexican American Interpretive Structures</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of References</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE &quot;OTHERNESS&quot; OF MEXICAN AMERICANS IN OHIO</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Preliminary Issues: Authority and Ingles</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mexican Other</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Mexican American Other</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>List of References</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL CONCERNS TOWARD THE CHICANO APOCALYPTIC

PROLOGUE

The home stood several blocks above the banks of the frozen Sandusky River. The ground surrounding the home had been frozen for several weeks, and an inch of snow covered it. This night was very cold; occasionally, gusts blew ice crystals from the ashen elms and maples which lined the sidewalks. It was New Year's Eve inside the house and so a party raged with an abandon quite befitting la raza.

Virginia sat on a barstool in the breakfast room of the house well beyond the celebration's space and time. She finished a tamal which her hands had fashioned a few hours before. It just had been reheated in the microwave oven. She could see her partial image in the mirrored walls--walls shelved with Mexican brandy and Puerto Rican rum. (More of her was revealed as bottles steadily disappeared into the noise of the other room.) Her brown skin blended well in the soft red light and slowly, like the wine glasses suspended from the rack hanging above the marbled counter, her eyes began to gleam.

"It's funny," she said, her accent not yet, but soon to be apparent. "The trees in the winter here remind me of the desert trees in Monterrey. It was this time of year, oh, thirty-six years ago,
when we would ride out in a truck to the dairy where we worked. Basilio would not want me to go. He wanted me in town all the time. One day he jumped on a, you know, a donkey, and he chased the truck to get me. The donkey ran hard but then it turned away from the dust so fast that Basilio kept flying until he hit the dirt. Everyone on the truck was laughing and teasing . . . We were married the next year. Sometimes I remember those mornings of riding from the mountain when I see the trees like this. And you know, I wish there were burros here."

The reverie was interrupted as a little girl ran through the kitchen. "Grandma!" she shouted, "Lando won't let me play with the Coleco-Vision."

1. Nature of the Problem

The 1980 count by the U. S. Bureau of the Census shows the Hispanic minority to be the fastest growing ethnic group. In America, since 1970, the population of Mexican origin has doubled to 8.7 million, while the overall Hispanic population has increased by 61.0 percent. If this rate of increase is maintained, by the year 2000, Hispanics will constitute this nation's largest racial minority.

In the Midwest, Ohio had the third highest Hispanic population at 120,000, according to the Advance Reports from the 1980 census. (Regionally, Illinois has the highest Hispanic population at 635,602, and Michigan is second at 162,440.) The counties in northwest Ohio, which comprise the Fifth Congressional District, contain the state's
most visible Hispanic Presence. The Hispanic population in the District numbers 16,106, which is 3.17% of the total District. 4

In 1981, this author noticed that the political maneuverings of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), established to better the living and working conditions of migrant farm workers in Ohio, had gone unreported as instances of Mexican American rhetoric. 5 The publicity which FLOC attracted, and continues to attract, 6 has subsequently opened to examination the migrant community in both the print and film media. Though the FLOC campaign has succeeded in drawing attention to the migrants, this focusing has not translated into analyses of the nonmigrant or "settled out" Mexican American community. The purpose of this study is to fill this void, that is, to provide a detailed account of the rhetorical aspects of the permanent Mexican American culture in northwest Ohio.

The specific entity from which this study examines Mexican American self-presentation-as-rhetoric is the radio facility owned and operated by Family Broadcasting, WMEX-FM (100.9), Clyde, Ohio. Begun in July, 1981, WMEX features programming in English and Spanish.

The rhetorical challenge for gaining audience acceptance was great in 1981 and is no less difficult today. Local Mexican American activism is in crisis. La Raza Unida party lost credibility after corruption and theft forced the dismissal of its leaders in the mid-70's. (The organization has regrouped under the name Ohio Hispanic Institute of Opportunity.) FLOC activities in the Toledo area have increased the mechanization of the tomato crop in Sandusky County, reducing extra
summer employment for many Mexican American residents. Many now view FLOC as an organization dedicated only to its own publicity. As the needs of the growing Mexican American public increase, Chicano activities is increasingly suspect. While Hispanics in other states have succeeded in electing public officials who share their heritage and are sensitive to their views, Chicano organization in northwest Ohio is ineffective and deteriorating.

In one sense, then, WMEX is the last hope of an oppressed segment for a public voice and a fresh reminder of its own identity. The station's cling to existence is worth a look. What can be learned is how a particular culture gets things done (and not done) and what is assumed in the doing (and not doing). An estimation can be contributed regarding what the culture is willing to assimilate, and what it can never give up. Above all, the question that is kept in mind, "What import does that activity have for a person?" reflects concern for analysis of the symbolic significance(s) of the activity.

Curiosity initially may be triggered by proposing that the symbolic forms through which the Mexican American culture manifests itself are different from Hispanic communities in other parts of the U.S. The variations, however, cannot be suggested until some cultural referents are theorized for the Ohio community.

Also, as this community increases numerically, the potential exists for moderate changes in the political and economic power structure of the region. The potential equally exists for the community to remain politically and economically disenfranchised by the
present power structure. In either case, the major needs and assumptions of the Mexican American community eventually must be acknowledged and understood as their salience becomes amplified for the Anglo officials at all levels of government. Some formal indication of those needs and assumptions becomes imperative to an informed negotiation of factional interests.

Finally, a Mexican American generation is coming of age in the counties of northwest Ohio. It is a generation that has known neither the desert nor the mountain, yet is charged with preserving a set of cultural meanings strangely at odds with the land of the Great Lakes. This generation knows la quinceñera and Joe Bravo as well as ice skating and Culture Club. The symbolic nature of the cultural identity established amid the blend of Mexican and Anglo traditions has not been probed. Between these cultures lie the ambiguity and ambivalence which is the life of the modern Mexican American. An investigation into this field of transformation will provide one argument, one orientation toward an emerging world-view.

Below is stated the central question posed by this study. Six sub-questions follow which together frame the subject matter and indicate the discipline from which they originate. The answers to these questions will begin to characterize Mexican American culture as it exists in Ohio, and they will continue to advance the social ascription of meaning as a method in rhetorical criticism.
What rhetorical image(s) underlie symbolic acts of the Mexican American community (MAC) in northwest Ohio?

1. What are the predominant interpretive structures providing a social reality for the MAC?

2. What aspects of the interpretive structures originate in historical Mexican culture?

3. What symbolic media are utilized by the MAC community which reflect these structures and regulate their content?

4. What are the conflicting elements between the Mexican and Anglo interpretive structures and what are the rhetorical requirements for their mediation?

5. What are the complementary elements between the Mexican and Anglo interpretive structures and what are the rhetorical requirements for their utilization?

6. Given the rhetorical image(s) of the MAC, what implications can be drawn regarding its relationship to the majority (Anglo) culture?

An approach which begins with some inquiry into the cultural deep-structure of a community can derive a critique of the symbolic forms utilized by the community on the basis of its own knowledge. The perspective of Western two-valued logic simply may be inadequate for interpreting Mexican American reason. If the law of non-contradiction is left behind, it is to cut loose from a tradition whose own interpretive structure may obscure or distort the object of study. In one sense, this study is an exercise in self-consciousness, of being aware that different cultural epistemologies will inform the choices seen and the judgments rendered by the investigator just as those ways of knowing inform that which is being investigated.
2. Of Chicanismo and Apocalypse

Joy Hintz, who edited in the mid 1970s the first anthology of Mexican American writers, describes the genesis of her involvement. "I have been acquainted with migrant families for many years," she writes, "But did not know any resident Mexican Americans, having no contact with any until the last three years: then I became 'awakened' . . . through reading many books . . . (and) hearing residents' problems. . . ."  

Mrs. Hintz' account of her "awakening" calls to mind William Brown's discussion of the attention-switch. 8 Humans sometimes come to alter their image of the world such that events become interpreted in a new way. As Brown put it, "The gestalt shift involved . . . reminds one that, conceptually, an attention-switch requires that (1) at least two patterns or interpretive 'templates' always be potentially involved in our sizing up a situation; (2) each pattern itself be capable of rendering the situation coherent; and (3) movement from one to another--with a consequent reconstitution of the situation--be necessary before a 'switch' will have occurred." 9 In Mrs. Hintz' case, the movement was from an exclusively Anglo American worldview to a worldview which accepted Mexican American concerns as legitimate and real. In the first pattern she could know many migrant families, yet not have to respond to their problems. The new pattern required action, and so she began to speak on issues vital to Mexican Americans and compile their writings for public dissemination. Chicano advocates, at the very least, precipitated her new insight with information and feelings.
Today, in Ohio, the Mexican American and Anglo American communities circle each other like wary boxers in a ring so huge that they can barely discern each other and so they rely mostly on their own imaginations to characterize each other. In this ring, one boxer is not only the stronger competitor, but the referee as well: one who has not yet decided to move the match to a smaller arena, or bring the contestants closer together. And so the minority boxer protests to the referee and argues that before the competition, there must be an agreement to compete. For the first time, the air is imbued with cooperation. The scene begins to change.

The attempt to symbolically mediate how one interprets the world—to influence a shift that originally excludes and then includes—is what this study means by the rhetoric of apocalypse. Paul Hanson, a scholar of the Jewish apocalyptic, describes the social origins of apocalyptic movements, "The crisis which sociologists find at the root of every apocalyptic movement is a minority phenomenon. This crisis is the collapse of a well-ordered worldview which defines values and orders the universe for a group of people, thrusting them into the uncharted waters of chaos and anomie. While the majority continues on the course defined by past norms, the apocalyptic minority calls attention to signs indicating that the course leads to perdition and offers in its place a new vision of life's values."10

Chicanismo and Aztlan, for example, are terms in Chicano rhetoric sometimes indicating the collapse of the Anglo worldview and sometimes a major modification of it. As the literature review shows, Chicano
spokespersons advocate either a predominance of the Mexican worldview (as they construct it) or a synthesis of both Anglo and Mexican worldviews. Either perspective is a change that they want known.

So, at the heart of apocalyptic rhetoric is the revelation of a new world image and the future it entails. In its own presentation, it is a critique of the past order as well as an affirmation of itself qua a new order. Its business is the destiny of its believers. Apocalypse is the often subtle drama of choosing new ways; its allure is the epic certainty which it promises. The revelation is paradigmatic in its explanatory power—before it all matters of the past and future can be brought for clarification. As Lampert noted, "Apocalypse means revelation; it reveals the mysterious pathways of evil; it testifies the greatness and awfulness of man; it speaks of a final judgment and the disclosure of all things. . . ." From this perspective, the "rupture in tradition" which marks the legitimation crisis in Habermans' critique, points very much to a social apocalyptic.

"Crisis," he writes, "signifies the turning point in a fateful process. . . . Fate is fulfilled in the revelation of conflicting norms against which the identities of the participants shatter, unless they are able to summon up the strength to win back their freedom . . . through the formation of new identities."

The method of apocalypse is not so clear. It must vary with the texture of its special knowledge. Clearly, the signals of the Christian apocalypse are fantastic, but cataclysm does not define apocalypse.
Doing so would be to confuse the revelation with its method of pronounce-
ment. It is the attention-switch which marks revelation, followed by
a number of attending strategies. Testimony of the revelation need
not be particularly coherent or internally consistent. The born-again
Christian, for example, is not as concerned with logical consistency
in his or her vision as, say, a feminist, or a Marxist. Yet all three
visions comfortably assume extensions in history and have their fulfill-
ments in alternative futures. Having said this much, it remains to be
added that the composition of a Chicano apocalyptic will carry with
it rhetorical considerations of its method. And that is simply another
way to pose the direction for this study.

3. Review of Pertinent Literature

Communication scholars rarely have attempted to generally charac-
terize Chicano rhetoric. The Summer, 1980 issue of Western Journal of
Speech Communication contained three articles on Chicano rhetoric as
well as two interviews with Chicano spokespersons. In 1982, again
in the Western Journal, an article treats Chicano poetry as
rhetoric. The first paper to introduce Chicano rhetoric to the
communication field appeared in The Southern Speech Communication
Journal, 1973. While the social science literature on Mexican
Americans boomed during the 1970's, the communication field remained
strangely silent.
Still, from a brief review of this minimal literature base, the apocalyptic quality of the Chicano rhetoric begins to emerge.

Powers (1973) termed Chicano activism a "movement" and identified "five major concepts upon which the rhetoric of the movement is based." Drawing from such diverse spokespersons as Samuel Ramos and Luis Valdez, the topoi of Chicano were the following: feeling of oppression; "robbery of the conquered people (Spanish exploration and U.S. annexations of Mexican Territory); and Aztlan. Oppression, robbery, and huelga are primarily political responses to perceptions of exploitation by Anglo majority. Related to this, but at the level of perceptions of cultural identity are La Raza and Aztlan.

La raza is a name for the "spiritual unity with the pre-Conquest Indian civilization." For Chicanos, it is a term of cultural exclusivity and solidarity. As Valdez is quoted, "Below the foundations of our Spanish culture, we still sense the ruins of an entirely different civilization." Aztlan, the ancient Aztec empire, is the symbol for the cultural reincarnation and pride which may be regained through historical self-awareness and political activism. Particularly indicative of this aspiration is Power's notation of Rudolfo Gonzalez' observation that Chicanos must work to "revive the spirit of the defeated nation."

Powers correctly implied that Chicano rhetors first attempted to tap/create the shared historical experiences lying dormant with the Mexican American audience. The awakening of these experiences radicalizes political thought and becomes a basis for political action.
Hammerback and Jensen (1980), in a description of the public address styles of Cesar Chavez and Reies Tijerina, similarly recognized how history and future continually were brought to bear in the advocacy of Chicano causes. Both rhetors brought to their speeches a "millenial interpretation" of the events contributing to Chicano subordination and the changes necessary to literating "the race" from systematic oppression. The account of Tijerina's ideas by Hammerback and Jensen exemplified the expansiveness of his approach:

During the 1960's (Tijerina) concluded that it was not an historical accident that Spaniards colonized much of the New World. The merging of Spaniards and Indians was God's design for a brown race which would eventually lead older and morally decaying races to a millenial order of peace and happiness. Tijerina called his new race a 'new breed,' one only 450 years old. This new breed possessed moral values, typified by love of God and family, that would satisfy the world's hunger for moral order. Southwestern Hispanos, Tijerina decided, would serve as a vital link to Latin America and simultaneously bring together bickering Blacks and Anglos in the United States to build a new Old World.

The Chicano would bring a revelation of peace to Western culture, a revelation as foreshadowed in pre-Conquest Aztlan. But the most outstanding trait in Chicano rhetoric found by Hammerback and Jensen was the tenacity with which the rhetors pressed their claims and the faith they had in the power of public address to influence audiences.

Noting that "Chicano poetry is an important element in the rhetoric of the Chicano movement," Sedano (1980) abstracted from selected Chicano poems major themes of the movement. The identified themes—the movement, the barrio, the Anglo, and Chicanismo—correspond closely to the major concepts of Chicano rhetoric described by Powers. The poems encouraged "self-definition" on the basis of racial/cultural
rejuvenation. The poems functioned to "create and define an audience and convert that audience to the identity the poet defines." Thus, Sedano's main conclusion was that the goal of this poetry was to change the Chicano's image of self as well as the Anglo-American's image of the Chicano. However, the new "combative" image of the Chicano was weakened by attending dispositions toward romanticism and spiritualism.

In the last of the trio of articles comprising the Western Journal's "Special Report" on Chicano Rhetoric, Jensen and Hammerback (1980) approached this movement from the angle of generic criticism. Using Campbell's descriptors of "radical nationalism," the public address of Jose Angel Gutierrez was assessed by: the "new term" (in this case "Chicano") invoked for self-identification, how the speeches "restructured" the experienced reality of the audience, and the use of threats of violence. Gutierrez was found to engage all these tactics in his advocacy for social change.

Interestingly, Jensen and Hammerback reported that, for Gutierrez, the "vision" of the movement was the "possibility of a different state of affairs." Not surprisingly, the vision emerged as "our lands in Aztlan." Like Tijerina, Gutierrez links an ideal future to the historical Aztlan.

In a reprise of Sedano's rhetorical analysis of Chicano poetry, Jensen and Hammerback (1982) described predominant themes in Yo Soy Joaquin by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzalez. Joaquin, written in the late 1960's, is generally regarded as the seminal declaration of Chicano
consciousness. Jensen and Hammerback reinforced the important role of poetry, calling it "an integral part of the early Chicano movement rather than merely a romantic appendage to it. . . ." Their analysis showed how a single poem worked to inform the Mexican American audience of institutionalized oppression in "gringo society" as well as instill cultural pride through "the art of our great senores. . . ." This, images of oppression, defeat, and the Anglo culminated in further images of Aztec pride and revolution. For the Anglo audience listening in on this expression of values and concerns, the authors noted that examining the poem "opens a window. . . to the Chicano world." 

Summary. A window, yes, but these analyses do not take us inside the Chicano world. Certainly, the articles confirm that most of the rhetorical efforts of prominent Chicano spokespersons are directed toward social, political, and economical reforms to better conditions of life for the Mexican American population in the U.S. political activism is advocated from the position of racial pride and solidarity. These rhetorical studies serve as an excellent primer on Chicano public address for the communication area.

From this base, the brush strokes delineating Chicano rhetoric must be finer. These authors hint the elements which lend the rhetoric its epic qualities, but they have not yet recognized the cultural contexts/assumptions through which the elements are generated and given meaning. To provide this recognition is the point of departure for this study.
4. Method and Rationale

**Ethnography.** Qualitative evaluation is a methodology for data-gathering/interpreting that complements the semiotic approach to the study to which this investigation adheres. Patton states that the search for meanings in the social environments through a presentation of "depth and detail" is the distinguishing feature of qualitative research. Pilotta and Murphy strongly argue that the problematic of objective social facticity necessitates the search for meanings via "an interpretive rather than a causal methodology." Evaluation methods, they advise, should illuminate the fundamental assumptions which serve as background for social truth and structure social action. Further, data collected through evaluation procedures become ethically responsible when they are in harmony with the contextual thinking of the social actors whose behavior is the focus of review. Pilotta and Murphy develop seven principles which constitute a perspective useful for generating ethically responsible qualitative data. The principles are quoted in toto because they form general guides for the data-gathering procedures and conform to the ideal of examining WMEX "on the basis of its own knowledge."

1. Human behavior should be seen as symbolic. Therefore, all behavior must be viewed as expressions and not necessarily entities.

2. Therefore, human phenomena must be understood in the language of the experienced world, and not be reduced to abstract categories.
3. An interpretation is legitimate when it coincides with the Reason that is operating to orient the social world that is being evaluated.

4. The evaluator should be careful to insure that all seemingly identical behaviors express the same implicative logic.

5. Formal reports and casual conversations may in fact represent different modes of existence. Therefore, the investigator must be careful to insure that all formal explanations do in fact embody the everyday logic of the community.

6. Before an investigation is assumed to be valid by the evaluator, a check should be made to insure that it is plausible within the decisionistic structure of the world to be investigated.

7. An actor's behavior should not be interpreted as if it represents a universal genre, but instead the evaluator should take time to discover the decisionistic structure of the individuals to be investigated, so that their behavior could possibly be interpreted correctly.35

The explicit procedures resulting from this general guide are specified under "Procedures."

The anchoring of qualitative evaluation to a phenomenological understanding of culture is compatible with the goals of ethnographic studies. LaFarge, in his forward to Oscar Lewis' ethnographic presentation of Mexican families, likewise responded to the problem of objective social fact. "The longer we study human beings in their infinite variety," he wrote, "the more apparent it becomes that they cannot in reality be encompassed within the specific rigidities of the kinds of data that can be manipulated mathematically, even given the staggering range of present-day computers. Somewhere along the line, there must be an interpretation arising from the individual's observation, with all its weakness. . . ."36 C. R. Hallpike, in a review of
statistical methods of cross-cultural comparison, indicated numerical frequency as an index of observational validity in ethnographic studies. In his criticism, he states that even "several thousand correlations" would not provide "any deeper understanding of how total societies operate" until interpretive principles are applied.\(^{37}\)

This emphasis on interpretation recently has led to a meaning-centered orientation for ethnography. Thus, in 1973, Clifford Geertz brought the goals of ethnography to the domain of the communication researcher. He refined Lowie's statement that the duty of the ethnographer was to depict "the whole of cultural reality,"\(^{38}\) by amplifying the symbolic nature of reality. In Geertz' theory, this was "... the object of ethnography: a stratified hierarchy of meaningful structures in terms of which (behaviors) are produced, perceived, and interpreted, and without which they would not exist. ..."\(^{39}\) This approach is grounded in the view that "... man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning."\(^{40}\) James Carey echoed this perspective when he specified the goals of cultural study: "It does not seek to explain human behavior, but to understand it. It does not seek to reduce human action to underlying causes of structures, but to interpret its significance. It does not attempt to predict human behavior, but to diagnose human meanings."\(^{41}\)

Philipsen's 1975 study of the "symbolic resources" utilized by teenagers in a Chicago neighborhood exemplified the spirit of these
conceptions of qualitative research. Using primary participant observation and interviewing to gather data, Philipsen used multiple sources as a technique for validation very similar to, though not as specified as Pilotta and Murphy's "triangulation." In generalizing his methods, Philipsen noted that, "All available data, including field records of speech behavior, informants' statements (spontaneous and elicited), and tape-recorded verbal interaction provided the evidence from which the culture pattern was inferred, and against which it was tested. Thus, multiple sources of data were used in constructing descriptions and verifying hypotheses relevant to the inferred culture pattern." Qualitative evaluation, then, is a method compatible with ethnological theory which stresses interpretation. The compatibility is necessary for the present study as the goal is to examine the network of symbolic acts which are the surface behaviors of the Mexican American community, and their relation to the "webs of significance" which underlie their reason and compose their world.

