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Table of contents

1. Chicano movement rhetoric: An ideographic interpretation.....	1
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Chicano movement rhetoric: An ideographic interpretation

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Abstract (Abstract): In a survey of Chicano movement rhetoric, Delgado argues that key documents of the Chicano movement--El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan and El Plan de Santa Barbara--may be best understood through their expression of ideographs. The plans were used by Chicano leaders to secure support for their movement and to sustain a particular ideology.

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Full text: This essay surveys Chicano movement rhetoric, arguing that key documents of the Chicano movement--El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan and El Plan de Santa Barbara--can be best understood through their expression of ideographs. These plans were deployed by Chicano leaders to secure support for their movement and to sustain a particular ideology. The plans gave expression to the deep cultural roots of the Chicano Movement and, as such, served as appropriate frames for the dissemination of political ideology, thereby articulating the subject position of the Chicano people.

John Hammerback and Richard Jensen (1980) have noted that "

during the turbulent period of protest which characterized the 1960s and early 1970s, Mexican-Americans joined Blacks, women, and other disadvantaged groups in their attempt to establish unity and demand their share of the American Dream" (p. 166). Despite the importance of the Chicano movement, relatively little rhetorical inquiry (though see Hammerback & Jensen, 1980; Hammerback, Jensen, & Gutierrez, 1985; Jensen & Hammerback, 1980; Jensen & Hammerback, 1982; Jensen & Hammerback, 1992; and Powers, 1973) has focused on Chicano discourse as compared to the anti-war, Black Power, and civil rights movements. Scholars in various fields have effectively surveyed the elements of Chicanismo in poetry (Sedano, 1980), literature (Saldivar, 1990), theater (Kanellos, 1984), and film (Fregoso, 1993). As well, the work of Hammerback and Jensen virtually defines the limited rhetorical understanding of the Chicano movement. One element of Chicano discourse, the several "plans" of the movement, remains largely ignored except for studies by Jensen & Hammerback (1992) and Hammerback and Jensen (1994).

This essay investigates an important social movement, extending a certain mode of analysis--ideographic--to a rhetorical understanding of the ideological and constitutive elements of Chicano rhetoric. These elements are central to understanding the exigencies confronting Chicano rhetors: (1) how to constitute a Chicano identity and ideology within the broader Mexican-American cultural context; and (2) how to activate that community to political action. Tracing the use of ideographs can lead critics to a fuller understanding of movement rhetoric and the development of Chicano rhetoric.

The genre of the plan--central to the articulation of the Chicano and Farm worker movements--should be understood as cultural form, political act, and ideological substance. The cultural resonance of the plan stretches back to the revolutionary periods of Mexico, most notably Emiliano Zapata's Plan de Ayala. Hammerback and Jensen (1994) explain that the "issuing of persuasive public documents named 'plans' has deep roots in Mexican history" (p. 55). Culturally, Chicanos' issuance of plans is consistent with their desire to invoke their Mexican heritage and celebrate revolutionary heroes. However, as these plans have often discursively pursued the address and rectification of social and economic conditions, the political address and ideological content vary as the specific needs or situations have dictated. Though the plans of the Chicano Movement embody deep cultural roots, they are, given the aims of Chicanos, specifically ideological.

This essay surveys two important and related plans of the movement--El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan (hereafter Plan de Aztlan), and El Plan de Santa Barbara--to uncover how Chicano leaders deployed several rhetorical terms to constitute and activate a politicized community in the pursuit of a social agenda. Corky Gonzales has stated that "plans and manifestos provide the ideology, philosophy, and direction for the forward march of the Chicano Movement" (quoted in Jensen & Hammerback, 1992, p. 88). These plans thus represent articulations of Chicano ideology and identity, designed to facilitate the goals of the movement: social justice and cultural nationalism.(1)

Ideographs and the Constitutive Dimension

Ideographs are linguistic units containing political and cultural dimensions. McGee (1980) argues that ideographs "exist in real discourse, functioning clearly and evidently as agents of political consciousness" (p. 7). Condit and Lucaites (1993) add that "an ideograph is a culturally biased, abstract word or phrase drawn from ordinary language, which serves a constitutive value for a historically situated collectivity" (p. xiii). As a consequence of these dimensions, ideographs are essential to social movement discourse. As a rhetorical device, ideographs operate as mechanisms for social control (McGee, 1980) or units of persuasion (Condit, 1987). In these moments ideographs allow for political struggle among competing elements and contestations between dominant and nondominant groups.

