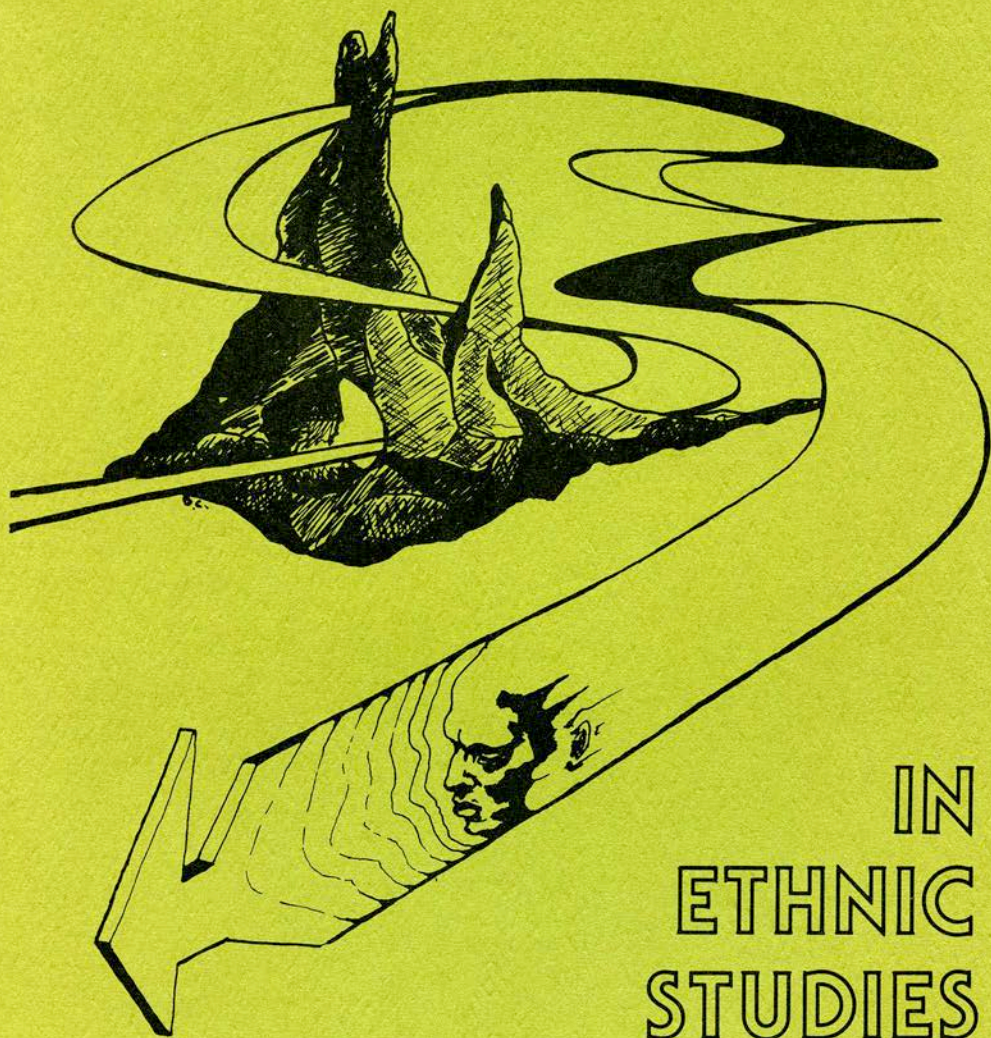


EXPLORATIONS



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Explorations in Ethnic Studies is an interdisciplinary journal, published biannually, devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. The journal is to serve as an advocate for socially responsible research. Contributors to the journal, in response to their communities (academic and non-academic), should determine and propagate success models based on the realities of their constituencies. Contributors to *Explorations* should demonstrate the integration of theory and praxis. The journal affirms the necessity and intention of involving students, teachers, and others who are interested in the pursuit of "explorations" and "solutions" within the context of oppression as it relates to the human experience. *Explorations* provides an expanded communications network for NAIES members, disseminating national and regional information to a multinational audience.

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GUEST EDITORIAL

Louis Sarabia
Vice-President, NAIES
New Mexico State University, Las Cruces

Ethnic studies is a rather strange field. In the first place, it is not a "field" in the traditional sense of other academic disciplines, but rather it seeks to include any and all disciplines. Second, it deals with people, and as our colleagues in the so-called "behavioral sciences" have discovered, people are perhaps the most unpredictable of all living things to study, thus the problems are many. Third, many of the subjects which we in ethnic studies have chosen to research, by the very nature of the fact that we deal with ethnic minorities, have tended to strike others not in a rational, objective manner, but in a purely emotional manner. For example, the word history does not usually cause any reaction in most people. However, the addition of black, female, Mexican American, or Native American to history immediately causes almost everyone to have an opinion on the subject, and normally reticent individuals now find themselves compelled to voice this opinion.

Yet, despite the obstacles mentioned above, and there are many more which could be included, we continue to persevere. Why? Most of us, one suspects, feel that we have a mission to spread the faith, that faith being reduced to its simplest common denominator in the phrase "human understanding." We have seen too many communities torn apart and weakened because one group failed to understand or even care about another segment of its population. We have seen our nation perilously close to internal destruction because of the lack of understanding or caring. We look at the world and see lack of trust based on lack of understanding. And we who are involved in ethnic studies feel compelled to do something about it. We are idealists in an unideal world.