5. Rhetorical Ascription. The search for an interpretive framework which renders meaningful the range of activities of the population of WMEX is the story of the theoretical/critical development of this study. The search is for a method which will inquire into overarching patterns with explanatory potential. As has been shown, qualitative evaluation supplies a systematic means whereby data are collected and interpreted in terms of their organizational validity. The qualitative data serve as the "memory" for the study.
Constructing an ethnography of WMEX, however, is not done with program assessment as a goal. The purpose is to arrive at a critical interpretation of what and how the symbolic world of the station speaks to both the Anglo and Mexican American communities. Thus, the critical stance for this study accepts with the "discovery and explication of the symbolic processes available to humans as revealed and illust- 
ated" in their social meanderings.

The symbolic process which is the theoretical/methodological center of this study is rhetorical "ascription." Ascribing explicates social contexts. Persons assign motives, values, histories, futures, etc., to compose and understand the setting of their interactions and establish parameters on appropriate behavior. Theoretically, assigna-
tions are related to, but not dependent on, the "experimental capacity" or predispositional knowledge of the social requirement for this ascriptive process (presupposes) the use of a language that is public and observable, and therein lies its rhetorical potentiality.

Gonzalez and MaKay see the pitfalls in social ascription as opportunities for suasory intervention: "The complication in communication, of course, arises when individuals ascribe different or even opposing meanings to the same message or event. If the ideal of . . . communi-
cation is for individuals to achieve agreement, then the rhetor must find a way to influence the ascriptive process." The authors reveal a critical methodology which views messages in terms of their associative links with particular audiences. An "ascriptive value" became the index of association. For example, Kenneth Burke's often-quoted
illustration of attempted identification—the politician before an audience of farmers who begins his address, "I was a farm boy myself. . ."—can be analyzed as having a high ascriptive value with that group. (However, one must first have some knowledge of what being a "farm boy" means to farmers before that introduction can be convincingly assessed. Burke assumes the reader's experiential capacity in this instance.)

Because ascriptive interpretation looks at how humans build context, it gains access to the "structures of significance" which Geertz calls culture. Ascriptive criticism is a method that attempts to reveal the taken-for-granted knowledge of a system in a way that acknowledges that the system is a dynamic of symbolic expression.

6. Procedures

Validity and reliability are significant criteria for assessing qualitative field studies. These criteria suggest various procedures for operation which themselves can serve as criteria for assessment as they reflect a concern for valid findings.

Validity and reliability are obtained essentially through a system of constant checks (or at least a reflexivity which allows check). Procedurally, validity can be approximated through various "triangulations of observation." For this study of Chicano rhetoric, three major areas of data become apparent: direct interview, visual observation, and textual analysis. If each observational tactic tends to reveal similar trends, a "key Linkage"—or general thematic
can be validly inferred. The use of corroborative witness, multiple observers, and key informants are strategies to effect cross-validation. These strategies contribute to a networking system within the site which is used either to confirm an emergent theme or cast doubt on a theme which has been hypothesized. Through this process a surviving question or theme must be made accessible and understood within the social world encompassed by the site.

For this study, selected Mexican literature, selected Chicano literature from Ohio, and the ethnography of station WMEX attempt to triangulate the predispositional reason of Mexican Americans in northwest Ohio. Specific data sources are as follows: The Death of Artemio Cruz and Terra Nostra by Carlos Fuentes; The Labyrinth of Solitude and Critique of the Pyramid by Octavio Paz; Anthology of Ohio Mexican American Writers and Mexican American Anthology II, both are edited by Joy Hintz; and interviews with the management and staff (current and former) of WMEX, direct observation of operational practices, examination of documents in the public access file as well as available private correspondence, and print media reportage about the station.

The ethnographic data are recorded as three classes of notes: methodological, observational, and theoretical. Methodological notes record how the information is obtained while observational notes are descriptive presentations of the recorded information. Theoretical notes represent "self-conscious, controlled attempts to derive meaning from any one or several observational notes." The theoretical notes
begin to look for general thematics which may suggest the underlying logic of the social context for the population of the site.

7. **Chapter Outline**

Chapter One explains the impetus for the study. A descriptive prologue foreshadows recurring methodological and topical emphasis—ethnographic detail and the unease with which some Mexican Americans embrace modernism. The major questions of the study are presented along with a brief accounting of their relevance to rhetorical theory. The notions of Chicanismo and Apocalypse are introduced. A literature review summarizes previous approaches of rhetorical critics to Chicano public address. The methods and procedures sections stress the phenomenological perspective of the study by invoking qualitative evaluation and ascription analysis as its interpretive framework.

Chapter Two gives a formal description of the region. Though alternative demarcations are available, "northwest" Ohio essentially is taken to mean the area of the Fifth Congressional District which contains the major Hispanic market for WMEX. Relevant demographic descriptions establish the MAC **vis a vis** the Anglo community. Excerpts from interviews of area residents suggest both the origins of the MAC and its texture of life. An outline of the significant social features, whether externally assessed by the Census Bureau or internally perceived by residents begins to compose the response to a sub-question of this study: "What are the predominant interpretive
structures providing a social reality for the MAC?" The chapter suggests some of the topical materials of these structures.

The interpretive structures of the MAC are more directly scrutinized by revealing their historical origins. In Chapter Three, the Chicano literature of Ohio is linked to that of Mexican writers. Stylistic and thematic similarities suggest surviving Mexican predispositions in Ohio Chicanos. Thus, the study addresses the question, "What aspects of the interpretive structures originate in historical Mexican culture?" The reply identifies the "Mexican-ness" of the MAC, and the resulting predispositions provide cultural references for the examination of WMEX.

Chapter Four is directed by the question, "What symbolic media are utilized by the MAC which reflect these structures and regulate their content?" An ethnographic presentation of WMEX describes the texture of its operation.

The chapter begins with a brief background of Chicano activism in broadcasting. Following this, the various presentational techniques of the WMEX management and staff are described and assessed. The assessment is conducted using criteria generated in Chapter Three. Along with the observational data are analyses of methodological and theoretical procedures.

The next two chapters employ ascriptive criticism to evaluate from a rhetorical perspective the symbolic expressions of the station. These chapters establish ascriptive categories which examine the content of the assignations likely to influence audience perception of
the station's product. Chapter Five has as its focus negative ascriptive values in asking, "What are the conflicting elements between the Mexican and Anglo interpretive structures and what are the rhetorical requirements for their mediation?" Chapter Six has as its focus high ascriptive values by considering complementary elements between Mexican and Anglo interpretive structures.

Chapter Seven summarizes the study, and responds to the questions, "Given the rhetorical images of the MAC, what implications can be drawn regarding its relationship to the majority culture?" At this point, the essence of the Chicano revelation is placed into its rhetorical context. Also, this chapter assesses the appropriateness of ethnographic and ascriptive methods for rhetorical criticism.
Notes


Field Coordinator's Manual for Organizing a Voter Registration Campaign (Columbus: Midwest Voter Registration Education Project, n.d.), p. 25.

Advance Reports, p. 20.


Brown, p. 17.


16 Habermas, p. 2, italics added.


18 Powers, p. 341.

19 Powers, p. 343.

20 Powers, p. 343.

21 Powers, p. 345.

22 Hammerback and Jensen, "Rhetorical Worlds...", p. 174.

23 Hammerback and Jensen, "Rhetorical Worlds...", p. 170.

24 Sedano, p. 178.

25 Sedano, p. 178.

26 Jensen and Hammerback, "Radical Nationalism...", pp. 191-192.

27 Jensen and Hammerback, "Radical Nationalism...", p. 196, italics added.

28 Jensen and Hammerback, "No Revolutions...", p. 72.

29 Jensen and Hammerback, "No Revolutions...", p. 73.

30 Jensen and Hammerback, "No Revolutions...", pp. 77 and 84 respectively.

31 Jensen and Hammerback, "No Revolutions...", p. 91.


34 Pilotta and Murphy, p. 15.

35 Pilotta and Murphy, p. 20.


40 Geertz, p. 5.

41 James W. Carey, "Communication and Culture," Communication Research, 2 (April 1975), p. 184. Of course, the identification of such structures is helpful when not done as an end, as they shed important light on signification.


CHAPTER TWO
THE MEXICAN AMERICAN COMMUNITY: AN INITIAL PROFILE

The Sandusky River is a modest waterway, as Ohio rivers go. It runs north over one hundred miles through the northern half of the state, emptying into Lake Erie at the southwestern shore. Geographical placement is crucial in Ohio, and here the Sandusky has been fortunate, having escaped the industrial traumas which the Cuyahoga and Mahoning Rivers endure. Its smaller neighbor creeks course under literal rural names such as Pickerei and Racoone. The Sandusky has neither the stamina of the Ohio nor the charm of the Maumee. Instead, the Sandusky seems to move with a self-effacing flow, hugging its scenic beauty close to its banks. This relative anonymity has been the strength of its longevity.

"Sandusky" is taken from "Tsaendosti" (pronounced San-doos-tee), a term the Wyandots used meaning "at the cold water."¹ In the 1600's the Neutral Wyandots used this spot on the river as a place of refuge for all warring tribes. The various Ohio native Americans—the Delawares, Shawnee, Miami, Cherokee, Chippewa, Erie, and Mingo—were free from attack when in the Lower Sandusky River Valley called "Junquindendah," or "place of hanging haze."²

With the arrival of the Euro-American settlers, in the late 1700's, Tsaendosti became Fort Lower Sandusky. Sometime around 1811 a second post was added, Fort Stephenson. It was here that Major
George Croghan defended Lower Sandusky with 160 riflemen and one cannon against 500 British regulars and several hundred native Americans in the War of 1812. Thus, the cultural identity of Junquindendah became usurped by a celebrated military skirmish. In 1848, with the aid of a young attorney, Rutherford B. Hayes, the growing town was renamed after the explorer, John C. Fremont.

Today Fremont is a "working class" town whose city fathers desperately cling to a fading agricultural heritage. Farming brought the Germans and Poles to the area years ago, but now Sandusky County's factories draw all hopeful workers from urban Detroit and backwoods West Virginia. The orchards which Johnny Appleseed was said to have planted are within sight of the Davis Besse nuclear power generator. The most popular event in the county is not the fair, but the yearly street dance called the Sauerkraut Festival. High school football is still serious entertainment in the fall. In fact, the name of Bob Brudzinski, the home grown defensive linesman for the Miami Dolphins, rivals the church and business signs that welcome visitors to town. So, the dialects are mixed, the streets are busy and the Sandusky is a bit more muddy.

The movement and survival of the Sandusky River and the Mexican American community (MAC) in Fremont and northwestern Ohio are similar stories. In this instance ecology and culture seem to mirror one another. The MAC virtually has been an anonymous presence in Ohio since the 1920's when Mexican Americans were recruited from the South to work in the tomato and sugar-beet fields and in the vegetable
processing plants. With one exception, members of the MAC have remained quiet, having kept their sense of political identity within.

The outburst of racial pride which fueled Chicano activism in Texas and California in the '60's and '70's left Ohio's Mexican Americans materially unimproved and ideologically uninspired. Only recently has this community begun to assert itself in explicitly visible ways. Some transformation has occurred, gradually, like the reemergence of the long waiting Sandusky. But, while the river has as its primary responsibility canoes and walleye, the MAC tenders a new generation of Hispanics that must come to grips with the transformation which leads to greater social participation.

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce briefly the MAC of northwestern Ohio. The status of the community is presented demographically as well as from the local knowledge of area residents. The description proceeds in two parts. First, select demographic information on the region presents an external profile of the MAC and, second, Mexican American perceptions of life in the region are drawn from statements by longtime residents of the county as well as individuals who are currently involved in forms of Chicano advocacy.

1. Demographic Profile

According to the 1980 U.S. census, the Hispanic population of Ohio stands at 120,000 persons. Of these, 79,000 constitute Hispanics of voting age. The most populous Hispanic communities are spread across northern Ohio. The generalization by the Ohio
Commission on Spanish Speaking Affairs that, "Mexican Americans are concentrated in the agricultural belt in Western Ohio (and) Puerto Ricans in the Lorain-Cleveland areas and elsewhere in northeast Ohio" accurately identifies large Mexican American populations in the northwest counties. Indeed, Sandusky County, with 3,267, contains the state's largest non-metropolitan Hispanic concentration.

The Fifth Congressional District, which contains Sandusky County, has a Mexican American population of 16,106 (the total district population is nearly one-half million). The median income of Anglo Americans in the district is $21,113, while the median income of Mexican Americans is $17,792. The median income of black Americans is $16,564. Over 2,000 Mexican Americans had incomes below the poverty level in 1979. The Mexican American labor force (male and female) is 8,904, and of these 1,458 were unemployed in 1979.

Northwestern counties have higher proportions of Hispanic students in public school systems than counties in central and eastern Ohio. In counties having one thousand or more Hispanic students, Sandusky County has the highest percentage at 7.7. In comparison, Lorain County has a student population of which 5.5% is Hispanic. For Hispanic adults in the Fifth District twenty-five years old and over, one-third have had high school or some college education. One-half of Anglo Americans over twenty-five have had four years of college.

The population of Sandusky County (1980) totals 63,267. Fremont, the county seat, has a population of 17,834. Clyde, the location for WMEX, has 5,489 residents. The county contains 21 elementary schools,
six junior high schools, six senior high schools, and one vocational school. There are seven parochial elementary schools, and one parochial high school.

Ninety percent of the county's land is farmed. The largest manufacturing employers are: Whirlpool Corp. (Clyde), Kelsey-Hayes, Fremont Foundry (Fremont, a brake assembly supplier for Ford), and Heinz, U.S.A. (Fremont, a tomato processing plant).¹⁰

In one sense, the demographics tell a typical story—as a minority group, the MAC is weaker economically and educationally than the Anglo majority. Still, the area has a stronger Hispanic presence than other parts of the state that have seen greater social activism on the part of Hispanic communities. The atypical side to this story is the imposing rural setting. To extend this profile, three case histories are presented that more clearly suggest the mood of the MA residents.

2. Biographical Profiles.

Rafael Hernandez, Sr. became a permanent resident of Sandusky County in 1948. He first had come to Ohio as a migrant fieldworker two years prior at the age of fourteen. He has worked for the past thirty years as a lab technician for Whirlpool. He lives in Clyde, the hometown of Sherwood Anderson, who used the town as a model for his novel *Winesburg, Ohio*. Within sight of the Hernandez home is the tomb of General James B. McPherson, Sherman's protege, who at the age of 36 became the highest ranking Union officer to die in the Civil War, killed in the siege of Atlanta.
As it is a warm August day, Hernandez sits comfortably in a chair and turns an electric fan toward his visitor. On the walls are framed portraits of himself and his wife, as well as various combinations of his eight children. There are no apparent Catholic relics. "One of our weaknesses," he is saying, "is that we have no community. Not like in Texas. We really don't try to help each other out. But in a way that's helped because if we stuck together as a tight group, then we'd really be a target." Hernandez recalls a time in the early 1950's when he took his wife to a restaurant in Fremont. "We'd been permanent five years, but they said they didn't serve migrants. Things are a lot better now, but that's still the first thing the whites think when they see us."

Hernandez, however, is suspicious of the local service agencies set up to help Hispanics. "They get all kinds of help from the church and the government. Mostly I see all their promises and no compensations. They are political and have nothing to do with us."

The speaker is a short, stocky individual who tries to keep physically fit. During the conversation, the telephone rings and he arranges a tennis date for later that afternoon. Hernandez generally speaks with disfavor about Mexican assimilation, but actually he is ambivalent. Six of his children speak no Spanish. ("Well," he explains, "You need English to survive.") His family remains Catholic. "The beliefs are there, but even now at St. Mary's, you feel like an outsider." All of his married children have Anglo spouses.
The Mexican world, for Hernandez, has faded. This world comes alive, though, through music. The local radio station (WMEX) produces an evening program of Spanish music, and a nearby dance hall regularly features Mexican bands. "We need to hold on to the Spanish music. At the dances, you finally feel like you belong."^{11}

Estella Silva, 45, was born in Michigan (the summer her parents picked cherries near Ann Arbor) and was raised in Texas. Her parents came to Ohio as migrants, but her father became a carpenter and began attending night classes in Findley, Ohio. She works today at a cutlery factory in Fremont.

From a deeper disenchantment with Catholicism than Hernandez expressed, Silva has turned to a fundamentalist Christianity. This doctrine infuses much of her thinking on life in Ohio.

She explains the importance of fluency with the Spanish language in this way: "You can think American, or you can think Mexican. Now, God made you a Mexican. If you were supposed to think American, you'd have blue eyes and white skin. You don't want to displease Him, so you should know your own language." She studies the Bible in Spanish though that constitutes the extent of her Spanish reading. None of her three children speaks Spanish, "They avoided a lot of ridicule that way," she concedes. As she says this her son, a young man in his late teens hoists a backpack and is off for a weekend of camping with friends who wait outside in a Chevy Blazer.

Silva feels comfortable in Ohio. It is virtuous to "settle down, have roots, stay put." She faults the church for "telling men it's
okay to be migrants and the women must follow the men. How sad. For the children, there can be no happiness in the trucks." When asked about the sense of Mexican American community, Silva responds, "Well, we know we're all here, but we aren't organized. There are just some people going around talking as if they're our leaders." When asked if she would like to see any conditions improved, she gives a patient smile. "No matter how good things look, we're still apart--Mexican." 12

Angel Popocca, 37, speaks with growing intensity when describing life in Ohio. Having arrived from Mexico in 1969, Popocca felt he had little orientation to the Anglo culture. "Up here, if someone does something bad, and you read about it in the paper, and their name is 'Jones' or 'Smith' you can't tell if they're black or white. But if their name is Popocca or Gonzalez (here he emphasizes the Spanish pronunciation) you know they're brown. That's why they report more bad than good about us."

He notes how some of his Mexican American co-workers at the Whirlpool plant try to hide their heritage. "They try to pass as Italians. I heard one guy say he was Hawaiian! Or else they say they're from small families." He acknowledges, however, that these practices are not as often used as when he first moved to Ohio.

Popocca's three children can understand Spanish, but they do not employ it in conversation. He transferred his children from Sacred Heart elementary to a public elementary school because, "The nuns would give my kids a hard time because we didn't have a lot of money." He now favors revivalist church meetings.
The television begins to display the day's lottery drawings and Popocca immediately stops to inspect his five dollar card. "Not even close," he says, and the card becomes a marker in a magazine.

Popocca, like Hernandez, enjoys Spanish music. However, he does not like the program on WMEX. "First, the station has a bad sound—like an AM station. Then, the DJs can't speak Spanish that well. And then, they can pick better songs. Once I sent some albums that I thought were good and I never heard a song played. They have to be more responsive to the people."

Popocca indicates that he is happy in Ohio. "But I stick to myself, worry about my own. If I had to walk to work tomorrow, no Mexican would stop to give me a ride."

These cases are presented to give a texture to the image of the MAC. Mexican Americans in northwestern Ohio are linked by a common heritage, but that commonality has been used to generate very little social force. The heritage, too, has been manipulated by forces over which the MAC has had no control. Even if the Anglo majority is dismissed as an intimidator to free expression and the building of community, an important fact remains. The MAC is not a single cultural entity. The migrant workers and the permanent Mexican American residents are distinct groups. They are different from the kinds of jobs they have to the kind of Spanish they speak. Even as they struggle to deny it, the first generation of permanent Mexican American residents has moved closer to the Anglo worldview (which itself is multi-faceted) at major expense to the Mexican worldview. The children of this
first generation—even those whose parents are both of Mexican heritage—through a process which assimilation by itself cannot fully describe, seem to have creatively blurred the Mexican/Anglo distinction so ingrained in their parents and grandparents.

Thus, the MAC is composed of three identifiable perspectives: the traditional, the assimilated, and the transformed. There is movement away from the traditional perspective. The demographics support, and the case histories make explicit, that the change is from being a distinct, imperfect element in the Anglo majority's social design, to one of equal participation.

An aspect of participation which figures importantly is the right to freedom of expression. The MAC has not had access to available expressive media. Until recently, Mexican Americans in northwest Ohio did not own their own businesses, write for newspapers, or DJ radio programs. The seasonal residence of early migrant workers precluded consistent preparation for these positions. Later, factory employment, while providing an adequate income, was not a creative vocation for the migrants who settled out. Freedom of expression was not a reality within the MAC.

But the reasons for this are cultural as well as occupational. It is the traditional view which for fifty years shaped the sense of separation experienced by the MAC. Enterprises like WMEX signify a break with the traditional view. The engagement of expressive media has been the key to the transformation of the MAC. To understand the
transformation, the tone of the traditional view is explored. A more extensive treatment of the prior **Mexican** worldview is given in chapter three.

3. Traditional Perceptions Which Inhibit Community.

The following generalizations may be quite typical of a group that assumes itself to be systematically oppressed by a cultural majority. Still, the basis for these perceptions, justified or otherwise, reveals more about the MAC, and also shows how a basic right can be made to evaporate in the face of these perceptions. Three key perceptions pertaining to the right to free expression are abstracted from talks with Mexican American residents in Sandusky County. For this chapter, however, perceptions come from persons who, through various modes, have some degree of visibility and responsibility.