In generating contesting communities, ideographs function as forceful signifiers of political ideologies, interpellating and situating consumers of public discourses. Maurice Charland (1987) observes that the ideographs of the people Quebecois sustain more than arguments or public claims. Charland argues that the subjectivity indicated by ideographs always already means persuasion; this is essential for the production of "persuasive discourse

that

requires a subject-as-audience who is already constituted with an identity and within an ideology" to sustain it (Charland, 1987, p. 134).

Ideographs, by their presence and implied silences, indicate an exercise of state power, hence, domination over circumscribed subjects. McGee (1987) notes the centrality of ideographs in the state's exercise of power and dominance over citizens' consciousness.

For Chicanos, as with the people Quebecois, the task was to circumvent those state-sanctioned ideographs which produced "structured silences" (McGee, 1987, p. 15) and closed off conflict. The people Quebecois and Chicanos challenged how the dominant ideographs served the state as articulations of power, and produced new interpretations opposed to state power and domination.

The work of Condit and Lucaites (1993) and Charland (1987) demonstrates how the use of ideographs extends beyond the state and contains cultural meanings that can invite opposition to the state. These analyses focus on ideographs deployed to create collectivities positioned to challenge the state or alter the ability of the state to close off dissent. Ideographic analysis, as Charland illustrates, encourages people "to exist as positions in a text" (p. 138). Thus, though there are a

ways a range of meanings available, the strategic use of ideographs produces individuals "conditioned to the critical

vocabulary of ideographs as a prerequisite for belonging to the society" (McGee, 1980, p. 15), community, or movement.

The presumption of state power encourages critics toward analyses of dominant discourses and ideographs. A dominant ideology thesis is too mechanistic and fails to adequately account for "the rhetorical process of public argumentation in which various organized and articulate interest groups negotiate the problems of resource distribution in the collective life of the community" (Condit & Lucaites, 1993, pp. xiv-xv; see also McGee, 1980, pp. 14-15). Thus, any dominant ideology invites confrontation and the formation of oppositional subjectivities. Charland's (1987) study notes that "a collective subject is the first ideological effect of constitutive rhetoric" (p.

139), produced by and embodying ideology, but his case is centered on a collectivity opposed to state dominance. The people Quebecois and Chicanos similarly oppose their respective state sanctioned rhetorics. Chicanos argued that state ideographs subordinated Mexican-Americans, hence they moved to distance themselves from the common liberal pluralist ideology. Chicano rhetors then articulated a set of localized and culturally specific ideographs to oppose the dominant ideology of the state and attempted to constitute an activated Chicano community. In this process the relationship between the state and the Mexican-American community was amended, perhaps ruptured, so that Chicanos had the opportunity to attempt an alteration of their political and cultural positioning. These rhetorical efforts evinced themselves in many symbolic forms that were common to or resonant with Mexican-American culture.

Resulting from material deprivation and injustice,(2) the Chicano movement developed and sustained itself through the articulation of culturally appropriate and constitutive ideographs. In particular, this essay argues that three key terms--Chicano, La Raza, and Aztlan--functioned as ideographs. These ideographs mobilized an identity oriented to challenge a range of social, economic, and cultural relationships within the context of a complex social movement. Without these ideographs, the Chicano identity and ideology would have been vacant and the movement ultimately less persuasive.

The Cultural and Historical Bases of the Movement

Though Mexican-American history is well documented,(3) it may be useful to provide a general cultural and historical map to show what precipitated the specific ideological and culturalist elements of the Chicano movement. Sharing many of the aims of other movements, Chicanos uniquely featured cultural nationalism as a real goal, no doubt a consequence of Mexico's literal proximity. Chicanos also often preached a rhetoric of otherness while demanding a place within the state. Indeed, the plans that are under analysis were designed to invoke a sense of cultural nationalism aimed at redefining the institutions--education, media, government--of the state.