But the struggle has not been in vain. Almost every college and university in the United States now offers, as part of the regular curriculum, courses in ethnic history, women's studies, cross-cultural studies, and American (in the full sense of the word) literature. This was not the case not so very long ago. We also find more attention being paid to ethnic cultural programming in terms of ethnic dance, music, art displays, and theatre, all of which were once viewed by most as "exotic." This too is a positive step for which those involved in ethnic studies may take credit.

However, one of the most exciting aspects of ethnic studies is its "across-the-counter" aspect. It is impossible to be merely a

sociologist, historian, educator, anthropologist, etc., in ethnic studies. One must be all of these things to some extent, and the attempt to be all things has led us into closer contact with others outside of our own, to a large degree self-imposed, world. Our attempts to bring others to a better understanding of each other has brought each of us closer to others. Thus, we find ourselves not only proclaiming the gospel but also living by the gospel which we proclaim, which is, after all, the way it should be.

So, while our efforts have been long and slow, there have been results. We have influenced others, and through our writing, teaching, and research we will continue to wield a great influence in helping make this ever-shrinking world a better place for all. After all, we are idealists with a mission.

PASTA OR PARADIGM:
THE PLACE OF ITALIAN-AMERICAN WOMEN
IN POPULAR FILM*

Daniel Golden
State University College
Buffalo, New York

The year is 1930, the film is *Little Caesar*, and Hollywood begins its long and often irresponsible tradition of portraying the Italian-American male as gangster, thug, sociopath. The gangster genre has traditionally focused on male activities--men in groups, their rites of passage into underworld manhood, and their perverted American dreams of success achieved through community extortion, syndicated corruption, and blood murder. But hidden in the story of Caesar Enrico Bandello, who has justifiably been called our "archetypal" film gangster, we also discover fragmentary, but important, early portrayals of the Italian woman in America.

In his discussion of the family system of Italian Americans, Richard Gambino astutely and accurately comments on a paradoxical public image of the Southern Italian woman when he notes "the fiery, sensuous, outspoken willful 'Sophia Loren' image (indeed, the actress is a native of Naples) and the jolly, all-loving, naive, rotund *mamma mia* image."¹ The aim here is not merely to catalog almost half a century of unfair and reductive female ethnic stereotype, nor to test the extent to which Dr. Gambino's dichotomous images are fulfilled in our cinematic history, but also to speculate on some of the cultural forces at work in American society that shape and give rise to these portrayals. In doing so, perhaps we can begin to understand why so many ethnic groups are so conveniently channeled into stereotype in popular media, especially film, television, and television commercials. This last area of inquiry is just beginning to receive serious study, for commercials are highly significant barometers of attitudes toward minorities and sex roles in our culture.

*Paper presented at the 6th Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies, "Minority Women and Ethnicity," University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, April, 1978. A version of this article first appeared in *The Italian Immigrant Woman in North America: Proceedings of the AIHA/CIHA Conference, 1977* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1978).

¹Richard Gambino, *Blood of My Blood* (New York, 1975), p. 27.

The focus of this article is on a small group of post-war films, but to return for a moment to those Italian women in *Little Caesar*, first to Mamma, the anguished figure of Antonio's mother, who consoles her distraught son, now-repentant driver of a getaway car: she is grey and gone to a grandmotherly silhouette as she enters her son's room to the accompaniment of sentimental "Italian" music. What dialogue screenwriter Francis Faragoh gives her is pure stereotype, as is the halting, broken English with which she questions Antonio. She laments, "Remember when you sing in the church, *cara mio*," and she offers an appropriately ethnic antidote to despair: "'I have some spaghetti for you on the stove. . . . You feel better . . . eat somethin' . . . do you good.'" With a tearful embrace and a kiss on the lips, she inspires her son to tell all to the priest, though it is on the pillared steps of the church itself that Antonio is slain by Rico, man without any family, man without a Mamma.

The other significant Italian woman we meet in *Little Caesar* is the *strega*-like figure of Ma Magdalena, who hides Rico from the police in a secret room in her fruit store. We know nothing of this woman except that she is harsh and brutal and moves with ease in the underworld. Her wild hair and explosively gruff manner are intimidating indeed, though no one really suspects that Ma is tough enough to bluff Rico out of the ten thousand dollars he has hidden in her store. We will encounter numerous women in later films that fit into the stereotypic frame of Antonio's mother, but Ma Magdalena, the female gangster, is a special creation--the very paradox of her name suggests the perennial American infatuation with an exotic mixture of maternalism and moral corruption--only could an *Italian* be both Ma and Magdalena at the same time. In this case, corruption is not complicated by female sexuality, but we would do well to remember that our popular culture immortalizes the whore "with the heart of gold," who is, after all, a thinly veiled attempt to satisfy the little boy that dwells inside even (or perhaps *especially*) the most manly of American heroes. In a similar vein, recall Hawthorne's classic heroine of corruption in *The Scarlet Letter*. Hester Prynne suffers for the pride and passion of pursuing true love in a repressive Massachusetts colony.