(1) Vigorous public expression, controversial or not, carries a presupposition of superiority. Even among those who feel he is correct, Mexican Americans have frowned upon the extensive local and national media coverage given to Baldemar Velasquez, leader of a Toledo-based farmworker union. The cultural precept is that one should avoid drawing attention to oneself. A departure from this rule implies privileged circumstances or knowledge.

_Erazmo ("Eddie") Cruz, co-owner and manager of WMEX has encountered this perception while trying to promote the station. "I've gotten resistance from my own people. They want the station to succeed, but when we try for exposure at dances or whatever, they say, 'There goes_
Eddie acting big again. 'I need to show off this place and do some business. That's what it's all about. But people don't see that.'

A further contributor to this perception is the fact that Mexican American issues traditionally gained legitimacy from Anglo sources. The common notion is, "If a Mexican starts it, it will probably go wrong." In the past Mexican Americans have felt that their concerns have been better expressed by Anglo experts or sponsors. For example, several years ago many local Mexican Americans desired to have published an anthology of their writings. It was only after the involvement of Joy Hintz, a Tiffin, Ohio housewife who acted as editor, did the project cease to languish in disorganization.

(2) Public expression should be used only as a last resort.

Catalina Morales works with the Guadalupe Society out of St. Joseph's Catholic Church in Fremont. The Society operates mostly as a relief agency for summer migrants. "We have always tried to get support privately," she says. Morales feels that the mass audiences for newspapers and radio simply do not want to know what the Society does. "I think, too," she adds, "that our Mexican (American) donors would get offended if they thought we would go to just anybody for funds. The private way means they're special."

Narciso Rodriguez, a member of the Governor's Committee on the Migrant Worker, echoes the sentiment. "There are many things we've seen and heard about that should be reported. When you go public, that's for emergencies. It makes you look like you've lost control."
They (migrants) don't want to be seen as an emergency even if they are." Here again the act of speaking out is culturally symbolic. Advocacy transcends the hermetic reticence which shields Mexican insecurity.

(3) The government will not protect freedom of speech for Mexican Americans. Mexican Americans in Sandusky County generally view the courts and law enforcement agencies suspiciously. The owner of a Mexican fast food restaurant offered his visitor a soft drink and began to speak as if he were telling a joke. "There was this Mexican (American) guy who was running for sheriff in Ottawa County. After a while, his opponent started passing these around." He soon produced a matchbook cover which showed a man wearing a sombrero napping beneath a saguaro cactus. "Well, the opponent won. If you want to protest something up there, how much is he going to protect you?"

4. Mexican American Interpretive Structures

Several responses now can be directed toward the first sub-question posed by this study: What are the predominant interpretive structures providing a social reality for the MAC? The structures are general terms of disposition derived from the overall texture of the conversations with Ohio Mexican American residents. Together, the terms of disposition attempt to summarize an outline of a Mexican American worldview found in northwest Ohio. Care must be taken to note that the dispositional terms are "interpretive structures" in two distinct senses, one theoretical and one methodological.
Theoretically, the terms seek to give coherence to the surface expressions of the residents. In this sense the expressive data are thought to be grounded in a knowable (though not categorically organized or consistent) culturally-given awareness. The dispositional terms attempts to describe the characteristics of this awareness.

As method, these terms are imbued with the signification of their users. Whereas ascription is employed as a generic, or subject-free, method for examining the rhetorical possibilities of WMEX, the dispositional terms compose a subject-specific method for, once again, characterizing the cultural influences upon particular events. Put another way, the qualitative analysis here generates images of the social reality for the MAC. In later chapters these images are used as markers to assess the ways in which WMEX participates in and departs from this social reality.

At the Heinz tomato processing factory there are two expressions used that reflect the pervasiveness of this sense of subordination. These expressions are born of anecdote: Years ago a poor Mexican migrant worker was hired at the plant. Though he could neither nor write, this worker suggested a secret innovation which made more efficient the canning line. The innovation was incorporated at all Heinz plants. The other tomato processors desperately sought this new technique. The worker was promoted to supervisor, and even among the city's social circles became somewhat a succès d'estime.

When asked how he accomplished these feats, he replied that he had an extremely helpful guardian angel. It was the angel that had
given him insight and tact. However, it was only a matter of time before, as the anecdote goes, "the Mexican in him took over." While celebrating, this supervisor became intoxicated, uttered horrible profanities which drove the angel away, and spilled the secret of the innovation to a competitor. The worker was demoted, but became so despondent that he returned to migrant labor. Now, when a mishap occurs, an employee simply might say, "No angel." Or, if one wants to ridicule another, the expression could be, "What a Mexican."

The worker was not primarily responsible for his good fortune. He was secondary to the power of the guardian angel. In fact, his openness to the angel is a sign not so much of prudence, or opportunism, as a resident would interpret if the protagonist were Anglo. Rather, from a Mexican, this openness is taken as passivity and meekness. When the Mexican side does assert itself, the consequences are sudden and disastrous.

Closely linked to the Mexican-as-subordinate, is dependence. Many in the MAC do not see themselves in a complementary relationship with the Anglo culture. Instead, the relationship seems to foster dependence which, at best, can be seen as an apprenticeship leading to eventual social acceptance. At its worst, the dependence is exploitative.

The dependence is on various resources, all apparently manipulated by Anglo managers. Language is one such resource. Hernandez, Silva, and Popocca unanimously uphold allegiance to the Spanish language. All understand the need to know English. Their dismay is in the stigma
attached to Spanish. Their language of choice, the language of their parents, of their childhood, in Ohio has come to symbolize ignorance, decadence, and weakness. For these Mexican Americans, English is a constant test of national loyalty, cooperativeness and intelligence. In this way they are dependent upon English for social legitimation.

Though the MAC has been a permanent part of the northwest Ohio population for forty years, only recently has it begun to penetrate community institutions. As a result, the institutions remain quite mysterious and are viewed more as quirky benefactors than public agents. The law, news media, education, religion, electoral politics, all may have sympathizers who acknowledge the self-evident rights of the MAC. But members of the MAC do not perceive themselves constituents of these institutions. They can engage these institutions to the extent that their Anglo leaders respond to convenience, generosity or federal mandate. Unlike the Anglo residents, the MAC has no presumption of fairness when engaging the institutions. Thus, they are dependent upon the Anglo leaders to interpret the manner of service they will receive.

The Chicanos of northwest Ohio are well aware of the disparaging image they present to the Anglo community. These residents very well know that their public presentations often intensify a negative stereotype of Mexican culture. A factor contributing to this is, again, that the residents are limited to a range of settings and activities low in social status. Steve, perhaps the most vocal DJ at WMEX when Mexican American/Anglo relations are discussed, expresses this frustration, "What do they have to judge us by? Do they see us wearing suits and
working downtown in a nice office? No, they see us hanging out at laundromats or coming in late to work at the factory. They see somebody use food stamps at Kroger's and they think we all do." In short, the public activities are mundane and seldom associated with any degree of accomplishment.

As a result, the MAC views the Anglo world with suspicion. This interpretive structure is critical to understanding the roots of Mexican hermeticism. The language of the residents is suffused with images of doom, conspiracy, and entrapment. Suspicion is the sardonic skepticism attributed to Anglo motives. This structure is the mechanism that complicates most Mexican-Anglo relationships and slows any tendency to assimilate North American cultural patterns.

To suspect is the manner in which the Mexican American fathoms the "true" motives of the Anglo counterpart. In all cases, those motives are to undermine Hispanic progress via social humiliation and maintain the Anglo hierarchy. Eddie Cruz faced many delays in securing a license for WMEX, he suspects that the FCC was toying with him to test his resolve toward operating a station. Popocca suspects that the faculty at the parochial school treated his children badly and charged tuition he couldn't afford so that he would have to send his children to the public school. The restaurant owner suspects that selective law enforcement harasses Mexican Americans and has an intimidating effect on those who would seek public office or pursue occupations with high public visibility. Other popular suspicions include: bankers will make extremely complex instructions for and slow the processing of
loan applications; doctors and hospital personnel will provide inferior medical care; store clerks will short-change Mexican Americans on the assumption that they cannot count; and, the Fremont newspaper and radio station slant news items dealing with Mexico or events involving local Chicanos to deliberately humiliate the MAC.

The proof for this suspicions, is, expectedly, largely anecdotal and inferential. It is this suspicion which is the hesitation before every response. It is a pause to discover from where the trap will spring. Ironically, the Mexican Americans direct these same suspicions toward one another. Residents Popocca and Hernandez are dismayed at how fragmented the MAC remains. They yearn for the close neighborhoods of their youth, where trust was easier, but since the Mexican Americans have come from all areas of the south, and since a barrio upbringing is not what will make their children succeed in Ohio, the closeness has not been replicated. Popocca relates an incident that occurred in 1970, soon after he arrived in Ohio. One autumn morning his car would not start, so he began to walk along Highway 20, the main road from Fremont to the Whirlpool plant in Clyde. After walking several miles, an uncle drove him to work. Before this, Popocca noticed all the drivers who did not stop for him, drivers who must have known he would be late to work. "I thought the whites didn't stop because they thought I'd want a ride back. But the Mexicans," he adds, with still a touch of bitterness, "they didn't stop either. Everybody for himself. That's the way it is, man."
North American values emphasizing progress and realism would hold little tolerance for a worldview subsumed by subordination, dependence, and suspicion. But care must be taken to avoid quick evaluations at this initial stage of characterizing how Mexican American residents interpret the social environment of northwest Ohio. Their worldview is being painted in the broadest strokes with the terms of disposition being captions for the experiences the residents relate. Positive and/or negative consequences which stem from interactions with the Anglo oriented structures are noted. However, the cumulative weight of these diverse consequences is not intended to bring this description to an overall valuation for the worldview. This qualification is intended to reaffirm the attitude toward qualitative analysis described in Chapter One.

The qualification also is helpful as a final disposition is described. Acceptance is an interpretive structure whose description approaches modern North American values of adaptability and endurance. A hasty portrayal of this disposition, biased by the expectations of the majority culture (or the disillusions of the minority cultures), might cast acceptance as a "good" disposition with the potential to offset the more "backward" traits. However, such discrete oppositions are not to be found in the nuances of these structures. In fact, the nuances of these structures would evade the analysis were strict oppositions sought and uncritically maintained.
None of the residents introduced in this chapter was so dissatisfied with life among winters, Anglo oppression, displaced migrant workers, etc., that made imminent a return to the South. The residents accept hardship, they accept sacrifice. For example, the loss of Spanish in their children, while undesired, is an accepted sacrifice to life in the North. In the mid 1980's, as it was in the late '40's and '50's, the employment is steady and well paying in western Ohio. Work remains the necessary and sufficient condition for satisfaction by the community, so the social buffeting is accepted without expression. The malevolence perceived through suspicion is not answered straightforwardly. It is met with time and a commitment to focusing on essentials.

Acceptance permits delay. For three decades acceptance has been the durability, the patience of the MAC. The community has seemed submerged, docile, controlled. But this has been the misleading docility of the embryo that is actually growing and changing more rapidly than ever to come.

The summer of 1983 brought Shirley's quincenera. The ceremony was not lavish by most standards. Neither was it simple. All the traditions were observed: the parents, in carefully worded statements, proclaimed their daughter's womanhood and the responsibility that went with it, the priest commanded her obedience to the Church, and Shirley expressed gratitude to family and friends for making her first decade and-a-half happy. The only complication occurred when Shirley,
overcome with emotion, developed a bloody nose toward the end of the Mass. A brief commotion ensued as various aunts and attendants scrambled to hide their embarrassment or provide relief. Once cured, the Mass was concluded, and Shirley, worn, but in obvious relief, greeted guests in a receiving line on the church steps.

At the reception that evening, the following exchange took place:

Q.: I noticed that not all the attendants were Mexicans. What did they think of the quinceañera?

Shirley: I don't know. They thought it was okay.

Q.: What do you think?

Shirley: It's a lot of work. But you get nice gifts.

Q.: Do you think it's good for Mexican [American] kids to do this?

Shirley: I don't know. I guess. I didn't know what one was until my mom told me.

Q.: Did you want a quinceañera?

Shirley: My mom wanted one.  

Shirley accepted the reality of the occasion. She endured the pressure, and spent the time even without fully understanding or appreciating its significance. Her life had been interrupted briefly, but soon she had her peace regained, and had also turned a profit. To resist would have spelled disaster, as it did for the mythical worker who offended his guardian angel. Acceptance in the MAC should not be read as automatic acquiescence. It should be read as timing.
5. Conclusion

The goal of this chapter has been to begin to provide a descriptive sense of the Mexican American Community and its locale of north-west Ohio. The description began with brief historical, geographic, and demographic information. The sociology pertaining to Mexican Americans depicted a crisis of the traditional perspective. Tenets of this perspective were seen to inhibit equal participation among the social structures of the area. Free expression was used as a focus for examining these tenets. Finally, the traditional perspective was seen as part of an overall Mexican American worldview. Subordination, dependence, suspicion, and acceptance were described as interpretive structures by which the residents compose a social reality.

Clearly, other dispositions abound. These dispositions will become more evident in Chapter Three, where their cultural origins are explored for their Mexican uniqueness. This study will begin to focus more carefully on those dispositions which form the point of departure for the Chicano apocalyptic. The transition from traditional cultural essences can then be recognized. As these worldviews gain in descriptive depth, the rhetorical challenge of the Chicano apocalyptic becomes evident.
Notes


4 The Farm Labor Organizing Committee, though extremely vocal has had limited success in achieving reforms. FLOC has not been embraced by the MAC as a whole.

5 U.S. Bureau of the Census, Congressional Districts of the 98th Congress, Table 7, p. 20.


7 "Mexican American Presence," p. 3.

8 Congressional Districts, p. 20.

9 Ohio Department of Education, "Fall Enrollment and Ethnic Composition of Pupils in Public Schools 1979-1980."


11 Personal Interview, 8-20-83, Clyde, Ohio.

12 Personal Interview, 8-27-83, Fremont, Ohio.

13 Personal Interview, 7-25-83, Fremont, Ohio.


15 Personal Interview, 8-6-83, Fremont, Ohio.
CHAPTER THREE

THE "OTHERNESS" OF MEXICAN AMERICANS IN OHIO

I and I

One says to the other

No man sees my face and lives.

Bob Dylan
Infidels

Octavio Paz has described how the national program toward development in Mexico is suffused and often contradicted by an historical consciousness which reveals, as Paz put it, "the permanence of Aztec and Hispanic-Arabic traits in our makeup."¹ The archetypal enactment of this consciousness is the ritual: if, for the Spaniards, the Conquest was a deed, for the Indians it was a rite, a human representation of a cosmic catastrophe. The sensibilities and imagination of the Mexican people have always oscillated between those two extremes, the deed and the rite."² In the last few decades, the orienting deed on this continent has come from Anglo-American notions of progress and development. In Mexico, the deed is complicated by the Pre-Conquest rite of sacrifice which survives variously. The consciousness formed from the traumas of Mexico's bespoiled past is what Paz calls the "other" Mexico: "that gaseous reality formed by beliefs, fragments
of beliefs, images and concepts which history deposits in the subsoil of the social psyche. . ."³ Specific elements of the "gaseous reality" concern this study later and are probed below.

Though Paz intends The Labyrinth of Solitude and The Other Mexico to be critical exercises more than descriptions of the Mexican national character, his analysis of the "social psyche" of Mexico is extremely informative to the study of Mexican American rhetoric. That is, it is informative if the meanings in the rhetoric are to be seen in an historical and, in this case, a cross-cultural context.

Chapter Two furnished some details on the geographic and demographic environment of WMEX. The station was given some basic material coordinates. Establishing references in the social psyche of the Mexican American community can be, at best, sensibly hypothetical. Just as Paz realized the elusive, conjectural nature of such an idea, what he called the "other" Mexico explained much of how the Mexican people made and interpreted their history. It explained how they ordered their lives.

The goal of this chapter is to address the second sub-question posed by this study. Namely: "What aspects of the MAC interpretive structures originate in historical Mexican culture?" The initial profile yielded four interpretive structures which were expressed in terms of disposition: subordination, dependence, suspicion, and acceptance. This chapter argues that the most important historical influence upon the MAC is the Mexican sense of "otherness" identified by Paz and Fuentes. Otherness is the Mexican inheritance that
precipitates and sustains the dispositions. The analysis will attempt to show how expressions of otherness are symbolic representations of the deep ambivalence with which Mexicans view their history and anticipate their present.

One qualification: To presume that the owners and operators of WMEX respond to the exact sense of otherness as the Mexicans in Paz's accounts is naive and irresponsible. WMEX is an Ohio product. Whatever Mexican-ness is to be found in its underlying logic only can be understood because of its Anglo identifications. Conversely, the very obviousness of its Anglo psyche is made possible by the remnants of its Mexican heritage. The two cultures form an uneasy whole in WMEX, so the concern for this analysis is not a process of assimilation, but the discovery of the whole. To apply a metaphor from biology to the social realm, WMEX represents more an experiment of natural selection in the American culture than a synthesis of the Mexican and Anglo cultures.

Still, this Mexican influence is the mystery in the otherness of the Mexican American community in Fremont. For the MAC and Anglo community it is an invisible mystery whose decoys and echoes tell its presence. For the present generation, the perception of otherness is integral to the Mexican American apocalyptic. Historical depictions of this sense are developed primarily from the works of Mexican authors Octavio Paz and Carlos Fuentes. The depictions then are used to interpret the themes of otherness portrayed by Ohio Mexican American writers.
In later chapters, WMEX is examined directly, thus completing the migration of the Mexican "psyche" from the Mexican national, to the U.S. regional, to the organizational level.

1. Two Preliminary Issues: Authority and Inglés.

This section considers two questions whose answers explain the direction of this stage of interpretation. First, why are Paz and Fuentes used as guides through the Mexican psyche? And second, why are the English translations of their works relied upon in the presentation of their views? Clearly, the first issue is the more easily addressed.

Octavio Paz (1914- ) is a poet and social essayist who would subsume these literary genres under the title of "language criticism." For Paz, a former U.N. diplomat and Mexican Ambassador to India, language is a medium of creation and decay, of self-denial and self-knowledge. His poems, and more explicitly his prose commentaries explore and delineate the fibers of growth in which the Mexican worldview also subsists. In "Madrugada" Paz brilliantly captures the ambivalence of self-realization:
Rapidas manos frias
Retiran una a una
Las vendas de la sombra
Abro los ojos
Todavia
Estoy vivo
En el centro
De una herida todavia fresca.

Paz has incessantly charted the avenues and implications of self-realization in longer, more experimental poems such as "Blanco" (1967), "Piedre De Sol" (1957), "Vuelta" (1976), and "Salamandre" (1958) and in groups of essays as Labyrinth of Solitude (1950), Alternating Currents (1967), and The Other Mexico (1972). The importance of his writing to Latin American Literature is unqualified. The Uruguayan critic, Emir Rodríguez Monegal, observes that Paz is "matured and centered on his poetic concerns," while the Mexican writer, Ramon Xiran, concludes that, "In Octavio Paz we find a search for meaning which transcends history without renouncing it." The "history" is a chronicling of human dejection, but specifically, it is the history as unfolded in Mexico. The attraction of Paz is the perceptiveness of his art, how it marvels and admonishes that history. Or as critic-translator Muriel Rukeyser put it, "... (h)e holds the sea and the landscapes open: this woman, these streets, this night, the drums of sky and earth. He holds a recognizable world open to us, he
offers it glittering; transparent; charred; and always made of flesh, even when it is made of myth. Clearly, his is a voice which can speak of Mexico.

In the work of Carlos Fuentes is encountered a voice no less rooted in or reflected upon the historical being of Mexico. Fuentes (1928- ), like Paz, served in several diplomatic positions before leaving the government to write. As a novelist, his works have ranged from realism to fantasy, yet, in various ways, all deal in the broadest sense with the moral gambles men and women perpetrate in seeking or rejecting human community. But the fluid and (inevitably) intrusive backdrops in these novels have the names Mexico City, Guanajuatan, Cholua, etc., names which even in this hemisphere inject the narratives with more mystery than geography. (Interestingly, it is possible to describe this literary function of locale in Burkean terms once it is noted that the mystery-as-scene blends indistinguishably into mystery-as-agency.)

Unlike U.S. history, there has been little consensus on the interpretation of Mexican history and thus the reader of Fuentes' novels learns much of Mexico as his rendition is presented. In these presentations, the closeness of Fuentes to the country is evident. Others have remarked upon his closeness. Renato González, who has examined the thematic interrelationships among the early novels, writes, "La Muerte de Artemio Cruz not only narrates the life of an individual, but also the historical life of an entire nation and ultimately the
John Brushwood, in the introduction of Sergio Galindo's El Bordo states: "Fuentes is undoubtedly the most spectacular novelist of the moment. His books are heroic, broad canvasses. His techniques are very experimental, and always interesting . . . . His treatment of Mexico is a tumultuous love affair. He caresses her, quarrels with her, makes love to her, points out her shortcomings. His best known novels scream their Mexicanism." The novels include: La Región Más Transparente (Where the Air Is Clear, 1958), Las Buenas Consciencias (The Good Conscience, 1959), La Muerte de Artemio Cruz (The Death of Artemio Cruz, 1962), Aura (1962), Cambio de Piel (A Change of Skin, 1968) and more recently, Terra Nostra (1975).

