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The Taino Are Still Alive, Taino Cuan Yahabo: An Example Of The Social Construction Of Race And Ethnicity

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THE TAÍNO ARE STILL ALIVE, TAÍNO CUAN YAHABO: AN EXAMPLE OF THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF RACE AND ETHNICITY

by

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A thesis submitted
Summer Term 2006 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of
Arts
in the Department of Sociology
in the College of Sciences
at the University of Central Florida
Orlando, Florida

ABSTRACT

Definitions and boundaries of race and ethnicity are socially constructed. They are malleable inventions created by the negotiation of ascribed ideas from outside groups and asserted notions from the inside group's membership. The revitalization of Taíno identity and culture within the Puerto Rican and related communities is a classic case example of this negotiation. Although objective conditions exist to recognize the descendants of these Caribbean aboriginals as an identifiable group, their identities are contested and sometimes ridiculed. Even though Taíno heritage is accepted as an essential root of Puerto Rico's cultural and biological make-up, this group has been classified as extinct since the early 16th century. This thesis analyzes the official newsletters of the Taíno Nation of the Antilles—one of the leading organizations working for revitalization. The content of this material culture was dissected and organized into rhetorical categories in order to reveal patterns of endogamic assertions of race and ethnicity. This thesis will provide a descriptive analysis of the Taíno Nation's rhetorical process of convincing the world that they do in fact exist.

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

On November 19, 1992, in New York City, members of the newly formed Nación

Taína declared the Taíno nation of Caribbean Indigenous people restored under the

leadership of a tribal council of elders in Puerto Rico and abroad. The first newsletter

published by the group proclaims,

> It has been only in recent years that some Puerto Ricans of Taíno descent
> living away from their homeland have developed an awareness and pride
> in their indianness [sic], re-affirming their right to reclaim their aboriginal
> identity. Whether we are full blooded or racially mixed, we take pride in
> our Taíno indigenous identity! …None of us had in mind the formation of
> a club, an association, a Taíno "group" or an organization! The research,
> study, work and all our efforts were made in order to proclaim the
> existence of a people unwilling to remain "extinct" and that had decided to
> walk in the path of self-definition and self-determination. (Nación Taína
> 1993:1)

D.J.R. Walker (1992) characterizes the Taíno as the first "New World" people to meet

Europeans, to be seen in Europe, to learn a European language, to convert to Christianity,

and to experience displacement and genocide. Despite the genocidal efforts of

colonization and programs of assimilation, participants of the Taíno revitalization

movement feel compelled to correct perceived, historical inaccuracies if not also to

correct colonial injustices to the Indigenous people of the Greater Antilles.

The Taíno never ceased to exist; instead what happened is that they eventually

ceased to be recognized. At some point the dominant social group—the Spanish and

European *Criollo* elites—stopped ascribing individuals and collective groups with the

term. Likewise potential members—natives and mestizo[1] offspring—inevitably failed or

simply refused to assert their own indigeneity. There are powerful reasons to deny racial

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[1] Mestizo is a Spanish term for mixed racial heritage. Most Puerto Ricans have a mixed racial heritage
including more or less parts American Indigenous, European, and African.

or ethnic membership (as will be discussed in *Chapter 3: Theory and Methods*). The

Taíno—first to be called *Indio* [Indian]—became a stigmatized Other to the Europeans,

and identification with Indianness was costly. Consequently, closer association with the

European was possible and, indeed, profitable for the natives. Taínos and their

descendants had good reasons to consider ethnic choices (including marrying Spanish

men and building communities[2] with renegade natives and Africans) that were preferable

for themselves and their offspring.

The Taíno revitalizationist movement is a classic case example of the plasticity of

racial and ethnic identities. The Caribbean dialect of Spanish is better understood as a

Creole language rich with native and African contributions. The major part of local

plant, animal, and geographic locations are known by their native nomenclature. Foods

cultivated and prepared by the natives continue to be staples of the Caribbean diet.

Subsistence and kitchen farm methods, as well as unique fish trapping methods of the

Taíno, are still practiced by the rural inhabitants of the islands. Moreover, the Caribbean

folk-knowledge of an incredible variety of plant medicines for curative and ritual use

continues an Indigenous pedagogy (see picture 5 in Appendix) (Alegría 1997b; Barreiro

1996, 1997; Borel 1997; Deren 1953; Ferbel 1995, 1997; Olazagasti 1997; Wilson

1997d). Needless to add, there is plenty of evidence of American Indian descent in the

physical characteristics among the people of Puerto Rico (see pictures 1, 2, 3, and 4 in

Appendix) and other Caribbean islands (Alegría 1997b; Barreiro 1989; Barreiro 1996;

Barreiro 1997; Barreiro 2001; Ferbel 1995; Ferbel 1997; Wilson 1990). Still, until

recently, no one imagined that the Taíno existed as an identifiable group of people, or

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[2] Natives and Africans intermarried within slaveholding estates and Marroon villages formed by escaped slaves.

ever would again. I believe that since the conquest period, internalized racism and un-necessarily high standards of authenticity have dissuaded Puerto Rican individuals from greater identification of Taíno heritage. Furthermore, 500 years of eurocentrism on the island, a limited academic scrutiny of racial issues, and conflation of native legacies with negritude by the contemporary Puerto Rican intellectual elite have contributed to an emphasis on the European and African trunks of the mestizaje and the civic underestimation of Taíno presence.

Taíno awareness is a growing phenomenon featuring both individual and collective processes of identification. All manner of Taíno artwork, craftsmanship, merchandise, from t-shirts to reproductions of artifacts, are widely available in Puerto Rico, on the pow wow circuit,[3] and on-line (see pictures 6 and 7 in Appendix for examples of a Taíno Indigenist artist and artwork). There is a proliferation of Taíno tribalizing, organizing, informing, and merchandising on the internet. Collectives such as La Nación Taína, the Jatibonicu Tribe, and the United Confederation of Taíno People have even gained a spectrum of acknowledgement for the Taíno which includes acceptance within the Pan American Indian community from tribes in North, Central and South America, and quasi-official recognition from international and national organizations including the United Nations and the Smithsonian Institute. Taíno claims are gaining new ground as DNA tests in Puerto Rico demonstrated that 58% of the participants in a sample had Native heritage (Fernandez-Cobo et al. 2001; Martinez-Cruzado et al. 2001). Social scientists are also beginning to reconsider the extent of

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[3] Pow wows are inter-tribal Native American gatherings akin to fairs and festivals. Typically, members of different tribes participate by selling crafts and other merchandise and performing traditional dances. Dancers perform in the traditional regalia of their tribe.   Similar to carnivals, many of the vendors travel throughout the year to participate in other pow wows held at regular times throughout the country. These regular pow wow locations are also known as the pow wow circuit.

Taíno cultural contribution to the mestizaje[4] (Alegría 1997b; Barreiro 1996,1997; Ferbel 1995, 1997; Wilson 1997d)—the tri-racial and cultural amalgam of Indian, African, and European, which in the rhetoric of racial democracy, deduces that all Hispano Caribbean locals to have at least partial heritage of each.

Despite the magnitude of activity, scientific investigation of the modern Taíno has been extremely limited. In fact, scientific interest in the Caribbean aboriginal is primarily archaeological. Jose Barreiro brings particular attention to the existence of ethnic enclaves in eastern Cuba (see pictures 1 and 2 in Appendix) (1989; 1990; 1996; 1997; 2001) and seeks to shed light on Taino survival in general, while Joan Borel's (1994) discussion of Caribbean peasant agriculture and Peter Ferbel's (1997, 1995) analyses of nationalist discourse of the Taíno in the Dominican Republic document greater aboriginal cultural presence than conventionally acknowledged. Still, no scientific investigation of the contemporary Taino or their material culture has ever been performed.

Apart from the works cited above, the only other scientific discussion of the modern Taíno is a collection of academic commentary published as a book titled, Taíno Revival: Critical Perspectives on Puerto Rican Identity and Cultural Politics (Haslip-Viera 2001). Although some of the scholars offered descriptions and opinions of the modern Taíno (Dávila 2001; Duany 2001; Haslip-Viera 2001; Jimenez-Roman 2001), none of them sampled from the population or any of its material productions. I argue that their ubiquitous methodological decision—not to sample the contemporary Taino population or their material culture—undermines the validity and the reliability of their findings.

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[4] The amalgamated mixed racial culture of Puerto Rico.

Taíno Revival is a collection of papers presented by leading Puerto Rican sociologists, anthropologists and independent intellectuals at a symposium held at New York City's El Museo del Barrio on February 28, 1998. It was part of a series of events in association with the exhibit "Taíno: Pre-Columbian Art and Culture from the Caribbean." The symposium was open to the public and was "substantially" attended by Taínos and members of other Native American organizations (Haslip-Viera 2001). The panel presentations led to "lively and provocative discussion" (Haslip-Viera, 2001:vii) between the audience and the panelists. Overall, the panelists were critical of the revitalization projects. First, each scholar, to some extent, upholds the "extinction myth" that the Taínos became extinct soon after contact with the Spanish conquistadors. The revitalizationist movement is characterized as a "New Age fad" and likened to the young, urban Puerto Rican affinity for street organizations like the Five Percenters and the Latino Israelites (Haslip-Viera 2001, Jimenez-Roman 2001:104). Gabriel Haslip-Viera opines,

> To one degree or another, all of these groups have created and promote an essentialist view of history, race, and religion. For example, the Afrocentrists, the Black Muslims, the Latino Israelites, and the neo-Taínos have created new and self-serving histories for themselves that are partly factual and partly contrived. They appropriate, recreate, or invent new cultural and religious "traditions" that are partly based on historical folkways and beliefs. They also promote, in one way or another, revised concepts of race and ethnicity that are based on ideas first developed by Europeans in the sixteenth century (2001:11).

It doesn't seem that Haslip-Viera understands that "history" is always "new" and necessarily "self-serving," that all "cultural" and "religious traditions" are categorically invented phenomena, that race and ethnicity have always been and will always continue to be open for negotiation, and that the Taíno skeptics themselves rely on "essentialist

views of history, race, and religion" to discount the reconstructions of native authenticity. These characterizations of the Taíno are empty of any useful information except to show that the movement is considered "deviant" by some segments of the Puerto Rican population.

Most of the scholars were openly critical of the Taíno (Dávila 2001; Duany 2001; Haslip-Viera 2001; Jimenez-Roman 2001) and dismissive of their claims. Dávila (2001:36-43) and Duany (2001:55-71) attribute the genesis of the Taíno movement to an expansion of domain created by the neo-colonial Puerto Rican elite during the turn of the 20th century. They argue that a Puerto Rican cadre of university professors, museum curators, and influential nationalists (seeking to establish a Puerto Rican "National Identity" as a stalwart against Yankee imperialist assimilation) were too efficient in educating the less educated and less powerful Puerto Rican peasantry of the island's native heritage. Their argument can be summarized as follows. After 1898, Puerto Rican nationalists indoctrinated the island peasants with Taíno history because they believed that "identification with the island's natives" would turn Puerto Ricans into "good nationalists" but they did not explore, teach or celebrate (in a meaningful way) the island's African heritage because they were eurocentric and believed that too much negritude is harmful to the quality of Puerto Rican pedigree. Now, some Puerto Ricans (typically the Black ones) "got it mixed up" and want to become Indian because they are ashamed of being Black. While none of these scholars deny the tri-racial amalgam of the Puerto Rican mestizaje, they are effectively saying that there are only two essential categories of race in Puerto Rico, white and black. These Taíno skeptics are trapped by their own essentialist views and are making "Indians" into "Blacks."

In this thesis, I will present a descriptive analysis of one revitalizing organization, the Taíno Nation of the Antilles. I will perform a content analysis of the material culture of the Nation, by diagramming the content of their official newsletters into rhetorical categories.[5] This will provide an opportunity to evaluate the subjective interpretations of reality presented by members themselves. Also, the unobtrusive evaluation of their material culture will increase the validity of my findings. The analysis will be grounded in a thorough summary of the historic record of human activity in the Caribbean pre-dating European contact and during the putative "extinction" period.

Chapter 2 will provide a point of departure for grounding the evaluation of the Taínos' presentation of facts, rationalizations, and calls for action. I will discuss the Taíno before and during early contact with Columbus and his crew. Both primary and secondary sources were included in this exhaustive search for information about the Classic Taíno. Migration patterns, patterns of settlement, social stratification, differentiation of labor, spiritual cosmology, values, norms, and standards will be summarized. I will also outline the putative "extinction period." A timeline of the early contact period from 1492 to the mid 1530s will discuss the initial encounters between the two cultures; patterns of alliance, trade and resistance; examples of exploitation and brutality; the decimation of the native population to disease, famine and warfare; and the importation of enslaved Africans.

In Chapter 3, I will lay out the theory and methodology of this treatise. There I will discuss the three dominant paradigms of thought on race and ethnicity, essentialism or primordialism, circumstantialism, and social constructionism. The descriptive analysis

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[5] These categories were identified by Joel Best (1990). They are derived from the rhetorical patterns used by activists in their campaigns to construct the phenomenon of "missing children" into a "social problem."

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presented here is rooted in social constructionism, the idea that reality is constructed throughout time and space through social interaction and discourse. I will discuss the genesis, strengths, and caveats of each framework and how they've been applied to understanding race and ethnicity. The methodology section will explain the processes involved in selecting the Official Newsletter of La Nación Taína as a sample for content analysis and the procedure for evaluation. The analysis to be performed will be a category count, and the categories to be counted will be borrowed from Toulmin's diagram of rhetorical claims used by Joel Best in his investigation of the social construction of social problems. An elaboration of the diagram, the categories, and the processes of codification will be provided.

In Chapter 4, I will lay out the content analysis of the Taíno Nation newsletters. Articles are the basic unit of analysis for this investigation. From these articles I will identify themes that correspond to rhetorical categories for the three parts composing a claim: grounds, warrants, and conclusions. The categories for grounds include: definitions, typifying examples, and numerical estimates. For warrants, the categories include: value, blameless victims, associated evils, historical continuity, deficient policies, and rights and freedoms. There are three categories of conclusions including: awareness, prevention, and social control policies. In this chapter I will discuss all categorical statements in detail and identify which are the most resonant categories for grounds, warrants, and conclusions based on category counts. I expected to find that typifying examples were the most resonant grounds, that historical continuity was the most resonant warrant, and that awareness was the most resonant conclusion.

Finally, in Chapter 5, I will draw conclusions based on the results discussed in Chapter 4. The results should bare out that the social construction of race and ethnicity parallels the construction of social problems. In other words, that the rhetorical categories employed in the construction of both phenomena are identical. Here I will discuss the implications of the claims-makers most resonant grounds, warrants, and conclusions. This will provide the best understanding of the group based on their own core arguments.

CHAPTER 2 THE TAÍNO STORY

Humans have occupied the Caribbean for at least six thousand years. Those we have come to know as the Taíno may have lived in the Caribbean for 2,500 years (Allaire 1997; Keegan et al. 1998; Maggiolo 1997; Petersen 1997; Rouse 1992; Wilson 1990, 1997a, 1997c). The islands of the Lesser Antilles (including Trinidad, Tobago, Martinique and Dominica), from the northern coast of Guiana to the east of Puerto Rico, the Bahaman Archipelago, and the Greater Antilles (Puerto Rico, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Cuba) were all inhabited by speakers of a number of Arawak dialects, and nearly all were descendants of the same seafaring, horticultural, ceramic-making, chiefdom societies (Wilson 1997c). The Taíno occupied the northern Lesser Antilles, the Bahamas, Puerto Rico, Hispaniola, Jamaica, and Eastern Cuba (Western Cuba was occupied by the Guanatabey). The Kalínago, also known as the Carib—who the Caribbean Sea is named after, populated the Lesser Antilles. (Rouse 1992).

The population of the Caribbean islands occurred in five stages (Allaire 1997; Keegan et al. 1998; Maggiolo 1997; Petersen 1997; Rouse 1992; Wilson 1990; 1997a; 1997c). Directions of migration are not certain, but it is recognized that the sea served to connect the islands rather than separate them. Caribbean currents favor travel from south to north and from east to west (Rouse 1992). The earliest evidence of human inhabitation of the islands was found in Cuba, Haiti and the Dominican Republic. These hunter-gatherers are classified as Lithic (Allaire 1997; Petersen 1997; Maggiolo 1997; Wilson 1997a) and are sometimes called Casimiroid. Flaked stone tools, similar to others found on the Yucatan peninsula, suggest a possible westward migration (Wilson 1997c). Their

era lasted from 4000 to 2000 BC. The second phase of population expansion occurred

from 2000 to 500 BC. The Caribbean inhabitants from this epoch were classified as

Archaic (Petersen 1997, Maggiolo 1997; Wilson 1997a) and are also known as the

Ortoiroids after the Ortoire site in Trinidad (Allaire 1997). They are distinguished by

their stone tools, bowls, pendants, axes and other objects of material culture (Wilson

1997c). The third florescence happened between 500 BC and 600 AD. It was a Ceramic

period labeled Saladoid after the Saladero site in Venezuela (Wilson 1997c). The

Saladoids were pottery-using horticulturalists. They migrated from the coasts of Guiana

and the Orinoco River Valley and are descendants of the mainland Amazonian Arawaks.

The Saladoids settled in villages near rivers and coasts. It has been speculated that they

either assimilated or extinguished the existing populations (as the "assimilation" or

"extinction" of the Taíno is often assumed to be a prototypical example of all colonial

encounters). Wilson argues that instead a "process of cultural synthesis" probably took

place;

> I would argue that what occurred was not a wholesale replacement of
> Archaic society but rather a process of cultural synthesis that allowed
> aspects of Arachaic practices to survive. It seems likely that groups living
> on Hispaniola after A.D. 600 adopted elements of both Saladoid and
> Archaic cultures, and that the specific characteristics that emerged are
> those we now associate with the Taino (1997:54-55).

He gives as examples the three pointed carved-stone *zemis* adored by the Taíno which

combine Archaic stonework with Saladoid sculptural shape and decorative iconography

that contains elements of both traditions but is plainly unique (1997:55). The Taíno

descended from the Saladoid in what is described as the Late-Ceramic period from 600 to

1492 AD. The highest cultural development was achieved in Puerto Rico and Hispaniola

(modern day Haiti and the Dominican Republic). The people of *Borikén* [Puerto Rico] and *Bohío~Haití* [Hispaniola, the island shared by Haití and the Dominican Republic] are considered the Classic Taíno (Maggiolo 1997). The fifth phase of population expansion began with the discovery of Columbus and continues to the present.

Knowledge of the Taíno is limited to the contact period aboriginals encountered during the conquest period of the early 16th century and their predecessors. Ethnographies have been sketched from the diaries, letters, literature and propaganda of *conquistadors*, priests, and one influential friend to the European nobility (Arrom & Griswold 1999; Cohen 1969; Griffin 1992). Knowledge of Taíno hierarchy, cosmology, ritual, behavior, diet, and language were inadvertently preserved by Christopher Columbus, his doctor Diego Alvarez Chanca, Jeronimite priest Fray Ramón Pané, Dominican priest Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, adventurers Michele de Cuneo, Nicolas de Syllacio and Juan Coma, Columbus' son Fernando, privateer Francis Drake, Gónzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdez (the first governor of Puerto Rico), and by "renaissance man" Pietro Martire de Anghieri, aka Peter Martyr, who never traveled to the Americas but regularly pursued returning visitors (Alegría 1997b; Deagan & Cruxent 2002, Highfield 1997; Wilson 1990; Wilson 1997c).

There are definite caveats to the primary sources of information about the aboriginals. The chroniclers were not motivated to compile objective, scientific descriptions, neither did they wish to preserve the culture and mythology of a people they classified as heathen savages. The primary motivation of the Europeans in the Caribbean was to find gold, the secondary motivation (and a rationalization for the first) was the Christianization of the Indians (Highfield 1997). Analysts of these primary sources must

bear in mind that the European chroniclers were conditioned by the prevailing theories

and superstitions of their day. Columbus and his crew arrived in the Caribbean in the

time of the Renaissance and the Inquisition. Scientific inquiry was "novel and

audacious" (Wilson 1990), and the Judeo-Christian Bible was considered the only

legitimate source of knowledge of the material universe (Pagden 1992).