Hester Prynne is not Italian, but Hawthorne is careful to call her ancestry into question--she is a dark lady with raven tresses, she sports a flamboyantly embroidered scarlet "A" of shame, and her nose is "Hebraic" in shape. She is, of course, a prominent example of an Anglo-American heritage that goes back before Gothic romance. Xenophobic when not overtly racist, the ethnic boundaries of this Gothic tradition clearly establish Italians and other "Mediterraneans" and outsiders--the men are stock villains, trailing clouds of alien Catholicism and carrying daggers beneath cloak and cassock. But that is not all that lurks beneath their garments, for they are deliberately cast as sexual threats to the

pristine blond virtues of entrapped English maidenhood.²

A large portion of this same literature casts the Italian woman as Mediterranean voluptuary, a siren-like figure of primal sensualism that distracts and threatens to devour the male protagonist. The Jewish female is cast in a similar role, and we can justifiably include the maddened Creole, Bertha Rochester, in *Jane Eyre*. All these women are amber or honey-skinned, lush and redolent, and always in direct conflict with the domesticating and civilizing presence of the English or Scotch heroines, themselves persistently pale and frail. The dark women appeal to the archetypally Dionysian self-destructive passions that Calvinism ostensibly sought to control and suppress.

Since film is so pervasive and persuasive a popular medium, we must ask serious questions about the long-range effects of all ethnic stereotypes. Surprisingly little research has been done in this area, though all scholars would agree with Patricia Erens' recent observation that stereotypes are dangerous traditions. She says that even if "such portrayals provide relative truths or emphasize sympathetic qualities, the presentation of such limited characterizations, frozen into convention, remains detrimental to individual groups and socially demeaning."³

A curious irony is sensed upon examining the portrayal of Italian-American women, in that they may have benefited from neglect. Unlike Italian-American men, who are so caught up in the trappings of the gangster or *Film Noir* genres, the women at least manage to avoid stereotype within film form. Certainly Italian-American women conveniently caricatured within ethnic predictability will be encountered, but such figures will also be encountered as Serafina in *The Rose Tattoo*, mother and old aunt in *Marty*, Mamma and Connie Corleone in *The Godfather, I and II*, and a wide group of Italian-American women from various generations in the Renee Taylor and Joseph Bologna films, *Lovers and Other Strangers* and *Made for Each Other*. In a thematic overview, these women offer up often poignant testimony to the tensions between the *via vecchia* and the new life in a crass and complicated urban America. They may not be as dramatic (or perhaps melodramatic) in depiction as the men, but at least they are not constrained by the implied genealogy that begins with Rico and ends with Don Corleone.

²For lively and often outrageous discussion of Gothic American tendencies and dark/light contrasts, see Leslie Fiedler, *Love and Death in the American Novel* (New York, 1966), pp. 142-44.

³Patricia Erens, "Images of Minority and Foreign Groups in American Films: 1958-73," *JUMP CUT: A Review of Contemporary Cinema*, 1, 8 (August-September, 1975), p. 20.

In a parallel sense, consider the history of portrayal of Italians on television. From the infamous *Untouchables* series, called by studio executives themselves "cops and Wops," we find ourselves a generation later with very little substantive change. Informal lobbying has not completely eradicated the archetypal Italian mob leader from the screen, and we now also endure the gangster in training, the ingratiating figure of the street punk gone to high school--Vinny Barberino in *Welcome Back Kotter* and Arthur Fonzarelli in *Happy Days*. No doubt cleansed and homogenized for the family hour, these young men are far from boorish Frank Nitti and his horde of murderers; but, in terms of sex roles, Vinny and Fonzi are in the same psychological line--the Italian-American male as primitive, raw sensualist, wearing his machismo on the sleeve of his cabretta leather coat. Only in Coppola's *Godfather*, especially part *II*, can we see the possibility for surpassing male ethnic stereotype with dark and brooding inquiries into the larger prices that must be paid to join the new corporate America.

Of the women characters mentioned, only the Anna Magnani character in *The Rose Tattoo* is a fully realized major figure, and she is overtly in that American tradition of expectation--Italian woman as creature of basic desires. Recall her role in George Cukor's *Wild Is the Wind*, when lead character Anthony Quinn imports Magnani from the old country and gets a bigger sexual package than he bargained for. In *The Rose Tattoo*, author Williams acknowledges the appeals of expressive, if not decadent, sexuality. Magnani transcends limitations of role and becomes more than a comic repressed widow seeking fulfillment with Alvaro Mangiacavallo. Hers is a portrait on many levels, with wit and humor and insightful parental tenderness complicating her ongoing struggle with passion and guilt. Yet even Magnani must display some of the outward manifestations of the Mamma stereotype--she is highly emotional, given to violent alterations of mood, pious and reverent in often pagan dimensions, and assiduously protective of daughter Rosa.