The sensitivity and excitement in their works have enabled Paz and Fuentes to establish wide readership in the U.S. In an August, 1983 issue of Newsweek, both Paz and Fuentes were quoted in an article on Mexican political reactions to President Reagan's Latin American policy as employed in Guatemala and El Salvador. This last fact is mentioned only to underscore the writers' recognizability as Mexican spokespersons. More importantly, the artistry of these writers shares the organicist worldview in its concern for a developing self-awareness even as the art leads its beholder into atemporal apotheosis. If this development is called "process" then Pepper's words can be used to say that "it is the integration appearing in the process that the organicist works from, and not the duration of the process." Here is the departure from the social science of quantitative methods. This study
seeks a determination of the integrating themes of the Mexican American worldview, using qualitative methods, and it is an organic art not an analytical grammar which will mesh with this objective.

In abstracting aspects of Mexican "otherness" from selected works of Paz and Fuentes, the texts used are English translations from the Spanish. Excerpts from these works are presented in English. Now, translations have acquired a tainted status in literature (scholarly and otherwise) and so perhaps a justification for this move is warranted.

The disdain for translations coincides with the movement away from food additives: sugar, preservatives, colorings, salt, etc. Translations are not "natural" and the reader, like the consumer, does not know if the product is what it was originally meant to be. There is no doubt that a distance is created between author and reader through the translation, but it is equally true that through the translation many readers are brought to the author who otherwise would never have experienced the work.

But this is not the whole story. The desire for language purity exists as a double standard which Paz himself illustrates. He has been critical of translations:

"The word success embarrasses me: it belongs not to the vocabulary of literature but rather to that of business and sports. Moreover, the vogue for translations is a universal phenomenon, not restricted to Latin American works. It is a consequence of the increasing importance of publishing as a business enterprise, an epiphenomenon of the prosperity of industrial societies. Literary agents are now scouring the five continents, from the slums of Calcutta to the patios of Montevideo and the bazaars of Damascus, in search of manuscripts of novels. Literature is one thing and publishing quite another. It would appear that in order to receive any attention in Latin America a work must first have the blessing of London, New York, or Paris. This situation
might be amusing if it did not imply a dereliction of duty. The
province of criticism is language, and giving up jurisdiction in
that realm means giving up the use of words. This is abject
surrender: the critic gives up the right to judge what is written
in his own language."14

With this stance, it might be expected that Paz would resist the trans-
lating of his works. This is not the case, but he is careful. Clearly,
he has had long associations with translators Lysander Kemp and Muriel
Rukeyser. Often, Paz does the translating himself and edits final
English drafts of his works. The double standard suggests, as was
seen in Chapter Two, a persistent loyalty to the Spanish language while
seeing as necessary a departure from it.

Even if the acceptability of translations (as audience gathering
devices), grudging though it is, were dismissed, there is another
factor more pertinent to this study that mandates their use: the
Spanish editions of these works are not readily available to the north-
western Ohio community, and if they were, they could not be read by
the majority of its Mexican American population. The bilingualism
often advocated for conversation simply is not extended to literature.
Many persons with whom I spoke indicated that they read little or no
Spanish literature even though they considered English as a second
language. Thus, the texts used for this chapter are those most likely
to be encountered by the Fremont resident interested in Mexican litera-
ture. The English articulation of Mexican themes corresponds to the
reading experience of the Mexican American in Ohio. This type of
correspondence is aimed at achieving reliability for the qualitative
study by consciously attempting to render the themes abstracted recognizable to the subject of study.

Finally, allowing Paz's concern for the artistic purity of his compositions in their native language, the social fact remains that "His power has come through in this decade to readers of his poems and prose in English." The translation from Spanish does not automatically rob a work of its Mexican character. Richard Rodriguez has argued strongly against the notion that speaking in Spanish is the sufficient display of one's acknowledgment of his or her Mexican heritage. Indeed, the point of this essay is to show how Mexican meanings break the surface of their historical context and are evident even in English expressions.

2. The Mexican Other

As mentioned above, the origination of the concept of the Mexican other represents an attempt by Paz to explore the possibilities of cultural criticism as epistemology. José Luis Martínez advances reasons why these explorations repeatedly appear in the works of Latin writers such as Paz and Fuentes. He asserts that the conquered Latin American nations:

"... have all experienced parallel histories, cultural formations, and literary developments. But, on the other hand, autochthonous populations have existed in each zone of America. ..."
This complex of particular circumstances—that is, recognition of itself as an American extension of European cultures, the acknowledgment of Indian roots of different thicknesses and depths, and the self-awareness of itself as part of a community made up of countries which are identical in many aspects—can explain the insistent questions which Latin American intellectuals tend to ask themselves about their own identity, their originality, and the nature of their culture.17

One tendered answer has as its guiding metaphor the mask. For Paz, the Mexican "seems to me to be a person who shuts himself away to protect himself: his face is a mask and so is his smile. In his harsh solitude... everything serves him as a defense: silence and words, politeness and disdain, irony and resignation. The Mexican is always remote, from the world and from other people."18 This remoteness is born of a discomfort with the trappings of the industrial and electronic revolutions which have propelled the European and North American nations to the brink of the 21st Century. For the Mexican, the past seems closer, the present is something which has been stumbled upon, and so it is dissociated. Behind the mask, instead of a keyboard ready to logon to a future only a nanosecond away, there is "the vessel full of the sacrificial blood in pre-Hispanic times, the taste of dust as a firing squad executes a prisoner at dawn, the black hole of sex, the hairy spiders of fear, the laughter of the basement and the privy."19

The themes of distance and remoteness in the "mask" appear in Fuentes. Artemio Cruz, while a Lieutenant in Carranza's army, witnesses the execution of a young envoy, Gonzalo Bernal. After the Revolution, Cruz ambitiously uses his knowledge of Gonzalo's last
moments to gain the sympathies of, and eventually marry into, the family of the wealthy Don Gamaliel Bernal. Their first meeting illustrates the ambiguity and suspicion of personality:

"The stranger watched the old man's amber eyes fixedly, eyes too bold to induce an atmosphere of cordiality, too confident behind their paternal graciousness. Perhaps those seignorial movements of his slender hands, that constant nobility of his profile and neat goatee, that attentive inclination of the head; perhaps these were natural: just the same, even naturalness too could be pretended: a mask might at times feign too well the expressions of a face that existed neither outside it nor under it. And certainly the mask of this old man was so like his true face that only a thin line, a quite impalpable shadow, demarcated them. The stranger reflected that some day he might be able to tell Don Gamaliel this without subterfuge."20

Endless subterfuge, which marks itself in an amazingly keen sensitivity to conspiracy, and the ever-present anticipation of betrayal are deeply pervasive tones for the inhabitants of Fuentes' Mexico. Thematically, these tones clarify how the characters fend away the anguish of history—through falsification. In The Good Conscience, hypocrisy becomes a technique for hermetic escape. The Good Conscience traces the growth of Jaime Ceballos from his early tortured idealism to the "good" conscience of expediency. Fuentes describes institutionalized remoteness in the disguise of hypocrisy. Jorge Balcarcel, Jaime's uncle, has acquired the essence of the good conscience ("like all bourgeois Catholics, Balcarcel was really a Protestant"). When Balcarcel announces that it is time to "speak plainly" to Jaime about proper conduct, he begins a lecture on how to calculate what is plain.22 For Fuentes, the abstraction of "plainness"
throws an emphasis on form, or machination, which is elevated to a level of national acceptance. Jaime's early education is the transition from the plain to the calculated: "The citizen of Guanajuato is...a practiced, talented, certified hypocrite. He is a lay hypocrite, as are all the best, and will serve whatever church seems in his opinion most likely to provide an efficient carrying-out of the theoretical 'general will.' Intelligent, coolly and clearly motivated while opaque externally, heirs to a tradition which Mexico's excessive political centralization has not destroyed, the men of Guanajuato represent the spirit of the Mexican heart."23

The mask and the calculation of Mexican refuge, while reaching their clearest expressions in Paz and Fuentes are echoed in other Mexican novelists. For example, Fernando Benitez, in The Poisoned Water, has a priest describe a similar opacity in the people of Tajimaroa: "Certainly they are docile, even too docile. They accept work and pain with a passive, almost stoic disdain which makes them invulnerable. Nevertheless, behind that protective covering, that resignation with which they accept their destiny, those eyes cloudy with enigmas, are hidden an unhealthy sensitivity, a magic feeling for life, and a reservoir of rebelliousness capable of exploding in a second with astonishing violence."24 The townspeople do rebel against Don Ulises, the local boss, against whom they charge with poisoning the village water supply. As the people united in revolt, a witness states, "They seemed to have come out of purgatory and, of course,
Monsignor, I picture that place of torment as a Mexican village where everything is sordid, where repose is colored by alcohol and pornography. . . .”

Clearly, the Mexican experience cannot be conveyed comprehensively from fragments of the art it inspires. Solace arrives in the realization that this is not the function of art. The narratives direct attention to, as Suzanne Langer has called it, the novelty in conceptualizations, those surprising connotations in culture that are newly perceived and transformed symbolically. These novelties, because they are often made public through such powerful conventions as myth and metaphor do have a capacity for cultural orientation. Thus, the portions are selected to suggest the novelty, the curious quality of Mexican "otherness" found in Mexican art. And the otherness is this: a cultivated melancholy tension favoring themes of sacrifice, withdrawal, suspicion, conspiracy, hypocrisy—all being generative resources for the instantly available fiesta and battle. As a cultural motive, the "other" becomes the technique, the figure that reconciles Mexico with its history.

3. The Mexican American Other.

The expressions of Mexican otherness have achieved a certain eloquence born from the historical maturity of the Conquest and the agonizing acceptance of the results. The metaphorical mask of the hermetic Mexican, although it shields, is a means of confrontation.
The expressions of Mexican Americans in Ohio only occasionally achieve any sort of eloquence. The poems from the Hintz anthologies are ragged, cliche-riddled descriptions of life in Ohio which function more as political accusations than as art. The anthologies were compiled in the early and mid-1970's and are significant in that they signal a shift from the perception of Mexican Americans as migrants to the idea of a permanent and legitimate Hispanic presence in agricultural northwest Ohio. The writers here begin a dialogue with the Anglo majority in the language of the majority. In awkward, sometimes tortured lines, the writers herald their Mexican origins. Yet, without any sense of irony, they revel in the benefits of the Anglo world. As this happens, elements of the mask appear, less spontaneously, more from confusion than resignation.

The Mexican American authors in these anthologies engage in extensive self-description. Several examples can be cited to demonstrate a similarity to the otherness developed by Paz and Fuentes.

The Ohio Hispanic writers assume a defensive pose via historical apologia. They seem to take for granted that their cultural past demands excusing. The unspoken prepositional phrase however, is that to the Anglo the Mexicanness of these Hispanic writers needs excusing. According to Lupe Vargas:
We (Mexicans) lived in peace till we let others invade our land. We had to be softhearted, and let them run our lives and our land. Afterwards, we were sorry.

Some of the Mexicans don't want to hurt the Anglos. We are fighting a losing battle anyway. . . .

In "My Name is Legend," a thinly disguised copy of Corky Gonzalez' "Yo Soy Joaquin," Juan Salvador O'Lalde proclaims that Chicano "... is the legend of the nameless poor . . . who makes his living with the hoe." Before this, though, the legend was "of Quetzalcoatl, and Moctezuma/ of Huitzilopochtli of Tenochtitlan/ of the first advance(d) Civilizations" until it was supplanted with the legend of Jamestown and Plymouth Rock by "My Amigo Yankee Engles." For the historically minded person of Mexican heritage in Ohio, the bitterness is twofold—toward the Aztec nation and its successors for being willing victims, and toward the descendants of the European settlers for being such ambitious thieves.

For these and other poems is sensed the immense cultural limbo—otherness—which the Mexican American painfully endures and is now reacting against. Perhaps this sense of isolation is best expressed by Maria de Jesus Sierra. In this poem, the author is asking Death to explain the Mexican identity. Death answers:
That which was in your past life was glorious and without regret.

You cannot be the man you were.

A man from one culture and one country.

Now you are an other, living in a world with little purpose and in an existence of not belonging nor permitted to belong to one culture, to one country.

You are a soul running at random, wrapped in an endless mist.\textsuperscript{30}

Later, quite unlike Death (but then again, this Death is a Mexican), the answer turns to equivocation:

Your future is inside yourself.

You ought not to abandon your struggle.

You are a child of Aztlan.\textsuperscript{31}

Inside yourself, the sign of hermetic retrenchment! Random, endless mist, little purpose, an other—once again is described the Mexican ground for resignation. The child of Aztlan is forever fragmented, he/she can never be from one country. The Chicano somehow has
remained faithful to the vaccum by being thrust into the "endless mist" of a cultural excluded middle.

There is resignation, but the writers in the Anthologies are not without hope. Still, even in conveying this hope, the image of ancient sacrifice emerges as an obvious remembrance. Sierra admonishes Chicanos to "struggle until the blood and the bruises of your worry are more than symbols." To Richard Elizondo, Chicano consciousness, as a recent political phenomenon forms a "new nation built upon the blood of this... new breed."

The image of sacrifice appears in less literal themes than La Sangre. Often, sacrifice is presented almost with a Puritan warmth. Alfred Haros equates his heritage with hard times. "Mexican American," he writes, "is the pride of people who understand hardship. Mexican American is feeling tired..." Albert Solis describes a similar reverence for the status of have-not.

So rich we might not be,
   Even poor, we live with love and happiness
But we do not envy others for the things we don't have.
   So we are proud for what we have.

Though these writers explain their Mestizo identity with an embarrassed and bitter puzzlement it is in no way a denial of that identity. The Mexican quality of this puzzlement is that it speaks calmly where it could scream for vengeance and it recognizes betrayal where it could see challenge. These distinctly, for lack of a better term, un-Anglo emphases are clues to the otherness of Mexican Americans in Ohio.
In other instances the defensiveness of these writers is evinced in a very typical North American fashion. These writers are given to nationalistic hyperbole as they engage in self-description. Whereas the Anglo is comfortable with exaggeration the Mexican American is dogged by a feeling of immodesty. Chicano praise often centers on the glorification of that which Mexican Americans wish to escape: field labor. In "Be Proud to be Brown," Guillermo Arriaga unwittingly unites Mexicans with the soil. After giving an account of the natural objects which various races represent, he urges "(R)emember that Browns / Are for the earth we walk upon." This is that same earth so pain­fully hoed! In "Chicanos We Are," praise is derived from exploita­tion:

Chicanos have the strength and are strong to have
The Anglos eat their daily bread.
Chicanos have their souls, great and brave.
But the Anglos just sit with their pockets
Full of money that belong(s) to us Chicanos.
But Chicanos someday will have it all.
Because the Chicanos are the best of them all.

In "Heritage," Maria Alicia Bantista elevates the calamity of the Conquest to a cultural aesthetic:

Mexican American, two beautiful words, Mexicano Americano. Pride is the feeling that overwhelms me whenever I distinguish myself as being a Mexican-American. I value my heritage as one would value a treasure. Having this heritage gives me a stupen­dous feeling. I treasure it as a gift from my parents. A gift full of beautiful traditions and customs. I yearn yet to learn of my Heritage.
The praise in these poems sounds with a hollow boast. The pride asserted seems poignantly counter-attitudinal. Though Tony Moreno toasts the Chicano "race"—"May our blood, our genes live forever"—he cannot avoid invoking the image of "the Europeans slaughtering our people far and near."^40

The images of otherness take many forms, but they are instantly recognized. For Manual Flores the melancholy of immigration recreates his homeland. Interestingly, he uses his poem to scold those Chicanos who automatically claim Aztec roots, thus sinking the controversy as to what to call Mexican Americans further into the nomenclatural quagmire.

I am an immigrant here in the United States
From far away lands we came here.

I am a Mexican of the Mixteca people.
And it is confused with the Aztec people.
From the desert Techuacan over there
In the state of Puebla;
A beautiful city so the people say
When they talk about her.

The thoughts rests with me that I obey...^41

The poet is caught in endless movement. First came the trip north, and, once here, the longing for home, and the mind obeys with a dream that goes back to the beautiful city in the desert. Otherness is signalled as the poet is away from the shared present. The mythic tranquility of the ancestral Mexican homeland is recreated, to which the poet retreats. This pattern is pursued more bitterly in "The Uprooted."
Sir, pay close attention,
I am telling the truth.
There is no place like Mexico that compares
For its beauty, greatness and verdancy.

However, the narrator "crosses over" to the U.S. and becomes exploited by "contractors and money-changers." After describing various humiliations, the narrator again resurrects the idyllic past, "Before, we were honorable/Now of this honor nothing is left," and offers detested acceptance to a failed vision:

With this passport
We believe we are Americans
But we have the name
Of being Uprooted.

Here I say goodbye
To all my fellow countrymen. . . .

Otherness is insufferable and inescapable. Gabriel Grimaldo employs the image of the orphan as a metaphor that captures the sorrow of innocent loss. The Conquest, a revolution betrayed, and how the tyranny of modernist development, all have demolished the safety of history, when remembrance was unnecessary, when remembrance was now. When all of Mexico was orphaned a certainty was created: the certainty of leaving. Grimaldo invests the orphan with an almost spiritual knowing of that epic certainty.

My life is like a dream
And I consider it
All that is the truth
Because that happened to me.
Because I was a little orphan
That I already knew
Who was going on an adventure...
The moon and the stars
Helped me find my way.
I left Leon, Guanajuato
And I began to walk.43

In "The Warning Sound," Gilberto Kevilla refers to the mask of otherness and acknowledges the inevitable pressure of contemporary obligations. "Do not disturb my placid life with rain" points both to the oblivious and the watchful, i.e., wanting to hide in the placid life, yet knowing exactly from where the troublesome rain will come. Again, "You and I, we hear, yet do not hear/ that warning sound so clear,"44 clues the reader to how experience is partitioned by a deeply sensitive and ambivalent awareness that compels the Mexican other to prefer diversion over precision, forfeit over confrontation, haste over discipline, passion over consummation.

4. Conclusion

Though the language of the poems is English, the sentiment of otherness is decidedly Mexican. How Paz, Fuentes, and other Mexican writers account for the rise of otherness in the fascinating and urgent text of their history is not a direct concern for this study. It is enough to establish credibility for the idea as a cultural critique, and to determine if it makes explanatory sense within the themes of Ohio Mexican American writers. Clearly, the Mexican writers demonstrate that the phenomenon of otherness stands for the pain of history.
The continuing defense, embodied in the metaphor of the mask, represents the permanence of that pain.

The examination of the Ohio poems shows the signs of otherness in familiar themes that tell of journey, orphanhood, futility, and fantasy. Easily, these and other themes can be connected to the previously identified interpretive structures. For example, in being orphaned, where the North American would likely read autonomy and challenge, a disposition of dependence emphasizes pity and resignation. Suspicion manifests delay and grandiose subterfuge. Acceptance allows courage for the hopeless journey. The structures that sustain otherness are contemporary adaptations of the ancient spiritual rite that solicits protection from the unknown. The behaviors from the dispositions become symbolic enactments for the sense of historical loss.

At the political level, the MAC may perceive subordination or dependence as might any minority group disadvantaged by a stronger majority. In the symbolism of otherness the dispositions are a self-decreed penance for a future betrayed. The penance brings suffering as well as protection. The subordinate need not create or confront expectations; the dependent is subliminal.

This analysis has shown that the interpretive structures, by themselves, do not capture the essential meanings that characterize the Mexican influence. Association with the sense of otherness places the structures in a realm of cultural signification. The potential for the symbolic participations to be used rhetorically is fairly
obvious. In fact, the arrival at this juncture has been possible only through the public discourse now being generated by the MAC. The availability of the Mexican critics, publicly voiced opinions, the poem anthologies, all are techniques of Chicano self-preservation which signal the end of an era of discourse. To build an assessment of the rhetorical nature of its contribution to Chicano self-preservation is the task in the remaining chapters.
Notes


2 Ibid, p. 78.

3 Ibid, p. 74.


7 Ramon Xiran, "Crisis of Realism," in Moreno, p. 145.

8 Muriel Rukeyser, in Paz, Configurations, i.

9 For Burke's proposal of these terms consult Kenneth Burke, A Grammar Of Motives, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1945, rpt., 1969.)


15 Rukeyser, in Paz, *Configurations*, i.
17 José Luis Martínez, "Unity and Diversity," in Moreno, pp. 63-64.
25 Benitez, p. 87.
28 Juan Salvador O'Lalde, "My Name Is Legend" in Hints, *Anthology*, p. 82.
29 O'Lande, in Hints, p. 82.
30 Mrs. Maria de Jesus Sierra, "I Don't Know Who I Am," in Hints, p. 91.
31 Sierra, in Hintz, p. 92.
32 Sierra, in Hintz, p. 92.
37 Lucy De Los Santos, "Chicanos We Are," in Hintz, p. 12.
38 María Alicia Bantista, "Heritage," in Hintz, p. 32.
40 __________, "Why I'm Here," in Hintz, p. 16.
CHAPTER FOUR

WMEX AS A BROADCAST ENTITY

To this point this study has attempted to establish a cultural context for WMEX. Ideas are elements of context; in Chapter Three, historical concepts/observations were examined from the perspective of two Mexican writers. These concepts were not abstracted to erect a priori categories for the study of WMEX. Instead it was shown how these concepts had influenced and were a part of the knowledge of local residents. It was demonstrated that the concepts were echoed strongly in the writings of Mexican-American residents in Ohio. In Chapter Two, demographic and qualitative information was provided about the area. In addition, Mexican-American perceptions of the right to free expression were used to give an initial texture to the self-presentations of the MAC.