Conceptualization of the natural world was bent to fit the ecclesiastical model.

Secondly, the documents were often written to serve political objectives. For

example, Columbus's journals and his letters[6] were intended to present the voyages in the

best possible light to the extent that he omitted the wreckage of the *Santa María* (Wilson

1990). Likewise, the figures presented in Las Casas' <u>A Short Account of the Destruction

of the Indies</u> were written specifically for Crown Prince Phillip II. Although it would

have been "unthinkable" for Las Casas to lie to the Crown Prince, his "statistical

estimates" are nevertheless "very approximate" and are presented figuratively in order to

impress the severity of the atrocities witnessed and to achieve an immediate call to action

(Pagden 1992).

Finally, some documents including Fernandez de Oviedo's *General and Natural

History of the Indies* only treat the native people tangentially as "curious features of the

native environment" (Wilson 1997). Still, apart from these caveats, an impressive and

valuable amount of documentation did occur. From the chroniclers, names of places,

mining terms, names of important people, mythology and cosmological vocabulary, as

well as vocabulary of material culture, and the names of plants and animals foreign to the

Europeans have been preserved (Highfield 1997).

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[6] Columbus wrote several letters to his investors in Spain in order to demonstrate the worthiness of the
voyages.

During the Classic Taíno era (600-1492 AD), a complex chiefdom society organized the disparate island chains of the Caribbean (Alegría 1983; Barreiro 1990; Oliver 1997; Rouse 1992; Siegel 1997; Wilson 1990c). Smaller communities, although governed by their own leadership, were united under a single greater-polity. Chieftaincy was passed down avunculocally, from a chief to a sister's son. Heirs to leadership served in the communities of their maternal uncles. Cheiftans were called caciques. Caciques were flanked by the nitaíno ranked-class. Principal caciques were designated as *matunherí*, mid-ranking nitaíno were acknowledged as *baharí*, and the lowest ranked were the *guaoxerí*. Leadership eligibility was inherited from the mother's line and women could be caciques as well (Keegan 1997; Keegan et al. 1998; Wilson 1997a). Caciques were responsible for coordinating *areyto* ceremonies. Areytos were sacred gatherings involving feasting, dancing and singing, reciting stories about gods, ancestors, communities and leaders, sport fighting, and playing the ball game *batu* which is similar to the rubber ball game played in Central America by the Aztecs and Mayas.

The sick were attended by healers called *bohiques* or *behiques*. The bohiques mastered the knowledge of an abundance of medicinal and poisonous plants, and were practiced in sleight of hand. These healers also held ranking positions in the society as holy men and wielded considerable influence (Alegría 1983; Barreiro 1990; Keegan 1997; Keegan et al. 1998; Oliver 1997; Petersen 1997; Roget 1997a; 1997b; Siegel 1997; Wilson 1990; 1997a).

Each island was a polity unto itself, except Hispaniola where there were five major chiefdoms (Deagan and Cruxent 2002; Griffin 1992; Wilson 1990). The people

lived in permanent villages called *yukayekes*, ruled by a *cacique*. One to two thousand people lived in *bohío* conical and square houses made of wood and thatch. The cacique's family lived in a larger square house called a *caney*. Villages consisted of 20-50 houses, each occupied by several related families, a ceremonial and sports plaza called a *batey*, *conuco* mounded gardens, captive fish and turtle ponds, spiritual houses, and cemeteries (Alegría 1983; Barreiro 1990; Rouse 1992; Wilson 1990c).

The Taíno were ingenious in many skills, but skilled-labor was not specialized (Walker 1992). They exhibited skill in wood and stone working and carving, textile manufacture, horticulture and simple metallurgy (Alegría 1983; Barreiro 1990; Petersen 1997; Rouse 1992; Walker 1992; Wilson 1990c). Men cleared the land by felling trees with wooden axes while cultivating the land with *coa* digging sticks. They enriched the soil with burnt logs and debris and their urine (Walker 1992). They were accomplished sea navigators. Connected by the *Bagua* [Sea], they traveled to distant place in *canoas* (source of the contemporary term canoe; some were large enough to transport 50 to 150 passengers) to trade for exotic materials (Alegría 1983; Barreiro 1990; Petersen 1997; Rouse 1992; Wilson 1990c). Women were the producers of high status goods, *dujo*-stools, house-hold objects, and textile products (Keegan 1997).

Although the society was divided into two classes, a ruling *nitaíno* hierarchy and a *naboria* servile class, and even though it is not certain how definite the division of castes were, occasion did show that the people did have sincere affection and devotion to their regional leaders. Moreover, they practiced an egalitarian and communitarian surplus agricultural and fishing economy for the purpose of providing food and shelter

for every member of the community. De Las Casas describes the scope of one Cacique's

power of production,

> In order to put a stop to the Spaniard's incessant demands for gold, Guarionex
> suggested that he might better serve the King of Castile by putting a great area
> of his kingdom under cultivation, especially as his subjects had, as he himself
> quite correctly asserted, little or no notion of how to mine for gold. Such a
> plan was feasible, as I can vouch, and the king would have been quite happy
> to see it put into effect. The area involved would have stretched from Isabela,
> the site of the first European settlement on the island, as far as Santo
> Domingo, some fifty or more leagues distant, and it would easily have
> produced an annual income of over three million *castilians* and, had such a
> scheme been put into effect, it would have led to the establishment of fifty or
> more cities on the island, every one of them as large as Seville (Griffin
> 1992:19).

The Taíno were described as being very generous and open with sharing their things.

Hernando Colón recounts events witnessed by his father,

> On entering these houses, the Indians whom the Admiral brought from Isabela
> promptly seized anything that pleased them and the owners showed no sign of
> resentment. They seemed to hold all possessions in common. Similarly,
> whenever any of the natives went up to a Christian, they took from him
> whatever they liked, in the belief that similar customs obtained among us
> (Cohen 1969:161).

Although the communities occasionally fended off Kalínago bride stealing and attacks,

they enjoyed relatively peaceful co-existence (Alegría 1983, 1997; Barreiro 1990;

Keegan 1997; Keegan et al. 1998; Petersen 1997; Rouse 1992; Wilson 1990).

Remarkably, Taíno creation myths were recorded during the contact period.

Jeronimite Friar Ramon Pané accompanied Columbus on his second journey to the

Caribbean. These myths offer a unique and powerful glimpse into the ancient Taíno

value system, and, as I will explain later, they also provide a reference to which we may

possibly trace contemporary Puerto Rican social practices. Columbus assigned Pané to

live among the tribes of Hispaniola with the purpose of learning their language and

customs for the ends of effectively communicating in the search for gold and the conversion of natives to Christianity. Pané was, essentially, the first American Indian ethnographer. His documentation was published as *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indies* (Arrom & Griswold 1999; Oliver 1997; Walker 1992). The impressive store of mythology recorded by Pané offer a particularly reliable glimpse at their store of spiritual, moral, and ethical examples from which we can deduce their norms and standards of social behavior.

Interestingly, the creation story as narrated by Pané does not begin with the actions of a Creator force but with the chronology of human emergence from the primordial cave. Perceived by the chronicler as the American Indian equivalent of Zeus, *Yaya*, the personified "causal force presiding over nature," is mentioned secondarily. In his first chapter, he also documented the belief in a supreme God-head force called *Yúcahu Bagua Maórocoti*, meaning "Giver of yucca/cassava," "Master of the Sea," and "Born without male intervention." He also identifies an Earth Mother fertility goddess with the five names: *Atabey*, *Yermaoguacar*, *Apito*, *Zuimaco,* and *Itiba Cahubaba* which means "The Bleeding Mother" (Alegría 1997a; Arrom 1997; Arrom & Grisowld 1999; Deagan & Cruxent 2002; Pané 1999; Walker 1992).

The chronological emergence of life forms from the cave is particularly relevant. In the beginning, humans were forbidden by the Sun to wander about the earth in his presence. The first person to emerge accidentally, when he overslept guarding the mouth of the cave, became a stone. The second group to "leave the cave," returning too late from fishing, were turned into Jobo (Hog Plum) trees. Finally, the third person caught by the sun outside of the cave was transformed into a bird. Apart from the repeated theme of

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illicit contact of mortals with a personified domain of Natural Order, which will be addressed next, the story establishes an order of emergence of life forms into "the world." We may deduce that the natives conceptualized that life first began with rock forms, than plant forms, next animal forms, and finally human forms. We furthermore infer that each form has a common life-energy and that, from the primordial cave, we are all related (Oliver 1997; Rouse 1997). The rock-people, plant-people, fish-people, winged-people, four legged and two legged-people "earth-family" dynamic is a widespread belief among native people.

The creation story also describes the acquisition of "culture secrets" (Oliver 1997) necessary for human social order. The story shows that knowledge of the material world is closely guarded. The sun curtails contact with the world, Yaya guards the mysteries of the gourd (the cycle of death and life), and Bayamanaco is jealous in his possession of food preparation secrets. José Oliver shows that the "culture hero," which is common in American Indian folklore, must steal "culture secrets" from the supernatural world (which is an inverse of our world). This is because it is with the knowledge of the culture secrets that humans exert control over the forces of nature. In this way, the first human, Vaguoniona, to successfully emerge from the cave also performs inadvertently the requisite and prescribed actions necessary for civilized living. He removes the sister-wives from the cave, acquires the *cibas* useful for healing and receives the *guanines* required for marking social hierarchy. Only then does he return to the cave facilitating the safe inhabitation of this world (Arróm 1997, 1999; Oliver 1997). In another myth, the hero-quadruplets—the primordial, non-human sons of *Itiba Cahubaba,* the Taíno Earth

Mother, reveal the secrets of sexual pairing, the cycle of death and birth, and the secrets of food production with fire. (Oliver 1997).

The actions of the culture hero also serve to prescribe model behavior for humans (Arróm 1997; Oliver 1997). Vaguoniona establishes an incest taboo by removing the [sisters] women from the primordial cave. First the banishment and then the execution of another culture hero, Yayael, the son of Yaya, because of two attempted coups, provide examples of consequences for the taboo of stealing, in which usurpation is included. Oviedo y Valdez, having witnessed the severity of its punishment, testified that stealing was indeed the Taínos' most serious offense (Oliver 1997). The banishment of Yayael might also have influenced the avunculocal practice of the cacique's male heirs leaving to serve and live among his maternal uncle's village. In this way, the "natural" ambition to assume the father's seat of authority is abated and the people achieved alliance, peace and opportunity for greater production (Keegan 1997). Finally, Yayael's gourd-tomb kept by Yaya reveal proper funerary rites and appropriate "cult to the dead" as Oliver describes Taíno ancestor worship (Oliver 1997).

The creation myths may also explain some Puerto Rican behaviors still practiced today. For example, juvenile delinquency among Puerto Ricans is still often addressed by "banishment" to live with aunts or uncles. This banishment typically involves considerable geographic re-location—from the island to the United States and vice-virsa. Secondly, remnants of what I call the ancient Taíno's "earth cult"—the idea that we humans, animals, plants, and rocks are all related—are still visible in Puerto Rican culture. Certain geographic locations in the island, like El Yunque rainforest, continue to be plainly sacred to the Islanders (see picture 5 in Appendix); and some animals like the

coquí tree frogs, the owl, the bat, and the hawk are still regarded to have ominous powers

to predict fortunate and unfortunate events.   Finally, a cult to the dead is also practiced

through the occult traditions of *Espiritismo*, *Palo Monte*, and *Santería*. Although these

cults to the dead are typically, and rightfully, associated with African cultural heritage[7]

because the principal deities, vocabulary, and rites are African in origin, it should be duly

noted that Native and European syncretism were involved (Indigenous sacred and

medicinal botanicals necessarily replaced many African plants that could not be found in

the Caribbean) and the religions are now practiced by Puerto Ricans of all shades[8].

These syncretized religions continue a spiritual tradition that already existed in the

Caribbean before the arrival of Africans and Europeans.

Peter Martyr, friend to Columbus and the Spanish King and Queen, made of the

Taíno the first comparison to the Renaissance idealized "Golden Age." The Taíno were

the first "noble savage"; "guileless people untouched by the corruption of civilization"

(Walker 1992:14). On several occasions in the logbook of his first voyage, Columbus

remarks of the gentleness, generosity and ingenuity of the natives. He wrote for the

Sovereigns,

> They are so affectionate and have so little greed and are in all ways so
> amenable that I assure your Highness that there is in my opinion no better
> people and no better land in the world. They love their neighbors as
> themselves and their way of speaking is the sweetest in the world, always
> gentle and smiling. …their behaviour to one another is very good and
> their king keeps marvelous state (Cohen 1969:92).

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[7] Espiritismo, or Spiritualism, is a notable exception. It is rooted in the writings of the French medium
Alec Kardec. Still, even this tradition has syncretized elements from other cultures. African and Indian
"spirits" figure prominently in the practitioners' communication with the dead.

[8] Franciso "Panchito" Ramirez is one important example of this syncretism. He is the cacique of a large
Taíno community in the eastern mountain range of Cuba. I met him during the Indigenous Legacies of the
Caribbean Conference which spotlighted him and his family. He and his family practice a variation of
Santería. Although he recognizes the African roots of this spiritual tradition, he maintains that the practices
were adopted by his ancestors in order to continue serving their own ends.

As a sailor, their acumen at sea was neither lost on him, "…they are men of great intelligence, for they navigate all those seas, and give a marvelously good account of everything (1969:118). He also assumed that they had no religion or were idolaters. The ascription of pagan-identification and the technological gap between the Europeans and American Indians would become the great rationalization for colonization in the Americas for the next 500 years.

Irving Rouse, a leading authority on the Taíno, categorizes the contact-period group in the "formative stage" of social group evolution (1992). This means that with their strong agricultural base and complex chiefdom society, they were evolving towards "full civilization." I argue that the greatest misinterpretation of Euro-American history is that civilization was "brought" to the Indians. If civilization means organized life in relative peace, as the root *civil* implies, than it should be accepted that the Taíno enjoyed full-civilization before the arrival of Europeans.

The Contact Period Taíno were in every way a civilized group. They possessed a sophisticated governing structure, means for travel and trade, and effective methods of agricultural, textile, ceramic and stoneware production. They practiced medicine and indulged transcendental thought about the spiritual universe. They exercised an egalitarian distribution of wealth that could be considered utopian. They abhorred theft and incest. Moreover, they demonstrated moral and ethical modes of behavior (i.e., a more egalitarian status of women[9] compared to that of renaissance and later Western civilization, and a deep respect and concern for the entire natural world) that was ahead of their time and would even today be considered idealistic, if not idyllic.

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[9] Leadership was inherited from the maternal line. Women could be caciques and even warriors. There is also anecdotal evidence that Taíno sexual mores allowed women to choose their own partners.

There are no reliable census figures of the pre-contact Taíno. Gónzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdez reported that one million inhabited Hispaniola alone. Bartolomé de las Casas retorted that the figure was closer to three million. Irving Rouse cites a contemporary "authority" on the Taíno, Kroeber, who argues that the total sum of all island Taínos amounted to 200,000. However, it is known that all the islands of the Greater Antilles are enriched with fertile soil suitable for dense populations as were described by all the early chroniclers (Rouse 1992).

Soon after the arrival of the Europeans in the fall of 1492, Taíno society sharply declined. Initially the Caribbean Islands were something of a trading house between natives and Europeans. Columbus met with local leaders diplomatically. The two groups traded openly and in good spirit. The natives prized the trinkets, as Columbus and other European chroniclers described the brass hawk's bells and glass beads, the Taíno presumably took for guanines and cibas. They even favored broken shards of European ceramics. Columbus described the trading;

> The people are very gentle and anxious to have the things we bring. Thinking that nothing will be given them, however, unless they give something in exchange, and having nothing to give, they take anything they can, jump into the water and swim away. But they will give all that they do possess for anything that is given to them, exchanging things even for bits of broken crockery or broken glass cups. I saw one give sixteen ball of cotton for three Portuguese ceotis, the equivalent of the Castilian blanca, (A small copper coin worth perhaps a farthing.) and in these balls there was more than an aroba (about 25 lb.) of cotton thread. I should like to forbid this and let no one take any cotoon except at my command; then if there were any quantity I would order it all to be taken for your Majesties (Cohen 1969:57).

The Europeans clearly felt advantaged in bargaining; they received gold and large amounts of cotton for these trinkets. Still, Columbus cautioned his men to deal fairly with the natives and to be careful not to offend their hosts. During the first voyage,

contact with the natives was generally friendly, and Columbus left the Caribbean with genuine hope for fruitful collaboration (Cohen 1969; Tyler 1998).

When Columbus returned on the second voyage, there were signs of unrest. The 40-man crew of the shipwrecked Santa María, which had remained near the village of the Cacique Guacanagarí, were found dead and their settlement was razed. Conflicting reports of the attack were given, but it later came to be understood that the crew was attacked by the warriors of Cacique Caonabó. Dr. Chanca, personal physician to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella and crew physician on the second voyage, described the encounter;

> Next morning the Admiral and some of us landed and went to the site of the village. We found it completely burnt and the Spaniards' clothing lying on the grass. At that time, we did not see any corpses. There are many opinions among us. Some of us suspected that Guacamari [sic] had taknen part himself in the betrayal or murder of the Christians. Others thought not, since it was his village that had been burnt down. The whole matter was therefore extremely doubtful (Cohen 1969:147).

Friendly relations continued but tensions had arisen that would never abate.

In 1502, Nicolas Ovando landed with 3000 men to settle Hispaniola. By 1503, the natives would not associate with the Spaniards. Voyagers to the Caribbean were eager to imitate European society in the islands. Spanish commoners anticipated finding wealth and rising to *Hidalgo* nobility-status. Noble-born European vassals and peasants alike grew affronted by the daunting tasks of mining gold, building towns and fortifications, and collecting foodstuffs. They were desperate for the natives to assume the status of a servile class. On December 20, 1503, by the Royal Order of Medina del Campo, territories were divided among the Spaniards in what was called the *repartimiento*. By the King's orders, entire villages were assigned to individual

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Spaniards and were compelled to move into the settlements called *encomiendas*. The Dominican fathers severely criticized the encomienda system, as it facilitated abuses including rape, mutilation, torture, execution and killing for sport (Alegria 1997; Griffen 1992; Pagden 1992; Tyler 1998). Fray Bartolome de las Casas began his sojourn in the Americas as an encomiendero in Hispaniola. He describes the period;

> It all began with the Europeans taking native women and children both as servants and to satisfy their own base appetites; then, not content with what the local people offered them of their own free will (and all offered as much as they could spare), they started taking for themselves the food the natives contrived to produce by the sweat of their brows, which was in all honestly little enough. Since what a European will consume in a single day normally supports three native households of ten persons each for a whole month, and since the newcomers began to subject the locals to other vexations, assaults, and iniquities, the people began to realize that these men could not, in truth, have descended from the heavens (Griffen 1992:14).

Ricardo Alegría explains, "In the encomiendas, the Taíno suffered an exploitation equivalent to slavery (1997:30)." By the 1530s the gold mines of Cuba and Puerto Rico were finally exhausted and labor on the encomiendas shifted to animal husbandry and sugar cane production (Rouse 1992).

As gold diminished in the Caribbean so did the Spanish population. In the 1520's many left to seek the mineral in Mexico and in the 1530's they sought it in Peru. The primary function of Spanish settlements in the Caribbean Islands then changed to feeding the Spanish Empire and servicing the fleet. The numbers of Taíno were also dramatically reduced. Many died from famine due to neglected farming from the compulsion to mine gold and from a small pox epidemic in 1519. Great numbers also committed suicide. Others fled to nearby islands and into the dense mountain interiors. A census taken in 1514 counted only 22,726 "persons able to work." The same census also shows that forty

percent of the Spanish men married native brides; likewise, one-fifth of the marriages

registered in Puerto Rico in 1530 were between Spaniards and Taínos (Wilson

1997d:211). These women and their children were exempt from encomienda service and

would be lost to census counts of natives. Enslaved Africans at this point were imported

to supplement the labor. By 1524, African slaves would outnumber the servile natives

(Rouse 1992).