Turn for a moment again to television as we see how pervasive the Mamma image is: for decades we seem to have been treated to an endless line of women distinguished by their ample breasts of motherhood, wearing the flowered housecoat of domesticity, and brandishing the stirring spoon of spaghetti sauce. Mamma Celeste is everyone's Mamma as she turns toward the camera, opens her plump arms, and pronounces her philosophy of "*abbundanza!*" in making the pizza. Whether it is pizza or matzoh ball soup, *czarnina* or black-eyed peas, the ethnic mother in the kitchen, insisting that we eat, *mangia*, is a standing joke of situation comedy and Alka Seltzer commercials. Here the stereotype threatens to obscure the very real place of food and the ritual importance of meals in Italian and other ethnic American communities. And in *Marty*, *Lovers and Other Strangers*, *Made for Each Other*, and *The Godfather*, feast and mealtime are very important, both as

setting and symbol. Richard Castellano, in *Lovers and Other Strangers*, has only a tradition of good eating to console him in his middle age. His wife, played in modulations of comedy and pathos by Beatrice Arthur, worries most about not offering up "grainy" veal to her spouse. This food motif comes to emphasize a mutual isolation and disaffection much more important than Italian kitchen humor. When he resurfaces in *The Godfather* as Clemenza, Castellano himself is in the kitchen, teaching novice Mike how to make spaghetti sauce, for the family is at war and the women are displaced as kitchen becomes command post.

Mealtime in popular film can be stereotype time, with yelling children, wild and gay laughter, and overflowing plates of the food the outside world expects to find. But no matter what the menu, family mealtime is also the crucial time for emotional transactions and plot foreshadowing--recall the major confrontations over questions of loyalty when Mike decides to enlist during World War II, or the introduction of Carlo to Connie, both so important in *The Godfather*.

The presence of Mamma Corleone in both parts of *The Godfather* is inextricable from the introduction, development, and resolution of major themes. Though her role is minor in terms of spoken parts, she is an established contrast to the Americanized generation of her children. The memorable wedding feast that opens *Godfather, I* is crystallized as family ritual by the joyous sexuality of Mamma's song. Gambino takes note of the tradition of the easy openness of these ribald lyrics, and even the non-Sicilian cannot mistake the comic sexual gestures of the old man who joins Mamma on stage.⁴ Recall, in a similar sense, the place of Mamma Corleone at the opening of *Godfather, II*, where her major function is to register overt familial displeasure at Connie and the latest of her lovers. She turns her cheek from the welcoming kiss of her now tawdry and flashy daughter, who drags along a very uncomfortable blond outsider, Troy Donahue, playing himself in all his Western open good looks. Later in *Godfather, II*, Mamma will become family counselor for a troubled Michael, who recognizes the betrayal from within by Fredo. Mike asks if there ever is a way a family can lose its ties. Mamma says no, and the implication is clear--though she says little, Mamma's very presence is a reaffirmation of the last of the old ways, the New York ways, and the Sicilian ways before that. Even in death she is important, for Michael instructs his bodyguard that nothing must happen to Fredo as long as his mother is alive. Only when she is gone forever can he exact retributive fratricide, having Fredo assassinated on a foggy Nevada lake. From homemade spaghetti to a manmade lake, the thematic movement is clear.

⁴Gambino, *Blood of My Blood*, p. 186.

The pattern of portrayal of Italian women suggests that they rise to significance only when the film itself is not overtly exploitative, when the aim is exploration of important issues and ideas that reach beneath surface renderings of ethnic stereotype. Only then can these women, even if they are still trapped in the kitchen, become more than *mamma mia*. The film version of Paddy Chayefsky's teleplay, *Marty*, amply demonstrates this notion. The film is more important than an ethnic slice of life, more significant than a prurient peek into the households of those who cannot be like us, to steal a phrase from Reverend Greeley. Marty's mother, played by Esther Minciotti, and, to a lesser extent, his aunt, played by Augusta Ciolli, become archetypally significant as parent and aunt, not merely Italian parent and aunt. The film, after all, is about the lonely and attenuated life of Marty, dutiful son and neighborhood butcher who seeks some kind of human relief from rainy weekend nights in his urban confines. The author places the film in its Italian milieu to emphasize and intensify the loneliness and isolation of all involved. As an Italian, Marty becomes a true oddity, thirty-six years old and living with his mother. Chayefsky himself says the teleplay was

. . . a comment on the social values of our times, and as such, its characters were not probed to the bottom. . . . I was only interested in motivating the mother on a social level--that is a displaced ex-mother, rather than as a woman tied by deep emotional bonds to her son. Marty does eventually break away from his mother. This was not a story about the silver cord.⁵

Chayefsky's comments are partial responses to the prevalent 1950's notion that Oedipal relationships lurked in every mother-son story. But they also address an argument that primary aim and execution is not portrayal of Italians per se. That we also learn much of the frustrations of the single older Italian male, of his retreat into joviality, food, and unnatural camaraderie with cohorts, that we see the aging Italian immigrant woman bemused and troubled by American cultural patterns and expectations--all this is important, but it supports the more generalized human dimensions of the film. The cadences may be Italian, but we detect intimations of the irrelevancy and loneliness of old age for all people in the speech delivered by Marty's mother late in the film. She describes the plight of her sister Catherine and anticipates her own potential shunting aside by children caught up in the process of Americanizing:

"It's a very sad thing. A woman, fifty-six years old, all her life, she had her own home. Now, she's just an old lady, sleeping on her daughter-in-law's couch. It's a curse

⁵Paddy Chayefsky, "*Marty: Two Choices of Material*," *Television Plays* (New York, 1955), p. 176.