In this chapter, WMEX is described directly. But once again, some context-building is needed. The first four sections of this chapter describe Chicano activism in the broadcast industry. Issues salient to Chicano communities, which their activists take to lie within the broadcaster's purview of responsibility, are identified. The final sections of the chapter, then, are a descriptive presentation of the operation of WMEX.
The social movements of the 1960's, in which organized collectives sought to realize goals such as racial and sexual equality, seem to have created a political awareness of and responsiveness to "minority" groups of all kinds. For the broadcast industry, two governmental decisions had a profound impact on the way special interest collectives could challenge industry performance: Office of Communications of United Church of Christ v. F.C.C., which gave standing to citizen groups before the F.C.C. and the Primer on Ascertainment of Community Problems by Broadcast Applicants, which prescribed the practices "to show what the applicant had done to ascertain the needs and interests of the community to be served and the broadcast matter he proposed to meet these needs and interests."3

The major claim of these sections is that the ambivalent quality of the F.C.C.'s ascertainment criterion, as seen in cases where a minority group has petitioned to deny license renewal, is derived from the F.C.C.'s willingness to confer wide discretionary power to broadcasters in meeting the determined needs of the community. This argument proceeds in four steps: (1) the relevant requirements for ascertainment are summarized from the Primer, (2) three primary petitions brought before the F.C.C. shortly after the release of the Primer by the Mexican-American Bilingual, Bicultural Coalition on the Mass Media, which allege ascertainment violations, are described, (3) the ensuing issues over First Amendment rights, community need determination, and F.C.C. censorship are discussed, and (4) general relationships are
drawn between Mexican American activism in broadcasting and the Mexican consciousness.

This procedure is justified for several reasons. First, petitions by the Coalition serve as a manageable focus for a study of the F.C.C.'s ascertainment policy. These sections attempt to provide a representative, rather than a total, picture of this policy, i.e., as it emerged and was applied in the early 1970's. Second, to this end, the Coalition cases (together with additional related cases), raise the necessary questions which gain access to the issues discussed in section three of this chapter. Finally, the status of the Coalition qua Mexican-American racial minority advocating group-specific interests, is a prime example of an element of a disenfranchised segment of society utilizing a government agency as an instrument for redress.

1. Summary of Primer Requirements

The Commission states, "Licensees of radio and television stations are required to make a diligent, positive, and continuing effort to discover and fulfill the problems, needs, and interests of the communities they serve." This effort is executed "by consultations with leaders of the significant groups in the community to be served... and by consultations with the general public." These must be personal consultations made by "Principles or management-level" personnel. The applicant must compile demographic data of the community from "reliable studies or reports." In addition, the governmental, economic, and public service activities which make the community "distinctive" must be determined.
The applicant must then evaluate the data received and "determine the relative importance of the community problems he has ascertained." The applicant proposes specific programs and announcements which treat the problems deemed significant to the community.

2. Coalition Petitions

The Outlet Co., San Antonio, Texas. On June 30, 1971, the Bilingual, Bicultural Coalition on the Mass Media filed a petition to deny an application for license renewal from KSAT-TV, San Antonio. The Coalition was granted standing in this case, as in its subsequent petitions, being "an unincorporated association of persons and organizations located within the City of San Antonio composed of prominent leaders or organizations associated with the Mexican-American community (including) members of the listening audience of station KSAT-TV." The Coalition alleged, inter alia, that the ascertainment procedures and programming responses to community needs by KSAT-TV were deficient and ignored the problems of the Mexican-American community. Specifically, the Coalition charged that KSAT-TV's community composition survey was biased toward upper income brackets, and that the station's selection of community leaders for consultation did not adequately represent the Mexican-American community and therefore was incorrect in determining the programming needs for that community.

The Commission, in dismissing the petition, found that no affidavits supported the Coalition's position. Thus, the petition was procedurally deficient. Treated as an informal objection to the renewal
application, the Commission found that the Coalition failed to establish a *prima facie* case for denial on the following grounds: (1) statistical accuracy is not required in public sampling techniques; the station's reliance on a locally printed economic directory was sufficient, (2) the number of local minority leaders consulted need not be in proportion to the population of the minority; the inclusion of the minority in the interviews was sufficient representation, and (3) the Coalition, in arguing that the *types* of programming presented by the station to meet community needs, failed to establish that no programming existed to meet those needs. The licensees enjoy "wide discretion in choosing programming to meet this obligation."  

*Avco Broadcasting Corp.*  On July 1, 1971, the Coalition filed a petition to deny the renewal application for WOAI-TV, San Antonio. Once again, the petition lacked supporting affidavits and was dismissed. Treated as an informal objection, the Commission considered the Coalition's allegations that, *inter alia*, WOAI-TV had failed to ascertain the problems of the community in general, and of the Mexican-American community in particular. The Coalition reported that the station had consulted 27 persons, only eight of whom were Mexican-American. Considering San Antonio's total population of 831,000, this effort was insufficient.  

In rejecting the Coalition's objection, the Commission found that the *total* ascertainment effort must be at fault or made "in bad faith" to raise a material question regarding its procedures. Since the
station had conducted various conferences and speakers' bureaus to
determine community needs, in a manner in which Mexican-Americans were
shown to have input, the total ascertainment effort exceeded the require­
ments of the Primer.

The Coalition appealed this ruling in The Bilingual, Bicultural
Coalition of Mass Media, Inc., v. F.C.C. The Court held "statistical
evidence of an extremely low rate" for minority representation "could
constitute a prima facie showing of discrimination" but that WOAI-TV's
policy fell within a "zone of reasonableness." Yet the court comment­
ed that denial of hearings prevented "challenging groups" from knowing
the underlying reasons for putative disparities between minority popu­
lations and their minimal inputs in broadcasting and so suggested to
the Commission that it "consider how best to provide a fair and reason­
able opportunity for those challenging license renewals to seek explana­
tions. . ." for station practices.

Mission Central Company. On October 2, 1974, the Coalition filed
a petition to deny the renewal application of KNON, San Antonio,
challenging that the station, among other things, engaged in ascertain­
ment practices which discriminated against Mexican-Americans, failed
to broadcast programs for minorities effectively, and failed to nego­
tiate with the Coalition in good faith.

In dismissing the petition, the Commission reiterated its position
that "there is no magic formula for determining the correct number of
community leaders to be interviewed. All that it required is a survey
of a representative cross-section of community leaders." The
Coalition had argued that based on census figures showing a 44.2% Mexican-American population, contacts with 26 Mexican-Americans out of 100 community leaders resulted in a percentage disparity of 185%. The Commission also refused to "intervene in the licensee's discretion in determining the amount, kind, and time periods during which public affairs programming should be presented to serve the community's needs..." The station did not have to address all community problems, but could determine "in good faith" the problems to be treated by the station. Regarding negotiations, while the Commission thought highly of attempts by licensees and citizen groups to resolve differences, said the Commission, "We impose no obligation upon any licensee to participate in negotiations, as such."

Finally, the Coalition had sought the power to secure depositions from Mission, as part of the "fair and reasonable opportunity" to discover explanations of ascertainment disparities as suggested in *Bilingual v. F.C.C.* The Commission found this demand redundant, since, as a condition of renewal, Mission was ordered to amend its application to provide more detailed information concerning its ascertainment and employment practices.

3. Implications of Ascertainment Policy

In attempting to prescribe broadcast practices which observe the "public convenience, interest, or necessity," the Commission implicitly holds that the broadcast media ought to be "socially responsible" to the listening/viewing audience. In administering its ascertainment
policy, the F.C.C. must mediate the broadcaster's responsibility to respond to the needs of the community with the broadcaster's freedom under the First Amendment. This section attempts to describe the inherent tensions which surround this mediation as it pertains to the early Primer on ascertainment of community problems.

Beyond the direct controls on programming... the F.C.C. exercises an indirect influence over programming by controlling activities that in turn affect programming. Since these indirect influences are usually accompanied by denials from the Commission that it is influencing programming at all, justifications for these indirect approaches, taken together, suggest perhaps the broadest basis for official control. [T]hey underlie the extent of departure from the First Amendment tradition for print media; and they raise important questions for legal controls on programming.

Compromise positions have evolved to encourage responsive programming without official mandates; the current version is called ascertainment.20

For broadcaster ascertainment of community needs, toward "encouraging responsive programming," the Commission, in the Coalition petitions, had maintained three crucial points of broadcaster discretion which pertain to: statistical methodology, evaluation of community problems, and programming to meet these problems. Licensees may have been content to follow these ascertainment procedures to avoid hearings, but the rise and legitimation of citizen groups to contest station practices, as the Coalition cases suggest, has had the effect of demanding from these procedures public services programming clearly unwanted by the industry. In 1971, Broadcasting21 reported that station owners were "disturbed by the growing militancy of the public in bringing pressure
to bear on stations." Between 1969 and 1973, the groups filing petitions to deny license renewals rose from two to 150. At the end of 1971 alone, the petitions brought by groups numbered 18 in Texas and 17 in California.

The industry was sensitive to the infringement upon its discretionary power, especially by racial minorities. The activities of these groups intended only "to draw blood" from station owners. The industry joked that the only Commissioner the President would appoint "to satisfy all vocal minorities. . . would have to be a politically independent black female of the Jewish faith." The economic viability of stations was proclaimed by the industry to be increasingly threatened by "federal rules that choke off advertising," with the consequence that, "their freedom of programming has been constricted." Clearly, the broadcasters had a monetary incentive in preserving their First Amendment rights from the petitions of the citizens groups.

To the broadcaster, the F.C.C.'s "programming responsiveness" could be portrayed as unwarranted content regulation, or at worst, as censorship. The minority groups, on the other hand, argued from the premise that their exclusion from the decision-making in station policy formulation amounts to a greater prior censorship. Anselmo states, "It is one thing for the networks to say a million or ten million people are not of much interest to them and that they will not program for them. But it is quite another thing to use technology effectively to block anyone else from attempting to serve those people—which is
just what the networks and the F.C.C. have done.\textsuperscript{27} When the role of broadcast licensees as "caretakers of the public forum" is distinguished from their goal of economic gain, it is possible to derive a position that, "In serving the public interest, broadcasters must be willing at times to sacrifice their interests in order to preserve the public's interest."\textsuperscript{28}

As Canby notes about ascertainment procedures, however, "the purpose of these surveys and consultations was to elicit the problems of the community, not the program preferences of those interviewed."\textsuperscript{29} There existed, in this view, a mistaken assumption behind the Coalition's charges in Outlet, Avco, and Mission, that the stations failed to "broadcast for minorities." That stations are obliged to present programming directed toward specific segments of the community is not entailed in their obligation to serve the needs of the community as a whole.

Another fallacious assumption relates to the representativeness of the Coalition. Cole and Oettinger stated, "Not all citizens groups are representative of the entire community. . ."\textsuperscript{30} While this point may seem obvious, it certainly was to the advantage of the Coalition to present itself as the voice of the local Mexican-American concerns. Yet the "diverse membership" which the Coalition used to gain standing before the Commission in no way guaranteed that the cumulative interests of the Mexican-American community were expressed through it. It is interesting to note that the Coalition was not as rigorous in defending
its demographic self-description while challenging the surveys of the stations.

Clearly, in Outlet and Avco, the Commission's balancing of broadcaster v. citizen group interest served to mollify and chastise both sides simultaneously. Especially in Mission, where the Commission granted a renewal conditionally, it was not at all clear if providing that faulty ascertainment procedures were used would result in a license revocation. Such was the situation, initially, in A. V. Bamford, where Bamford, in seeking to obtain a license for an FM station in Corpus Christy, Texas, failed to consult with leaders of the Mexican-American community. The license was granted by decision of the Administrative Law Judge, pending the necessary amendments to Bamford's application. The F.C.C. Review Board, however, later denied the license citing Bamford's noncompliance with the ascertainment Primer's procedures even though the Board believe that Bamford, a Cuban-born, Spanish speaking businessman, had inadvertently erred.

Thus, to comply with the requirements of the ascertainment Primer is not left to the discretion of the licensee, or applicant, but the manner of compliance is highly discretionary, and, that these requirements are met minimally is no guarantee that the problems of the service area are being addressed is the intent of the Commission. This is what seems to be the ambivalence of the Commission's ascertainment policy as it emerges from the Coalition cases: It reveals the Commission's concern that the industry serve the public interest,
while its decisions evince the legitimate fear of unconstitutional infringement upon broadcast freedoms.

4. Broadcast Activism and the Mexican Consciousness.

Given this interpretation of early ascertainment policy, one might ask: Is this ambivalence avoidable? There are several reasons making strict regulation extremely difficult. First, the electronic media are increasing in capability, complexity, and demand. Though the effects of these media upon consumers may never be known in any comprehensive sense, it is reasonable that the method of their regulation accommodate this flux by avoiding rigid guidelines.

Second, to formulate inflexible guidelines imposes constraints on the social, political, and economic motives and methods of the myriad of interests within or intersecting the broadcasting industry. It is not the Commission's duty to preclude, say, citizen groups from having input into station practices, nor is it their duty to see that the owners do not resist that input. It is their duty to mediate these interactions in ways amenable to the general good, which is putatively embodied in legislative acts.

Finally, there is the more realistic consideration of how accurate and thorough can the Commission be given its resources. While it is a good idea that expediency should at times defer to reasonableness, the increased consumer combined industry pressures on the Commission must render the expedient inevitable. This may account for an amount of inherent ambivalence underlying most administrative agencies.
The Commission, even in its denials of the Coalitions' petitions, showed a consistent recognition of the petitioner's motivations. In *Avco*, the Commission states, "We are not unaware of the concern being expressed by minority groups about the responsiveness of the broadcast media to their local problems." Perhaps it is this awareness, despite the obfuscation of its regulatory execution, that should remain inflexible.

Presentation of these cases is important since they comprise data on Chicano-affiliated interactions with the Anglo bureaucracy. The Coalition's implicit goals primarily were to promote Chicano concerns. The contentions by Coalition and the other petitioners stressed a desire to be heard, i.e., to be consulted directly and earnestly about the kinds of programs that best would serve their distinctive needs as Chicano communities. Coalition wanted the station owners to negotiate in good faith when responding to its petitions. The group was adament in its requests for open hearings. The fact that Coalition gained standing with its petitions demonstrated the organizer's efforts to create and impart to the F.C.C. a sense of relevance and sincerity. The organizers moulded their discontent into a politically acceptable, and meaningful, citizens lobby.

That the Commission consistently rejected the Coalitions' petitions does not automatically imply ineffectiveness. The Coalition's procedural omissions indicated in the preparation more a lack of experience than merit. Even with cases that were procedurally correct, where the Coalition did not prevail, the Commission ruled on deliberately
vague ascertainment guidelines that required clear and immediate interpretation. It was also important that the Coalition bring the Commission to address whether or not the station owners were meeting the spirit, if not the ideal letter of the ascertainment policy.

Though the F.C.C. abolished ascertainment policy in 1983, ascertainment was conducted in 1980 by Family Broadcasting as a part of its application for licensure of WMEX. And, as the description of its programming shows, the staff and management allot air time to a variety of topics that serve the public interest. As stated above, the relevance of ascertainment to this study is that it builds a context for Chicano activism in broadcasting. Additionally, in terms of the interpretation of Chicano self-presentation, the instance of ascertainment battles serves as an example for the transition from the traditional Mexican worldview to one transformed.

Evidence of this "transformation" is found when the activism is viewed as a departure from the hermetic sentiment of otherness. The Coalition cases amplify rather than subdue the presence of Mexican American communities. In these cases, Mexican Americans presume a social and political parity with other groups in voicing concerns. The concerns are made known publically, by interacting with, as opposed to dissociating from, instruments of social media. Risk, anathema to otherness, is accepted implicitly when the groups enter into the process of adjudication.

Activism, per se, is not the key to the shift. Activism can be used to deflect attention and obscure identity. Put to this use,
activism serves the defensive mask. But with the ascertainment cases, where ethnicity is the reason for particular treatment from broadcasters, identity becomes the focus. The idea that ethnic identity can be recognized and fulfilled through radio/television programs presumes articulation and justification. The mask is lowered and images of a culture are exposed, ironically made vulnerable again, to the dangers of a different age.

5. "If You're Not Opportunity, Don't Knock."

Until 1981, Clyde, Ohio, had an allocated FM frequency at 100.9 that had gone unused. In July, 1981, that changed. With little fanfare, Family Broadcasting, Inc., began operating at "Excellent Taste" radio, WMEX. "Family" Broadcasting consisted of the station's principal investors: Marciano Guerrero, Sr., a tortilla factory owner and operator of two Spanish movie houses, Ismael Tijerina, Robert Cruz, Sr., factory workers, and Erasmo Cruz, Sr., owner of a local Mexican restaurant. Eddie was to serve as corporation president and station manager. The distinguishing feature of this enterprise was that this station was the first in northwestern Ohio to be owned and operated by Mexican-Americans. The station itself is the size of a small house. It faces north with a view across U.S. 20--McPhearson Highway--and the farmlands beyond. The highway is busy, heading into Fremont four miles to the west and also to the Whirlpool factory one-and-a-half miles to the east. By the summer of 1982 WMEX had gained enough recognition that passing drivers occasionally would sound their horns at the signs of activity around the station.
Inside are several small rooms: Eddie's office, a reception area, a bathroom/shower, a utility room and one primary and one secondary studio. Both studios as well as Eddie's office serve as record rooms. The door to the manager's office reads "Unless You're Opportunity, Don't Knock." Another adornment is a photo of a sad hound who asks, "Did We Have To Have Today?"

On the reception area walls are various objects. One is a tapestry with the emblem of the Mexican flag in red, white and green. An afghan in similar colors, donated by a listener, bears the head of a parrot in honor of one of the DJs, Paul "The Renown Parrot." (As Mexican hyperbole would have it, the bird resembles more an eagle than a parrot.) Also on a wall is a plaque from the Ladies' Auxiliary recognizing the contribution of WMEX to "The Voice of Democracy." In close proximity to this is a bust of Billie Jo Williams, a photo of Jerry Reed and a host of other country-western singers, and photos of various Spanish bands with names like "Grupo Exitó" and "Los Tigres Del Norte." Looking down on the main reception area, above all other items, is a crucifix.

Eddie took steps that attempted to gain recognition for the new station. A letter to Senator John Glenn, dated September 17, 1981, read:

Recently the Family Broadcasting and Communication Corporation has initiated Ohio's first bi-lingual radio station. The purpose of this letter is to simply introduce you to our radio station. Therefore, I take pride in informing you of this historic and significant endeavor.

Yours in communications,
Identical letters were sent to local State Senators Paul E. Pfieffer (Bucrus) and Paul Gillmor (Port Clinton). The letter also went to Representative Delbert Latta and Senator Howard Metzemberg. Metzemberg's response came two months later, on November 16, and was typical of the others.

Thank you for your letter regarding radio station WMEX FM. I'm glad to hear about Ohio's first bi-lingual station. I hope that you will continue to keep me informed of the station's activities. Please accept my best wishes for continued success. Again thank you for writing.

Eddie sent another letter to business and civic organizations:

This letter will serve as greetings and as an introduction of Clyde's newest radio station. Enclosed please find our coverage map, as relates to the area that we serve and our rate card that applies, at this time, for program and commercial rates.

It would give us great pleasure to assist you in the progress of your endeavors by offering you our services. At the same time, I would appreciate it if WMEX could be included in your list of media outlets for press releases, as well as items of community interest.

Should you have any questions regarding WMEX and its purpose of endeavor, please feel free to contact me and I will be happy to give you any direction that I may be able to offer.

The station operated sixteen hours daily. Sign-on was at 6:00 a.m. (generally) and sign-off promptly at 10:00 p.m. Music programs were four hour shifts which varied, but the usual format was: light rock from 6:00-10:00, country and western 10:00-2:00, top forty and easy listening 2:00-6:00, and Spanish music 6:00-10:00.
Though music was the primary output at WMEX, air time was set aside for community interest programs. The regular time for these programs was 10:00 a.m. As portions of the station's program outline reveal, each show was intended to address specific community "problems."

Problem: Lack of adequate community communication.
Program Title: "Community Chatter."
Format: [Allow] representatives to make their community positions and involvement known to the general public, and for the public to respond and openly participate.

"Community Chatter" would air twice weekly, on Tuesday and Friday, in one-hour segments. The representatives could be "student body officer/leaders, elected officials (city and/or county government), law enforcement officials, chartered clubs (Kiwanis, Women, etc.,), and clergy, housewives, etc." During my observation, this program did not feature guest representatives. The DJs could not recall any instance of guest participation. The show typically consisted of Eddie posing a question or two and expecting listener call-ins. When this did not materialize, music was used to fill in.

Problem: Employment
Program Title: "Rags to Riches."
Format: Available job opportunities, and requirements. [A]ccept written notice and/or requests from future employers and employees.
"Rags to Riches" was a thirty-minute program each Monday. This program was the transition from Rockin' Dan to "Country Monday" with Joanne. This show depended upon a telephone hook-up to the Ohio Bureau of Employment Services in Fremont. Often, the connection was filled with static, and at times the connection broke in mid-sentence. Unfortunately, the Bureau spokesman never produced job listings. Instead, the dialogue centered on how to interview for a position and maintain hope. Joanne considered the program to be valuable, but frustrating. Her estimate: "I think the title overshoots. Besides, the station should give some employment to the 'phone company to fix our equipment."

Quoting from the station's program outline are descriptions of less regular public interest shows. As topics overlapped, shows occasionally were combined.

Problem: Housing
Solution: Housing
Program Title: "My Home/Su Casa."
Format: Information on home care--landscaping, winterizing, etc. Available housing information, rentals available--rentals sought. Senior citizens land ownership education.

Problem: Schools' capacity, maintenance, overcrowding, P.T.O., discipline, busing, funds, etc.
Solution: Presentation of facts and information on area schools.
Program Title: "Reading, Ritin', Now What?"