Although Taíno legacy would be preserved in the offspring of Spanish fathers and

native mothers and between Africans and natives, as well as in isolated communities, the

population decline and radical transformation of Taíno life ways would come to be

known as their extinction. Yet despite the "catastrophic population decline," Samuel

Wilson argues that "individuals and groups of Indians managed to survive." He writes,

> Their descendants live in the Caribbean today and carry a genetic legacy
> of the indigenous people of the Caribbean. On many islands, especially in
> the Greater Antilles, it is widely said that people who have indigenous
> traits live in particular regions. The Sierra Maestra and the mountainous
> area of Baracoa in eastern Cuba are known for this, as are areas in
> Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico. Indigenous traits are of course
> found among the Caribs of Dominica, but also in other Lersser Antillean
> populations. This attention that scholars have paid to individuals and
> isolated groups of people who considered phenotypically "Indian" may
> mask the fact that a great many Caribbean people have indigenous
> ancestry. Intermarriage between Europeans, Africans, and indigenous
> peoples took place very early on after first contact and occurred equally on
> islands controlled by Spain, France, England, Holland, and other European
> countries. …The result of this in much of the Caribbean is that most
> peoples' ancestry includes a rich combination of African, European, and
> indigenous forbears.

From the facts presented in this chapter, it can be deduced that the Taíno possessed a

considerable degree of practical knowledge necessary to the European and African

newcomers for survival in the Caribbean. Moreove, it can be demonstrated that the Taíno

had previous experience in synthesizing the cultural contributions of other groups. It is

safe to assume that many, if not all, Puerto Ricans claiming Taíno descendancy have objective measures to demonstrate the validity of their own native heritage.

For at least six thousand years, people have been migrating to and living in the Caribbean. Although conflict did exist between some social groups of the area before the European conquest, there is also significant evidence of coalition building. The ancient Taínos had achieved a functional and productive civilization. Their surplus economy of farming, fishing, hunting, and trading provided food and shelter for every member of the community. As accomplished sea-farers, they were no strangers to diplomacy and coalescing. In fact, the early Spanish chroniclers record evidence of diplomatic relationships between Columbus and Taíno caciques. Initially, the Spanish were received with great hospitality and generosity. However, the Spanish regarded the Natives as categorically inferior. The Taínos were conquered and enslaved. When their numbers dwindled, African slaves were imported to replace them as chattel. Based on differences of religion, culture, technological achievement, and later skin color, Europeans began a system of oppression based on race that has continued to influence socio-economic interactions in the Americas to this day.

Revitalization is sociologically interesting because it is a group response to perceived social inequality (Bonilla-Silva 1996; Pieterse 1997). Ethnic and racial actors may respond to perceived oppression and exploitation by re-invigorating old or "lost" traditions seeking to re-create more idyllic times from their ancestral past. Modern Taínos might find in their own history examples of greater gender equality, a more egalitarian distribution of wealth and sustenance, and a more responsible way of interacting with the natural environment. In this way, revitalization can be benign, and

the revitalizing actors may even contribute more productive modes of behavior in order to transcend social inequality and exploitation. Unfortunately, in the course of revitalization, actors may invent certain "realities" for other purposes. Revitalizations are also capable of re-creating inequality and exploitation. Jan Nederveen Pieterse discusses a continuum of ethnicity including domination ethnicity, enclosure ethnicity, competition ethnicity and optional ethnicity (1997). Speaking of domination ethnicity in particular, Pieterse argues, "In many societies the state is an instrument of domination by privileged ethnic groups who engage in a form of 'cultural despotism" (1997:373). These domination ethnocracies may be majority or minority, stable or unstable and may exercise their power to marginalize other groups. For this reason the subject of ethnic revitalization warrants our investigation.

In the next chapter I will discuss how the concepts of race and ethnicity have been treated in science. Originally, race and ethnicity were considered essential categories. Similar to sex, race and ethnicity were distinguished by the presence or absence of certain objective conditions—phenotypics, blood quanta, etc. Now, it is understood that race and ethnicity are flexible categories that change over time through the courses of social interaction. I will explain how the malleability of race and ethnicity can be studied macro-sociologically or micro-sociologically. Macro-sociological investigations explore how external factors affect race and ethnicity. Meanwhile micro-sociological investigations explore how racial and ethnic members construct their realities. I find the second approach to be more useful to arriving at a descriptive analysis of how the contemporary Taínos are reconstructing their identity and what they expect to accomplish with it.

CHAPTER 3 THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

This treatise follows the social constructionist approach to understanding race and ethnicity. There are three contrasting paradigms in ethnic studies: primordialism, circumstantialism, and social constructionism. *Primordialism* or *essentialism* is the oldest paradigm and probably the most commonly used framework for imagining race and ethnicity outside of academia (Allahar 1994; Cornell and Hartman 1998). According to this line of reasoning, race and ethnicity are biological categories; membership is determined by blood descent. *Circumstantialism* is similar to *social constructionism*; both recognize that definitions and limits of race and ethnicity are flexible and malleable (Berger and Luckman 1976; Cornell and Hartman 1998; Nagel 1996; Yancey et al. 1976). Although ethnicity and especially race are more often treated as biological categories with hard and fast definitions (either one has enough blood quanta for group membership or not), constructionists and circumstantialists argue that these identities are more fluid (groups have the power to adopt members without any measure of designated blood quanta, to set their own minimums of blood quanta, and even the power to deny membership to individuals with significant degrees of blood quanta). The important difference between them is a matter of focus. Circumstantialism is macro-sociological in focus. It explores the impact of social, political, and economic superstructures on matters of race and ethnicity. Constructionism on the other hand is the micro-sociological "flip-side" of the coin. It explores how individuals construct their own ideas of race and ethnicity through social, political, and economic interaction. The micro-sociological focus of constructionism makes it better suited than circumstantialism to provide a meaningful understanding of race and ethnicity. Each of these paradigms will be

discussed in this chapter, and social constructionism will be shown to provide the most logical framework for investigating how the Taíno are working to re-establish their identity.

Primordialism

Theories of race and ethnicity first developed as explanations for the resistance of ethnic groups to assimilation. Allahar explains that the "hard" version of primordialism argues that humans are attached to their racial and ethnic groups by their blood ties which—like the attachment that exists between siblings and parents—conditions them with reciprocal feelings of trust and acceptance based on these ties (1994:19). The "soft" version argues that racial and ethnic groups are marked by a fixing primacy of ethnographic conditions including language and vocabulary, gastronomy and spiritual cosmogony (Allahar 1994:20; Cornell and Hartman 1998). Allahar explains that primordialism has its roots in Durkheim's *Division of Labor in Society*. Durkheim argued that the "collective consciousness" of a group provides the primary source of identity. A "social solidarity," evidenced by conformity, then follows. This conformity, being rooted in the collective consciousness, is argued to lead to individual preference of group members to others.

Primordialist appeals have been used both to assert Taíno authenticity and to dismiss it. René "Cacike Cibanankan" (see picture 8 in Appendix), Principal chief of La Nación Taína, buttresses his claims of greater Taíno survival with Puerto Rican census figures from 1777 and 1778 (1997). These figures indicate the presence and population growth of "pure-blood" Indians. He also provides anecdotal evidence given by Captain

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W.S. Chuyler, U.S. Department of War,[10] and archeologist Jesse Walter Fewkes,[11] that

people with Indian characteristics were casually observed throughout the island.

Meanwhile, skeptics of Taíno survival essentially question the authenticity of Indio

heritage because of a putative dilution of native genes and the adoption of foreign

language and customs. José Oliver writes,

> The Taínos are no longer amongst us; their genes have been diluted among
> new Old World populations. Their culture—as an integrated holistic system,
> as a mode of interacting with the natural supernatural surroundings—is for all
> practical purposes gone as well. All that seems to remain are remembrances
> and a few artifacts here and there (1997:152).

Based on this dilution of blood quanta, Taíno skeptics assume that extinction logically

follows. Discussing the ethnic activity of Euro-Americans, Joane Nagel (1996) explains

that the quest for "ancestral ethnic connection and meaning" in America is often in sharp

contrast to the political meanings of these identities in the homeland. This is no less true

for descendants of the Taíno in the U.S. Taíno authenticity is more readily accepted

within North American Indian circles than on the island. North American Indian

communities have working social definitions of "mixed-blood" Indigeneity and recognize

some Puerto Rican phenotypics and cultural practices to be similar to their own.

Meanwhile, Puerto Ricans pay more attention to birth place and cultural orientation (i.e.

urban or rural, educated or non-educated, high culture or low culture). Furthermore,

Jorge Duany explains that they typically only recognize the racial identities of white,

black and degrees of mulatto based on phenotype (1998:153). He and other skeptics

argue that the Taíno revitalizationists are trying to make "Indians out of Blacks" (Dávila

2001:39; Duany 2001:56; Jiménez Román 2001:102).

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[10] From Chuyler's "Memo about the Census of Puerto Rico", 1899)
[11] From Fewkes' The Aborigines of Porto Rico, 1907)

The major caveat of primordialist theorizing is that it fails to account for variation and change among racial and ethnic memberships. For example, Joane Nagel (1996) discusses the predicament of some full-blooded American Indians whose ancestries are mixed between so many tribes that they do not have enough blood quanta to qualify for membership with any of them. Should we conclude that they are not legitimately Native American? More to the point, the established nationalist paradigm of Puerto Rico's mestizaje is used both to defend and to discredit claims of Taíno survival. Some argue that the Taínos mixed themselves into perpetuity; others argue that they mixed themselves into oblivion. Who is right? This could be debated ad infinitum. To base our understanding of race and ethnicity on primordialist standards of blood quanta is both outdated and anti-sociological.

Circumstantialism

Circumstantialism emerged as an alternative approach to the analysis of race and ethnicity as essential categories. It understands both the plasticity and contextual nature of these identities (Cornell and Hartman 1998). Definitions and boundaries of identity are understood to be <u>ascribed</u> by outside, dominant groups in order to preserve their own interests and <u>asserted</u> by members of the insiders in order to maximize their limited possibilities.

Nagel identifies several patterns of ethnicity as rational choices that can be traced to two motives: "ethnicity for profit" and "ethnicity for personal meaning" (1996:23-25). For a contemporary example, new immigrants may seek out ethnic enclave communities because they facilitate finding housing, employment, credit, legal and social services, and

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friends. Similarly, affirmative action programs in the U.S. provide incentives for individuals to identify with "officially targeted groups" for the purpose of greater education and employment opportunity. Individuals may also "switch" ethnicities for profit in order to escape negative consequences of stigmatized ethnicity. Nagel cites the examples of Scheduled Caste Hindus (Untouchables) converting to Islam so as to escape "untouchability" and the pre-1960's trend of "passing" for white or another less stigmatized ethnicity to avoid the costs (job discrimination, police harassment, and social exclusion) of being American Indian (1996:24). This theory is useful for understanding how external forces like capitalism, colonialism, racism, and exploitation affect identity.

Understanding the powerful social, political, and economic paradigm shifts faced by Contact Period Taíno, it is evident that they faced powerful motivations for "ethnic switching." The Europeans were first a source of desired material goods and powerful alliances against enemies. Esteemed favor with the Europeans, like that granted to the *Nitaíno* ruling class, led to managerial status and exemption from hard labor. Finally, marriage to a Spanish man exempted a wife and her children from the *encomienda* system of forced tributary labor to the Spanish Crown. This system of whitening through marriage called *blanquemiento* is a continued tradition by non-white individuals throughout the Hispano Caribbean today (Duany 1998).

Still, the macro-sociological focus of circumstantialism fails to explain why some individuals primarily identify themselves according to race or ethnicity instead of by class, gender, religion, or trade; especially when those are more powerful loci for advancing material interests. The quest for personal meaning is also a powerful catalyst for ethnic identification, but as a matter of methodology, circumstantialism neglects the

spectrum of perspectives of racial and ethnic group members (including transcendental, spiritual and ethical motivations) inevitably allowing some claims to be dismissed as false consciousness (Cornell and Hartman 1998). Investigations of how external factors like capitalism and neo-colonialism systematically affect identity only contribute to an understanding of those factors. Ultimately, the circumstantialist perspective provides a very limited understanding of race and ethnicity.

Social Constructionism

Social constructionism argues that racial and ethnic identities are primarily social inventions and not biologically given (Allahar 1994; Bonilla-Silva 1998; Cornell and Hartman 1998; Nagel 1996; Yancey et al 1976). Social constructionism provides a radically different approach to the *primordial* understanding of race and ethnicity as essential categories (Berger and Luckman 1966, Yancey et al. 1976). Yancey et al. explains,

> …rather than an ascribed constant or a temporarily persistent variable, ethnicity and ethnically based ascription are emergent phenomena… We suggest that ethnic groups have been produced by structural conditions which are intimately linked to the changing technology of industrial production and transportation. More specifically, ethnicity, defined in terms of frequent patterns of association and identification with common origins (Haller, 1973; Greeley, 1974 [sic]), is crystallized under conditions which reinforce the maintenance of kinship and friendship networks (1976:392).

Race and ethnicity are socially "real," although they are ultimately invented categories. Similar to Marx's idea of *reification*, that humans create the superstructures of society that in turn redefine human roles, privileges, and models of behavior, ideas of race and ethnicity are made up by collectives and individuals but have powerful influence over the

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processes of identification. Social constructionism is the logical alternative to primordial

concepts of race and ethnicity that are still often taken for granted both inside and outside

of academic circles. I appreciate primordiality as a social function, but insist that

variation and change in membership contradict the assumed and taken-for-granted status

of race and ethnicity as essential categories.

I argue that any meaningful understanding of race and ethnicity must come from

grounded theories of "membership" presented by the participants. Niemann et al. repeat

the constructionist concern with local definitions of reality,

> To understand how people arrive at their ethnic self-images, we must have
> some knowledge of people's perceptions of their ethnic group identities. …it
> is argued here that an understanding of how people socially construct their
> ethnic group identities can best be achieved by directly asking persons what it
> means to them to be members of a given ethnic group (1999:48-49).

Berger and Luckman give the example of the psychiatrist and the person who doesn't

know what day of the week it is or one that speaks to ghosts. In her diagnosis of the

patient, the "socio-culturally sensitive" psychiatrist will take into account the "reality" of

the patient. This means that she will take into account whether or not the patient has

recently arrived by jet from a distant country like Calcutta and, therefore, is "on another

time." Likewise, she would consider whether the patient is from New York City or rural

Haiti (Berger and Luckman 1976:161). Any analysis that does not consider the ethnic

members' ideas of reality risks producing a skewed picture. The macro-sociological

focus of circumstantialism is only built to provide description and evaluation of the

objective conditions of ethnicity and race. Only constructionism can provide the

subjective interpretations of those conditions that we are interested in here.

Methodology

In this thesis, I will perform a content analysis of selected articles from the

Official Newsletter of the Taíno Nation. Content analysis is the use of any systematic

and objective procedure in order to make valid inferences from a text (Berg 2004; Weber

1990). Inferences can be made about the message, the sender of the message, or even the

audience of the message (Weber 1990). Here, inferences will be made about the message

and the sender. The researcher first establishes a set of meaningful categories and then

counts the frequency of elements that fit each category (Silverman 2004:123). These

elements may be words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, sections, chapters, books,

writers, ideological stances, subject topics, etc. (Berg 2004:271). Here, the elements that

will be counted are themes. Themes may be expressed in phrases, sentences, and

paragraphs. The basic unit of analysis, for this thesis, is the selected article. From 52

selected articles, I will identify and count themes that fit rhetorical categories used in the

social construction of "social problems" (Best 1990). This analysis will reflect the

rhetorical patterns of the claims-making group, and will reveal the focus of their claims.

Three advantages of content analysis are particularly relevant to this study (Weber

1990:10). Communication is a core element of social interaction, and with content

analysis, I will be operating directly with the text of the Taíno Nation's communications.

Secondly, because documents exist over long periods of time, I will have access to

communications made by the claims-makers over a period of five years. Finally, content

analysis will afford me an unobtrusive measure of the claims-makers' messages.

Because the claims-makers could not have been aware of the analysis to be performed

here, there is no threat of this measurement affecting the data.

For the content analysis of the articles, I will borrow Stephen Toulmin's diagram of the "structure of arguments" used by Joel Best in his treatment of social problems (Best 1990). Best shows that it is fruitful to analyze the construction of local reality by diagramming the structure of rhetoric that gives life to it (see Best 1990:25-31). The analysts' work is to identify the claims made by the membership. Claims are to be understood as the demands made on another. Claims are the composite of *grounds*—which present the basic facts of a putative situation, *conclusions*—which prescribe responses to the situation, and *warrants*—which rationalize the conclusions.

The processes of constructing social problems and constructing race and ethnicity are similar. Both share the irony that objective conditions may provide necessary but not sufficient cause for recognition. For example, in the 1980s, an entire range of threats to children (including stranger-crime and violent and sexually explicit media) were successfully designated as "social problems" (drawing popular attention and calls for action) while other legitimate concerns, like the nation's growing trend of junk food diet, were not. Best argues that activists (for lack of a better word) for social problems necessarily act in order to persuade that X [grounds] is a problem, that Z [conclusion] is the solution that should be adopted, and that Y [warrant] is the rationalization linking the problem to its solution (1990:24). For example, one may claim that African Americans have endured peculiar, terrible and inherited trauma because of the cruel exploitations of slavery and Reconstruction and, therefore, deserve financial reparations. Another person may claim that 1200 acts of terrorism occurred this month alone, and because terrorists are not immediately distinguishable from other model citizens, abrogation of our civil liberties is necessary for national security.

I argue that in negotiating the boundaries of identity, members of race and ethnicity must successfully affirm or deny that X is a definition of race or ethnicity, that Z is a prescription for behavior, and that Y is the reason why that behavior should be taken. Consider the following claim: The Taíno have been wrongfully classified as extinct, but it should be widely understood that Taínos still exist because the cultural capital found in a person's ethnic identity is inherently valuable. Here, X is the definition of race and ethnicity: that extinction is a misclassification for the Taíno. Z represents the solution that greater awareness of Taíno survival is needed, and Y rationalizes this conclusion by arguing for the inherent value of cultural capital.

Grounds

Grounds are the assorted data, including *definitions*, *typifying examples*, and *numeric estimates*. They provide the foundation for the discussion. In the claim for reparations for African Americans, the claims-maker provides a "definition" of the African-American experience, while in the claim for National Security "by any means necessary," a "numerical estimate" prefaces the discussion.

Definitions are capable of establishing the domain of and the orientation toward a topic (Best 1990:26-27). Domain statements designate the set of phenomena that are within the boundaries of a category, and orientation statements assess the nature of the topic. Domain statements can be broad or precise. They also have the "power of novelty" in as much as they claim to either identify new phenomena or to suddenly recognize pre-existing phenomena for "what they are." In the example of the African American claim for reparations, a domain statement was set limiting the putative

experiences of slavery to African-Americans. Although slavery may have been imposed

on other groups at other times, these moments lie outside the bounds of the discussion.

The orientation statement of "peculiar, terrible and inherited trauma" felt by African

Americans is meant to guide both the interpretation of the situation and responses to it.

Orientation statements may be subject to disagreement even when the domain statement

is not.

Typifying examples provide reference for imagining the dimensions of a

phenomenon (Best 1990:28). Typifying examples focus on extreme events in the lives of

specific people seeking to elicit "identification" from the audience for the people affected

by the phenomena. These examples need not be "typical" in the sense that they are the

most typical examples. Best explains, "Crusaders [for missing children] routinely used

stranger-abductions—which they acknowledged to be the least common cause of missing

children—as referents"(1990:28). These examples instead become "typical" because

they are used for generalizations about the phenomenon.