to be a mother, I tell you. Your children grow up and then what is left for you to do? What is a mother's life but her children? It is a very cruel thing when your son has no place for you in his home.¹⁶

Changing times and values can also be played for comic dimensions, and since American comedy depends so heavily on burlesque and hyperbole, there is an inherent danger of ethnic portrayal turning into stereotype. But Renee Taylor and Joseph Bologna, who wrote *Lovers and Other Strangers* and starred in *Made for Each Other*, use comedy for their astringent observations on the dilemma of the ethnic in America. In *Lovers and Other Strangers*, the Italian-American woman is set against a turbulent backdrop of intermarriage between Irish and Italian, Italian and WASP, divorces, and the casual infidelities of the American middle class. It is no accident that Bea Arthur's two sons in the film are at opposite ends of the marital condition--one about to be a groom and one estranged from his spouse and about to end his marriage. The mother's own marriage is offered up in a few subtle strokes, and her alternating moods of anguish and joy over her children mirror her own circumscribed and unfulfilled dreams.

In *Lovers and Other Strangers*, the Italian woman at least partially extricates herself from the kitchen, moving symbolically not only into the living room, but also into the bedroom. Beneath the chandeliers and plastic slipcovers, the cherubim and flocked wallpaper, we see the film as a genuine expression of the tenuous and bittersweet fate of the immigrant family in America. This is perhaps at the center of the film in the recurring catch-line from Richard Castellano as he questions his soon-to-be divorced son: "Richie, so what's the story?" Indeed, what is the story; what is the future for all of us caught up in the moral and material tides of American culture? What are we giving up and what are we getting back in return? Important films, like important novels and plays, ask these committed questions.

The motif of comic dissection of ethnic experience is carried forward in *Made for Each Other*, where the second and third generation Jew and Italian collide and fall in love in group therapy. Pandora Gold and Giggy Panimba are indeed made for each other by their respective ethnic parents. Giggy's mother is sexually repressed and mystically infatuated with the church. She tells her adolescent son that "he's marrying God" when he begins his brief and abortive study for the priesthood. She relates narratives of her favorite saint who, when he had "bad thoughts," plucked out his eyes. "And that's what love is," she proclaims in an exaggerated ecstasy of sadomasochism. Similarly, Pandora's Jewish mother is not the Molly Goldberg of popular expectation--she is a weird theatrical type, obsessed with astrology, who plots

¹⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 162-63.

the stars to plan the perfect moment of conception for her daughter. Generational transitions in this film take us from kitchen stove to analyst's couch.

It may seem obvious to assert that the only time Italian women are permitted to be seen as people is when film addresses larger human questions than the thickness of tomato sauce. But it certainly is not obvious to an opportunistic industry that followed the success of *The Godfather* with a slew of spin-off and rip-off variations, now thankfully relegated to drive-in quadruple features. This same industry insists on churning out Blaxploitation films that insult and demean Black Americans, even if they no longer see themselves as Aunt Jemima or Uncle Tom. Is it a major step forward to portray Black women as big bad Mamas, submachine guns and musk oil, ready for action?

Responsible and perceptive filmmakers use the Italian experience as an American paradigm, not as ethnic anecdote or comic opera. Long before we had the alien and alienated Italian, Jew, or Black to use as ethnic Everyman, American culture and its literature almost instinctively took the voice of the outsider--the one-legged madman, the confidence man, the dwarf and cripple, the Indian, the artist *manqué*. The lonely figure outside the mainstream of society has always been its Cassandra, assessing the moral patterns and rhythms of that society. If the film portrayals of ethnics in general, and Italian women in particular, tell us anything, it might be that the loneliest place of all is in the middle of the mainstream. Ultimately, the films we should watch, the films we should teach, are those that at least attempt to show the complex and problematical situation of all Americans who hyphenate their ethnic affiliations.

ASIAN AMERICANS IN PSYCHIATRIC SYSTEMS

Niel Tashima*
Chicago, Illinois

Prior to the 1960's, very little interest had been shown in researching patterns of American utilization of mental health facilities. The notion of culturally different patterns of psychological "normalcy" for Asian Americans as a distinct population had not been adequately explored. Although a few case studies of Asian-American patients did appear in the literature from time to time, no extensive or systematic research into the demographic and psychological characteristics of Asian-American patient populations had been presented.

Since 1960, a limited number of reports and papers have been written describing the local psychosocial milieu and its affect upon Asian Americans. Reports documenting the conditions of community mental health centers repeatedly state the need for bicultural, bilingual professional and paraprofessional staff (1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 17). Clinical reports on Asian-American psychiatric patients point out subtle differences between Asian-American and Caucasian patients as well as variations within the Asian-American population based upon generation and ethnicity (2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 18).

Two areas of concern most frequently cited as requiring immediate attention are: (1) the recent immigration of foreign-born Asians (1, 3, 8, 17), and (2) the "underutilization" of mental health facilities by Asian Americans in general (7, 14, 16). Foreign-born Asians, as a high risk group, are a very pressing concern. The influx of more than 150,000 Southeast Asians into the United States in 1975, and the prospect of another 15,000 persons entering the United States in the near future, will require the development of appropriate, culturally specific programs staffed by sensitive professionals. Until the requisite programs are implemented, sensitivity and care will be needed to reach across the cultural gap that separates many Asian-American patients from those who are able to lend some assistance.