Format: Allotted time for educators and heads of households to: discuss public apathy for schools, building, construction, expansion, needed repairs, wants and needs, overcrowding, relationships of parents and teachers.

A similar program, "Family Affair," attempted to approach the "problem" of "organized and public recreation." Topics related to the problem were listed as: "drugs, vandalism, morals, racial harmony, youth responsibilities and efforts, and funding." On Sunday, for thirty minutes, "Religious Roundtable," made air time "available on a rotating basis to representatives of local religious organizations."34

Though conceived with good intentions, the public affairs programs were wildly inconsistent. The preparation at best was halfhearted and, at worst, nonexistent. The production responsibility for a particular show fell to the DJ whose shift began at 10:00 a.m. The only clue as to what was necessary for the program would be a brief note from the manager that simply reminded the DJ that the program was to air. While the DJs were meticulous in composing song lists, the non-music segments suffered from impromptu attention. The solution of choice was to begin with a few remarks related to the problem, implore the listeners to "let me know what you the people think," and hurry into a musical set. This solution guaranteed that the potentially torturous time became the fastest half hour on the schedule.
6. Bi-Lingual Programming

It is important to note that when WMEX is referred to as a "bi-lingual" station this does not mean that all programming is bi-lingual. Spanish and English do not co-exist in programs. The daytime programs are strictly English—both in musical content and DJ performance. Similarly, the evening programs are totally in Spanish. WMEX is bi-lingual to the extent that, in a day, both English and Spanish are featured as a program's main language.

Spanish Programs. The Spanish speaking DJs did programs every evening from six to ten o'clock. The original Spanish DJs were Sylvester, Ismael, Juanito, Candido, and Benito. Each show had a different name. For example, Monday's show was called "Ahoras Alegras" or Happy Hours, Sunday's was "Renconcito Norterio" or Northern Corner (of Ohio) and Friday's was "El Sonido de Texas," The Sound of Texas.

The Spanish programs played three types of Spanish music: Conjunto, Orchestra, and Mariachi. Conjuntos were four or five piece bands which usually featured accordian and whose songs told stories of hardships and suffering. Steve classifies this as "right on the border type music." The Orchestras are fuller bands, usually with horns, whose songs are romantic and bespeak the hardship and suffering in love. Mariachi bands are the traditional string and harmony groups.

The dedication is an important element to the Spanish programs. A show's popularity was measured by the amount of song requests telephoned to the station. Listeners would ask DJs to play a special song
and announce the occasion and person(s) for whom it was intended. Songs announced birthdays, anniversaries, or, yes, the hardship and suffering of love. Actual requests could number over ten per evening, but many other calls might come in requesting information about dances or other events for Hispanics.

Until Eddie's ban on the use of personal records, DJs would travel to record stores which sold Mexican music to determine "what was hitting." The Woodville Limelite Theater was a popular source of information. The theater showed movies from Mexico and sold Mexican records. Steve (who moved from his Saturday morning country and western show to the Friday Spanish program) also would consult Billboard to see what was up on the Latino charts.

On Sunday evenings Father Notter from the Toledo Diocese would do a half-hour sermon or send a tape in advance. Eddie instructed the DJs to avoid any sort of commentary or editorializing during the Spanish shows. During elections, DJs could encourage people to vote, but only as a civic duty, not as an ethnic mandate. The Spanish programs remain apolitical.

**English programs.** The English programs mix a variety of musical styles from jazz, to top 40, to country. The station has no set format for its programs.

In the first two years of operation snags often occurred which would delay the start of broadcast. Rockin' Dan would arrive at the station, flip the switch to the transmitter several miles away, and
wonder if Eddie had left the line activated from the previous night. If Eddie had, then the transmitter would warm up. If he hadn't, then WMEX would not begin broadcast for another forty-five minutes as someone would race out to the transmitter to activate the line.

If all went well, Dan would then turn on the 24-hour weather radio (N.O.W.A.: Northern Ohio Weather Association) and flip through yesterday's Cleveland Plain Dealer to check sports scores and significant headlines. As close to six as possible, Dan would put in the cart that was the station identification and the national anthem.

At 7:30 a.m., Ray Grob, a local naturalist, would have sent a tape of five minutes on area campgrounds and parks. PSAs were sent in by the U.S. Post Office, Easter Seals, Welcome Wagon, the Boy Scouts, and the U.S. Navy. The only business ads were for a local department store, a grocery, and La Hacienda Restaurant. Dan would play songs and fill in the log. If his Whirlpool night shift was hard, he might put on an album and play "thirty minutes of continuous music" while he napped. On occasion, Dan would rudely wake to the sound of dead air.

Most mornings, however, Dan or his girlfriend would have stopped at the 7-Eleven for coffee and rolls. These would occupy him during sets as he replaced albums and selected others. During the first two years of operation, Rockin' Dan achieved the most professional sound. By nature an outgoing person, Dan's FM voice was casual but confident, and it easily dominated what to other DJs was an intimidating microphone. Dan's rapid success came from years as an avid radio listener
and music lover. But more importantly, his desire was to excel in an
area where his creativity, his choices, determined the quality of the
on-air product. He was light years from the night shift assembly line.

UPI wanted to lease WMEX a teletype for several hundred dollars
per month, and, as this was too costly for the new station, it was
deprecated and programs aired with virtually no news.

Joanne, the "Country Monday" DJ reports that "the organization of
the station pretty much depends on who's there at the time." Albums
were not alphabetized or categorized by any method. Records were
scratched and often in the wrong jackets.

However, the English programs did have more consistency as the
DJ's modeled their shows after their favorite professional broad-
casters. Also, the station did receive a good amount of Top 40 hits
which assisted the programs in matching other radio shows in quality
sound.

7. Conclusion

To this point, the study has taken steps to place WMEX within the
context of Mexican consciousness. WMEX also has been described as a
broadcast entity serving northwest Ohio. Building upon these steps,
the question is asked: "What symbolic media are utilized by the Mexi-
can American community which reflect structures of interpretation and
regulate their content?" The response to this question describes,
first, the nature of symbolic media, and, second, the symbolic media
utilized by WMEX and their relationship of Mexican structures of inter-
pretation.
The power for the terms of disposition is directed toward, and at the same time stems from, images of relationships as humans perceive them to be, or hope them to become. Dreams help to shape discourse whether it be explicitly instrumental or explicitly expressive. These dreams, or images, reflect the values of participants, and therefore may be noble or evil. The communication media which give these images social visibility, i.e., the "ordinary" forms the images assume in day-to-day life can be, for instance, ideas like beauty or liberty. Interpretations of historical events, the inventing of new ideologies (and allegiance to old), the pools of meanings found in the myths and metaphors of a language (which both challenge and comfort native users), all are potential rhetorical media which can be invoked by such diverse actions as singing an anthem or exchanging currency.

For example, in Luhmann, notions of trust and power are seen as symbolic media which convey complexity reduction. Human comprehension of the immense complexity brought by the differentiation of systems within a society is made possible via symbolic media which can be relied upon to guide selection of behavior. At a concrete level, people trust the repair person to have reduced the complexity of our malfunctioning automobile so that it can be repaired. Conversely, a high school teacher may have reduced the complexity of the world's knowledge sufficiently to supply a bit of the repair person's son or daughter's education. Similarly, the clerk who would rather go to lunch than elect/select to stay in the office to assist the boss (though the boss has said nothing to induce the clerk to stay) has had workplace complexity
reduced through effective exercise of power. Trust and power (like money and love) are communication media that allow for forms of interaction and cooperation which admit higher levels of complexity in delineating or excluding possible alternatives.

This need for cooperation presupposes communication. The character of relationships, in order to be adjusted, are intersubjectively validated through the possibility of meaning. Several symbolic acts become the foundation of trust. First, there must be mutual commitment to the trust relationship. Second, there must be some meritorious or outstanding performance by the one who is to be trusted (to demonstrate worthiness). Finally, to show that the candidate will keep the trust, possibilities for betrayal must be presented and not selected. These acts form the symbol complex or set of meanings which inspire trust and allow for the persistent quality of trust.36

Similarly, power interprets personal and social arrangements. Power, according to Luhmann, is realized in "opportunities to influence the improbable selections" of others37—that is, when the power-subject willingly picks a less favorable selection on the basis of his or her estimation of the power-holder's response. The willingness or deliberateness of the power subject is crucial in distinguishing the exercise of power from coercion. The element of force indicates an absence of the power medium.

As with trust, mutual commitment is necessary for power: the "alter" and the "ego" attribute to each other motives which render socially comprehensible the other's behavior. As Blum and McHugh point
out, motives are observer’s rules for understanding behavior and assumes that the language used to learn the rules and make interpretations is "public and observable."38

The mutuality of power is also a source of risk. Power is reflexive—the exercise of power makes it visible, self-conscious, and this is not only for the power-subject, but for the power-holder as well. In an increasingly differentiated system environment the tendency for power to become diffuse or lost through allocation and fragmentation of influence is increased. The reflexivity of power heightens awareness of its misuse if it is exercised often.

Predominant structures of power abound. The first has already been alluded to the description of the boss-clerk relationship—namely hierarchy. A second is the contractual relationship in which the alternatives of both parties are selected/limited by the negative sanction looming in legal recourse upon violation. Yet another is history of the system. Group memory, or tradition, also places limits on the selections of its members.

Trust and power are examples of symbolic media through which images of ideal human relationships can be enacted. The rhetorical potential of these media is obvious. The focus now is on a specific cultural context for these media.

At WMEX the interpretive structures are in the process of being re-interpreted. For example, sacrifice is a communication medium at WMEX. Everyone is a volunteer. They have freely sacrificed time from
other activities. Staffers complain about poor work conditions and lack of encouragement and progress. The complaints represent loyalty, not acceptance. As the disposition of acceptance would dictate, sacrifice is for the unknowable outcome. The staff projects hard work and sacrifice for the goals of professionalism and—for the station—economic profit. The mysterious replaces the obtainable.

When the DJs noticed that other radio stations had begun to counter-program the WMEX daytime schedule, their sense of power became real. They had influenced the improbable selections of the competing stations. Their sacrifice yielded a return. Thus, subordination and dependence also come open to modification as competition is utilized as a communicative medium.

Suspicion seems to be the most deeply rooted of the historical dispositions. This is reflected in the medium of distrust. The DJs received increased notoriety from their programs and contests. They wrote record companies for free albums and the albums arrived. They took telephone calls from music promoters and celebrities. This was attention to which they were unaccustomed. They approached this notoriety with true Mexican ambivalence. The popularity was enjoyed but they perceived it as abuse. Every listener compliment was a "set-up" to get on the air. DJs took their albums home every day to prevent damage by envious colleagues. They distrusted everyone, wondering what people "really wanted."

Competition, sacrifice and dedication, the willingness to exert power, and to approach problems straightforwardly represent new
possibilities in relationships for the MAC. It is the concentration of these new possibilities in the operation of WMEX, and the public visibility of the station's operation that reveals the viability of opportunism to the MAC.
Notes


2 Primer on Ascertation of Community Problems by Broadcast Applicants, 27 F.C.C. 2d 71 (1971).

3 Primer, at 656.


5 Primer, at 682.

6 Primer, at 685.


8 Outlet Co., at 355.

9 Outlet Co., at 364.


12 Bilingual, at 658.

13 Bilingual, at 659.


15 Mission, at 589.

16 Mission, at 590.

17 Mission, at 583.

18 Communications Act of 1934, As Amended Through November 2, 1978, Sec. 303, 42.


33 Avco Broadcasting Corp., 11 FCC.

34 Eddie Cruz, "Programs," WMEX internal document, (July, 1983).


36 Luhmann, Power, Chapter 1.
37 Luhmann, Trust, Chapter 4.

WMEX is being viewed as a microcosm of Mexican American life in northwest Ohio. Having sprung from the community, the station is considered to embody the Mexican essence and the dispositions of the MAC. Yet the comprehensive cultural identity of the station, as of the MAC, is indelibly linked to that of the Anglo community. The differences and similarities between the two communities help to define each. They are like magnets which can at one time repel, and at another attract. And so the cultural dilemma confronting WMEX also faces the MAC. How the station responds to this dilemma has implications not only for the MAC but for the Anglo community as well. The central question for these Chicanos is this: To what degree will the mask now serve? To abandon the mask is to weaken the defense against the lessons of a tortured past. Yet, to maintain the mask is to rule out new sources of strength and protection.

In this chapter, as in the next, the responses to this dilemma are treated rhetorically. That is, cultural meanings are attached to the techniques of self-presentation found at WMEX. This chapter looks at those meanings which inhibit mediation with the Anglo community, while Chapter Six looks at those meanings which promote mediation. The conceptual device by which the meanings are assessed is ascription. With
this method is determined exactly what the station symbolically reveals to the community, and this provides the content of the Chicano apocalyp­se.

The procedure for this chapter is threefold, to: (1) describe a set of principles of rhetorical communication as implications of a general definition of rhetoric, (2) highlight the principle of ascription as a tool for rhetorical criticism, and (3) begin criticism of the rhetorical communication created at WMEX. The critique begins by describing efforts at WMEX which are negative in ascriptive value. The following chapter looks at those efforts construed as positive in ascriptive value.

1. General Principles for Rhetorical Communication

"Rhetoric" is still a term of some fluidity. Like the terms "rational" and "ethical," conceptions of rhetoric vary according to one's epistemological and pragmatic assumptions and goals for the study of communication. This may always be the case, and the idea of rhetoric may never again achieve the relative stability its formulators enjoyed during the Greek Classical or British elocutionary eras. But this need not be a cause for theoretical apprehension or professional suspicion. The definition of rhetoric should not always be a priority above that definition which gains access to interesting areas for criticism. With this in mind, a definition of preference is given below.

This section proposes several principles of communication which precipitate rhetoric and suggest a general theory of human symbolic
interaction. The use of "principle" here is applied informally, not in the sense of maxim or law. Though these principles are to be considered formative, they seem to encompass the significant elements necessary (though hardly sufficient) for the communication of personal meaning. This discussion begins with the basic proposition that rhetoric is the process of approximating anticipated ideals in human relations through the practice of symbolic reciprocity. Below are the constitutive implications from this basic proposition.

**Process.** A fundamental aspect of rhetoric is its inclusion in process. A process is ongoing, with no precise beginning or ending—it is a flowing of its coordinate parts and, while it may show gross consistency, its exact course will defy specific prediction. For example, meteorology can determine the conditions which result in snow, but this science cannot predict the design of the flakes which fall. Likewise, in our day-to-day living we note that people discuss, promise, warn, complain, and compliment; we express meanings through language, gesture, form, and color. We have even learned to anticipate favorable and unfavorable responses to the things we say. Yet, no science is able to predict that person X will utter, "I can't, I have to feed the baby," as opposed to say, "I can't, I'm busy." Brockriede states: "Although the theorist, critic, or practitioner may focus his attention on a rhetorical act, such an act must be viewed as occurring within a matrix of interrelated contexts, campaigns, and processes." This approach to rhetoric-as-process respects the complexity in human communication which largely precludes prediction.
Variance. This notion is implied by process and, when applied to a theory of rhetoric, instills an ambiguous quality upon the principles described below. If rhetoric arises from a complex of social and biological motivation, comprehension, and individual ability, then variance assumes that the constitutive elements of the rhetorical process are not discrete items, but are more like fields of influence. These "fields" or principles may in some situations become prominent only to fade and be replaced by another principle as the situation changes. The elements of the rhetorical process may exert relative "variable" influence. Thus, we have room to modify and reconstrue these postulates in accordance with the actual range of rhetorical behavior.

Nonsubstitution. The pervasiveness of variance is best appreciated when we consider that each human symbol-user is a unique individual who possesses an essentially private world view. The Burkean notion of identification presumes "divisions" among people which are never totally closed in interpersonal communion. Indeed, if total identification were achievable, the need to communicate would be eliminated. This leads to a third principle— that of nonsubstitution. One cannot substitute his or her awareness, or world view, with someone else, and so all across rhetorical acts there is the attempt to know from others and to reveal to others that which is hidden. Ehninger emphasizes this attempt: "under such circumstances (of division) it is natural that rhetoric as a form of verbal interaction among persons and groups should be concerned with the part it can play in
promoting human understanding and in improving the processes by which man communicates with man. The existential implications of this principle are tempered by the observance of people seeking to understand others through the symbols they create.

**Anticipated Ideal.** A polarity emerges here: on the one side there is the realization that we can never totally know the imagination of another, and on the other side is a mechanism by which we do seek to explore other imagination. The principle of the anticipated ideal in rhetoric arises as a compliment to the principle of nonsubstitution. Habermas states that, "The very act of participating in discourse, of attempting discursively to come to an agreement about the truth... carried with it the supposition that a genuine agreement is possible." The anticipated ideal, then, is one of effecting, as Bryant says, "The function of adjusting ideas to people and people to ideas." Communication apprehension can only arise when one has an uncertainty of meeting the "best" of expectation. One concern of rhetoric is the study of the strategies which seek to bring nearer the anticipated ideal. Further, the anticipated ideal of consensus is reckoned to be based in a personal recognition of an order of goods. The rhetor is imbued with an ethical responsibility when entering into consensus-seeking strategies. This responsibility is necessary for rhetoric, for as Eubanks and Baker note, "(A) central function of rhetoric is to crystallize and transmit human values, the 'whatfors' of a culture."
Ascription. As I have indicated the outward essence of rhetoric is symbolic behavior. An underlying principle which seems involved with the production and use of symbols is ascription. We ascribe meanings to the things we experience and then express the meanings through symbols. Samuel Reiss, in his investigation of the concept of semantic meanings, states that, "... No significance is to be attached to 'sense data' as something capable of isolated existence. For no sooner is anything sensed than it is immediately invested with interpretation or meaning, such interpretation not being necessarily on a conscious level." The symbol itself is not the power, the meaning or image invested in the symbol is the power that, at its best, invokes consensus. The ascription of meaning is a crucial step toward the discovery and agreement of meaning with others.

Ascription is essentially a private, inner affair. We are only "given" meanings or interpretations to the extent that, as is especially seen in child rearing, our experiences are selected and annotations of events are provided by others. But even here, we make certain decisions concerning the nature of what confronts us: we do not believe what we see, we see what we believe. And what we decide to believe is not notably consistent. Aristotle describes our interpretive caprice.

"The same thing does not appear the same to men when they are friendly and when they hate...; in these different moods the same thing will appear either wholly different in kind, or different as to magnitude." The bottom line of ascription, then, is that we come to know what we know and what others know, through our own ascriptive filters.
The complication in communication arises when individuals ascribe different or even opposing meanings to the same statement or event. If the "ideal" for communication is for individuals to achieve an understanding and an agreement on meanings, the rhetor must find a way to influence the ascriptive process toward that goal.

**Intentionality.** Yet we do not communicate meanings randomly: it would be difficult to scramble the symbols of a message and retain the same meaning. Our expressive output is ordered (which is not to say rational). This order giving principle is intentionality. Kenneth Burke sees a "motive" behind all rhetoric because it appears purposive. Baird asserts that the chief intent of rhetoric "is to influence an audience to think, feel, and act in harmony with the communicative purposes of the speaker or writer." At the most general level we could say that the broadest intent behind interaction is to achieve the anticipated ideal. Yet there are countless other intents in terms of one's independent interests which are applied daily or yearly, and for good or otherwise. This is not to say that we are able always to determine the intent or complex of intents which motivate interaction, simply that, if a recognition of intent does not exist, then the achievement of consensus becomes problematic.

**Reciprocity.** Thus far, human consciousness has been seen as a distinct world-constituting entity with a propensity for inquiring about other humans. The mode for pursuing intents and approximating the anticipated ideal is the transacting or sharing of symbols. The principle of reciprocity describes a needed relationship between a
rhetor and his or her auditors. Consensus of meaning requires a degree of mutuality in communicants. Buber sees meaning as existing "between" humans.\(^{10}\) Bitzer requires that audience members be "mediators of change."\(^{11}\) Both of these perspectives assume the reciprocation of symbols among interactants. Our ascriptions are in many ways contingent upon the confirmation we receive from others. A message is "understood" only in the context of someone else's interpretation. Reciprocity describes the simultaneous involvement of the symbols/meanings of consciousnesses seeking consensus. Just as there would be no need for communication if substitutions of awareness occurred, so too would communication be eliminated if there could be no sharing the expressions of awareness.

As I mentioned at the outset, these principles can be imagined as fields of influence in rhetoric, passing through each other, moving forward and back, as elements of a complex process. A further description of ascription is taken up in the next section.

2. Symbolic Media and Ascription

These principles serve as general assumptions backing the discussion of WMEX as a rhetorical entity of Chicano self-presentation. The process of ascribing meanings holds a great potential toward mediating various cultural perspectives. The interpretation of negative and positive values in symbolic compositions implies areas for intervention. The alignments and re-alignments of symbolic media, at best, become
elements of public discourse which sustain dialogue and work toward negotiated understanding.

The act of ascribing has been discussed as a component of rhetoric, but its explanation also has alluded to its application as a strategy. The types of ascriptions interacting with, in this case, the symbolic media of WMEX, generally may be prescribed by the hearer's cultural predisposition. Thus, ascriptive analysis ultimately leads the rhetorical critic to some level of cultural analysis. As the ascriptive values of WMEX are reported, the taken-for-granted knowledge of the station's "universe" is tapped at the point of utilization. The ascriptive analysis seeks to explicate the social and cultural context of the hearer as well as that of the station. The creative and consistent application of ascriptive strategies, which draw upon prominent social understandings of a culture, habitualize initial expectations and become intrinsic to the station's expression. That is, the strategies play a role in developing the station's "character." The intrinsic qualities of the station are essentially audience ratified. The strategies suggest one avenue of mediation between station personnel and audience.