Numeric Estimates are used for estimating the magnitude of a phenomenon (Best

1990:29-31). Best identified three types of numeric estimates used in the construction of

missing children as a social problem, *incidence estimates*, *growth estimates*, and *range*

claims. Incident estimates are simply the number of cases, incidents, or people affected.

Growth estimates and range claims are more vague. Growth estimates are made to

suggest that the dimensions of a phenomenon are increasing, while range claims suggest

that the phenomenon may be more pervasive than recognized.

Warrants

Warrants are the "because" statements that justify our conclusions. The warrants Best identified as given by social problems claims-makers are similar to what I expect to find in the claims-making of race and ethnicity. They include statements of *value*, *blamelessness*, *associated evils*, *deficient policies*, *historical continuity*, and *rights and freedoms* (Best 1990:33-37). In the campaign to achieve the "conclusion" of "reparations for slavery," deficient policies and associated evils of antebellum economy and American social stratification, as well as the blamelessness of African-Americans, are appealed to in order to promote the prescribed solution. Meanwhile, the value of national security is massaged hoping to convince us of the necessary "conclusion"—the compromise of our rights and freedoms is necessary.

While these categories were identified in the claims-making about missing children, I expect to find them no less relevant to the re-construction of contemporary Taino identity. Arguing the "pricelessness" of children, the threat of parents missing children became a "prominent warrant" (Best 1990:33). I expect that the Taíno Nation will appeal to the *value* of racial/ ethnic membership and probably the value of Taíno identity in particular. It is essential that the indigenist claims-makers establish the importance of maintaining Taíno culture.

They may characterize their Taíno ancestors as *blameless victims*. Best explains that the "ideal victim—weak, engaged in a respectable activity, and overcome by a more powerful stranger—is most likely to gather sympathy capital useful for establishing claims (1990:34).

The category of *associated evils* is unique because it alone suggests the possibility of alliance with crusaders for other causes (Best 1990:35). The Taíno Nation may characterize an entire range of established social problems typically linked with the "decline of Western Civilization" (i.e. ecological disaster, racism, sexism, class exploitation, imperialism, and world hunger and poverty) as being linked to the colonial enterprise that affected their ancestors.

Appeals to *deficient policies* are also unique because they are intimately linked to the conclusions-category of implementing prescribed "social control policies" (Best 1990:35). For generic example, if the ways of Western civilization aren't working, they should be replaced with Native ways.

Appealing to *historical continuity* is useful for two ends (Best 1990:36). It can be a conservative warrant "emphasizing consistency with past policies," for example, "Taíno heritage has continued to be documented in families and individuals overtime so this heritage should continue to be recognized as legitimate." It can also be a radical warrant calling "for a revolutionary break from the past," for example, "Taíno heritage has been denied by calculated scheming to undermine their land claims so now their heritage should be re-affirmed."

Finally, warrant statements of *rights and freedoms* are typically used in claims-making involving government policy. Best explains that appeals to *rights and freedoms* from missing-children claims-makers were merely "touchstone." For them *freedom* meant freedom from abduction, and *rights* meant a right to protection by the authorities (Best 1990:37). The Taíno Nation may argue for the freedom to identify as they chose

and the right to identify as Taíno. More radical warrant statements of *freedom and rights* may appeal to putative-rights to land or other reparations.

Conclusions-statements

Likewise, I expect the conclusions categories of social problems claims-makers and race and ethnicity claims-makers to be similar. Firstly missing-children's crusaders hoped to bring attention to the issue and enlist public attention in finding the children; secondly, they wished to prevent further possibility of losing children; and, finally they demanded new social control policies (Best 1990:38). I expect to find that the Taíno claims-makers will primarily seek to encourage public *awareness* of Taino legitimacy, and secondarily to *prevent* further evils to the collective.   One might expect to find conclusion statements for *social control policies* to redress harm already done to the people, given that land and other reparations have been made available to other American Indian tribes. Still, I do not expect to find such conclusions from the group. From my experience with members and leaders of the Taíno Nation, they are a moderate group. By this I mean, in private and group dialogue, I have never heard the claims-makers make radical demands. They do not plan to seek federal recognition from the United States[12]. They do not clamor for land or reparations from either the U.S. or the Puerto Rican government, and they do not advocate racial or ethnic separatism. I believe that the content analysis will demonstrate that the claims-makers are primarily interested in strengthening their membership and sharing their history and culture.

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[12] They consider the relationship between the U.S. and Puerto Rico to be imperialist and colonial. As a matter of nationalist politics, they believe it to be antithetical to receive federal recognition from the United States.

Hypotheses

I am curious of the Taíno Nation's standards of emic authenticity, of their objectives for the reconstruction of their identity, and of their rhetorical methods for reconstruction. This research design will allow us to address five issues. First, the distribution of category counts will allow us to verify the similarity between the social construction of race and ethnicity and the construction of social problems. Second, we can verify which grounds are more resonant, based on frequencies of occurrence. Here I expect to address a third issue of an exploratory nature, "How does the Taíno Nation officially reconcile the European and African parts of members' mixed-heritages?" The fourth issue is which warrants are most appealed to, and the fifth is which conclusions are most prescribed (again, based on frequency of occurrence).

I hypothesize [H1] that the rhetorical patterns employed in the social construction of race and ethnicity will indeed parallel those used in the construction of social problems. I expect to find that the racial/ethnic claims-makers employed the same, if not a similar, range of categories of grounds, warrants, and conclusions as social problems claims-makers. Next, [H2] I hypothesize that numerical estimates would not be too relied on by the claims-makers. This is because the Taíno, by and large, are assumed to be extinct. The group should have been hard pressed to find statistics supporting their claims. Instead, I hypothesize that they would rely more on typifying examples of other tribes in similar predicaments as well as typifying examples of credibility that the Nation allegedly has achieved with other established and credible agencies. Within the sum of definition statements found, [H3] I expect to find an elaboration of the group's definition of Taíno authenticity. Moreover, I expect to find here how they reconcile the mixed

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racial heritage that much, if not all, of their membership have. I hypothesize that the

group will employ one of three strategies to meet their group's standard of legitimate race

or ethnicity. They may adopt a blood quanta minimum following the example of many

North American tribes, or they may follow the rule of hypo-descent that is applied to

African Americans. A third possibility is that they may deny or attempt to distance

themselves from European and African racial heritage altogether. My fourth hypothesis

[H4] is that "historical continuity"—being a historical continuity of the Taíno and other

North American tribes who have or are revitalizing—would be employed as the most

resonant warrant statement. This would be in keeping with my expectation to find

typifying examples as the most resonant grounds for establishing their claims. Finally, I

[H5] hypothesize that their most resonant conclusion will be "awareness." This is based

on my experience with the group and my overall impression that theirs is a modest and

conservative campaign. The data will not show them to be a radical or separatist

movement.

The Sample

The Official Newsletter of La Nación Taína was selected as a sample of material

culture for this treatise after seven years of participant observation. In 1998, through a

Google internet search of Taíno activity I made contact with Dr. Jose Barreiro, Professor

of American Indian Studies at Cornell Univeristy and coordinator of the annual

Indigenous Legacies of the Caribbean academic conference. Dr. Barreiro guided my

exploration towards the activities of La Nación Taína because of their careful attention to

authenticity (meaning that they do not imitate the language, customs, dress, or religious

cultures of other American Indians). Through him I made contact with René "Cacike Cibanakan." Lines of communication with La Nación were opened, and a subscription and backlog of the entire catalog of the Official Newsletter were ordered for a reasonable fee. I attended the *Indigenous Legacies* conference held in Cuba four times: January 1999, December 1999, January 2001, and January 2003. I also attended two private *areyto* ceremonies held by La Nacíon in upstate New York in July 2000 and 2001. Daily summaries of each event were kept in a journal. Spontaneous reflections of marked importance were recorded as often as possible. I declined the use of tape or video recorders because I felt them to be intrusive. Apart from La Nación Taína, I also sought out other Taíno individuals and attended other Taíno activities, including the annual Taíno indigenist festival held in Jayuya, Puerto Rico, first in November 1998 and again in November 2000. Journals were also kept during these activities. I found La Nación Taína to be the best case-example of contemporary Taíno collective action.

Of the three major Taino collectivities: La Nación Taíno, The Jatibonicu Tribe, and the United Confederation of Taíno People, La Nación is the best organized and the one most recognized and admired by the Pan-American Indian community and the Smithsonian Institution. Moreover, they provide the most reliable information of Taíno history and linguistic anthropology. The Jatibonicu Tribe headquartered in Milleville, NJ and claiming associated bands in Florida and Puerto Rico is predominant on the internet. A *Google*-search for "Taino" will immediately link the investigator to Jatibonicu-sponsored web-sites. These web-sites present reliable information of Contact-Period Taíno history that can also be found in any of the existing literature currently available. Ultimately, this collective was not selected because the sites are rarely if ever updated

and, therefore, provide a content-poor sample of material culture. Likewise, the United Confederation of Taíno People also provide a content-poor sample of material culture. Although its leading representative, (a logical deduction made by the author) Roberto "Mucaro," whom I met during the Indigenous Legacies Conference in Cuba, has achieved significant recognition as a Taíno (including NGO status with the United Nations, producing a weekly Native-based radio talk-show on New York's WBAI, and whose response to the *Taíno Revival* symposium was published along with the other articles), the collective is very loosely based and it was impossible for me to find examples of their material culture.

The material culture of La Nación Taína was eventually chosen as the sample for this investigation because of its content richness, its longitudinal reference,[13] and its opportunity for unobtrusive measurement. The average newsletter is four-pages-long, it contains news of international pan-Indigenous activity, news of La Nación Taína activity, Taíno history and myth, articles about Caribbean fauna and flora, and Taíno vocabulary and grammar. It is printed bi-monthly (except for the first 5 issues from January to May which were published monthly). I decided to limit the sample size to the years between 1993 and 1997, from the first publication to the announcement in the September-October 1997 issue of the *Taino Revival* symposium to be held at El Museo del Barrio of New York City—which members of La Nación logically may have attended. This decision was made because I do not wish to measure any possible reaction the symposium or the publishing of the book, Taíno Revival may have caused. Likewise, the newsletter allows me to analyze and evaluate La Nación without producing distorted reactions to the

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[13] It is in its 13th year of regular publication. I will be analyzing the first four years of publication, from 1993 to 1997.

evaluation. However, because there is a lack of consensus between the Taíno groups, the findings of this thesis will not be generalizable to the entire Taíno revitalizationist movement.

The Content Analysis

This thesis will demonstrate [H1] how all realities are constructed in similar and predictable ways. Whether a claims-maker is constructing social problems or racial/ethnic definitions and boundaries, here it will be shown that similar rhetorical categories are used to establish the claim. This will be demonstrated if the same categories identified by Best in the construction of the child abduction threat as a social problem are also used by the Taíno Nation of the Antilles it their reconstruction of Taíno identity and culture.

This thesis will also address an additional four hypotheses. Three of these issues [H2, H4, H5] address which grounds, warrants, and conclusions categories are most resonant to the Taino Nation of the Antilles. This will reveal the claims-maker's core claim. One exploratory issue [H3] this thesis endeavors to address is to identify the strategy the Nation has employed to determine the group's standard of legitimate Taíno race or ethnicity.

I will accomplish this by performing a content analysis of the claims-makers' official newsletter. Individual, selected articles will be the basic unit of analysis. The total number of selected articles is 52. Each newsletter typically contains a headline and sometimes a secondary news piece, a column titled "Our History," columns relating Taíno myths and others describing indigenous Puerto Rican and Caribbean flora and

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fauna, occasional "Urgent Action Alert" notices, and re-printed letters addressed to Cacike Cibanakan and/or the Nation. Every article found in the newsletters from January 1993 to September-October 1997 was previewed, and the headlining and secondary news articles, the "Our History" columns, and the "Urgent Action Alert" notices were found to be the best sources of complete claims statements—including grounds, warrants, and conclusions. In order to find the most complete claims statements,[14] only these articles were analyzed.

Within each article, I will count themes. Themes found in an article will be classified into categories for grounds, warrants, and conclusions. I will make three simple charts (see Appendix A, B and C). Across the x-axis, a set of four columns will be designated for the set of grounds observed: *definitions*, *typifying examples*, and *numeric estimates*, and the fourth will be provided for "other" examples of grounds. Six columns will be designated for the set of warrants observed: *value*, *blamelessness*, *associated evils*, *deficient policies*, *historical continuity*, and *rights and freedoms*, likewise a seventh column will be reserved for "other." Four columns will be designated for the set of conclusions observed including: *awareness*, *prevention*, *social control policies*, and "other." Down the y-axis, I will record the issue and article as a single location of appearance.

The expression of a theme may vary. They may be expressed as a single sentence or less. Sometimes they are simply expressed as a group of words like a dependant clause. They may also be stated with a number of sentences or an entire paragraph. Consider one theme, found in the "Our History" column, defining Cacique Guacanagarí.

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[14] Sometimes warrants or conclusions are not explicitly stated.

> This was open war. They hypocrisy of the Spanish was now bared. The tribute [a trimestral amount of gold the size of a lemon] was imposed upon all males and females above 14 years of age. The amount to be brought by the caciques was much greater. Even loyal Guacanagarí was subject to this tribute. …He was an innocent victim, betrayed and deceived (3-4/1994).

Although a series of definitive statements are made here, the theme is singular: "Guacanagarí was an innocent victim."

Claims are rarely as clearly stated as in the examples of reparations for slavery or national security given earlier. Grounds, warrants, and conclusions are often developed by claims-makers separately and in different orders of discussion within a communication. Furthermore, Best explains that warrants are often implicit and "glossed over" in public discussion because they are harder to defend than grounds. Because warrants appeal to personal values, it is difficult to sell a warrant that an audience isn't prepared to accept (1990:32). For this reason, I expected to find warrants embedded into grounds (especially among "orientation statements") and among conclusions (particularly conclusions for "prevention" or "social control policies." Warrants are internally consistent categories. As will be discussed below, warrants are identifiable because they address one of six aspects of a given phenomenon. An embedded ground will, nevertheless, address the value, blamelessness, associated evil, deficient policy, historical continuity, or rights and freedoms associated with the subject.

Identifying Themes

Sometimes separate grounds, warrants, and/or conclusions themes were found in a single paragraph or sentence. Here, I will discuss how themes were identified for categorization. Definition statements are easily recognizable because of the use of

various forms of the predicates "be," "do," and "have." Consider these examples, "An Indian presence was officially recognized in censuses," "Our culture has continued to survive," "Our ancestors did not disappear from the face of the earth!" Although these predicates may also be found among typifying example themes, this category is still easily distinguishable because of temporal referents. Typifying examples report meaningful moments, some reference to time and place will be included, and the meaning of the event will be elaborated shortly after. For example,

> …last November 19th a ceremony was held in the city of New York by leaders of the Taino people in which a proclamation was read whereby the Taino Nation was officially restored under the leadership of a council of elders both in Puerto Rico and abroad. As a witness to the enthusiasm and joy with which this event was received by Taino descendants we have received many letters expressing that joy and requesting to register as members of the Nation (Rebirth of A Nation 1993).

Both typifying examples and definitions will always be the main ideas of paragraphs and even articles. Numerical estimates, on the contrary, were typically supplemental to definition statements. They are distinguishable by the use of statistical figures. For example, "In a 1777 census a population of 1,756 full blooded Indians was registered, and it went up to 2,302 by 1787."

Warrant and conclusions themes are always expressed secondarily, and even tangentially in articles and within paragraphs. These themes will be internally consistent to their categories. First I will discuss the warrant themes. Themes of value will include terminology that denotes value. For example, "continental acceptance," "holy," and "important" were terms that were found to convey the value of discussed phenomena. Blameless victims themes present a number of concomitant ideas: victimization and

blamelessness. Associated evils themes are always presented in sets and historical

continuity themes always refer to time and continuity.

These three themes were at times commingled, yet they are separately identifiable.

Consider this example found in three paragraphs, the third found later in the article,

where it appears that all three themes were expressed together.

> …It was in the Caribbean that the great Arawak and Collano [Taíno] culture reached its peak. Cultural and commercial exchanges took place by way of the sea with the Yucatan and Central America.
> The arrival of the Spaniards 500 years ago interrupted that process of development and adversely affected our people. Oppression, cruelty and slavery became rampant. Genocide was so ferocious that to this day many people believe we became totally "extinct".
> In this year of the quincentennial of the arrival to our continent of the Spaniards we the Taíno people together with the rest of the aboriginal peoples of the continent feel that we don't have much to celebrate. We were and still are victims of a system of oppression which began 500 years ago (Restoration of the Taíno Nation 1993)!

The theme of associated evils is at once distinguishable by the set "oppression, cruelty,

slavery, and genocide." The theme of historical continuity is present and verifiable by

the indication of time and continuity: "The arrival of the Spaniards 500 years ago…" and

"We were and still are victims of oppression which began 500 years ago." What qualifies

the theme of blameless victim is that the Taíno were presented as having achieved their

cultural and commercial peak before becoming the victims of the Spaniards. Each one of

these categories therefore received one count from this article.

The categories for deficient policies and rights and freedoms are no less internally

consistent for the themes. Deficient policy themes will name a policy and elaborate its

faultiness while rights and freedoms themes will explicitly proclaim the rights and/or

freedoms of an agent to a discussed phenomena.

Likewise, conclusions themes are internally consistent with their categories. Awareness themes only prescribe communication of the claims-makers "truths" or "facts." Within these themes, terms of communication including "declare," "proclaim," "recognize," "reaffirm," "celebrate," and "express" will be found. Within themes for prevention terms like "stop," "save," and "protest" will be found. Finally, themes for social control policies will always involve instructions that go beyond communication and do not involve prevention of any phenomena.

The Value of Category Statement Occurences

Because grounds, warrants, and conclusions can sometimes appeal to a number of categories simultaneously, and because a number of different grounds, different warrants, and different conclusions may be expressed in a single article-location, occurrences of multiple themes within a single location will be charted according to each of the categories. In other words, it will be possible for a single article to present two or more types of grounds, two or more types of warrants, and two or more types of conclusions; each example will be coded as one category count. Furthermore, I may find numerous examples of single categories within a single article. For example, the claims-makers may present a number of typifying examples or a list of associated evils within a single location. Each example will be recorded and charted within a single cell and will be discussed in the analysis but will only be valued as part of one category count for that particular ground, warrant, or conclusion. Greater frequency of coded grounds, warrants, and conclusions will be interpreted to reflect higher concern with the category.

In the next chapter I will discuss the content analysis performed on the selected articles from the Taíno Nation's Official Newsletter. Categorical themes from the articles will be discussed in detail. I will discuss how the degree to which the themes fit the categories, how well the categories are developed, and which categories are most resonant for the claims-makers.

Because I expect numerical estimates of Taíno survival to be extremely limited, I hypothesized that the claims-makers will rely on typifying examples of credible supporters of the Taíno Nation to establish their own legitimacy. In keeping with the typifying examples I expect to find, I hypothesized that the group will warrant their claims with the historical continuity of other American Indian tribes that have come close to complete annihilation and have initiated movements of revitalization. Regarding the conclusions-category, I hypothesized that, more than anything else, the group is seeking to achieve greater awareness of Taíno legacy.

Furthermore, I hypothesized that the rhetorical categories employed by these racial/ethnic claims-makers would be similar, if not identical, to those used by social problems claims-makers. I expected to find that each category identified by Best (1990) would be appealed to somehow. I will discuss the definition statements that were made, as well as the orientation statements the claims-makers provided. I will also detail the typifying examples that were given and discuss how numerical estimates were used. I expected to find that each of the warrant categories were appealed to. I will elaborate how value, blamelessness, associated evils, deficient policies, historical continuity, and rights and freedoms rationalized their claims, if at all. Finally, I will discuss the conclusions the group prescribed. I will detail the set of conditions that amount to

awareness, the set of whatever they may wish to prevent, and the set of social control policies they may desire to enact.