*This paper was prepared by Niel Tashima in collaboration with Leighton Y. Huey, Suzan Wilson, Margaret Crowder, Isabella Lem, and Naomi Vargas, from the Department of Psychiatry, University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, California, and the San Diego Veterans Administration Hospital, with research support from the National Institute of Mental Health. Paper presented by Niel Tashima at the 6th Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies, "Minority Women and Ethnicity," University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, April, 1978.

According to Segal and Lourie:

Although the number of [Southeast Asian refugee] psychiatric casualties has been insignificant this cannot be viewed as a barometer of overall psychological distress among the refugee population. Furthermore, it is likely that the problems will increase over time as the ambiguities of new life and the shock of family separation increases. . . . Staff must be sensitized to handle the many and often subtle human issues, thus an intensive staff training program should be developed and utilized. (15)

While the authors stress the need for staff training and sensitivity to specific refugee problems and issues, why should this sensitivity stop with recent immigrants from Southeast Asia? All Asian and Pacific Island people are faced with the problems of adjustment and disorientation that are encountered upon entering American society. The Chinatown Family Outreach Center in Oakland, California, has found that 87.6 percent of its clients seeking help are foreign born (3). Tom and his research group from the Northeast Mental Health Team have also stressed the difficulties that foreign-born Asian Americans experience in an American cultural setting (17). The Asian Community Mental Health Service (1) in Oakland, California, has found that a large number of their clients are foreign-born Asians. Brown et al. (2) have identified newcomers in the Chinese population of Los Angeles' Chinatown as a high risk group.

The Asian Community Mental Health Service (1) and Kim (11,12, 13) have identified a high risk group within the generalized foreign-born Asian-American population. These are Asian-born women married to United States military personnel. The specialized problems and concerns of this particular group of Asian Americans have been documented by Bok-Lim Kim (11,12,13).

Mental health service and outreach programs directly involved in the Asian-American community have repeatedly noted Asian-American underutilization of mental health facilities. These sources have also identified recent Asian immigrants/foreign-born Asians as a very high risk group.

Clinical work and inpatient studies concerning Asian-American psychiatric patients have emphasized the difference in cultural orientation and the necessity for sensitivity and awareness on the part of the hospital staff. Enright and Jaeckle (5) question the appropriateness of the Krapelinian diagnostic system for individuals with a non-western cultural background, especially in the case of Asian-American patients. Tseng et al. (18) have pointed out differences among Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, Korean Americans, and Pilipino Americans in Hawaii. Katz and Senborn (10) point out differences between Japanese-American psychiatric patients who are:

. . . more schizoid, withdrawn and retarded, and caucasians [who] are more emotional. Pilipino patients are more excited, hyperactive and have [more] manic qualities compared to Japanese patients. (10)

Ikedda et al. (9) notes a difference between Japanese Americans who trace their ancestry to the main islands of Japan and Japanese Americans of Okinawan descent in relative incidence and diagnostic proportions of mental illness in the Hawaiian Asian-American population. Draguns et al. (4) have found a "difference in spheres, but not in individual symptoms or roles between Christian and Buddhist Japanese American psychiatric patients in Hawaii." Finney (6) and Kitano (14) have also noted "differences in the kinds of psychological sickness to which [Asian Americans] are prone" (6).

METHODOLOGY

Most of the literature available on Asian-American patterns of utilization of mental health facilities has been restricted to comparisons between a particular Asian-American ethnic group and Caucasians in general, or among selected Asian-American ethnic groups. Consequently, only the major Asian-American population groups, such as the Japanese American, Chinese American, and, to some extent, the Pilipino American, appear in the literature. In addition, many of the cited reports cover a specific region, such as Hawaii, the San Francisco Bay area Asian-American communities, or the Los Angeles Chinatown community. Again, these studies focus on very specific Asian-American groups and fail to present data on smaller populations of Asian Americans.

In order to explore and possibly clarify some of the issues surrounding utilization patterns of mental health facilities by Asian Americans, a pilot study was undertaken in San Diego, California. San Diego is characterized by the absence of distinct geographical boundaries within which Asian Americans reside. In this respect, it differs from cities such as San Francisco and Los Angeles where large numbers of Asian Americans are concentrated within specific areas.

Three inpatient psychiatric facilities were selected as a source of patient information. A community mental health hospital, a private psychiatric hospital, and a university teaching psychiatric facility were selected.

A twenty-nine item questionnaire was developed to serve as a method of standardizing the reporting of case material for each Asian-American patient identified by a chart survey as having utilized any of the various facilities. Three basic areas are covered by the questionnaire. The first section provided an organizational framework for all the available demographic data on each patient. The second section focused on the psychiatric

background of the patient and the patient's family. The last section consisted of a symptom review of the treatment period. The preliminary analysis presented below will focus on the first section of the questionnaire.

A ten-year period, from 1965 to 1975, was selected as the framework for data collection. In each institution, all of the charts were manually searched in order to identify as many Asian-American patients as possible. Although a very careful and methodical search procedure was established and constant cross-checking through the data gathering phase was utilized, it is quite possible that all Asian-American patients were not located. Between 1965 and 1975, 209 charts were located that could be positively identified as being Asian American. Once a chart was located, the relevant information was completed in the questionnaire, and each completed questionnaire was compared with other completed forms to insure that no duplicate records were constructed for any patient. The responses were then coded and processed for evaluation.