Rhetorical ascription is a symbolic process which abets identification, and in the case of WMEX, the DJs establish a relationship with an audience as the hearers attribute meanings to the sounds, ideas, and images that become the station's content. One qualification must be acknowledged: while the personnel are chiefly responsible for creating an ascriptive value for the programming, or character, which may be intended to relate to predetermined specific responses from the
audience, the possible interpretations of the content must be understood as unlimited and unpredictable. Assuming that ascriptions are made from an undefinable mix of experiential knowledge and intuitive impulse, ascriptive analysis is grounded in the symbolic media employed to display the cultural reality of a society.

3. The Chicano Apocalypse: Negative Ascriptions

On the surface, the revelation being told seems simple enough. It says to the region: "We're ready to participate on every level as you. We're going to participate and we are starting now." Beneath the surface, this declaration entails a sweeping revision of (1) the place of Mexican hermeticism, (2) the consequences of adopting North American culture patterns and, (3) the ability of the MAC to become influential in the overall community.

The discussion of apocalypse in Chapter One noted that the vehicle for proclaiming the revelation is not uniform. The method must vary with the inexorable knowledge and circumstances of a people. In Ohio, a facet of the method is WMEX. What cannot vary, however, is the promise of a new vision, and that vision is not of otherness, but of distinctiveness with participation. The MAC effort to shed the mask—to exclude otherness as the essence of Mexican identity and include the lessons of the North American experience—names the apocalyptic awakening of the community. As the movement proceeds, the outer world will not have changed, but they will have remade the world they see. The remaking is filled with symbols from the past and present and it is this
mix which concerns the remainder of this chapter and the next. The symbols mediate the apocalyptic dream by creating a public discourse laden with new significances. They attempt to make the dream accessible, inspired. The negative ascriptions below conflict with the dream, they are remnants of the mask. And in the comments of the DJs rebellion against the remnants can be discerned.

Clearly, the station presents a complex of significances—meanings seemingly and/or actually unrelated, conflicting, cooperative, or ambiguous. The spoken motives of the personnel reflect multiple interests involved that attracted them to the station and sustaining them through their tenure. For Rockin' Dan it was the opportunity to gain a new skill in a time of sparse employment. Steve was determined to fashion a program that provided consistent, uncomplicated entertainment. Joanne sought to apply and test the techniques she was teaching to her high school radio and television broadcasting classes. Paul "the renown Parrot" Cruz was simply helping his brother Eddie by taking afternoon shifts before working his night job at the H. J. Heinz tomato processing plant. The DJs were aware that they were participating in something new and that there was some social importance to be attached to the enterprize on McPherson Highway just beyond the western city limit of Clyde, Ohio.

The purpose of this section is to identify the symbolic media at WMEX, which are construed as possessing a negative ascriptive value. That is, some expressive media within the symbol complex (or decisionistic world) of WMEX draw unfavorable attributions.
ascriptions. Recall that the negative ascriptions are not simply disagreements or dislikes, but disagreements or dislikes whose dynamic is an associative tie to, in this case, an interpretive structure or particular social knowledge. The ascriptive evaluations presented are those of the WMEX personnel as they react to their image of their relationship to their work, and, implicitly, the station's relationship to its market. The presentation format is a description of topical themes in the language of the participants from which interpretive categories later are derived.

The station's call letters. Eddie has always claimed little knowledge of how the combination WMEX actually was chosen. But the call letters have been a source of some embarrassment to the staff. According to Eddie, three options were submitted to the FCC in a ranking that placed WMEX last. As he once told it, the call letters were selected "by someone in Washington with a sense of humor."

Still, for most staffers, the letters were perceived as a patronizing brand used to isolate the station from the Anglo majority. The feeling of persecution is never far behind. "If they could, they'd probably have called it WSPC. If it's not our color, it's our name." said Steve. "On the one hand we're supposed to be proud, but on the other, this identity is being forced on us. I don't want people to listen to me because this is WMEX, or my name is Esteban. I want people to listen because the show is good." In 1984, the station's call letters were changed to WLCO.
Professionalism. Nearly all the staff felt the management failed to provide the kind of professional leadership that would gain commitment to and produce satisfaction from work at the station. The DJs were all unpaid volunteers who, for the most part, lacked on-air experience. Eddie possessed such experience, having done a radio show for WFRO, in Fremont, and having been involved in other radio and television productions. "We were never taken aside and given any training," said Steve. "I don't think he wanted us to get better than him."

Partially as a result, the quality of the shows during the first several months were very uneven and amateurish. Nervousness and vocal hesitation often made the DJ's on-air voices sound as if barely a whisper. Inexperience with equipment often resulted in minutes of dead air or botched ads. Once Eddie's son, Donnie, was presenting the "news" and listeners could actually hear him turning the pages of the newspaper from which he was reading. For a station that billed itself as "Excellent Taste Radio," the early going was rough.

The DJs were dissatisfied with the model of professionalism set by the management. The staff viewed skeptically Eddie's attempt to personalize his performance. A call-in talk show features Eddie taking questions from listeners who desire advice from a local psychic. Instead of allowing his guest to have the focus, "He says, 'Why do I think that I have some of these powers?'" Then, according to the staff, he enters into a soliloquy on the paranormal.
"That approach bores people" says Steve. "But this is one time he tried to stop. One time when he went to Nashville, Tennessee, to have live shows from Nashville. The very first time that he went, the first year the radio station was on, he says, 'I haven't had a wink of sleep, I haven't even had my coffee yet.' All this was on the air. After this was all over, a month or so later, I told him, 'I don't go on the air saying I'm tired, my wife kicked me out, my wife did this and that. People don't want to hear that. They turn the radio on because they want to be entertained. They don't want to hear your problems.' He tooked down and said 'yeah, yeah.'"

"But he still does it," added Dan.

These DJs were not aware of the personalities they projected on their shows. It was all they could do to keep the songs and ads playing. But as they began to improve while the management style remained the same, they began to develop and exercise a more evaluative perspective toward themselves and others at the station. They also become more aware of being Mexican American and of the need to de-emphasize stereotypical tendencies. Some DJs saw a dangerous mix in the personal life/professional personality combination. Of other DJs those who continued to inject elements of their personal lives, Steve says, "They didn't want to make it obvious that they were Mexican [American]. They just came across that way." On-air occurrences which these DJs felt encouraged a negative stereotype were statements like "I was out all last night," and details of exploits while intoxicated. At one point
a DJ described a current issue of *Playboy* with terms like "Oh La La" and "Mama Mia." In Dan's views, "people don't want to hear if Conway Twitty is going to record *La Bamba* or if Crystal Gayle is going to do *La Cucaracha* in concert."

At times the personal intensity is well intentioned but over-dramatic. Steve describes some of the Spanish programming at WMEX. "If a Mexican dies, they'll be saying a rosary and playing sad music. Can you imagine turning on your radio at a park or party and hearing that? If a person was that concerned they wouldn't be listening to the radio, they'd be at the funeral. I wouldn't ignore it. Hey, I'd give my sympathies to the people and bam!, on to the next song."

**Business sense.** Early in November of 1981 the WMEX station manager mailed a bill to the director of public relations at a nearby technical college. The bill stated, "Thank you for your continuing interest in WMEX-FM advertising program. Your cost advertising on:" There followed a dollar amount.

On November 9, the PR director sent the following reply. "Dear Mr. Cruz: We are returning the invoice receipt from WMEX on Friday, Nov. 6. Please resubmit an official invoice on appropriate company letterhead. We cannot pay this invoice from a postcard. If you have any questions please call me." Stapled to the letter was a postcard whose only means of identification was the WMEX address. A consequence from a lack of attention to professional detail is awkwardness in soliciting and responding in business communication.
The staff members initially were content with their status as unpaid volunteers. Soon, though, they realized that the salaries which they agreed to forego weren't being used to make their jobs any easier. The DJs were soon buying their own records and using them for their programs. Steve noted that, "We had to have the latest sound and we couldn't wait however long it was going to take for Eddie to get the songs—English and Spanish." Eventually, conflicts arose over the use of these albums and Eddie prohibited on-air use of private records.

"We had some popular shows. I know I was getting thirty calls a night. It was jealousy or something. We never got credit for the popularity of our shows." Steve was especially disappointed because they DJs were the ones who sold air time to sponsors. They had to do their own promoting.

"But that is another thing he stopped," explained Dan "When we went to sell time, he said, 'Spread the contracts around.' His attitude, and the attitude of his partner, Ismael, was, 'We don't need them, they need us.'" The perception was that Eddie was avoiding the leg work necessary to gain advertisers and was unwilling to hire a professional out of their donated salaries.

There has been no consistent station representation to the business community. The DJs didn't have the savvy and confidence. The management hadn't trained them in how to dress or conduct negotiations. Many of the DJs hadn't graduated from high school when they found themselves in the strange world of Anglo American capitalism. WMEX had few sponsors. Most advertising revenue came from fair and band promoters. Little came from local businesses.
The DJs felt that an unfortunate perception began to emerge based on their conversations with local viewers. Namely, the English speaking listeners assumed that the evening Spanish programs were adequately supporting the station, while the Spanish speaking listeners assumed that the daytime English programs were drawing sufficient ads. Neither assumption proved correct. It was expressed that such assumption could hinder efforts to sell time. Perhaps what was more damaging about the assumption was that it suggested an audience still polarized by cultural affiliation.

The staff experienced demoralization during the station's third year. Just as the DJs were getting comfortable in front of the microphones, being creative with PSAs and announcements, and developing a loyal listenership, their product was cut. Ultimately, the change forced the original staff to leave the station which put Eddie on the air for the entire day. Later, the times of broadcast were reduced by two hours.

4. Conclusion

The call letters WMEX, the type of professionalism displayed, and the business sense employed are not simply traits of the organization. They signify ways of relating. Moreover, these ways of relating convey meaning to the staff which is a vital element in the relationship with the management and the public. Further, the ways of relating are publicly discernible given the broadcast function of WMEX and the host of corollary activities needed to maintain the station.
This suggests the classic opposition between the defensive traditional Mexican posture and the newer attitude of activism. The management is minimalist and easily threatened by critique. During a call-in show, a listener made several suggestions for station improvement in an unpleasant tone. The program host, who usually worked the Spanish speaking show, responded in an equally harsh tone, "Well," he said, "you can turn it on or you can turn it off." And of the listener's suggestions, "That's bullshit," he said. Another listener later remarked that she felt stunned and embarrassed by that exchange.

The ways of relating depict the defensive posture with which the DJs could not sympathize. They too could see conspiracy and needless sacrifice. But in the face of their new rationalism, conspiracy and sacrifice could not satisfy. To the traditional view, the young Chicano staff ascribed disorganization, distraction, and self-preoccupation. For the early staff, the station was a failure. In their view, the station hadn't improved the image of Mexican Americans in Ohio. "If it had, there would be a larger unmistakable response," says Dan. Also, "We could try to appeal to the younger Mexican [Americans]. You know, get them to the beat, then they listen to the words, then they might be curious about the culture." Instead, the listeners soon began to tire of popular songs heard on other stations, just as WMEX began to air them.

It was a cold January morning when Steve was doing his weekend country music shift. He had just started working a month before, late in 1981. The DJ was upbeat but had just announced the temperature at
"20 miles per hour." It was the beginning of a romance with radio, and the start of a critical perspective of which this high school dropout would soon be proud.

Four years later, on a warm July afternoon Joanne asked, "I wonder how things would have been different if someone else was in charge?"

Steve looked up. "I think the thing that hurt me most, when I signed off the last day on a Friday, and he [Eddie] was there. And he didn't shake my hand, he didn't say anything. He just looked at the door and said, 'We'll see you.'"
Notes

CHAPTER SIX
POSITIVE ASCRIPIONS AT WMEX

This chapter looks at those elements surrounding the operation of WMEX which are positive in ascriptive value. The elements described below are new symbolic media which are possible via new interpretations of, among other things, Mexican history, collective Anglo motive, and social place. Insofar as the media constitute ways of relating, the media are Chicano self presentations which create and reflect the apocalyptic dream of participation. What must be remembered, though, is that this criticism is an interpretation of interpretations. In this instance, what is assessed is the transformation of the meanings that compose the Mexican American interpretation of being, in Ohio, as abstracted from the experience of WMEX personnel. What follows is a listing of the characteristics which are high in positive ascriptive value.

1. The Chicano Apocalypse: Positive Values

Self-Evaluation. Chapter Three showed the reflexive nature of Mexican American literary products. The poems, essays, and drawings found in the Hintz Anthologies revealed a Mexican psyche at once reluctant to confront the realities of a conquered past, and yet eager to proclaim a vision of a stronger future. The literature could be seen
as public self-fortifications as well as anticipations of new approaches to life in Ohio.

The staff at WMEX retains this vivid sense of self-evaluation. The station was unable to afford Arbitron ratings. In the absence of official indicants of listenership, the DJs solicited comments from the audience members—callers-in, relatives, people at their regular workplaces, etc. The DJs constantly would critique their performance and attempt to gauge listener perception and response. The DJs were keenly aware of their "place" as spokespersons and they desired to fulfill the expectations of the audience for entertainment and information. The need for audience analysis forced the staff to examine the Anglo presence not as that of an oppressor, but as that of a resource. The Spanish audience was viewed as a similar resource, but the change occurred in the movement from being considered irrelevant. WMEX, like all other broadcast enterprises had as its goal to deliver a consuming audience to its sponsors. The activism required to sell time and perfect program performance left far behind the resignation so common to the Mexican worldview. If the station were to fail, in Pazian terms, it would be a failure of deeds and not the inevitable, final act in a sacrificial rite.

**Spanish and English Programs Revisited.** Along with the self-evaluation in the face of Anglo and Spanish markets is the high ascriptive value of the program formats found at WMEX. The program formats are described in section five of Chapter Four. The English
programs at WMEX are significant because they represent Chicano attempts to present Anglo styles and characteristics as acceptable and consistent with the remnants of the historical Mexican being. The English programs are not simple imitations of programs on Anglo stations, but interpretations of those programs. The self-evaluation undertaken by the DJs seeks to insure the palatability of their interpretations for both audiences. Thus, for the Anglo listener, the Anglo infusion has the potential to seem acceptable and consistent with the Anglo-European being.

For the Anglo listener, as the English programs become acceptable, the underlying logic of the Spanish programs is obvious. The Spanish programs do not appear as programs of exclusion, nor do they seem an aspect of an explicit political/social agenda. Instead, the Spanish programs are seen as audience-building devices employed as strategies for gaining further advertising sales. The programs roughly represent Mexican American perceptions and knowledge of the Anglo world. The programs are significant also in that they demonstrate the comfort and familiarity the DJs show with Anglo styles. The station promotionals are energetic and often feature the voices of such recording artists as Barbara Mandrell and the Oak Ridge Boys. Prize contests are frequently involved in programs. The DJs have done charity work and often represent the station at local dances. Their programs attempt to utilize and reflect the ambition, energy, resourcefulness and authority ideal to any Anglo business. While the conception of these programs carries high ascriptive value, the professional execution may not.
Enterprise. It is the mediating activity in the programming of WMEX that shows most clearly the station's rhetorical potential. While some of the DJs, as reported in Chapter Five, may be disappointed with the station's lack of an editorial stance, the manager's policies against political advocacy are meant to keep the station away from the controversy guaranteed by the Chicano militancy. WMEX should perceive this condition as an adaptation based upon economic factors much as any other station would take precautions against offending an important segment of its listenership.

In Western societies the profit motive is something everyone always understands and only some occasionally question. In an area that has witnessed factory layoffs and a depressed agri-business climate, no one in northwest Ohio would fault a businessman (of any ethnic background) for trying to earn a living from a small-town radio station. The programs of WMEX are nonthreatening to the Anglo status quo, the station's size is small, and the management does accept Anglo volunteers. The station presents itself as an economic entity, one that is struggling—not in the Mexican sense of sacrifice, but in the sense of the capitalistic rite of paying one's dues. The entrepreneurial spirit that WMEX presents is high in ascriptive value for both the Ohio Anglo and Hispanic.

Community. For the majority of its existence, the MAC has been a separate community, isolated by the "otherness" of its past. Through the local media, the MAC would be introduced to and come to know the important, and sometimes transitory, personalities of the Anglo world.
Chicano children and adults would look in awe upon these personalities. The persons appeared electronically, in voice, in picture, in print. The friends and acquaintances Hispanics knew were real, present, and never, ever, appeared in any other form. But the Anglo could appear at any time, from any source and seem so at ease about it all. The Anglo could converse in any medium with such authority as almost to be beyond belief. The Chicanos were bystanders and never participants in the mystery of publicness.

WMEX is not alone in changing the participants in those media. As the introduction to this chapter suggests, the social landscape began to change at different levels. But WMEX played an important role in this change and happily serves as an excellent illustration of how the sense of community among Hispanics was altered.

The Hispanics learned that the local media were not reserved for the Anglo alone. At WMEX, Hispanics discovered that on the air were people they knew! Sure, the DJs were not getting paid, but neither were they tokens beneath the thumbs of the monied families in Fremont who operated the primary media outlets.

The WMEX DJs had familiar names and spoke of things within, or at least had awareness of, the Hispanic experience. The MAC had gained access to what had been previously an exclusive Anglo domain. The MAC recognized that this time in Ohio had produced the talent to break the silence. For the first time, the MAC was given back its culture through programs operated from within. The station was a mirror, showing the community to itself, making it public, more visible.
While this notion of the enhanced, public, "community" is high in ascriptive value, Paz warns against its consequences. "Society pretends to be an organic whole that lives by and for itself. But while it conceives of itself as an indivisible unit, it is inwardly divided by a dualism. . . ."¹ The historical capacity for solitude makes love a powerful emotion for the Mexican. If the solitude is broken, love can dissipate. As Paz explains:

The dualism inherent in every society, and which every society tries to resolve by transforming itself into a community, expresses itself today in many ways: good and evil, permission and taboo, the ideal and the real, the rational and the irrational, beauty and ugliness, dreams and vigils, poverty and wealth, bourgeoisie and proletariat, innocence and knowledge, imagination and reason. By an irresistible movement of its own being, society attempts to overcome this dualism and to convert its hostile, solitary components into a harmonious whole. But modern society attempts to do this by suppressing the dialectic of solitude, which alone can make love possible. Industrial societies, regardless of their differing "ideologies," politics and economics, strive to change qualitative—that is, human—differences into quantitative uniformity. The methods of mass production are also applied to morality, art and the emotions. Contradictions and exceptions are eliminated, and this results in the closing off of our access to the profoundest experience life can offer us, that of discovering reality as a oneness in which opposites agree.²

Acknowledging this warning, the MAC can hardly refuse the gambit of participation. In Chapters Two and Five, it was seen how members of the MAC and the WMEX staff were critical of many station practices and apparent attitudes. The criticism only is possible where a focus exists. The station succeeded in externalizing cultural materials whose only precedent was the Hintz Anthologies. There is discomfort in
self-presentation. The MAC will face the risks in converting from the mode of solitude to the mode of community.

These media are taken as examples of station practices high in positive ascriptive value. The traits which are positive in ascriptive value theoretically have the potential to assist the station's persuasive efforts to gain community acceptance in the way of boosting listenership and also increasing revenues from the sale of ad time. Generally, these traits reflect traditional Anglo values more than traditional Mexican values. But there is a blend; uncompromising self-criticism and community generosity easily are identifiable as Mexican tendencies. The public nature of these, however, is distinctly North American. So it is not a simple opposition of traditional Mexican vs. contemporary American symbolic media. The next section discusses several rhetorical challenges facing the presentation of these media.

2. Some Rhetorical Requirements for Utilization of Symbolic Media

It is a warm summer evening, a Saturday, and a crowd of approximately 350 has gathered at the Fremont American Legion Hall. It is a well-dressed crowd for it has come from a Mass at Sacred Heart that celebrated Shirley's quincianera. Inside, a buffet dinner of Mexican food is served. At 7:30, the Juve Aldaco band, from Lansing, Michigan, plays a special song to Shirley who dances alone with her father in the center of the dance floor. The lead singer reads from a list while the music plays, and announces Shirley's fourteen attendants and their
escorts. Soon the floor is filled with slowly moving couples. Several WMEX DJs are present—they had been reading dedications to Shirley throughout the day.

At one of the tables, along a wall, sit several older men who have not been listening to the music. They speak heatedly in Spanish, and their conversation seems to consume them. They propose frequent toasts to nearly forgotten compadres who have died in the South. They toast to their own living: they toast the 1930's, desert marijuana, and tamales at Christmas. The band has taken a break, and cassette tapes are being played from its sound system. The men speak loudly now, their memories barely heard above the words of Michael Jackson.

In a discussion on intrapersonal rhetoric, Kenneth Burke quite aptly describes the key obstacle in the WMEX self-presentation. "What could be more profoundly rhetorical," says Burke, "than Freud's notion of a dream that attains expression by stylistic subterfuges designed to evade the inhibitions of a moralistic censor? What is this but the exact analogue of the rhetorical devices of literature under political or theocratic censorship? The ego with its id confronts the super-ego much as an orator would confront a somewhat alien audience, whose susceptibilities he must flatter as a necessary step towards persuasion." WMEX is a part of a cultural awakening that is the Mexican American apocalyptic. The Anglo community operates as a moralist-capitalist censor which at times must be placated through subterfuge. But when WMEX confronts two "alien" audiences, the Anglo "super-ego" in the form of a business community which can choose to invest or divest as
a way of relating to Family Broadcasting. It is a business community whose ranks have slowly opened but whose ways are still protected. On the other side, WMEX is of the MAC but, as has been shown, this Hispanic community is undergoing a transformation barely known to itself. Neither community is completely tangible to WMEX and the inability to discover a consistent relational approach is apparent at the station.