Within the classification of definition themes, I expected to find an answer to Hypothesis 3, how does the group determine legitimate Taíno racial/ethnic identity in light of the multi-racial heritage of much of their potential members. Still, this question will be addressed more thoroughly in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4 ANALYSIS

In this chapter I will discuss the results of the content analysis performed on selected articles from the Official Newsletter of the Taíno Nation of the Antilles. This grassroots publication was selected because of the richness of its content, the longitude of its production, the relative esteem of its producers within American Indian circles, and because it is the sanctioned material culture of the leadership of a major organ of Taíno revitalization. These findings are not assumed to be generalizable to the other revitalizing organizations much less to individual Taínos at large. Instead, it is the limited scope of this thesis to provide a descriptive analysis of the core claims employed by the Taíno Nation of the Antilles. This thesis will also demonstrate that "reality" is constructed in similar and predictable ways. This will be accomplished by testing the generalizability of the rhetorical categories identified by Joel Best in the construction of the "child abduction threat" as a social problem (1990). The extent to which the Taíno Nation employs the same rhetorical categories in their claims-making will show that the social construction of reality follows predictable patterns. While other authors have commented on the Taíno revival (Dávila 2001; Duany 2001; Haslip-Viera 2001; Jiménez Román 2001), this treatise will be the first to actually investigate one of its organizational actors.

A simple category count was performed on the rhetorical categories composing the official claims of the Taíno Nation of the Antilles. The rhetorical categories enumerated in this analysis are borrowed from Joel Best's application of Toulmin's diagram (1990:25-39). Best used the diagram to classify arguments, also called "claims,"

into parts and categories in order to reveal patterns in the process of the construction of the "missing children" phenomenon into a "social problem" through rhetoric. He explains that claims are composed of grounds, warrants, and conclusions. Grounds are the data framing a discussion. Conclusions are the prescribed steps that the claim suggests or demands. Meanwhile, warrants are the rationalizations that link the grounds and conclusions together. Each of these parts employs a set of categories for serving their ends. Grounds categories include definitions, typifying examples and numeric estimates. Warrants categories include value, blameless victims, associated evils, deficient policies, historical continuity, and rights and freedoms. Conclusions categories include awareness, prevention, and social control policies. An "other" category was included, at first, for each of the grounds, warrants, and conclusions parts, anticipating the possibility that different rhetorical patterns might emerge. I found these extra categories to be unnecessary. Claims from the Official Newsletter were diagrammed and charted into their parts and categories. Higher frequencies of parts and categories were assumed to reflect greater resonance for the claims-maker.

Definitions are useful for setting a domain of issues that the claims-makers deem relevant or irrelevant to the discussion of a phenomenon and for suggesting orientations towards the situation. *Typifying examples*, on the other hand, capture attention with dramatic stories. These dramatic stories then serve as referents to the nature of the phenomenon. Meanwhile, *numerical estimates* attempt to establish how great a phenomenon is, how it may be growing, and the range of parties affected by it.

The warrants categories are aptly named according to their uses. *Value* warrants rationalize grounds and conclusions by arguing the inherent value of a phenomenon.

Blameless victims warrants gather sympathy. *Associated evils* warrants may also gather

sympathy, but moreover, they suggest possible avenues of coalition building between

related claims-makers. *Deficient policies* warrants mean to convince the audience that an

existing policy must be changed. *Historical continuity* warrants rationalize future actions

with historical precedent. Finally, *rights and freedoms* warrants simply appeal to one's

sense of entitlement.

Conclusions categories are also aptly named. Demands for *awareness* simply

conclude that more people ought to know about it. *Social control policies* on the other

hand prescribe specific solutions that ought to be mandated. Finally, *prevention*

conclusions specify which phenomena should be restricted.

Selected issues of the Official Newsletter from 1993 to September-October 1997

provided the basic unit of analysis. The September-October 1997 issue was the one to

announce the program at the Museo del Barrio, which included the symposium which

many Taínos in attendance felt was dismissive of their claims. I chose to limit the sample

to these dates because I did not want to skew the findings with possible subsequent

reactions to the symposium. Articles from the issue were "qualified" for charting by

identifying at least two of the three parts of a claim (grounds statements, warrants

statements, or conclusions statements) within the piece.

Each occurrence of a category statement was charted and valued as one category

count (see Table 4). As I explained in Chapter 3, warrants statements are subject to being

implicitly stated because of their potential to stir controversy. Rather than risking the

alienation of their audience, a claims-maker may therefore imply or even ignore a

warrant. Still, I found that sometimes a conclusion may have been taken for granted and,

therefore, was also not overtly stated. Rather than skew the findings with my subjective

Table 1: Category Counts

Definitions	25
Typifying Examples	24
Numerical Estimates	4
Total Grounds	*53*
Associated Evils	9
Blamelessness	7
Historical Continuity	7
Value	6
Deficient Policies	5
Rights and Freedoms	4
Total Warrants	*38*
Awareness	10
Prevention	6
Social Control Policy	4
Total Conclusions	*20*
Sum Total	*112*

interpretation, I counted no score for implied or otherwise missing statements. Because a

single article may contain a number of grounds, warrants, and/or conclusions, just as a

sentence may be composed of a number of subjects and verbs, compound statements

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were counted accordingly. If a single article contained one definition, one typifying example and a numerical estimate, each category received a count. The same applies to compound warrants and conclusions statements. Moreover, particularly in the case of definitions, if a single article presented compound examples of a single category, that category received a count for each distinguishable statement. For example, if an article contained a definition statement of how the Taíno survived and another definition statement of how authentic Taíno heritage is determined then the definitions category for this article received two counts. Again, higher frequency of a category count reflects greater resonance of the category for the claims-maker. Here we will discuss the content found in the categories and identify the most resonant ones.

This chapter will show that the frequency of definition statements equaled the frequency of typifying examples. Definitions included statements of Taíno-survival of the conquest and colonial periods and standards of ethnic-authenticity, as well as statements of Taíno "reality," which include definitions of ancestral origin, geographic boundaries of the traditional homeland, historical facts, and social problems particularly relevant to the membership. Numerical estimates were very few and were only used to validate claims of Taíno survival. Typifying examples were used to portray Taíno Nation successfulness, support from Taíno descendants, and quasi-official recognition for the Tribe by other American Indian Nations and Official State agencies. The frequency of counts reveals that the associated evils of conquest, colonization, and Western values are their most significant rationalization for revitalizing Taíno identity and values. Claims of Taíno blamelessness, which appear as often as claims of historical continuity, are only slightly less frequent. The claims-makers also warrant their campaign for revitalization

with claims of historical continuity of native heritage and by exposing what they consider the deficient policies that have perpetuated the "extinction myth." Statements of the value of heritage and of the rights and freedoms of individuals to their heritage are also discussed but less frequently. Ultimately, the analysis of their conclusions statements will show that the claims-makers primarily seek awareness. The social control policies they propose are not didactic, but instead offer very general encouragement to resume tribal activity. Finally, only a few demands to prevent what the claims-makers defined as "social problems" were found.

Grounds Statements

Altogether, fifty-three grounds statements were counted, outnumbering the totals of warrants and conclusions. In their discourse, the claims-makers paid more attention to making definitions and to illustrating typifying examples than to elaborating warrants or prescribing conclusions. Twenty-five definitions and twenty-four typifying examples were counted. With one more example of its category counted, definitions were a slightly more resonant concern for the Taíno Nation in its claims-making. Meanwhile, numerical estimates were few and will be discussed along with the definitions.

Definitions and Numerical Estimates

Twenty-five definitions statements were counted. Almost as many typifying examples were counted as definitions, but the latter showed a slight majority. Therefore, it is a bit tenuous to surmise that this category is more resonant for the claims-makers.

However, this category is more relevant because it alone has the power to set the

boundaries of topics that the claims-makers define as relevant to the subject of their

revitalization. These statements include explanations of how the Taíno survived, charter

statements of tribal restoration, definitions of requisite measures necessary for tribal

enrollment, revised narrations of Native history, and the enumeration of "social

problems" deemed to be particularly relevant to the membership.

First, the claims-makers maintain that the Taínos survived European conquest

and colonization (Our History 1993b; Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited

to Participate in the Traditional Council of Indian Elders and Youth in North

Dakota 1993; To the Taíno Indigenous People of Cuba-Guajiro Roots 1993;

Development of a Nation 1993; The Hatuey Regiment 1994; Decimation Does Not

Mean Extinction 1995; Rebuilding the Way 1996). They declare that the central-

mountainous region of Puerto Rico and the eastern-mountain range of Cuba are

known to be sites of significant degrees of endogamic Native survival. Moreover,

they introduce miscegenation as a survival tactic (Development of a Nation 1993:4-

5).

> Many Indian women were used, abused and raped consistently by the
> European men, whom at the beginning brought no women with them. From
> these unions, by force and by choice, in some cases, came the preservation of
> Indian blood, more so in Puerto Rico than in many of the other islands. In
> many of the islands, after the introduction of African slaves, there were unions
> of runaway slaves with Taíno and Caribe Indians. Adding that way another
> dimension to what were going to become the societies of the future in the
> Caribbean and Latin America.

In this way, survival is measured by the ability and decision of ancestral Taínos to

produce descendants, even if they were racially mixed. They concur that a "decimation"

of their ancestors' numbers did occur but maintain that even this dramatic reduction of population does not amount to their extinction (Decimation Does Not Mean Extinction 1995); and, although their people have not been living tribally, that their culture has persisted (Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional Council of Indian Elders and Youth in North Dakota 1993). They are aware of the prevailing explanation of Taíno extinction, that is, the Natives were "absorbed" by the Europeans and Africans. They counter that the reverse may have happened; that the Natives indeed absorbed the latter (Development of a Nation 1993:2). They claim both pure-blood and mixed-blood survival of Native heritage and are careful not to discount racially-mixed individuals as less than full Taínos in a deeper sense.

An important element of the claims-makers' definition of Taíno survival is their conceptualization of Taíno "choices". Ancient Taínos are typically objectified. They were symbols of prehistoric, noble savagery to Rennaissance-period Europeans (Walker 1992). They became symbols of Puerto Rican nationhood after the island became a territory of the United States (Davila 2001; Duany 2001). And to a wide range of social activists, they are the archetypal "annihilated victims" of Western expansionism. The claims-makers are unique in recognizing the ancient Taínos as subjects of their own destiny. They realize that the ancient Taínos could choose between a number of options. Some decided to go to war, some decided to flee to more remote areas, some committed suicide, and others decided to integrate with the new arrivals. Even in the case of rape, Taíno women had the choice of abortion, infanticide, and childbirth. Simply put, the claims-makers believe that their ancestors survived because they had choices.

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Some of these definitions of survival orient their audience toward the understanding that knowledge of Taíno survival has always been known but that it has been repressed. One statement reads, "After 500 years of silence, of an identity held in the clandestinity [sic] of the conscience, the Taíno Nation resurfaces" (Rebirth of a Nation 1993). They report that a Native presence in Puerto Rico was officially documented until 1787 when the governor began to classify all non-white inhabitants collectively (Development of a Nation 1993). Likewise, they argue that an Indian presence in Cuba was known and documented although largely ignored (The Hatuey Regiment 1994:1). The set of Taíno repressors, according to the claims-makers, include conquistadors who seized their land and power, encomienda-land owners who hid Natives in order to keep them as slaves, government officials that continued to misclassify them after 1787, and scholars that ignore them.

Only three statements of numerical estimates were found in the sample, and each was made to support the definition statements of Taíno survival. The article "Development of a Nation" (1993) presented a figure of "full-blooded Indians" counted in the 1777 Puerto Rican census. Next, the article "Our History" (1993b) issue estimated the number of Indigenous people living in Cuba. Finally, another "Our History" (1993c) column cited a treatise, dated to 1950, implying that Taínos also survived in Haiti. The number of statistics available to the claims-makers is irrelevant. Even a few numerical estimates can be repeated again and again if they are perceived to be particularly relevant to the campaign for an issue. The fact that these figures did not reappear in later claims-making suggests that they were less resonant to the campaign for revitalization.

The claims-makers also made statements setting their domain of authentic Taíno heritage and addressing the question of what quantifiable measure of genetics are necessary for "authentic" tribal membership. Interestingly, they do not set a minimal degree of blood-quanta for membership as North American Indian tribes do. Instead, they offer that hypo-descent (one drop of Native blood) is sufficient (November 19th, Day of the Taíno People 1993; Our History 1993a; Restoration of the Taíno Nation 1993).

> No, we are not dreamers, nor pseudotainos, nor neotainos, we are Taínos!
> It doesn't matter whether we are full-blooded or of mixed blood! We are
> Taínos! Our body and blood may be mixed, our soul and spirit are not!
> (November 19th, Day of the Taíno People 1993:1)

The claims-makers find the qualitative measures of "soul" and "spirit" to be more valid indicators of Native authenticity than quantifiable measures of body and blood types.[15] Apart from mentioning that the interior mountainous region of Puerto Rico is known as Las Indieras for the prevalence of individuals with Indigenous features, they list no physical or genealogical indicators of Taíno heritage whatsoever.

The next thrust of statements from this category provides revised narrations of key moments of Taíno leaders of the Contact-Conquest Period. They tell the stories of the popular Taíno martyr Hatuey who traveled from Haiti to Cuba to organize Native resistance to the Spaniards (Our History 1993c); of Cacique Guacanagarí who rescued the crew of the Santa María, which shipwrecked off the Northwest shore of Hispaniola (Our History 1993d) and of his relationship with Columbus (Our History 1994a; Our History 1994b); of Cacique Caonabó whose warriors razed the first fort built by Spaniards in the Caribbean, slaughtered the occupants (crew members of the Santa María), and was

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[15] The "Solicitation for Inclusion in the Registry and Census of the Restored Taíno People" requires applicants to submit a passport size photo, a birth certificate, affidavits from family elders confirming Native heritage, family pictures, descriptions of Taíno traditions, customs, or legends preserved by the family, knowledge of herbal medicine, and an essay explaining why the person wishes to be enrolled.

eventually captured through the Manichean trickery of Captain Alonso Ojeda (Our History 1994c; Our History 1994d); and the story of Cacique Urayoan who is credited with the showcase execution of a Spaniard in Puerto Rico (Our History 1996).

The basic facts of these statements can be verified from the records kept by Christopher Columbus and his son Hernando, Fray Ramón Pané, and Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, but they have been revised to subjectify the figures that are otherwise flat characters whose motives and emotions were never considered in the Spanish chronicles. At first Cacique Guacanagarí was suspected of razing Ft. Natividad, but then Cacique Caonabó was implicated. Neither the attacker or a motive was ever established, but Caonabó was apprehended and sent to Spain to stand trial. The ship sank enroute (Cohen 1969).

The claims-makers explain that Caonabó attacked La Natividad in retaliation for the sexual abuse of Taíno women. Although I never encountered evidence of Caonabó's guilt much less his motivations, Las Casas provides ample evidence that sexual abuse did in fact occur and that there were military retaliations (Griffin 1992). Although the basic facts the Indo-European encounter are maintained (e.g. persons involved, dates, actions, and reactions), some artistic license was employed in order to tell the Native side of the conquest story from the claims-makers' perspective. Furthermore, it must be noted that an orientation statement is implied in each of these examples: Taíno leaders were blameless, virtuous, and courageous while the Europeans were archetypically reprehensible.

Four more statements were made setting a scope of "social problems" for the Taíno. The four examples found in the sample were issues related to environmental

protection and human rights. They report Taíno solidarity with Native communities in South America, decrying the murder of a number of Yanomami in Brazil by "gold-seekers" and the politically motivated killing of Peruvian Natives (Native Americans Killed in Brazil and Peru 1993). They condemn Hydro-Quebec's James Bay Dam project in Northern Quebec—which threatened to destroy massive wild-life habitat connected to the Indigenous Cree and Inuit people (We Say No to James Bay II 1993). They rail against the construction of the Cotingo Dam by state-owned Companhis Energetica de Roraima within the boundaries of the Indigenous reservation Raposa da Serra do Sol in Brazil (Urgent Action Report 1995). Likewise, they protest a proposed mining project in the central mountains of Puerto Rico (We Say to the Mining Companies…Out of Taíno Territory! 1995). It is particularly relevant that the article noted that the mining company was a foreign one. Each of these "social problems" has in common that the human or environmental violation affects an Indigenous community and the violator is invariably an outsider. The only "social problem" the claims-makers identify is the foreign threat to Native sovereignty and viability.

Typifying examples

Typifying examples are employed to gather attention for the claims-making campaign and to create a referential image of the subject of discussion. Twenty four typifying examples were found, one less than the frequency of definitions counted, yet the content of this category was more uniform. The image presented by these examples is that the restoration of the Taíno Nation is a success story. The restoration of the Nation is typified by anticipation, enthusiasm, collaboration, recognition, and change. The range

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of supporters is typified to include individuals of Taíno and Hispanic descent, academic scholars, museums, and other Indigenous communities.

Seven miscellaneous typifying examples of Taíno success were found. Three of them imply that the Nation is changing history. One reported that James L. Rader, the Etymology Editor of Merriam Webster Dictionary, was recommending that the term "extinct" no longer be associated with the definition of "Taíno" in future editions (Change In Webster Dictionary 1993). Another example lauds the publication of literature[16] acknowledging Taíno survival and boasts that one of the many accomplishments of the Nation "has been the gradual disappearance of the epithet 'extinct' when speaking of our people" (Our Roots Couldn't Be Uprooted 1994:2). Similarly, another example expresses satisfaction with the growing Taíno participation in North American Indian Pow Wows and adds that, "Prior to the restoration process, begun by our leaders, this presence was unheard of" (Taíno Presence 1997:1).

The other four examples regard the establishment of Taíno institutions. One example proudly reports the incorporation of *Ua Nacan Taíno Uara-a Bauakén* (The Cultural Center of the Taíno Nation of the Antilles) as a "not for profit" corporation with the State of New York (Ua Nacan 1996; Resurgence of the "Ghost" People 1996). Later that year, they reported that an Office of the Cultural Center was established in Santa Isabel, Puerto Rico (Cultural Center Established in Puerto Rico 1996). This issue, furthermore, qualifies the domain of success achieved by the collective to include: 1) a system of tribal enrollment, 2) centralization of a Taíno polity, 3) creation of a national flag, 4) establishment of an institution of Taíno culture, 5) rescue of Taíno music forms,

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[16] By the Smithsonian and Dr. José Barreiro.

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6) quasi-official recognition from influential U.S. State agencies and other American Indian nations, and 7) popular support of the movement from other Taínos. The last typifying example of Taíno institutional success reports satisfaction with the plans and projects being implemented by the regional Cultural Center in Puerto Rico (Visit From Puerto Rico 1997). These examples typify the Nation as powerful, influential, and stately. They emphasize the serious nature of the group; they are demonstrated as more than just a club of Puerto Ricans "acting Indian."

The claims-makers identify "the overwhelming and enthusiastic support the restoration has had from Taíno people" as the most meaningful of the movement's successes (Successful Celebration of the Taíno People 1996). In fact, the very first grounds statement was the report of an enthusiastic reception of the public ceremonial declaration of the restoration of the Taíno Nation printed in the media.

> As a witness to the enthusiasm and joy with which this event was received by Taino descendants we have received many letters expressing that joy and requesting to register as members of the Nation, as well as letter support from other indigenous communities of the Americas, and letters of support from Hispanics in general (Rebirth of a Nation 1993:1).

Requests to register for tribal enrollment with La Nación clearly stand out as the ultimate expression of the "enthusiastic support" that the collective typically claims to receive (A People On the March 1994; Joyous Celebrations at Tibes 1994; In the Indieras 1997).

Three more examples imply that the anticipation for Taíno revitalization is international. They report that Taínos in Cuba "are equally expressing their own satisfaction at learning about the restoration of the Taino Nation which they rightfully call their own and heartfully support" (Expressions of Joy in Baracoa for Taíno Nation Restoration 1995:1). The newsletter was reported to be "highly prized" in Baracoa,

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Cuba, where a large Taíno population is said to have survived (Cuban Taíno Chief Says "I Am With You" (1995:1). Meanwhile, another example reports "enthusiastic support" and "requests for registry" from people in Cuba as well as in Haiti (Resurgence of the "Ghost" People 1996). These examples impress upon their audience that support for the revitalization is well beyond the Puerto Rican community of New York. Furthermore, it typifies Taíno revitalization as a widely anticipated phenomenon.