Determination of ethnic identity or consistency in reporting ethnic identity did not seem to be a major concern of the hospital staff. In some cases, no ethnic identity would appear in a patient's chart. In other cases, obscure references to the patient's ethnic identity were all that could be located. This confusion covered not only the patient's ethnicity, but extended to diagnosis, medical history, and family history of illness. For the purposes of this study, only those patients who could be positively identified as Asian American were included. As one of the research staff stated, "Ethnicity, biographies, the number of outpatient and inpatient visits, treatments, diagnoses, and prognoses were inconsistently recorded. In some cases, no information was recorded at all, or, if information was recorded, it might have no resemblance to that information that allegedly justified the final diagnosis."

Given these limitations and the biases that may be introduced through the questionnaire itself, the research staff, and the institutions selected, the following results have been obtained.

FINDINGS

According to Table 1, twelve different Asian or Pacific Island ethnic groups are represented in the psychiatric patient population. During the ten years covered by the study, almost 80 percent of the patients were of Japanese, Chinese, or Pilipino ancestry. Although there are nine other ethnic groups represented during the study period, it is impossible to make any generalizations that could be considered representative of the entire population. However, these smaller Asian-American populations do

indicate that there is no single group at risk and that consideration must be given to even the smallest Asian-American ethnic group, although it should be noted that the full impact of the most recent Southeast Asian immigration has yet to be felt. These smaller populations of Asian-American ethnic groups also indicate the multitude of cultures that are covered by the term "Asian American." Programs and staff must have access to information regarding each ethnic group in order to provide adequate and appropriate care and treatment modalities for an Asian-American patient. A second factor raised by this first table is the extremely high proportion of Asian-American women in the sample population. Of all Asian-American patients identified, 73 percent were women.

TABLE 1

ETHNICITY AND SEX

Asian-American Psychiatric Patients, 1965-1975,
Selected Psychiatric Facilities, San Diego, California

Ethnicity	Sex		
	Male	Female	Total
Chinese	19	20	39
Guamanian	1	4	5
Hawaiian	4	4	8
Japanese	12	75	87
Korean	1	5	6
Malaysian	1	1	2
Okinawan	0	3	3
Pilipino	13	28	41
Samoan	3	3	6
Tahitian	0	1	1
Thai	1	2	3
Vietnamese	0	3	3
Happa*	1	4	5
Total	56	153	209

*Happa is the Japanese term for children of mixed marriages.

Table 2 indicates the breakdown of utilization of the three psychiatric facilities: County Mental Health, a community mental health hospital; Mesa Vista, a private facility; and University Hospital, a university teaching psychiatric facility.

TABLE 2

ETHNICITY, SEX, AND PSYCHIATRIC FACILITY

Asian-American Psychiatric Patients, 1965-1975,
Selected Psychiatric Facilities, San Diego, California

Ethnicity	County Mental Health		Mesa Vista (Private)		University Hospital		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Chinese	13	5	3	9	3	6	39
Guamanian	1	3	0	1	0	0	5
Hawaiian	3	3	0	1	1	0	8
Japanese	7	26	2	35	3	14	87
Korean	1	3	0	1	0	1	6
Malaysian	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
Okinawan	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
Pilipino	9	13	1	11	3	4	41
Samoaan	3	3	0	0	0	0	6
Tahitian	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Thai	0	1	1	0	0	1	3
Vietnamese	0	1	0	1	0	1	3
Happa*	0	2	1	2	0	0	5
Total	38	65	8	61	10	27	209

*Happa is the Japanese term for children of mixed marriages.

Table 3 presents the characteristics of the patient population by place of birth. A vast majority of the Asian-American patients are foreign-born Asians. Only 14.8 percent of all the Asian-American patients were American born. If Asian Americans born in Hawaii are included with the mainland-born population of Asian Americans, the proportion of American-born Asians rises to only 23.4 percent. In this population, the foreign-born/new-arrival Asian American is much more likely to utilize available mental health facilities than either the mainland-born or Hawaiian-born Asian American.

Why American-born Asians do not utilize mental health facilities as readily as foreign-born Asians has no simple answer. The available literature speculates upon such factors as the cultural stigma for American-born Asians, lack of awareness about mental health facilities by American-born Asians, and consequently a need for education about mental illness and mental health facilities for American-born Asians. However, the elevated utilization rates of foreign-born Asians would seem to indicate that other factors may be at work. This variation in utilization

patterns by American-born Asians and foreign-born Asians needs to be explored by integrating cultural differences between American-born Asians, foreign-born Asians, and Caucasians. The expectations, roles, and norms of the various groups as they relate to mental health may be a portion of the explanation.