Primarily because of the inexperience of the DJs, who are encouraged to sell time in addition to their program responsibilities, the station presents a varied image, one that occasionally is interpersonally impolitic and abrupt. Station staff sometimes have approached business leaders unshaven, with children, or revealing an unfamiliarity with rates and policies. Clearly, a consistent presentation with programs and courtesy would stabilize the station's image to the public.

A more secondary rhetorical concern centers on the lack of creativity in programming. Formats have remained predictable and are slow in generating audience interest and response. The mediating advantages possessed by the station are diminished without specific and attractive attention-gaining inventions.

Perhaps the greatest rhetorical requirement to face the symbolic media that express the revelation, is to keep potent the underlying meaning of success and participation. The meaning is this: The new movements in the community are not launched exclusively in the hope of riches and comfortable living. These are important, but there looms the possibility of a New Conquest by the MAC. The growing social
sophistication and acts of participation become metaphors for a land retaken and vindicate the weakness of the past. The ethnic hyperbole is an example of the effort to keep this meaning potent. It is not a strongly convincing effort, but it is necessary as the other acts of community participation gradually build credibility for, and demonstrate the emergence of a capable minority. The hyperbole erases the history of failure, and replaces it with a history of greatness. Current participation then seeks to become the proof of this and the circular thinking is completed.

Participation cannot be taken as a matter of course—it must maintain its significance within La guerra. The apocalyptic rhetoric keeps before the community the symbol of the old conquest. The seasonal workers pass through the region still at the mercy of climate and legislation. It is the clearest image of the mask, and to the children of the MAC, it is strange and stifling. The symbolic media act rhetorically as they present new references for understanding and relating the agenda for social participation.

3. Conclusion

Slowly, however, the station has gained acceptance. It has become a fixture in the community not unlike other businesses. To maintain that acceptability while retaining a sense of identity has been the ambivalent dare faced by the management and staff. They have expressed varying strategies. The avoidance of collapse so far has been the measure of its success.
In *Aztecas Del Norte*, Tack D. Forbes gives a somewhat strident account of *Los Mexicanismos* in North America and how these people should win their independence and reclaim Aztlan. In the midst of a discussion on the inaccurate use of the term *Mestizo*, Forbes notes that:

The Spaniards were shrewd colonialists. They gave minor privileges (uniforms, batons of office, and the right to collect tribute) to caciques (chiefs), in order that the native leadership would prevent their people from rebelling. They also gave privileges (of a minor nature) to each different caste (indios living in villages sometimes were exempt from certain taxes, while mestizos, mulattos, and others were able to obtain minor positions in the army, move about freely, except in Indian villages and so on). People with some degree of European ancestry were ordinarily able to wear European-style clothing and obtain concessions not available to most Anishinabe (Indians).

Assuming that Forbes' description of the Spanish conquerors bears some inauspicious parallel to the controlling Anglo-American power structure in Ohio, the rhetorical challenges confronting WMEX loom formidable indeed. But that is certainly the worst, and highly unlikely, scenario—that the Anglo majority is the evil lover who has seduced the potentially rebellious beloved with a minor award. Any improved scenario, however, still poses emphatic requirements on the discourse applied that would "approximate images of ideal human relations." The previous observations are directed toward the embryonic apocalyptic, the silence breaking which has begun, but has yet to find a clear voice.
Notes


5 Forbes, *Aztecas*, p. 188.
CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter is a reflection/evaluation/summary on the interrelationships of the variables brought together in this study. First, and foremost, is the portion of humanity upon whom my interest has been visited, the Mexican-American community of northwestern Ohio, and, specifically, WMEX as an embodiment of that community; second, the qualitative methods used to gather data and report them, and; third, the concept of rhetorical communication—ascriptive—employed to describe the significance, the mediatory mode, of the revelation, the self-presentation of Ohio Chicanos.

1. WMEX: The Historical/Cultural Context

It has been vital to this study to acknowledge the myriad of influences to which the MAC responds. Other investigations surely could derive important and revealing descriptions about the community that are not based upon symbolic interpretations of history and culture. But in my reading of the Mexican and Mexican American authors there seemed to be clues explaining the apparent secrecy and reluctance that characterized their every endeavor. From those clues emerged a collective attitude that led to the notion and framework of "otherness." It was against this framework that the appearance and activity of WMEX
seemed profoundly dramatic. And in WMEX, as in the Ohio poems, were clues that spoke the rejection of otherness.

The theoretical challenge was to model the ontological logic expressed in the Mexican and Mexican American cultural criticisms in a way that would allow for the simultaneity and equivocation that the telling of human sensibility is bound to encounter. Thus, a hierarchy of interpretive elements was constructed, not in the sense of discrete categories, but in the sense of a layering of opportunities for perceiving and concluding. The analysis wound its way through a maze of characteristics, perhaps implying a descending order of influence, but this was unintended. The interpretive structures and symbolic media appeared, faded, and reappeared, reflecting their versatility and interrelatedness. Keeping this layering quality in mind, this is how I envision the hierarchy of interpretive elements discussed in the previous chapters:

I. Otherness—ontological being
   (Primary historical reference.)
   That influences:

II. Interpretive Structures—methods of perceiving.
   (Terms of disposition.)

   A. Subordination
   B. Dependence
   C. Suspicion
   D. Acceptance

   That influence:
III. Symbolic Media—methods of relating

A. Signs of the Apocalypse
   1. Competition
   2. Sacrifice
   3. Dedication
   4. Power
   5. Self-Evaluation
   6. Enterprise
   7. Community

B. Signs of the Mask
   1. Distrust
   2. Escape into stereotype:
      a. Bad business sense
      b. Unprofessionalism
      c. Call Letters

The elements categorize ways of perceiving and ways of relating. As these elements symbolize the negation or reinforcement of otherness, they have been depicted vis a vis an apocalyptic rhetoric whose central enactment is participation. The negation of otherness, and the legitimation of participation is the motive that animates the movement of the Mexican American minority toward the material and procedural references and resources of the Anglo minority. The symbolic media described represent a loose set of relationships confirmed at WMEX and do not attempt a comprehensive listing of existing relational modes.

It was a warm Friday evening, September, 1982. Steve was on the air with his Spanish program "El Sonido de Tejas." Song selection for this shift was essentially spontaneous. He had a short stack of albums at the booth. Occasionally, his wife would go to the racks and search for specially requested songs. She left the studio once to bring the DJ coffee and when she returned Steve's nine year old son accompanied her and he proceeded to run about the station.

The DJ's Spanish tones were soft but rapid as he fielded telephone requests and read announcements into the microphone. Not infrequently bursts of English would meld indistinguishably with the Spanish.
"Oh, yeah, we're cookin' tonight," he would say gleefully. Or, "It's time to plan that party now!" He was clearly enjoying himself and when the 10:00 p.m. sign-off hour arrived, he decided to extend his show by an added half hour.

In the lobby his guests began to amuse themselves doing Spanish translations of English titles. Clearly, they were becoming impatient.

"Hey, what's "Quien de Teme a Virginia Woolf?"

"That's easy."

"What about "El Sonido de Musical?" "That's easy too."

"Okay, what's "La Muerte de un Vendedor? Give up? Death of a Salesman."

Perhaps the most memorable sign that evening was the fact that Steve was constantly moving. He had given his four-hour-plus show standing up at the console booth. His movements were fluid and unhurried, but highly energetic. He had stood like some ship's captain in a storm, taunting the microphone as if it were a natural element against which he must struggle. He emerged from the studio beaming, but later he said, "Watch tomorrow it'll be completely different. Back to the same old stuff."

The DJ's concern reflects the immense promise of WMEX mixed with the scepticism induced by watching the inconsistency of its daily operation. All Mexican enterprises exude a quality of hope tinged with suspicion and an anticipation of sorrow.
By 1984, WMEX had settled into deliberate mediocrity. As the original staff departed, the management resorted to using local high school students as DJs. With the new call letters, WLCO, it seemed as if the former WMEX had passed an initiation to become a legitimate member of the broadcast community. The Spanish programs still were run by Chicano DJs, but the English programs were almost exclusively run by Anglo DJs. (The exception was when Eddie did English shows.)

So the rite of passage seemed flawed. The struggle against the stereotype which the original staff waged at WMEX seemed forgotten at WLCO. The tension between the views of the station as a social program for improvement of a community and a business for profit ceased to exist. The sense of a combination of the two cultures, so painful and fascinating in 1982, seemed to drift toward co-optation in 1985. This was happening without a commensurate increase in new ads or quality programming. An original partner in Family Broadcasting cashed in his interest. Eddie was openly seeking appointments by the Celeste administration to other offices. Rumors abounded which foretold the imminent sale of the station. The Chicano apocalyptic continues in Ohio, sadly without the involvement of the Clyde station.

2. Qualitative Methods

Clifford Geertz has noted that, "Cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete."¹ Culture is an idea that encompasses what people living in a community do. But the layering of meanings often behind what
people do is elusive and open-ended. The choices made by the critics are many, and, in the face of the complexity behind what people do, the responses to those choices, the rational of procedure, is often lost, or, at best, deemed inadequate. As Geertz remarks, "Finding our feet, an unnerving business, is what ethnographic research consists of us a personal experience; trying to formulate the basis on which one imagines, always excessively, once one has found them is what anthropological writing consists of as a scientific endeavor."²

The WMEX experience, for the staff that was most open to discussing it, was a constantly developing one. That is not to imply that it was constantly changing. The views of the staff seemed remarkably stable over the years. Due to the length of time over which I was in contact with them (overall, a period of two and one-half years), the DJs were given opportunities to disconfirm-clarify-validate my impressions. In the summer of 1985 the original staff met a final time to re-tell their experience and respond to my interpretations. The discussions were informal affairs, guided mostly by assertions such as, "It is easy to tell that WMEX is a Mexican station," or "The programs at WMEX are the same as at any other station." The DJs would direct specific examples to support to refute the assertions. As much as possible, the perceptions of the DJs presented herein are the results of these sessions.

From the outset, data reliability was a concern. It became important to verify information by tapping various sources. Two levels of
triangulation emerged: one applied to the context-building effort that involved general cultural traits. The other applied to characterizations of WMEX organizational traits. Models of the resulting triangulation appear below:

**MAC**: Mexicanness as cultural background

- Mexican authors

**WMEX**: organizational culture

- Visual observation
- WMEX observational data
- Mexican American authors
- Staff interviews
- Programming
The presentation of observations was selective, though representative of the routine at WMEX. The goal was to record the sense of what the DJs (and others) thought, as well as the tone of expression. In the early phases of observation at the station, it was assumed that the activities likely would relate to some cultural predispositions. The nature of those dispositions was not discovered until after most of the observations were completed. While the observational data in the models above appears to be a subset of evaluations on Mexicanness, the relation is much more symbiotic. The observational data may well have suggested the influence of religious institutions, economic programs that would hardly involve deep-seated cultural perceptions. Thus, the decisions entailed in "finding our feet" for this study led many places. This historicity of the Mexican-American was recognized through the Mexican authors Paz and Fuentes. The Ohio manifestation of that history, with some attention to an emergent Anglo consciousness, was seen in the poems by Ohio Mexican-American writers. The demographic profile for the area was given, along with character presentations from area residents. These presentations were meant to take the study a step closer to the sense of being expressed by the MAC that surrounds WMEX. The interpreted distinctions in Mexican-American awareness were "traditional" and "modern" or transformed and an attempt was made to trace these distinctions through the perceptions of staff members at WMEX. Ascription was a method intended to interpret the meanings and modes of communication as a result of those distinctions.

In this study, information gathering took many forms. Essentially, the primary focus was the period from the station's beginning of
broadcast to early 1983 when the original staff disintegrated. It was
this staff that recognized a mission, was redeemed by and built upon
a Chicano apocalyptic. As the recognition faded, the culture was
altered, perhaps enough to suggest that it had become a new culture.

I was never able to interview all staff members, and of those I
did interview, there were varying levels of cooperation. Responses
ranged from "What am I going to get out of talking to you" to "How is
this going to be used against me?" Some would allow tape recording of
conversations, others wouldn't. I was not able to penetrate the sus­
picion. Observational data were recorded with some ease as presence
was much more accepted than interrogation.

Key informants played a vital role in gaining interviews with area
residents. The informants were themselves long-time Ohio residents
who had settled-out of the migrant "stream." The informants were
members of a well-respected Fremont family. They provided names of
people who were either (1) available, (2) insightful, or (3) approach­
able regarding family background. Their introductions were effective
as the interviewees were generous with their time and recollections.
Five family representatives were interviewed, portions of three of
these appear in "Biological Profiles." Comments from the others also
appear in section three of Chapter Two.

In spite of the effort toward detail, sensing a whole and trying
to capture it in writing, and trying to remain true to the inspiration
that initiates investigation, one soon becomes impressed by how partial
these efforts must remain. Qualitative cultural studies cannot be
driven by comprehensiveness, nor can they conform to measures of straightforwardness and strict utility. The idea we have called culture, the worldview to which "what people do" is inexorably tied, to which they subscribe and create implicitly or otherwise cannot, at every level, be explained as a rational event.

3. Rhetorical Ascription

The reason for the departure from the rational bases in cultural subscription lies in the principles of communication stated in Chapter Five. The idea of nonsubstitution of awareness immediately throws analysis into the realm of interpretation. This ascriptive approach has attempted to lend a structure to the interpretations of cultural perceptions which distinguish and, in part, identify the MAC and its maturation in Ohio.

The ascriptive method is particularly compatible with the qualitative approach taken in this study. Ascriptive values are determined by the language of the orienting phenomenon, or subject. Here, positive ascriptions are generated within the apocalyptic perspective, which render all other ascriptions negative. Given a less radical type of rhetoric, such sharp exclusions would be unlikely. So, even as an a priori procedure, the critical method has the advantage of "adapting" to the discourse. The adapting feature minimizes the subject becoming an entity of the critical method.

In direct response to the central question asked by this study--"What rhetorical image(s) underlie symbolic acts of the Mexican
American community in northwest Ohio?"—two answers constitute the response. First, the vision of the Chicano apocalyptic, symbolized by the Conquest of participation, is the image that animates the movement of the MAC toward the material and procedural references held by the Anglo majority. Second, the shame of Conquest in the collective Mexican memory that is found in Ohio Mexican Americans, symbolized by the mask, is the image that constructs a defense of dissimulation and suspicion against the risks of public activism. Both images direct self-presentation as a rhetorical technique for social alignment.

In response to the more specific question—"What rhetorical implications do these images create relevant to Chicano/Anglo community interaction?"—the outlook is less definite. As was shown, the momentum for change occurs sporadically. The greatest visibility for WMEX began several months after the initial start of operations. This activity decreased late in 1983. In 1986 the station continues, as WLCO, but with little promotion or additional ads. The station has survived and this is a significant achievement. Yet, the image of the mask threatens hope for apocalyptic change if the sense of urgency and mission are lost. While the station remains an example of Chicano enterprise the quality of the example must be protected if its symbolic role is to be maintained. The quality also must be maintained if the station's symbolism is to remain accepted by the Anglo community.

What, then, is the theoretical relationship to such criticism? We tend to think generally of a "theory" as a set of propositions which explain or apprehend a phenomenon, while the "criticism" is the
application of evaluative principles, which are deriveable from the theory, to a phenomenon. Thus, some have conceived of "dramatism" as Burke's theory of motives, while the pentadic elements (act, agency, scene, purpose, agent) operate as a method for criticism. The theory, then, is prior to the criticism.

Problems arise when the theorizing act is considered. To construct a theory involves criticism when the propositions are applied to the phenomenon. These propositions must be applied for the theorist to assess the potential explanatory power of his or her constructs. When the theorist sees how the constructs "pan out" criticism is implicit and anticipated. The linear sequence "Theory—criticism" begins to break down.

Campbell, in her discussion of ephemeral and enduring criticism argues that good criticism contributes to theory. Criticism is a reflexive mechanism which can show where modifications on theory are needed. When this is the case, theory follows criticism. Campbell states, that at this stage, criticism and theory are indistinguishable, they become part of the same process of inquiry.

The use of ascription has been an experiment. It has shown the intricate webs of associative ties extending across the Anglo and Mexican American cultures. Clearly, these structures can bear more description using other ascriptive frames of reference. Still, the rhetorical strengths and weaknesses of WMEX as a symbolic/cultural entity have been delineated. It has been an informative investigation for a community whose story will continue to be told.
4. Conclusion

In the 1940's, '50's, and '60's, the MAC in Ohio was a hidden culture. It was a culture without a voice; the first generation of Ohio Chicanos went about its growing up in public silence. The most visible signs of this hidden culture appeared in the forms of living reminders, namely, the migrant workers who each early summer brought the field camps to life with the color of clotheslines and the night sounds of black and white movies playing against the sides of barns. The migrants had traveled from an unknown south. They had come from and would return to "the Valley," and spoke of places like Laredo, McAllen, and Brownsville. The workers were reminders of a past sensed only by the first generation. Yet it was a remote past so potent that it was capable of inflicting the silence upon the next generation, while making the somehow familiar workers forever strange.

Still, the silence served them well. Breaking the silence occurred, not as a political/moral mandate, but as a social inevitability, a matter of process, not program. It seemed natural. The MAC has attempted to break the silence from a position of strength, having nurtured itself across the decades. The changes were revealed in small portions, at first they were little more than changes in landscape, but they held significance. Selso Rodriguez was hired as a reporter at a Toledo television station and he pronounced his name with the accent. Several new Hispanic owned businesses in Fremont opened, Tony's
Tacos and the Aguila Bakery among them. Several Hispanics were employed as teachers in the city school system. And, in an act of inverse improvement, the Latin American Club, a bar known for frequent fights and stabbings, changed its name away from the Mexican stereotype and became the Continental Club. WMEX appeared in this context of change and helped to sustain the context; WMEX resided in change and it became the change. The silence breaking is the method and measure of the Ohio Mexican American apocalyptic.
Notes

1 Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture*, p. 29.


EPILOGUE

As a teenager in the late 1960's, Gilberto wore his black hair long, parted in the middle, and occasionally tied back in a tail. High cheekbones and a light brown skin tone enabled him to affect an approximate Native American appearance. This was fine because Gilberto was convinced that his grandmother, Luisa, had ridden with the Navajo and Pancho Villa in Sonora, Mexico.

"My Dad his this picture," he is saying some sixteen years later, his eyes brightening at the recollection. "And those people went way back. They were up in some mountains wrapped in blankets. They didn't look sad and they didn't look happy. They just looked. Blank. Still--like they were used to sitting for long periods of time. Then it hit me. They had never seen a picture being taken before. They didn't know what the photographer was doing."

As an adult, Gilberto's hair is short and neatly trimmed. In his early 30's, the gray has started to emerge. ("It's the kids," he explains.) He works at the Rutherford B. Hays Presidential Museum, in Fremont as, ironically given the story of his grandmother, chief photographer and graphicist. He restores 19th century photographs for researchers and designs publications used to promote the museum. He commutes from nearby Woodville, where he lives with a wife (a manager-trainee with the U. S. Postal Service) and three children. "I wear a suit jacket to work every day," he says. "It's the closest to yuppiedom as I'm likely to get."
For Gilberto, close is good. He remembers summer days of his childhood when he would play and wait for hours as his aunts and older cousins picked cucumbers in the bright fields. But he was not allowed into the fields, nor was he allowed to speak Spanish with the other migrant children. His father was strict about those rules. And in the evenings his father would sit at the end of Gilberto's bed, reading from books of British history and Greek myth. Gilberto excelled in elementary and high school. He studied English and philosophy in the county next to Sandusky, at Bowling Green State University.

When it came time to settle on an occupation, he chose what he admired most, photography and graphics. He received an associate degree from a technical school in Fremont, free-lanced weddings for awhile, and soon began at the museum. The family home in Woodville is comfortably furnished and interestingly reflects Gilberto's varied tastes. He is proud mostly of his family and his work. And yet, tearing through the years of forbidden experience, there hangs on the living-room wall a huge serape blanket, its jagged colorful lines seemingly immutable against the North America sun.

In Terra Nostra, Carlos Fuentes portrays the characters in the novel in three "books": "The Old World," "The New World," and "The Next World." In the third book, Le Senora experiences a sudden, ambivalent revelation:

She drank deeply from her water pitcher, then poured what was left upon the sand, as if she wished to create a beach, a shore, a place where she might sail away from the prison of her bedchamber of sands and tiles and cushions; and where she emptied the pitcher, in the center of the damp stain spreading
across the sand, something stirred, as if the sand were germinating, a plant being born from this sterility, a bud, a seed of life, a caterpillar struggling from the cocoon of the damp sands, wet grains of sand, insignificant, diminutive, born of the tears of a hanged man, of a man burned alive, at last I understand... 2

The Mexican American universe may be likened to the "prison of sands and tiles" of past, but from the sands the cocoon stirs and anticipates a new life. Perhaps that life, too, will stand long-lived beneath the North American sun.
Notes for Epilogue

1 Personal Interview, Woodville, Ohio, June 23, 1986.

BIBLIOGRAPHY


161


Hallpike, C. R. "Some Problems on Cross-Cultural Comparison." See Beidelman, T. O.