The movement found inspiration in the efforts of farmworkers, notably Cesar Chavez, to effect changes in their social and economic conditions. These efforts were the culmination of decades of exploitation experienced by Mexican-American and Filipino farmworkers. But, as Acuna (1988) notes: "Mexicans in the United States have responded to injustice and oppression since the U. S. wars of aggression that took Texas and the Southwest from Mexico" (p. 324). Though the conflation of Chicano and Mexican-American as identity terms is imprecise, Mexican-Americans have struggled for social justice and equality since the last century. Chicano ideology and activism are merely the most recent and ideologically distinct form of such efforts. For historians like Acuna (p. 325-326), the Chicano Movement is inseparable from earlier Mexican-American efforts but is distinguished by its cultural nationalism and political radicalization.

Community leaders emerged and links were forged between urban Chicanos--often college students--and the farmworkers. Luis Valdez, founder of the Teatro Campesino, was an important cultural and political figure who bridged the Chicano and Farmworker Movements, giving ideological force to both. Munoz (1989) notes that Valdez was working toward a less assimilationist political stance for Mexican-Americans and "some of that thinking came to fruition when he

Valdez

joined the Farmworkers' struggle in Delano, California in 1965 and founded the Teatro Campesino" (p. 52). At the same time Valdez remained part of the cultural and political scene at college campuses and "key members of the Teatro were student activists he recruited from college campuses in Northern California" (Munoz, p. 53). The farmworkers, and Reies Tijerina's Alianza de Mercedes (see Gardner, 1970), focused on working conditions, wages, and property rights. However, urban student groups added a cultural agenda to reflect their superstructural concerns regarding education and cultural empowerment. Munoz (1989) notes that unlike previous Mexican-American efforts the Chicano Movement "rejected all previous identities, and thus represented a counter-hegemonic political and Cultural project" (p. 12).

Unlike the pluralist orientations of previous efforts, Munoz argues that the Chicano Movement represented a shift away from the dominant liberal-pluralist model. Chicano rhetoric was defiantly nationalist and heavily influenced by Marxist theory. An inevitable rift developed between Chavez's ongoing efforts at working within the established political system--he enjoyed Democratic party support--and the Chicano cultural nationalists who argued that the state, and its sanctioned parties, were the problem. As Navarro, (1974) notes, "Chicano politics, during the politics of protest, became more ideological. Not only did some Chicano radicals embrace various forms of Marxism, but also other Chicanos found in their own culture a quasi-ideology--Chicanismo" (p. 72).(4)

This is not to say that Chicanos were opposed to the Farmworkers. Rather, the Chicano identity was associated with a slightly different, often more culturally specific, radical agenda. This is especially evident in the emergence of student and intellectual activists central to the Chicano movement and in efforts at community development and higher education reform. The shift from a strict focus on fieldworkers' wages and living conditions to intellectual and academic issues along with attention to cultural representation and empowerment widened the scope of the Chicano movement. Munoz (1989) explains that "neither Cesar Chavez and the farmworkers nor Reies Tijerina and the farmers of northern New Mexico truly addressed the needs of the urban youth" (p. 60). Chicano leaders filled that void by focusing the Chicano citizenry on the perceived oppressive Anglo state that exercised authority arbitrarily to control and degrade Chicanos.