The last subcategory of typifying examples found within the sample concerns the support that the Taíno Nation receives from American Indian tribes and organizations and from official State agencies. This type of support serves as quasi-official recognition of the Taíno Nation as a Tribe. The first example of this type reports that the nation was represented by one of its elders at the "Traditional Circle of Indian Elders and Youth" conference convened on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in Belcourt, North Dakota (Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional Council of Indian Elders and Youth in North Dakota 1993). The Circle was described as a "Mini United Nations" for indigenous people throughout the world. The Taíno representative delivered a message that included greetings, a statement of Taíno survival and revitalization, and a declaration that the collective will not surrogate the ceremonies of other cultures for their own but will participate willingly when invited. A similar example of Taíno participation in international Indigenous networking was found in the May-June 1994 issue (Ambassadors From Mother Earth 1994). Again, Taíno leaders delivered a "message of restoration and revitalization" and, in typical fashion, it "was received with joy and enthusiasm."

Typifying examples of inter-tribal collaboration were also found. One example reports a stately visit with a leader from a neighboring Caribbean tribe. The claims-makers comment, "We had a friendly and fruitful exchange of ideas, traditions, anecdotes and experience" (Trinidad 1995:2). In a reprinted speech given by the Deer Clan Chief from the Ramapough Nation on Taíno Nation Day, Dennis Morgan describes the revitalization efforts of his people, also known as the Lenape Nation. He says, "Listening to Chief Cibanacan, our stories greatly parallel each other. We too were a people that had to become invisible to survive" (Forever Linked As Brothers 1996:2). These example underscore that the Taíno people are not alone in the need for tribal revitalization; other Indigenous nations find themselves in similar situations.

Support from academic circles and from other American Indian nations provide especially valuable typifying examples because they help establish the claims-makers credibility. The report of the fourth anniversary was especially full of examples of Pan-Native and State support of the restoration. They reported the attendance of tribal leaders from the Amazonian Shuar Tribe, the Oneida Nation, and the Ramapough Nation, as well as Cherokees, Apaches, and other Indians from the Andes. Representatives from the Puerto Rican Affairs Administration and the Smithsonian were recognized as well (Successful Celebration of the Taíno People 1996). A similar typifying list of support from Indian Country and Academia is also found in the report of the first encounter between Puerto Rican and Cuban Taínos. "Renowned" scholars from Puerto Rico and Cuba, including Antonio Blasisni—author of a seminal book on Taíno history, were reported in attendance (First Encounter With the Taíno of Cuba 1997). Another example reports that the Smithsonian Institution contacted the Nation regarding an inaugural

exhibition for the Heye Center of the National Museum of the American Indian, called

"Creation's Journey: Masterworks of Native American Identity and Belief," asking for

written explanations of the spiritual meaning and value of the objects selected for the

exhibit and requesting authorization to use them in the exhibition (Taíno Nation Grants

Smithsonian Requested Authorization to Use Ancestral Objects In Exhibition 1994).

Other examples include "courtesy, respect and cooperation" given to the Nation's

representative at an archaeological dig in Vega Baja, Puerto Rico (We Need People Like

You 1995), a letter from linguistic anthropologist Manuel Alvarez Nazario saying,

"Count me among your friends" (Linguistic Archaeology 1996:2), and the citation of

Rene Cibanakan Marcano in an article written by Nancy Rosoff for the book Creation's

Journey: Native American Identity and Belief (The People Who Refused to Die 1997).

Finally, the last issue included in the sample announces the opening of the "Taíno

Legacy" exhibit at the Museo del Barrio in New York City. The article, "New Exhibit

Questions Extinction Theme," includes the following example of academic support for

the revitalizationist movement in general.

> We are aware that there is a tremendous legacy of indigenous material and
> artistic culture, as well as great evidence of early mestizaje in the islands, said
> Ms. Bercht. At same time [sic], there is a great insistence that the Taino and
> indigenous of the Caribbean were made extinct by the end of the 16th century.
> While, in recent years, from the islands and here in New York, people of
> Taino ancestry come forward, projecting an indigenous voice. The exhibit
> explores all that (The People Who Refused to Die 1997).

These examples give the audience the distinct impression that the claims-makers are

taken seriously by an authoritative and powerful cadre. Support from federally

recognized North American Tribes, the Smithsonian, and scholars of American Indian

studies lend a quasi-official recognition to the group. This quasi-official recognition of

the Taíno Nation strengthens the claims-makers' referential image, within the social

discourse of revitalization, as a Tribe as opposed to a club or association.

Warrant Statements

Warrants link the statements of "fact" made by grounds and the solutions

prescribed by conclusions. They are rationalizations. They defend and elaborate the

rhetorical content of grounds and conclusions. Sometimes warrants are subtly implied.

For example, one warrant found in the sample appears alongside a definition statement of

Taíno survival as a dependent clause, "After 500 years of silence of an identity held in

the clandestinity [sic] of conscience, the Taíno Nation resurfaces" (Rebirth of a Nation

1993:1). This small fragment of a statement, nonetheless, fits a rhetorical pattern of

basing the need for revitalization on a perceived "historical continuity" of Native

oppression. One reason these statements may be subtle or implied is that the content of

these categories may be taken for granted by the membership. Another possibility is that

their potential for controversy threatens to alienate the claims-makers' audience. For this

reason it would not be surprising if there was a lesser frequency of counts found in this

category.

In fact, thirty-eight warrants statements were counted. There were fewer

examples of these statements than grounds but more than conclusions. Each rhetorical

category was employed by the claims-makers. These included: value, blamelessness,

associated evils, deficient policies, historical continuity, and rights and freedoms. The

most resonant category, according to the frequency of counts, was associated evils. The

content of this category can be summarized thusly: Western Civilization perpetuates a set

of associated evils that, moreover, have become institutionalized and warrant the revitalization of Native culture—which presumably lacks these evils. Nine examples of this category were found. Blamelessness and historical continuity, as categories, followed in resonance with counts of seven examples each. They insist that traditional Taíno culture was blameless, that there has been a historical continuity of Native survival and resistance in Puerto Rico, and that there has been a historical continuity of Western oppression. Six miscellaneous statements of value were found, as well as five statements of how the conceptualization of Taíno extinction is a deficient policy. Finally four statements of the claims-makers' rights and freedoms to revitalize were expressed.

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Associated Evils

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Nine examples of associated evils statements were found within the sample, making this the most resonant warrants category. The claims-makers contend that these evils have been perpetrated against the Taíno and other Indigenous people in general and that these evils are uniquely Western (Development of a Nation 1993; November 19th, Day of the Taíno Nation 1993; Our History 1993c; Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional Council of Indian Elders and Youth in North Dakota 1993; Restoration of the Taíno Nation 1993; Taínos Will Meet at Tibes Puerto Rico on the 19th of November 1993; Urgent Action Alert 1995; We Say No to the Mining Companies…Out of Taíno Territory!1995; Our History 1996). They argue that associated evils of Western Civilization include oppression, cruelty, slavery, and genocide (Development of a Nation 1993; Our History 1993c; Restoration of the Taíno Nation 1993; Taínos Will Meet at Tibes Puerto Rico on the 19th of November 1993).

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> The arrival of the Spaniards 500 years ago interrupted that process of development and adversely affected our people. Oppression, cruelty and slavery became rampant. Genocide was so ferocious that to this day many still believe we became totally "extinct" (Restoration of the Taíno Nation 1993:1).

Furthermore, they argue that these associated evils are institutional in nature (Our History 1993b; Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional Council of Indian Elders and Youth 1993; Urgent Action Alert 1995; We Say to the Mining Companies…Out of Taíno Territory! 1995; Our History 1996). Specifically, these statements indict the natural resource industry as the prime example of Western threat.

> Five hundred years after Columbus's first voyage, this hemisphere is facing the despoliation of its last natural regions, the contamination of its remaining reserves of clean air and water, the near or total extinction of much of its animal and plant life, and the possibility that its very climate has become dangerously unhinged. Ironically, the seizure and settlement of the hemisphere has been justified by the argument that the Native people were wasting the land, that its vast natural abundance had to be put to better use (Our History 1993b:1).

The institutional threat of Western Civilization includes the following in its set of associated evils: ill effects to the quality of life of thousands of people living in the area, environmental contamination, long-range and permanent ecological damage, erosion, climatic change that will adversely affect local agriculture (Urgent Action Alert 1995; We Say to the Mining Companies…Out of Taíno Territory! 1995), and the undermining of tribal viability (Urgent Action Alert 1995).

The claims-makers seem to find Western Civilization to be the cause of a wide range of suffering including the oppression of their ancestors. Testifying specifically to the gross exploitation of the Natives, Friar Bartolome de las Casas hoped to impress upon the Spanish monarchy the incredible severity of crimes perpetrated against the Indians.

> Everything that has happened since the marvelous discovery of the Americas—from the short-lived initial attempts of the Spanish to settle there, right down to the present day—has been so extraordinary that the whole story remains quite incredible to anyone who has not experienced it at first hand. It seems indeed, to overshadow all the deeds of famous men of the past, no matter how heroic, and to silence all talk of the wonders of the world (Griffen 1992:3).

Bartolome de las Casas was eighteen when he arrived in the Caribbean in 1502. At first he was an encomendero—a landowner with Taíno slaves. The horrors of the Contact-Conquest period led to his "conversion". He became a priest in the Dominican order and devoted the rest of his life to defending the cause of American Natives. The resonance of this category, in a similar fashion, demonstrates that the "crimes" of Western Civilization are prime motivators for the claims-makers to shift their identities from Puerto Rican to Taíno. The claims-makers presumably find Native culture to be antidotal to the excesses of Western culture. Finally, this category suggests the possibility for coalition building with other Indigenous tribes, environmentalists, and anti-imperialists.

Blamelessness

The claims-makers clearly see themselves as "blameless victims" (Our History 1993d; Restoration of the Taíno Nation 1993; Our History 1994a; Rebuilding the Way 1996; Our History 1996; In the Indieras 1997; Tales and Legends 1997). In fact, Christopher Columbus and Bartolome de las Casas agreed with them. Las Casas wrote to Prince Phillip, "the indigenous peoples of the region are naturally so gentle, so peace-loving, so humble and so docile (Griffen 1992:6)." Columbus said,

> They are so affectionate and have so little greed and are in all ways so amenable that I assure your Highnesses that there is in my opinion no better people and no better land in the world (Cohen 1969:92).

The claims-makers argue that they have been victims of oppression for over 500 years

and that "many" of today's [social] problems did not exist when the Taínos still practiced

their pre-Columbian value system (Our History 1993d; Restoration of the Taíno Nation

1993).

> Once our land was very different with beautiful jungles, rich soil, with the
> purest of waters. Natural resources exploited only to meet the needs of a
> small population. Hunting, fishing, gathering of fruits and farming occurred
> with no need of human enslavement. Our grandfathers were of a peaceful
> nature, friendly, generous, tolerant and hospitable. They enjoyed and loved
> personal freedom, sports, art, ceremonies and collective festivities (Our
> History 1996:6).

This category alludes to Native environmental responsibility, communally-based

subsistence agricultural methods, and courtesy as indications of their ancestors' model if

not enlightened civility. According to their creation myths, we may deduce that the

ancient Taínos believed that they were "related" to all life forms on the planet including

plants and animals (Arrom 1997; Oliver 1997). Therefore, the claims-makers assume

that their ancestors were ethically driven to live in harmony with nature. Thus, they

argue that Native people are the "true guardians of the earth" and that it their "duty" to

"turn around" the gross exploitation of the planet's resources (In the Indieras 1997).

Even responding to an anonymous criticism of the ancient Taíno use of

hallucinogenic plants, they again appeal to the image of enlightened generosity and

communalism of their ancestors.

> A strongly moral conscious people like the Taino, not given to theft nor
> passions and which loved to live in peace and fraternity, deserves general
> recognition and acknowledgement… Today, when the present society has
> turned the scale of moral values upside down, and in giant leaps degenerated
> when it comes to moral and spirituality, we find in Taino society a spotless
> mirror in which to look at ourselves (Tales and Legends 1997:8).

This and other examples make it evident that the claims-makers find their ancestors to be

morally beyond reproach (Our History 1994a; Rebuilding the Way 1996). In fact the

following example, "A people that have shed their blood to survive like ours has, is not

destined to disappear forever!" (Rebuilding the Way 1996:6), demonstrates that the

blamelessness of their ancestors is sufficient cause, for the claims-makers, to warrant

revitalization.

Historical continuity

Another fundamental warrant of Taíno claims-making is that revitalization is

warranted because of historical continuity of Indigenous heritage. Seven warrants of

historical continuity were found in the sample. These warrants are specifically related to

the grounds statements defining Taíno survival. These warrants explain how the

continuity [survival] was possible, why it wasn't recognized earlier, and why it should be

now. Furthermore, they argue that there has also been a historical continuity of large-

scale oppression and exploitation, imply that the revitalization is a response to it, and

exclaim that if Taínos don't act now what remains of the culture could be lost (November

19th, Day of the Taíno People 1993; Our History 1993b; Representatives of the Taíno

Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional Council of Indian Elders and Youth in

North Dakota 1993; Restoration of the Taíno Nation 1993; Taínos will Meet at Tibes,

Puerto Rico on the 19th of November 1993; To the Taíno Indigenous People of Cuba-

Guajiro Roots1993; Decimation Does Not Mean Extinction 1995).

This category, alone, demonstrated a possibility for confusion with another

category. Because the grounds statements defining Taíno survival and identifying

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miscegenation as a survival tactic are so closely linked to their following warrant

statements of historical continuity, the subtle differences between the categories must be

elucidated here. Grounds are statements treated as fact. The claims-makers treat as fact

1) that the Taíno survived, and 2) that miscegenation was a survival tactic. Warrants are

the "because" statements that link grounds to conclusions. One example defends the

"fact" of survival by explaining that, "The culture survived *because* [emphasis is the

author's] it went underground" (Taínos will Meet at Tibes, Puerto Rico on the 19th of

November 1993:2). It expounds that individual family units have preserved the

knowledge of their own Native heritages. Another example enumerates several strategies

of historical continuity.

> Others from our people decided to travel back to the jungles of South America
> to escape slavery, where according to legends, their descendants still live in
> hiding, away from the view of the "Hispanos". Others still sought shelter in
> the deepest parts of the Yunque rainforest on Boriken and other isolated
> places in Cuba, Quisqueya and the other islands that made up the Taino
> homeland. Still others decided to take their chances and try to survive within
> the Spanish environment, by mixing blood and taking on the trappings of their
> society while at the same time passing on portions of their language, culture,
> customs and spirit. This was not a disintegration but a survival tactic
> (Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional
> Council of Indian Elders and Youth in North Dakota 1993; November 19th,
> Day of the Taíno People 1993:1).

Here we must be careful not to confuse the survival strategies with the actual warrant.

The claims-makers state as "fact" that some of their ancestors fled the islands or hid in

the remote, mountainous rainforest, and that others blended into the Spanish colonial

environment. The actual warrant statement is that they survived because they

demonstrated a historical continuity of "choice." They "decided" to survive from their

set of options including fight, flight, suicide, and integration.

This category also elaborates a second historical continuity: a pedagogy of oppression that has continued since European contact (Restoration of the Taíno Nation 1993; Taínos will Meet at Tibes, Puerto Rico on the 19th of November 1993; Decimation Does Not Mean Extinction 1995). In this way, they might conceive of their revitalization as a modern action of social justice from the historical legacies of conquest and colonialism.

Deficient Policies

Five examples of "deficient policy" warrant statements were found. All of them concerned what the claims-makers would describe as the erroneous classification of Taínos as extinct (Development of a Nation 1993; Our History 1993a; Our History 1993b; The Hatuey Regiment 1994; Rebuilding the Way 1996). One example explains that one reason the Taíno are considered extinct in Puerto Rico is because Governor Toribio Montes, in 1787, decided to conflate the growing count of "pure-blood Indians" with a generic non-white category (Development of a Nation 1993). Another example argues that Spanish slave-owners lied about the number of Natives held captive on their encomiendas in order to keep them as chattel after Carlos of Spain abolished Indian slavery in 1544. Furthermore, it implies that "some Spanish and Puerto Rican historians" are aware of this but nevertheless propagate the "extinction myth" for un-identified reasons (Our History 1993b). Two more statements openly charge "historians" with perpetuating this "deficient policy." "Researchers" are charged with "ignoring" the documented example of Cuban Taínos that served in the "Hatuey Regimen" fighting

alongside the hero Antonio Maceo in the war for independence from Spain (The Hatuey

Regiment 1994). The article "Rebuilding the Way" includes the following statement,

> It has not been easy to break out of a forced extinction! Forced upon us first
> by the Europeans and then by their criollo successors in the islands, educated
> as "experts" in their universities and other Spanish institutions. Those
> historians, anthropologist, ethnologists, archaeologists and others decided and
> decreed that we had ceased to exist (1996:6)!

Finally, the following quote from Etymology editor at Merriam Dictionary, James L.

Rader, was used to warrant a typifying example. It reads,

> It is probably never a wise policy to link "extinct" with "people," because
> identity as a people is determined by group members themselves rather than
> by external judgments of anthropologists and historians (Our History
> 1993a:3).

This is evidence of Taíno conflict with "historians." The language here is plain,

academia in the islands is suspected of continuing a pedagogy of conquest. This group is

clearly marked along with the conquerors and colonizers, by the claims-makers, as Taíno

oppressors. The content of this warrant category can be simplified to read, "The concept

of Taíno extinction is a deficient policy because it is based on the lies of colonizers

perpetuated by historians."

Value

While it may be safe to assume that the claims-makers value their Taíno heritage,

warrants of Native-cultural "value" were never explicitly stated. Six value warrants were

found but the grounds they rationalize are entirely miscellaneous. One statement defends

the value of substituting the term "Abya Yala" for the "Americas" because they claim

"The term has found continental acceptance among the diverse indigenous peoples of the Americas" (Abya Yala 1993:4). A second example explains that the first Day of the Taíno Nation will be held in Tibes, Puerto Rico, because it is "holy ground" to the collective (Taínos Will Meet at Tibes, Puerto Rico on the 19th of November 1993). The third example defends the study of Taíno human remains found in Puerto Rico. While the issue of extra-tribal contact with human remains is typically offensive to American Indian communities, the claims-makers expressed satisfaction with the respectful manner with which the remains were handled (Indian Pass Project 1995). In the fourth example, found with the typifying example of Ramapough Chief Dennis Morgan's printed address to the Taíno Nation, we find one of the claims-makers' two most direct statement concerning the value of tribal revitalization found in the sample.

> We have a heritage and culture to be proud of and way back when they did the removal act and our ancestors made the strong decision to give up the language, to give up the ceremonies, it was done in the hope that someday somebody would come along and say, it's worth it and dig up what we lost (Forever Linked As Brothers 1996:2).

Another statement warrants the significance of the linguistic archaeology of the Arawakan Taíno language of the Greater Antilles (Linguistic Archaeology 1996).

Finally, the last value statement, addressing the opening of the Museo del Barrio's "Taíno Legacy" exhibit warrants,

> However people feel about the assertion of Taino identities in the Antilles, the most important task is that the knowledge and research of our culture not be swept aside and ignored (New Exhibit Questions Extinction Theme 1997:2).

From these statements we might infer that the collective values Native nomenclature, sacred land-spaces, culture/ heritage, language, and the preservation of this set.

Otherwise, we should conclude that this category was not an especially developed pattern of appeal for the group because of the paucity of its internal consistency.