Munoz (1989) and historian Mario Garcia (1989) have argued that the split between Mexican-Americans and Chicanos can be understood as a generational difference. Additionally, geography, class, and education explain political and identity differences among Mexican-Americans. Chicano leaders sought to discursively construct an active and unifying identity. Chicanos, who had access to higher education, became politicized and energized by various Marxist and critical theories--Herbert Marcuse and Jose Mariategui were popular figures. Munoz notes that Chicano leader Jesus Chavarria's study of Mariategui "contributed to his radicalization, and he perceived a direct relationship between the ideology of Peruvian nationalism and emerging Chicano cultural nationalism" (Munoz, 1989, pp. 142-143; see Chavarria, 1979). Further, many students began to pursue goals beyond the labor oriented changes that framed Chavez's efforts. Chicano students drew impetus from the farmworkers' efforts but moved toward the Chicano power perspective. In this later guise Chicanos were interested in acceptance on their terms rather than accommodation or assimilation. The radicalization of Chicano activists made their connection to the Farmworkers more tenuous as Chavez felt uncomfortable with their nationalist focus. As Gomez-Quinones (1990) notes: "Chavez was viewed negatively by La Raza Unida. ... To LRUP, Chavez was simply an arm of the Anglo political establishment" (p. 138), lacking sufficient ideological distance from the state.

Becoming a Chicano did not mean that the Mexican-American or Mexican heritage was devalued. Quite the opposite, the heritage was venerated and updated to fit the needs of the movement. Thus, Mexican-American goals were rearticulated by Chicanos--fusing economics, identity politics and Chicanismo--who "argued that nationalism must be the key to organizing Chicanos to struggle against racism and exploitation" (Barrera, 1988, p. 3).

The Chicano movement was thus a hybrid of Marxist and nationalist thinking wedded to a desire to recapture a sense of cultural empowerment. Many Chicanos mixed the revolutionary lessons learned in the academy with a deep desire to return to Mexican and Indian antecedents of their Mexican-American identities. Chicanos desired to force the state to redress the economic, political, and social deprivation of Mexican-Americans and to provide a mythic identity with which to elevate and empower Mexican-Americans.

The Plan: Between Culture and Ideology

The Chicano identifier intertwines cultural reference with political emphasis. Chicanos engaged in a political critique of Anglo American dominance and celebration of Mexican and Indian cultures through many rhetorical forms including the plan. Chicanos, seeking to valorize their Indian and Mexican roots, reproduced cultural

artifacts, music, language, and other indigenous signifiers. Chicano leaders began to articulate their goals and aims by logically, and strategically, turning to Mexican discursive genres and traditions. Mexican plans, as Davis and Virulegio(1987), explain "form the mother-lode of Mexico's political resources" (p. xi). Chicanos mined that vein to articulate their ideology and to further reinforce their cultural links.

The plan is a link to earlier moments of Mexican opposition and revolution. In the hands of Emiliano Zapata, the plan was a call for resistance and change, a legacy that Chicanos sought to appropriate and respecify in the U. S. Hammerback and Jensen (1994) have noted the cultural resonance of plans within the Farmworkers' movement; this resonance is similarly evident in Chicano discourse. In their analysis of the Plan de Delano, Hammerback and Jensen (1994) recognize that the plan's rhetorical force and authority should be understood within "the broad context of culture

which

provides additional depth in understanding Delano's symbols, meanings, and persuasiveness for the Mexican-American audience for whom the Plan was primarily intended" (p. 66).

While Hammerback and Jensen (1994) stress the cultural legacy in locating the Plan de Delano within the genre, they overlook the ideological and revolutionary legacy of earlier plans. Chicano plans, however, press a nationalist ideology and stridency that echo the content and force of Zapata's Plan de Ayala or the Plan de San Diego. Using the genre demonstrated to Mexican-Americans that Chicanos had a genuine affinity with and understanding of Mexican culture even while articulating a Chicano Marxist and nationalist rhetoric.

The plans surveyed here are deeply rooted within the cultural and historical context of Mexican-Americans; but they are also specifically Chicano documents. The plan, therefore, is something more than a culturally specific rhetorical form. In the hands of Chicano leaders it is a link to earlier times when Mexicans and Mexican-Americans produced similar documents advocating resistance and political action. For example, Chicano historians point to the Plan de San Diego as "the first of a number of 'Plans' that were written by or attributed to Chicanos" (Barrera, 1988, p. 18). Though of contestable origin and intent, the Plan de San Diego "called for an uprising on February 20, 1915, by the 'Liberating Army for the Races and People' ... and proposed the creation of an independent republic to consist of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and California" (Montejano, 1987, p. 117). The revolutionary intent of the Plan de Ayala and the Plan de San Diego may also explain why Chicanos chose to disseminate their ideological rhetorics through this discursive form. The plan embodies the Mexican and revolutionary tradition that many Chicanos sought to restore. Simultaneously, it exists as a historically rooted political artifact linked to an earlier nationalist and militant movement. Though Hammerback and Jensen (1994) provide useful historical and cultural explanations for the Plan de Delano, theirs is an incomplete explanation given the differences in ideological orientation and stated goals between the Chicano and Farmworker movements.