Rights & Freedoms

The least resonant warrant category was that of "rights and freedoms." Only four examples of this category were counted. Each statement defends the right of the Taínos to revitalize (Development of a Nation 1993; Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional Council of Indian Elders and Youth In North Dakota 1993; Taínos Will Meet at Tibes, Puerto Rico 1993; Decimation Does Not Mean Extinction 1995). They claim that the revitalization was predicated on a "basic need for survival" and with indignation towards the Quincentennial celebration of Columbus' contact with the Americas—which the claims-makers found onerous (Development of a Nation 1993). Although they never explain how the restored Tribe serves their basic needs for survival, their grievances with Columbus (and the excesses of Western Civilization he has come to symbolize for the collective) were detailed and discussed under the "associated evils" category. A second example simply declares that the claims-makers will no longer be passive about their heritage (Taínos Will Meet at Tibes, Puerto Rico 1993). The third example warrants that the authority of their elders' and grandparents' knowledge of their identity and culture empowers the collective's right to revitalize (Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional Council of Indian Elders and Youth In North Dakota 1993). Finally, the last example argues that their rights to assert their identity and culture have been frustrated, so that they could not claim "rightful" deed to the land (Decimation Does Not Mean Extinction

1995). The small count found in this category as well as the loosely defended appeals to their rights and freedoms attest to the fact that this was not a well-developed warrant for the claims-makers and the least resonant to their campaign.

Conclusion Statements

With conclusions statements claims-makers prescribe solutions to a given situation. There are three categories of this kind—awareness, social control policies, and prevention. Demands for "awareness" are relatively conservative. As the category implies, this conclusion simply contends that a greater public should be made aware of some given information. The call for social control policies is more radical. Successful claims for this category require some sort of social action including, but not limited to, change in policies, new legislation, new rights and privileges, reparations, etc. Many federally recognized Tribes in North America are known to have successfully negotiated land rights, sovereignty, and federal services and resources. The subject of Taíno revitalization begs the question whether or not the claims-makers for this campaign will also make similar entreaties. Finally, the prevention category obliges that measures be taken to curb or thwart altogether the persistence of some given situation. Demands of this sort may be more conservative than claims for social control policies, but they are nevertheless more radical than claims for awareness.

Twenty conclusions statements, in all, were counted from the sample. This is a lesser count than found for warrants. It has already been stated that warrants are often neglected because they are either taken for granted or else may be to controversial to risk alienating the public. Conclusions, on the other hand, are the ultimate concern of the

claims-making process. If a conclusion was too radical to be warranted in any fashion, one might think that either the claims-makers would find other conclusions or else abandon the campaign. For that reason, I believe that conclusions statements could be neglected for two reasons. First, the conclusion may have been sufficiently stated elsewhere or is otherwise obvious. Or, secondly, the delivery of the claim is itself a conclusion for "awareness." Either way, half of the conclusions statements counted were calls for "awareness." What the Taíno Nation asks for most is for greater awareness. Next, they request social control policies from their membership. They ask for individuals of Taíno descent to request enrollment, for participation in the different efforts of the revitalization, and for financial contributions. No demands were made on the State. Finally, they call for the prevention of environmental exploitation, human rights abuses, and the abrogation of Tribal sustainability.

Awareness

From both the category counts and from the content of several conclusion statements, the claims-makers are obviously concerned primarily with creating awareness. Ten examples were counted expressing the desire to make others aware of Taíno survival, to network with other Caribbean Natives, and to share and celebrate their culture (Development of a Nation 1993; Our History 1993a; Rebirth of a Nation 1993; Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional Council of Elders and Youth in North Dakota 1993; Restoration of the Taíno Nation 1993; Taínos Will Meet at Tibes, Puerto Rico on the 19th of November 1993; Taíno Nation Grants Smithsonian Requested Authorization to Use Ancestral Objects in Exhibition 1994;

Linguistic Archaeology 1996; Resurgence of the Ghost People 1996; Ua Nacan 1996).

One example speaks plainly, "The research, study, work and all our efforts were made in

order to proclaim the existence of a people unwilling to die…" (Development of a Nation

1993:1). They explain that they are not motivated to obtain political power or vengeance

but to establish the right to develop culturally and share their heritage (Our History

1993a; Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional

Council of Elders and Youth in North Dakota 1993; Taíno Nation Grants Smithsonian

Requested Authorization to Use Ancestral Objects in Exhibition 1994; Resurgence of the

Ghost People 1996; Linguistic Archaeology 1996). They wish to re-connect with other

Taínos (Our History 1993a; Taínos Will Meet at Tibes, Puerto Rico on the 19th of

November 1993). Finally, for the purpose of achieving greater awareness they created a

cultural center. They report that the institution will conduct research, present educational

activities on ancient and contemporary Caribbean Native history and culture, and restore

and preserve the Taíno language, history, and culture (Rebirth of a Nation 1993; Ua

Nacan 1996).

Social Control Policies

Six conclusion statements proposing social control policies were counted, making

this category the next most resonant. Significantly, these policies are directed at the

membership, as opposed to the State, and are not especially didactic. These statements

requested that Taínos seek membership with the Tribe and that they participate in the

revitalization (November 19th, Day of the Taíno People 1993; Representatives of the

Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional Council of Elders and Youth in

North Dakota 1993; A People on the March 1994; We Need People Like You 1995; Resurgence of the Ghost People 1996; In the Indieras 1997). They explained their revitalization endeavors to reconnect Taíno descendants tribally and to recover their ancestors' ceremonies through their own investigations throughout the Caribbean and the Amazon (Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional Council of Elders and Youth in North Dakota 1993; November 19th, Day of the Taíno People 1993). They encouraged Taínos to pursue traditional arts and crafts (A People on the March 1994) and to cooperate with archaeological investigations (We Need People Like You 1995). Members were asked to lend "moral and financial" support for the expansion of the Taíno Cultural Center to Puerto Rico (Resurgence of the Ghost People 1996). Finally, members were extolled to find harmony with the earth and their ancestors.

Prevention

Lastly, four conclusion statements of prevention were found in the sample. Each of these statements demand the end of human rights abuses, environmental exploitation, and violation of Native sovereignty and viability that the claims-makers believe to be typical associated evils of imperialism (Solidarity With the Mapuche Nation 1993; We Say No to James Bay II 1993; Urgent Action Alert 1995; We Say to the Mining Companies…Out of Taíno Territory 1995). The first example expressed solidarity with the Cree and Inui people subjected to an ecologically devastating project by Hydro-Quebec (Solidarity With the Mapuche Nation 1993). Here the claims-makers asked for boycotts of the corporation the project could be stopped. The second example was a

formal declaration of the collective's anti-imperialist stand. The Spanish colonial

invasions as well as the American neo-colonial invasion of 1893 were particularly

repudiated, but no actions were demanded (We Say No to James Bay II 1993).   The third

example suggested a letter and fax campaign to prevent the construction of the Cotingo

Dam within the boundaries of the Raposa de Serra Indigenous reservation (Urgent Action

Alert 1995). Finally, the last example condemned a proposed mining project in the

Central Mountains of Puerto Rico (We Say to the Mining Companies…Out of Taíno

Territory 1995).

Hypotheses

I hypothesized that the rhetorical patterns employed in the social construction of

race and ethnicity would parallel those used in the construction of social problems. I

expected to find that the racial/ethnic claims-makers would employ an identical, or

similar, range of categories of grounds, warrants, and conclusions as social problems

claims-makers. Indeed, an identical range of grounds, warrants, and conclusions

categories was expressed by the racial/ethnic claims-makers. One notable exception was

the Taíno Nation's expression of Value as a warrant for their claims. The internal

consistency of the themes expressed within this category was weaker than the others.

This was probably because these themes warranted claims that were tangential to the core

claim for the re-construction of Taíno identity and culture. Regardless, definitions,

typifying examples, and numerical estimates were presented as grounds; associated evils,

blamelessness, historical continuity, value, deficient policies, and rights and freedoms

were appealed to as warrants; and awareness, social control policies, and prevention were prescribed as solutions.

Next, I hypothesized that numerical estimates would not be too relied on by the claims-makers. This was because the Taíno, by and large, are assumed to be extinct. I expected that the group would have been hard pressed to find statistics supporting their claims. Instead, I hypothesized that they would rely more on providing typifying examples of other tribes in similar situations of revitalization, as well as presenting typifying examples of credibility that the Nation allegedly has achieved with other established and credible agencies. In fact, twenty-four typifying examples were presented while only four numerical estimates were given. As predicted, most of the typifying examples were of other tribes, scholars, and distinguished museums expressing support of and solidarity with the claims-makers and acceptance of the legitimacy of Taíno identity and culture. Other typifying examples included the revitalization of Taíno identity and culture in Cuba, of Carib revitalization in Trinidad, and of Ramapough revitalization in North America, as well as examples of Taíno Nation successes demonstrating the viability of the group. Still, with twenty-five counts of occurrences, the definitions category was demonstrated to be slightly more resonant for the claims-makers.

Within the sum of definition statements found, I expected to address an exploratory issue. Here I predicted that I would find an elaboration of the group's definition of Taíno authenticity. Moreover, I expected to find here how they reconcile the mixed racial heritage that much, if not all, of their membership have. I hypothesized that the group would employ one of three strategies to meet their group's standard of

legitimate race or ethnicity. They might have adopted a blood quanta minimum

following the example of many North American tribes, followed the rule of hypo-descent

that is applied to African Americans, or denied or attempted to distance themselves from

European and African racial heritage altogether. I found that they presented a theory of

cross-assimilation. They argued that their ancestors achieved survival by three means:

escape to other islands, isolation in remoter areas of the island, and intermarriage with

Europeans and Africans (Our History 1993b; Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited

to Participate in the Traditional Council of Indian Elders and Youth in North Dakota

1993; To the Taíno Indigenous People of Cuba-Guajiro Roots 1993; Development of a

Nation 1993; The Hatuey Regiment 1994; Decimation Does Not Mean Extinction 1995;

Rebuilding the Way 1996). Based on the miscegenation that is established to have

occurred, the claims-makers extend the rule of hypo-descent to potential members.

       My fourth hypothesis was that "historical continuity"—being a historical

continuity of the Taíno and other North American tribes who have or are revitalizing—

would be employed as the most resonant warrant statement. This was in keeping with my

expectation to find typifying examples as the most resonant grounds for establishing their

claims. Instead, it was found that both "historical continuity" and "blamelessness," with

seven occurrences counted for each, were the second most resonant warrants made. With

nine occurrences counted, "associated evils" was the warrant category most employed.

For the claims-makers, revitalization of Taíno identity and culture was not simply

predicated on the "fact of genetic continuity" but also on an expression of critical

consciousness (Development of a Nation 1993; November 19th, Day of the Taíno Nation

1993; Our History 1993c; Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in

the Traditional Council of Indian Elders and Youth in North Dakota 1993; Restoration of

the Taíno Nation 1993; Taínos Will Meet at Tibes Puerto Rico on the 19th of November

1993; Urgent Action Alert 1995; We Say No to the Mining Companies…Out of Taíno

Territory!1995; Our History 1996). Taíno revitalization is also a response to what the

claims-makers define as excesses of Western civilization—which include genocide,

slavery, imperialism, and gross environmental exploitation.

Finally, I hypothesized that their most resonant conclusion would be "awareness."

This was based on my experience with the group and my overall impression that theirs is

a modest and conservative campaign. With a total of ten out of 20 occurrences, the data

did, indeed, demonstrate that awareness was their most resonant conclusion. I predicted

that the data would not show them to be a radical or separatist movement. In fact, the

claims-makers are primarily interested in making others aware of Taíno survival,

networking with other Caribbean and American Natives, and sharing and celebrating

their culture (Development of a Nation 1993; Our History 1993a; Rebirth of a Nation

1993; Representatives of the Taíno Nation Invited to Participate in the Traditional

Council of Elders and Youth in North Dakota 1993; Restoration of the Taíno Nation

1993; Taínos Will Meet at Tibes, Puerto Rico on the 19th of November 1993; Taíno

Nation Grants Smithsonian Requested Authorization to Use Ancestral Objects in

Exhibition 1994; Linguistic Archaeology 1996; Resurgence of the Ghost People 1996;

Ua Nacan 1996). .

Conclusions

Ultimately, the claims-making of La Nación Taína were found to be conservative. From the conclusions found within the sample, the major thrust of their campaigning is to establish awareness of Taíno survival. They wish to correct the historical misconception that the Natives of Puerto Rico and other parts of the Caribbean were completely annihilated following the European contact and colonization. They wish to awaken Puerto Ricans and others to their rich, Indigenous heritage. Moreover they endeavor to reconnect with Taíno descendants throughout Puerto Rico, the Caribbean, and the diaspora. Whatever social control policies they propose are not didactic, but instead offer very general encouragement to revitalize tribal identification, reconnection, and activity. Taíno descendants are encouraged to register with La Nación; to learn ancestral history, ceremony, and craft; and finally to incorporate Taíno-centric values. The few demands of "prevention," made by the claims-makers, all pertained to environmental protection and tribal sovereignty. They protest environmental exploitation that is harmful to ecological systems and the viability of the Indigenous communities local to the area.

Their conclusions are rationalized with all six warrant categories identified by Best (1990) in <u>Threatened Children</u>: value, blamelessness, historical continuity, associated evils, deficient policies, and rights and freedoms. Naturally they claim a historical continuity of Taíno legacy, which they argue has been purposefully subverted over time. Some of their claims-making included the de-bunking of deficient policies of Official Record that have perpetuated the "extinction myth." These deficient policies include lies from Spanish encomenderos who "hid" their Native Slaves from census counts in order to keep them chattel, generic conflation of Africans and Natives into a

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non-white category in the 1787 and subsequent censuses and, contemporarily, academic neglect. Still, Taíno claims that Western Imperialist Civilization has demonstrated the associated evils of conquest, genocide, and colonization, as well as gross human and environmental exploitation, outnumber all other warrant claims rationalizing for the revitalization of Taíno identity and values. Along with the aforementioned claims of historical continuity, revitalization is secondarily warranted by the claims-makers with claims of Taíno blamelessness. Ancestral Taínos are described as exemplars of community living, generosity, hospitality, peacefulness, and ecological responsibility. The claims-makers warrant Taíno revitalization not only with the objective conditions of genetic quantum, but primarily with a brand of "critically conscious" reaction to Western excess. Although the claims-makers apparently value their heritage and claim their rights and freedoms to affirm it, these claims figured less significantly in their campaign.

Finally, definitions and typifying examples predominate the discussion. The claims-makers are chiefly concerned with establishing Taíno survival of the conquest and colonial periods. They argue that their progenitors succeeded in eluding extinction through escape to remoter parts of Puerto Rico and other islands where they preserved Native bloodlines endogamically. Moreover, they contend that their ancestors also achieved genetic survival through miscegenation with Spaniards and Africans alike. They re-define the standards of ethnic-authenticity, allowing Taíno hypo-descent as sufficient for tribal registry. Contrary to the North American application of hypo-descent to mark individuals with the slightest degree of African heritage as Negroes in order to bar them from entry into White society, the claims-makers apply the rule of hypo-descent in order to widen the pool of potential members.

Events of ancient Taíno history, culled from Spanish chronicles, are reinterpreted. They cast the Natives as central characters and glorify their motives and actions. The claims-makers say that "history" has been told by the "conquerors", and therefore see their revisions as necessary in order to find balanced truth. Important themes of Contact-Conquest period Taíno history include examples of Taíno virtuosity, examples of European atrocities, and of Native resistance.

The last definitions set tribal sovereignty and environmental protection as the particular social problems to be championed by Taínos. There were only a few numerical estimates. Each of which were only used to validate claims of Taíno survival.

Typifying examples, closely followed definitions statements in frequency. They were used to demonstrate the successful nature of La Nación Taína. Taíno success was characterized by the creation of Taíno cultural institutions, successful de-bunking of the "extinction myth," and centralizing the Taíno polity. Still, the claims-makers identified their greatest success in terms of the support they received from Taíno descendants evidenced by requests to register with the tribe, and quasi-official recognition for the tribe by other American Indian Nations and Official State agencies which have demonstrated validation of the claims-makers by participating in La Nación Taína events, collaborating with the group, and even deferring to the tribe's "authority" regarding ancestral objects and the narration of the Taíno legacy.

CHAPTER 5 CONCLUSION

Beginning in 1492, the Taínos faced a paradigm shift when they encountered Europeans for the first time. The arrival of the Spanish in the Caribbean was followed by conquest, famine, and disease. The Taíno were greatly reduced in numbers, and slaves were transported from Africa to replace their labor in mines and on plantations. In this way, new nation states in the Caribbean were formed, and on the island of Borikén, the descendants of Taínos, Europeans, and Africans would come to be known as Puerto Ricans.

For around five hundred years, Taínos have not been recognized as a separate identifiable group. Because of the destruction of their socio-political system, the decimation of their populations, intermarriage with Europeans and Africans, and their assimilation of the Spanish language, Christianity, and new customs and culture, they were believed to be extinct. However, since the 1980's, groups of Puerto Ricans claiming Taíno identity began emerging, and in 1992 the Taíno Nation of the Antilles declared this tribal nation to be restored. Here is a classic example of the social construction of race and ethnicity.

Definitions and boundaries of race and ethnicity are flexible and may change over time and space. The meanings of race and ethnicity are negotiated between exogamic and endogamic group members. Outsiders to a group may ascribe definitions and boundaries of race and ethnicity to a group, while the insiders may internalize, reject, or assert new definitions and boundaries for the outsiders to consider, internalize or reject. Objective conditions may exist to warrant recognitions of a feature of race and ethnicity

and may yet remain ignored or denied. Objective conditions, such as genetics and preserved cultural habits, may exist to confirm the presence of a race or ethnicity, but without some measure of social agreement, it does not exist. For example, in North America, there exist working definitions of mixed-race American Indian heritage. One may be of mixed-race American Indian heritage and still qualify for rights and membership with the tribe. While in Puerto Rico, where many have varying degrees of Caribbean Indian heritage, Taíno identity had not even been considered as a legitimate option because race there has historically been discussed as a continuum between Black and White based on physical characteristics, not blood-quanta.

However flexible and inconsistent the matter of race and ethnicity may be, they are socially constructed in predictable ways. In this thesis, I have found the rhetorical categories for social problems and racial/ethnic claims-making to be identical. As discussed in Chapter 3, the social construction of reality can be reduced and diagrammed into claims that are composed of grounds statements, warrant statements, and conclusion statements. Grounds set the parameters of discourse and may influence an orientation towards a putative element of reality. Conclusions prescribe responses to this element of reality. Meanwhile, warrants rationalize orientations to a grounds statement and the prescribed responses set by a conclusions statement. Each of these sets contains more specific categories of statements.

Joel Best (1990) identified these categories to include *definitions*, *typifying examples* and *numeric estimates* for grounds; *value*, *blamelessness*, *associated evils*, *deficient policies*, *historical continuity*, and *rights and freedoms* for warrants; and *awareness*, *social control*, and *prevention* for conclusions. I included an "*other*"

category for each set, anticipating the possibility that the racial/ethnic claims-making of the Taíno Nation might diverge from the pattern of social problems claims-making identified by Best (1990). After refining the category chart of plotted statements, the *other* category was unnecessary. Indeed, the Taíno Nation of the Antilles did not diverge from the rhetorical patterns of social problems claims-makers. Every category was appealed to throughout their construction of Taíno reality via the content of the newsletter.

The claims-makers made definition statements of Taíno survival, of key historical leaders, and of the closest related "social problems" for the Taíno community. The only three examples of numeric estimates supported definitions of survival. All of the typifying examples extol the successes of the Taíno Nation of the Antilles. Some specific accomplishments were listed, but most of the typifying examples related how well the Nation has been received by museums, academic scholars, and other American Indian tribes and organizations. The orientations implied in the grounds statements as well as the responses prescribed by the conclusion statements were warranted by the following in order of highest to lowest counts: a) the associated evils of Western expansionism; b) the blamelessness of ancestral Taínos; c) a historical continuity of Taíno heritage, as well as a historical continuity of colonial oppression; d) the deficient policies of classifying Taínos as extinct; e) the perceived, inherent value of Taíno culture; and f) the rights and freedoms individuals have to assert their own cultural heritage. Finally, according to category counts, the claims-makers made the most demands for awareness. That conclusion is followed in demand by the loosely-defined "social control policy" category asking that Taínos continue to investigate the culture, continue to pursue their artisanship,

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and to continue to support the revitalization by registering with the Nation and by sending moral and financial support. Finally, they demanded that environmental exploitation and the infringement upon tribal sovereignty and viability must be prevented.