In short, Chicano and Mexican-American plans relocate a rhetorical genre historically rooted in the culture and politics of Mexico to the United States. Fisher (1980) has pointed out that "a genre is a discursively constructed

category" (p. 291). However, there is an important qualification relative to considering all plans as generic equivalents. The shift from Mexico to the U. S. altered the substance of plan categories. Though all elements of a category can be grouped together, they are themselves formed by particular rhetors with specific purposes that differ across generations and localities.(5) It is therefore natural and partially correct to conflate all plans as members of a genre, indeed all plans have some common characteristics including arguing for change and demanding redress. But, as Patton (1976) has warned, categorization can efface differences and present the elements of any rhetorical genre as equal and, ultimately, interchangeable. The ideological differences and practical demands of Mexican Zapatistas, Mexican-American Farmworkers, and Chicanos produced specific rhetorics within a broader cultural discourse that must be understood independently of the genre, but which recognizes the Mexican cultural base that links the use of the plans.

Ideographs of the Chicano Movement

McGee (1980) has noted that ideographs are one-sum terms of an orientation" (p. 7); in this case they are a rearticulation of "the people" supportive of Chicano ideology. As constitutive discourse ideographs can produce three ideological effects: constituting a collective subject, positing a transhistorical subject, and creating the illusion of freedom (Charland, 1987, pp. 139-141). Chicano activists deployed the form and content of *El Plan de Aztlan* and *El Plan de Santa Barbara* in an effort to produce these ideological effects. Developing a series of one-sum terms in the two plans, Chicanos resituated a people within a specific cultural frame and nationalist ideology. Drawing on Mexican cultural forms, Indianist mythos, and oppositional rhetorics, Chicanos articulated an ideology and constituted a community through the ideographs of Chicano, La Raza, and Aztlan.(6)

These terms reach out culturally, ideologically, and historically to many Mexican-Americans and virtually all Chicanos. Though the terms operate in a oppositional discursive frame, an important feature is their interpellative character. Indeed, Chicano, La Raza, and Aztlan can be seen as generative elements of an ideological discourse and community mythos. In this specific instance the generative act is focused on how a people comes to be positioned both against something and toward a new goal: Chicano nationalism and empowerment.

The particular construction of a people within the Chicano movement embodies elements that Charland (1987) has noted in the people Quebecois, specifically how "the very boundary of whom the term the 'people' includes and excludes is rhetorically constructed" (p. 136). Chicano is deployed to produce the first ideological effect, the collective subject.

For example, in *El Plan de Aztlan*, gringo is used to exclude and "we" becomes "the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlan from whence came our forefathers" (in Anon., 1991, p. 1) and not Anglo or Euro American invaders. *El Plan de Santa Barbara* further specifies one transformative term for the people:

"Chicano . . . has now become the root idea of a new cultural identity and political agenda

" (in Munoz, 1989, pp. 191-192): "the Chino acts with confidence and with a range of alternatives in the political world. He

is

capable of developing an effective ideology through action" (Munoz, p. 194).

Discursively, Chicano operates in a fashion that constructs an identity as it intervenes in the promulgation of other preferred (by the dominant groups) identities and ideologies. Chicano subverts the traditional Mexican-American belief that Chicano is vulgar and rude while also opposing the imposition of American values and devaluation of Mexicans. For example, though a Mexican-American identity is dependent on and interpreted through its American appendage, Chicano encourages a distance and independence from that identity and, consequently, its attendant ideology.

The inclusive/exclusive function of Chicano is demonstrated by its use in both plans. In *El Plan de Aztlan*, a tribalist mythology (circulating around Aztlan) and familial metaphors guide the construction of symbolic boundaries. Thus, "brotherhood unites us, and love for our brothers makes us a people whose time has come and who struggles against the foreigner "gabacho" (Anon. 1991, p. 1). A similar meaning is attributed to the identity and ideology in *El Plan de Santa Barbara*: "Chicanismo simply embodies an ancient truth: that man is never closer to his true self as when he is close to his community" (Munoz, 1989, p. 192).

Chicano constructs the ideal and operationalized identity of the ideology. It directs members who recognize and appropriate the identifier to generate a community-based ethic and to behave in a manner (clearly oppositional and arguably revolutionary) consistent with the aims of the nationalist ideology. The people, in effect, are invited to a safe and supportive (familial) environment and are obligated to sustain and extend the belief systems at work in the community. To be Chicano implies that one is family, political, transgressive, and "free."

What further distinguishes these two plans from other purely Mexican or Mexican-American plans is the

introduction of a second term for the people: La Raza. Acknowledging that Chicano may not embody all of the ways in which Mexican-Americans can be or act, movement activists redefined La Raza as a broader and more inclusive term that could incorporate a range of Mexican-American communities and identities. Importantly, however, La Raza is even more culturally specific, if a bit less ideologically infused. That is, one must be Mexican or Mexican-American (and, more recently, Latino) but not necessarily influenced by the Marxist and nationalist impulses of certain Chicano members (Chicanos understood that evolution toward cultural nationalism would be long-term and even partial). La Raza, imputing a hybrid identity on both sides of the border, approximates Charland's (1987) view of the transhistorical subject. Alterable in Mexico and the United States, there is a shared and unshakable link between Zapatistas and Chicanos, Mexicans and Mexican-American because they are raza.

La Raza is the master term which encapsulates Mexican, Mexican-American, or Chicano. As El Plan de Aztlan states: "Our culture unites and educates the family of La Raza towards liberation with one heart and one mind" (Anon., 1991, p. 3). Chicanos are the conscience and leadership of "La Familia de la Raza" (p. 4), but the common project transcends time and space but is united by desire for equality and escape from oppression. Unlike many other plans, El Plan de Aztlan and El Plan de Santa Barbara express identity politics to forge a united and active subjectivity rather than, or before, addressing policy changes or demands.

The above formula is perhaps best expressed by El Plan de Santa Barbara which observes that Chicanismo can become a dominant ideology, at least for La Raza, but that "a Chicano ideology, especially as it involves cultural nationalism, should be positively phrased in the form of propositions to the Movement ...

and

the related concept of La Raza provides an internationalist scope of Chicanismo" (Munoz, 1989, p. 194).

Both Chicano and La Raza are built upon particular demographic and experiential characteristics. Of course the most obvious and common element is a Mexican heritage resulting from Spanish and indigenous roots.

However, the identifiers prefer and privilege the indigenous beginnings, invoked in one instance by the phrase "children of the sun" (Anon., 1991, p. 1). A second, more complex example is available in the interpretive possibilities of La Raza. While the term literally translates as "the race," it is culturally interpreted as "the people." Chicanos worked within the racialized understanding of difference, not that "we are a bronze people with a bronze culture" (Anon., 1991, p. 1). Faced with the inherently racial circumstances that influence or circumscribe every U. S. citizen's understanding of self and other, Chicanos reinterpreted race as both physical characteristics and empowering symbolic element. The duality of this means that it was necessary to be both in order to be a part of the community. The people, according to Chicano movement politics, are defined by their consciousness and racial essences.

Just as the Anglo American myth has conflated religious and ideological discourses to support policies and practices such as Manifest Destiny or the belief that Americans are the chosen few, Chicanos expressed their new found sense of identity and ideology in terms of a place. This place, Aztlan, further connected Mexican-Americans to their indigenous and mestizo roots and sustained the nationalist and oppositional rhetorics of the movement. Literary critic Luis Leal (1991) explains:

As a Chicano symbol, Aztlan has two meanings: first, it represents the geographic region known as the Southwestern part of the United States, composed of the territory that Mexico ceded in 1848 with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo; second, and more important, Aztlan symbolized the spiritual union of the Chicanos, something that is carried within the heart, no matter where they may live or where they may find themselves. (p. 8)

Aztlan provides a place for the people; it is a physical and a symbolic space: both land and nation. Yet as a myth Aztlan may provide the symbolic ground supportive of the illusion of freedom. Charland (1987) argues that as the third ideological effect of a constitutive rhetoric, freedom must be posited as a possibility. Aztlan operates as the symbolic space for Chicano freedom.