There was one more occurrence of definition statements than typifying examples found, but the content of the typifying examples was more uniform. Half of the definition statements, twelve total, asserted definitions of Taíno survival. Seven statements retold the stories of key Taíno leaders of the Contact Period.   Four statements in this category defined examples of "social problems" that were particularly relevant to the collective. And one other miscellaneous statement defined the term "Abya Yala" as a more suitable, indigenous name for the American continents. Meanwhile all twenty-four of the typifying example statements were related to establishing the image of the Taíno Nation's success. Seven statements described various accomplishments of the collective. One of these accomplishments was enumerated as "support for the restoration." Coincidentally, the other 17 statements were typifying examples of "support," "enthusiasm," and even "deference" for the collective.

Definition statements set the range of relevant topics (Best 1990:26). Within the sample, only three general topics revealed themselves—survival, history, and social problems—while the frequency of each topic statement suggests their order of importance. Most frequent were the statements of survival. Six of the "Taíno survival" statements defined this group as one that was "decimated" but never "extinguished," and moreover, as a people who have "resurfaced." It was only among these statements that examples of numerical estimates were found. These figures were used to demonstrate official documentation of Native historical continuity and to debunk claims that their

ancestors had been rendered extinct. The other six survival statements define the group

as the legitimate descendants of the Taíno and affirm the collective's self-identification as

the restored tribal nation of Taínos. These statements conceptualized a direction of

assimilation heretofore not considered in conventional understandings of the colonization

and the "civilizing" of Native people. Specifically, a legacy of what I call generic-

manifest destiny (common to the Latin American paradigm of justified conquest and

colonization even before it was later coined in North America) is that the non-white

inhabitants of the Caribbean (perceived to be essentially uncivilized) were civilized by

European institutions and therefore assimilated into an European image (even if only

lesser caste Europeans). The Taíno claims-makers, on the other hand, argued that the

Natives assimilated the Europeans and Africans. They argued that just as much as flight

and isolation were survival tactics of the Taíno, so was miscegenation an intentional

method of guaranteeing Native legacy.

These statements are meaningful beyond the frequency of their occurrences,

because they answered one of the most specific questions of this otherwise inductive

investigation. What are the revitalizationists' standards of authenticity? Here we can

deduce that the claims-makers have adopted the North American rule of hypo-descent for

"legitimate" classification of Taíno identity. Whereas, in the U.S., one "drop" of African

blood has generally been considered sufficient cause to designate an individual as

"Black," the claims-makers find one "drop" of Taíno blood sufficient for registry with the

Nation.

The Taíno Nation's criterion for membership, however, contrasts the North

American rule of hypo-descent for African-Americans. In the United States, the rule of

hypo-descent was instituted to bar Black individuals from membership in White society. No matter how great the degree of European genetic heritage, an individual with even the smallest fraction of African lineage has historically been considered Black. The rule of African hypo-descent was ascribed to Blacks by Whites. It was designed to maintain firm boundaries of "pure" White heritage. The Taíno Nation, on the other hand, is asserting the rule of hypo-descent. Their motives, contrarily, are inclusive. They do not invoke the rule of hypo-descent to keep others out but to allow more people.

The Nation factors the individual's cultural heritage along with one's genetic lineage in their determination of legitimate Taíno identity. The collective, still in an early stage of development, may be motivated to this degree of inclusiveness by the need to amass membership. If this is the case, as the Nation becomes more established the degrees of their inclusiveness should wane. Another possible motivation for their inclusiveness, however, may also lie in the Puerto Rican social reality of the mestizaje and the national mythos that all Puerto Ricans are part Native, Spanish, and African. I found no indications that the claims-makers were in denial of Puerto Rico's African or Spanish heritage or that they were particularistic in soliciting membership. Registry with the Taíno Nation is open to all Puerto Ricans and others from the Caribbean who can document some percentage of Native ancestry.[17]

Best explains that although one might assume that definition statements would be the logical first step in claims-making, in fact, they often follow typifying examples which generally introduce a phenomenon in dramatic ways (1990:28). The greater frequency of uniform examples found within this category demonstrates that the Taíno

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[17] Registrants provide letters of affidavit from elder family members testifying of their indigenous heritage, family photos, examples of Taíno cultural capitol preserved by the family (including knowledge of Taíno herbal medicine, ritual, or craft), and DNA test results in order to be considered for enrollment.

claims-makers also followed this trend. While twelve definition statements discussed survival, seventeen out of twenty-four typifying examples related a sense of powerful support for the cause. Seven of these seventeen examples were reports of Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Haitian Taínos expressing enthusiasm for the revitalization and requesting membership with the Nation. The other ten typified their range of acceptance to include the pan-American Indigenous community and academic circles. These examples related that the Nation actively networks with other Native communities—including some with similar experiences of revitalization, that it collaborates with archaeologists and linguistic anthropologists who invariably express "joy at the achievements of the restored nation," and that important museums including the Smithsonian and New York City's Museo del Barrio enlist them to identify artifacts and to request their permission to exhibit them. While social problems claims-makers use typifying examples to express the dimensions of a problem, this group employed this category to illustrate the strength of their credibility.

A total of thirty-eight warrants were counted. With a category count of nine statements, "associated evils" were the most resounding warrant for rationalizing the groups claims. "Blamelessness" and "historical" continuity followed together with a frequency of seven counts each. Six statements of "value" were found. It is worth noting that this warrant category alone featured modest statements. For example, the "continental acceptance among the diverse indigenous peoples of the Americas" was used to rationalize the adoption of "Abya Yala" as a substitute for the colonial name for the continents of the Western Hemisphere. Another statement rationalized the site reserved for the Nation's anniversary because it was sacred ground, and other statements

mentioned that it was important to study the human remains of our ancestors and to recover their language with linguistic anthropology. Only two statements spoke directly to the specific value of Taíno identity: "We have a heritage and culture to be proud of…" and "[t]he most important task is that the knowledge and research of our culture not be swept aside and ignored." Perhaps the group's tangential use of "value" warrants was a self-conscious effort to appear less ethnocentric. Another possibility is that the value of racial/ethnic heritage is taken for granted and implicit to the act of re-constructing identity. Regardless, this was not a particularly resonant warrant for rationalizing group claims. Five statements of the extinction myth representing a "deficient policy" were found as well as four more statements asserting the group's "rights and freedoms" to self-determine a revitalization of Taíno culture and community.

"Associated evils" stand out as the most significant warrant category for rationalizing this group's claims. The language of this category is dramatic. Western Civilization is condemned for the genocide of Native people, slavery, and gross environmental exploitation and contamination. Attributing these atrocities to the colonial paradigm of "civilization" warrants a larger scale shift to the more progressive consciousness found in Native civilizations. For this reason, it logically follows that the next two particularly significant warrant categories maintain that there has been a "historical continuity" of Western atrocities, as well as a historical continuity of Taíno survival. Moreover, that the Taíno model of civilization was "blameless." Apparently, the exigencies of Western exploitation are the primary motivating factors for re-constructing Taíno identity.

Finally, the Taíno's conclusions demands were very modest. Ten out of twenty conclusions simply request more awareness of Taíno heritage. According to these statements, the collective only wishes to "proclaim the existence" of Taíno descendants, the desire to network amongst themselves, and the privilege of sharing their culture. Similarly, their conclusions for what may be loosely categorized as "social control policies" were also modest. They only ask that Taíno descendants preserve their culture and participate in the revitalization. No claims for land or other reparations were demanded, although the last four conclusions statements called for the "prevention" of abrogating pan-Indigenous tribal sovereignty and viability.

Future directions of research might include expanding the sample to include articles from later years of Taíno Nation claims-making and performing similar content analyses of other Taíno revitalizing groups. Another fruitful avenue of future research would be the exploration of the resonance of "associated evils" and "blameless victims" warrants in other racial and ethnic claims-making. To date, the Taíno Nation has been operating for 13 years. In this time, DNA testing has become more affordable and more accessible. Genealogical DNA testing kits are now available on-line. Since their inception, the Taíno Nation, as well other Taíno revitalizing groups, have claimed to be undergoing genealogical projects that would statistically substantiate their claims of Indigenous survival in Puerto Rico and the Caribbean. A content analysis of later years of claims-making will demonstrate whether or not numerical estimates will supplant typifying examples as a more resonant grounds for establishing their claims. It will also be interesting to note what range of definitions will the group have sought to establish.

Because the findings of this treatise are limited to the claims-making of only one group of revitalizing Taíno actors, a logical next-step would be to perform similar content analyses of the other Taíno claims-makers. The other major groups included the Jatibonicu Tribe, headquartered in Millesville, New Jersey, and the United Confederation of Taíno People, with bases of operation spread throughout Puerto Rico and the United States and operating primarily on-line. If these groups published newsletters during a similar time period as sampled in this thesis, they were not readily available. A relationship with these groups would have to be established in order to locate similar or reasonably, alternate publications of their claims from this period before or after 1993 to September 1997. It will be interesting to note whether or not they employed the same rhetorical categories. Would it be demonstrated that they had made the same or similar definitions? Would they have also relied on typifying examples more so than numerical estimates? Would they have warranted their claims with the associated evils of Western Civilization? And would they be as conservative as the Taíno Nation in concluding for a need of greater awareness, or would they seek more radical ends like monetary or land gains? Just as the sample of articles could be expanded to include later years of claims-making for the Taíno Nation, the sample should also be expanded for the other groups.

I am also curious as to the resonance of the "associated evils" and "blameless victims" warrants for other racial and ethnic claims-makers. Bonilla-Silva (1998:899) argues that "[a]fter race-based structurations emerge, definite *socially* existing races arise, which develop distinct objective interests." He elaborates that racial stratification is always hierarchical and that the ascribed-superior race enjoys all the advantages: economic, political, social, and psychological (Bonilla-Silva 1998). If this is true, than

the "associated evils" and "blameless victims" warrant should be prevalent in all racial and ethnic claims-making. It would be interesting to find if the data bear this out.

Overall, the significance of this thesis is the demonstration of how matters of race and ethnicity, including the revitalization of an identity, are socially constructed. Objective conditions for the recognition of a race or ethnicity may exist, but will remain ignored or denied until the terms have been socially negotiated. This treatise demonstrated that race and ethnicity are socially constructed in predictable ways. Grounds statements, including definitions, typifying examples, and numerical estimates must be given. Conclusions, which are limited to prescriptions for awareness, social control policies, or prevention, will be made. And warrants will be made to rationalize the overall claim. More importantly, it is valuable to note that there are only six categories of warrants possible in the negotiation of racial and ethnic reality: associated evils, blameless victims, deficient policies, historical continuity, value, and rights and freedoms.

The social construction of racial and ethnic identity can be summarized as follows. In order for a group to construct its identity, it must provide some basis of fact. As demonstrated in this thesis, bases of fact do not necessarily need to predominate the social discourse. They only need to be present. It is more important for the group to demonstrate a field of expertise in their area of race and ethnicity and provide typifying examples of the group's truth. The Taíno Nation has gained ground for its identity by impressing its audience with its knowledge of Taíno history and culture and by acting and reporting its actions as a recognized, legitimate player in the Pan-American Indian community.

In the successful social construction of issues of race and ethnicity, the group can only expect to achieve awareness, social control policies, or prevention. The Taíno Nation was primarily concerned with making the public more aware of Taíno heritage and, perhaps, finding more acceptance from within the Puerto Rican and related communities. Racial and ethnic groups, however, may also seek to institute policies of social control. They may endeavor to regulate relations with outside groups, to exact loyalty and conformity from members, and to enforce modes of behavior. The Taíno Nation encouraged its members to pursue native arts and crafts and to provide financial and moral support to the collective. Finally, the group may attempt to prevent a phenomenon. For example, the Taíno Nation campaigned against environmental exploitation and the abrogation of tribal sovereignty.

The veracity of the claims-makers grounds and the soundness of their conclusions are not sufficient for the successful social construction of issues of race and ethnicity. Issues of race and ethnicity must be rationalized and the set of warrant categories available to the claims-maker is limited. In the social construction of race and ethnicity, the claims-maker will rationalize her claims with concepts of value, blamelessness, associated evils, deficient policies, historical continuity, or rights and freedoms. Issues of Taíno identity, for example, are couched in the ideas that "Taíno-ness" is contrary to the associated evils of "Western-ness", that the Taíno were a group of blameless victims, and that there has been a historical continuity of "Western" associated evils that can be curbed by identification with "Taíno-ness". While other claims-makers may appeal to different warrants categories and in different ways, for the successful social construction of issues of race and ethnicity, this same set of categories must be appealed to.

Finally, I applaud the Taíno Revitalization. It is a movement whose has come. It is refreshing to find claims-makers acting to correct historical wrongs. The Taínos' story of resistance is important for historical record and a positive step in the democratization of racial stratification. It is worth noting that, even through extreme oppression, social groups have powerful tools of resistance. Groups may isolate themselves and act endogamically. Even during phenomenon of extreme loss of control, the social group still have at their disposal significant choices for survival. For example in genocidal-rape, the endogamic group, which has been denied the choice of father, may still choose the children. Contemporary biological and cultural descendants of the Taínos are motivated to re-configure their ancestral society in response to the imperialist conquest, racial stratification, and environmental exploitation of dominant groups. This is worthwhile, and hopefully they will succeed in establishing a more enlightened model of social mobilization. At the very least, the descendants of the Taínos have the right to decide for themselves how they will identify, as Taínos, Puerto Ricans or otherwise.

APPENDIX A

EXAMPLE OF GROUNDS CHART

Example of Grounds Chart

Article	Definition	Typifying example	Numeric Estimate
"Rebirth of a Nation" January 1993		As was reported by the press, last November 19th … the Taino Nation was officially restored… As a witness to the joy and enthusiasm which was received by Taino descendants we have received many letters expressing that joy and requesting to register as members of the nation, as well as letter support from other indigenous communities of the Americas, and letters of support from Hispanics in general.	
"Development of a Nation" February 1993	An Indian presence in Puerto Rico was officially recognized in censuses up until the beginning of the 19th century…		In a 1777 census a population of 1,756 full blooded Indians was registered, and it went up to 2,302 by 1787.
"Restoration of the Taíno Nation" March 1993	Our ancestors did not disappear from the face of the earth!		
"Joyous celebrations at Tibes" January-February 1994		Last November 19t the Taíno people met at Tibes, Borikén (Ponce, Puerto Rico) to celebrate the Day of the Taíno Nation…People arrived from different towns and cities and the diaspora to support the Nation's Council of Elders.	

APPENDIX B

EXAMPLE OF WARRANTS CHART

Example of Warrants Chart

Article	Value	Blamelessness	Associated Evils	Deficient Policies	Historical Continuity	Rights and Freedoms
"Rebirth of the Taíno" January 1993					After 500 years of silence, of an identity held in the clandestinity of conscience, the Taino Nation resurfaces.	
"Development of a Nation" February 1993				As a result of that decision by Governor Montes, from the 1800s till the present, "Indians" are no longer mentioned in Puerto Rico except to point out that Indians are one of the ethnical components of the general Puerto Rican population …		
"Restoration of the Taino Nation" March 1993		We were and still are victims of a system of oppression which began 500 years ago.	Oppression, cruelty and slavery became rampant. Genocide was so ferocious that to this day many still believe that we became totally "extinct".		In spite of all, the Indian presence was still a recognized fact as attested to by the census figures up until the year 1800.	

"Abya Yala" March 1993	The term has found continental acceptance among the diverse indigenous peoples of the Americas…				
"Our History" March-April 1994		He was an innocent victim, betrayed and deceived.			
"Decimation does not mean extinction" January-February 1995					The concept of thinking of ourselves as a people with roots in this land have been denied us. It was denied for a reason …so that we could not claim rightful ancestry to the land!

APPENDIX C

EXAMPLE OF CONCLUSIONS CHART

Example of Conclusions Chart

Article	Awareness	Prevention	Social Control Policies
"Rebirth of a Nation" January 1993	We would appreciate letters from people with Taino blood, soul, and conscience telling us… COUNT ON US!		
"Solidarity with Mapuche Nation" February 1993		We express our solidarity with the just claims of the Mapuche people of Chile in their efforts to regain their ancestral lands, necessary for their survival, their culture and their future.	
"A People on the March" July-August 1994			We encourage all Tainos involved in arts and crafts to continue with their task of rescuing and implementing all of our ancestral arts and crafts.

APPENDIX D

PICTURES

Picture 1. Ramirez Rojas Family perform an areyto during a Taíno conference in Cuba.

Picture 2. Taino family-village in the eastern mountain range of Cuba.

Picture 3. The Puerto Rican "mestizaje" is a racial and cultural mix of American Indian, European, and African.

Picture 4. Puerto Rican sisters with Native American and African phenotypics.

Picture 5. Planting sacred and medicinal Ceiba trees in the mountain rainforest of Puerto Rico.
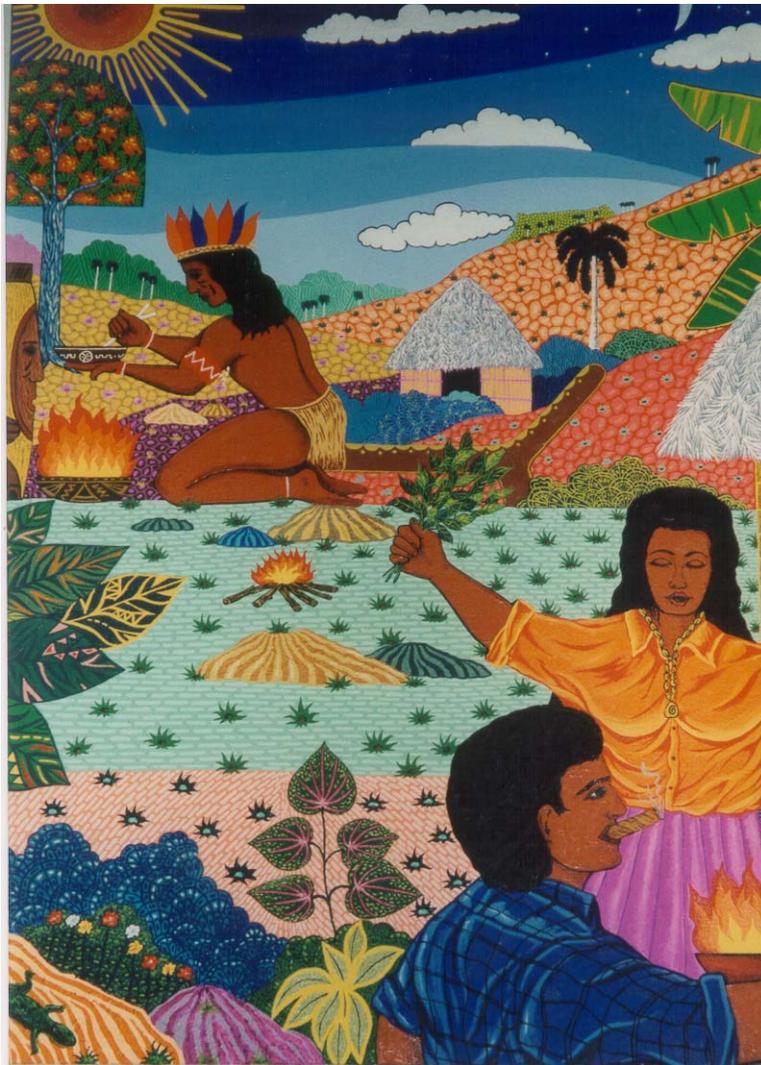
Picture 6. Indigenist Art.

Picture 7. Indigenist artist and studio.

Picture 8. Author with René "Cibanakan" Marquéz, Principal Chief of La Nación Taína.

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