El Plan de Aztlan articulates the Indianist direction of many Chicanos by expressing that "Aztlan belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops and not to the foreign Europeans" (Anon., 1991, p. 1). Such arguments temporally and culturally legitimate the occupation of the space of Aztlan by a particular people--Chicanos. Yet this territory is further laden with meaning because it is only in Aztlan that La Raza can express that "we are a nation, we are a union of free pueblos" (Anon., 1991, p. 1). Aztlan also provides the space that lends credence to Chicano beliefs that "cultural nationalism is a means of total Chicano liberation" (MUnoz, 1989, p. 194). Yet, while Chicanos express these sentiments, they do so as American citizens on U. S. soil. The possibility of freedom is illusory and Aztlan remains a contestable space full of meaning and hope but ultimately without substance.

Aztlan thus is pressed as a series of congruent meanings projected by Chicano discourse. In El Plan de Aztlan these meanings are chained together as part of discursive logic whose goal is to generate a Chicano nation that is "autonomous and free" (Anon., 1991, p. 4), self-determining and democratic. Arguing for this space results in a rhetoric that is genuinely rooted in Mexican cultural and Chicano ideological traditions but also remarkably reminiscent of the discourses that American settlers and pioneers invoked to justify their efforts in North America. Just as was true of westward moving settlers, El Plan de Aztlan argues that Aztlan is "our inevitable destiny" (Anon., 1991, p. 1) while El Plan de Santa Barbara exhorts that as Chicanos, "we will move toward our destiny" (Munoz, 1989, p. 191).

Chicano, La Raza, and Aztlan occupy a discursive space designed not to alienate or subjugate Mexican-Americans but to transform them and generate new possibilities. Hammerback and Jensen (1994) note that Mexican activists developed the plan as a genre that "took on rhetorical qualities appropriate to communicating principles and programs unifying and winning support" (p. 65). In the hands of Chicanos during the 1960s end early 1970s plans became important links to the past as constitutive discourses aimed at transforming unity into successful strategies of action. The ideographic content of these Chicano plans forged a particular ideology with subjects whose value (and presence) has outlasted the policy changes and social demands that Hammerback and Jensen (1994) noted. Nearly thirty years later we may have forgotten what the Chicano Movement wanted from the government, but we know who and what Chicanos are.

Conclusion

El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan and El Plan de Santa Barbara document what social conditions Chicanos were responding to as well as how the Chicano identity and ideology were deployed. Dependent upon individuals and groups, Chicano rhetors articulated a vision that substituted a Whig-liberal vision of the people for a more culturally appropriate Raza. This substitution served to constitute Mexican-Americans as active agents in political and social discourse. The culturally specific and ideological nature of this new constituency profoundly altered the way in which Mexican-Americans viewed themselves and their conditions. The Chicano movement was, as Munoz (1989) argues, a response to "the multicultural realities of the Mexican people in both the United States and Mexico" (p. 8). The reality of multiple moments of mestizaje produced a fragmented and largely subjugated Mexican-American identity that, at least in the eyes of certain Chicanos, needed repair and empowerment. Unlike previous Mexican-American efforts that sought economic, social, and political redress within the system, Chicanos cultivated a more strident identity sustained by cultural and ideological discourses. The discursive elements are visible in all Chicano cultural forms and are featured in the plans of the movement. Plainly ideological, El Plan de Aztlan and El Plan de Santa Barbara invited Mexican-Americans to participate in vocal and effective action. Consistent with much social movement discourse, Chicanos constructed these plans so that action (or movement) could be guided by direction, purpose, and community. It is important to note that these characteristics were furthered by captivating and resonant politics and rhetorics of identity that gave impetus to the Chicano movement. That many products of the movement's efforts remain while the movement has drifted away or changed is to be expected because the people are an ephemeral entity. Michael McGee (1975) has argued that "the people" are more process than phenomenon. That is, they are conjured into

objective reality, remain so as long as the rhetoric which defined them has force, and in the end wilt away, becoming once again merely a collection of individuals" (p. 242). It would appear that Chicano rhetors recognized and anticipated this feature of political discourse. Before the Chicano movement, Mexican-Americans had not generated such an effective and sustained direction. Chicano rhetors discovered that movement discourse works best when it creates a people that is constituted by ideology, and is thus prepared to act upon the prescriptions detailed by that ideology.

The moment for Chicano movement rhetoric and ideology is perhaps past but, as Charland (1987) has noted, "a transformed ideology would require a transformed subject. Such transformation requires ideological and rhetorical work" (p. 148). The reality of shifting identity positions and social conditions leaves open the possibility that movement discourses, Chicano and otherwise, can resurface sedimented by cultural and ideological traditions and experiences. Texts and discourses are never dead, merely dormant, as in the case of Chino plans--demonstrating previous moments, forms, and subjectivities--can be recaptured and rearticulated to fit the needs of the present. Such shifts explain the move from Mexican to Mexican-American to Chicano (and subsequently to Hispanic and Latino) and explain how identity can function both as, and within, ideology. They further demonstrate that what can be rendered discursive can also be put in the service of a group.

NOTES

(1) I believe that the two plans under analysis are the clearest articulation of Chicanismo and Chicano goals. Yet, it should be recognized that other plans like the Plan del Barrio, Plan de Delano, and Plan de La Raza are also important statements consistent with the cultural genre. Davis and Virulegio (1987) comprehensively examine the genre.

(2) From the Chicano perspective common ideographs as property, justice, public trust, and equality proved to be empty and inadequate rhetoric in the lived experience of many Mexican Americans.

(3) See Gomez-Quinones (1982) and Acuna (1988) survey the historical and cultural dimensions that distinguished the Chicano movement.

(4) The blending of Mexican and Mexican American cultural practices with nationalism and Marxism resulted in a complex and dynamic ideology. It is the complexity of Chicanismo that is muted in Jensen and Hammerback's work. Chicanismo is both culture and ideology, indicating that a path following McGee, Charland, and Condit and Lucaites might be more fruitful to understanding the blending of culture and politics within the Chicano Movement.

(5) Fisher (1980) observes that: "All instances of discourse are alike in being discourse and all instances of discourse are different in being the creation of different people in different times and different places" (p. 291). This sentiment is further reflected in Kathleen Hall Jamieson's (1973) assessment that "Genres should not be viewed as static forms but as evolving phenomena ...

that invite us

to explore the continuity and discontinuity of rhetorical forms" (p. 168).

(6) La Raza is generally credited to Mexican writer Jose Vasconcelos who popularized the term in his *La Raza Cosmica*. Grandjeat(1990) notes that within the context of the Chicano Movement "the nationalist drive was crystallized in the motive of Aztlan, mythical homeland of the Aztecs, which became the symbol for the would-be Chicano nation. Aztlan was ... a meeting point--one between a glorious past and a present of struggles" (p. 19)

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Subject: Hispanic Americans; Grass roots movement; Communication;

Publication title: *Communication Quarterly*

Volume: 43

Issue: 4

Pages: 446

Number of pages: 30

Publication year: 1995

Publication date: Fall 1995

Year: 1995

Publisher: Eastern Communication Association

Place of publication: University Park

Country of publication: United States

Publication subject: Education--Special Education And Rehabilitation, Linguistics, Communications

ISSN: 01463373

CODEN: COQUDR

Source type: Scholarly Journals

Language of publication: English

Document type: Feature

Accession number: 02728163

ProQuest document ID: 216361318

Document URL:

<http://ezproxy.msu.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/216361318?accountid=12598>

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Last updated: 2011-10-14

Database: ProQuest Research Library