TABLE 3

ETHNICITY AND PLACE OF BIRTH

Asian-American Psychiatric Patients, 1965-1975,
Selected Psychiatric Facilities, San Diego, California

Ethnicity	Place of Birth			Total
	Mainland	Hawaii	Foreign Born	
Chinese	6	2	31	39
Guamanian	0	0	5	5
Hawaiian	0	8	0	8
Japanese	16	4	67	87
Korean	0	3	3	6
Malaysian	0	0	2	2
Okinawan	0	0	3	3
Pilipino	6	1	34	41
Samoan	0	0	6	6
Tahitian	0	0	1	1
Thai	0	0	3	3
Vietnamese	0	0	3	3
Happa*	3	0	2	5
Total	31	18	160	209

*Happa is the Japanese term for children of mixed marriages.

Table 4 indicates a high incidence of schizophrenia for the patient population. Of all Asian-American psychiatric patients, 44.5 percent were diagnosed as schizophrenic. The other factor that is presented by this table is the large number of patients in the "other" category. Of the thirty-two patients in this category, sixteen were diagnosed as adult situational reaction, while five were diagnosed adolescent adjustment difficulties. The elevated incidence of schizophrenia agrees with research reports concerning Japanese in Hawaii (14). However, the number of patients diagnosed as having a life adjustment difficulty would seem to warrant closer examination. A more complete examination of the patient's past history and the cultural context are extremely important indicators that need to be explored.

TABLE 4

ETHNICITY AND DIAGNOSIS

Asian American Psychiatric Patients, 1965-1975,
Selected Psychiatric Facilities, San Diego, California

Ethnicity	Diagnosis									Total
	No Info	Primary Affective	Schizo	Neurosis	Drugs	EtOH	OBS	Combo	Other	
Chinese	0	7	16	4	0	0	2	0	10	39
Guamanian	1	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	5
Hawaiian	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	3	8
Japanese	1	22	38	8	4	0	1	2	11	87
Korean	0	3	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	6
Malaysian	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
Okinawan	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
Pilipino	0	5	22	5	0	0	2	1	6	41
Samoan	0	0	3	1	0	2	0	0	0	6
Tahitian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Thai	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	3
Vietnamese	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Happa*	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	1	1	5
Total	4	39	93	23	4	4	5	5	32	209

*Happa is the Japanese term for children of mixed marriages.

To summarize, the Asian-American psychiatric patient population in this pilot survey had an extremely high number of women and foreign-born Asians with diagnosis of schizophrenia or life adjustment difficulties. These factors indicate that, at least in San Diego, a very different patient profile represents the Asian-American population that does utilize available mental health facilities.

DISCUSSION

Prior research on the nature of the Asian-American psychiatric population has focused on two types of services. The community mental health system and outreach programs have identified foreign-born Asians and Asian women married to United States military personnel as very high risk groups. Psychiatric inpatient reports have stressed differences between various Asian-American groups and the Caucasian population and differences among Asian-American groups. Although the present study is based upon a very small sample, some clear statements about the Asian Americans utilizing mental health facilities in San Diego can be made:

1. These findings add further substantiation to the assertion that foreign-born Asians are a very high risk group within the Asian-American population. Within the foreign-born category, women, especially Japanese women, are an extremely high risk group. Foreign-born Asians, especially women, may be isolated the most from social support systems and existing ethnic community networks. Their different cultural background adds further complications to utilization of support systems if there are no bicultural or bilingual staff to offer assurance and assistance.
2. The large number of schizophrenic and situational adjustment reaction patients might suggest a difficulty caused by cultural discontinuity or an inability to articulate needs or problems in an unfamiliar culture and language. Perhaps the appropriateness of these diagnoses should be reconsidered in light of the variances in symptomology found by other researchers.

The data gathering and data analysis of the material highlighted two concerns that apply to general hospital patients. The inconsistency and incompleteness of many files regarding diagnosis, ethnicity, date of birth, place of birth, length of residence in the United States, and familiarity with the English language become critically important factors when the patient is not familiar with this cultural system, especially the culturally approved notions about health, mental health, and healing. If this material is not available or given consideration by the staff during admission, treatment, and posthospital care, inappropriate diagnosis, treatment, and prognosis may occur. Secondly, a more consistent reporting format is necessary. It is almost impossible

to compare admission statistics or diagnostic statistics between ethnic groups without a more standardized reporting system. As long as the system is caring for and designed for only one ethnic group, it may function without too many difficulties. Because there is an indication that Asian-American psychiatric patients do vary from the majority population in a number of areas, appropriate consideration must be given or inappropriate treatment may result.

A number of concerns have been expressed by various interest groups concerning the nature of Asian Americans who utilize mental health facilities. Unless consistent and complete reporting procedures are developed and followed, the Asian-American psychiatric population will remain invisible, and indeed differences in utilization patterns and symptom expression will remain isolated bits of annoying information that are largely ignored. The real loss will be to the individuals and families that could benefit from such information if consistently and accurately recorded. Without careful and thorough background research in this area, the appropriateness of diagnosis and treatment for Asian Americans will remain a vague notion without foundation, validation, or consistency of results.

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NEW SKIN: ELLISON, JUNG, AND THE UNCONSCIOUS

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"In the electric age we wear all mankind as our skin."¹

Marshall McLuhan contends that the electric media, television in particular, have given Americans the means of instant, total awareness both of themselves, especially of their unconscious or subliminal states, and of others, who may differ in skin color or points of view but with whom total social involvement is now not only desirable, but absolutely necessary in the ontological sense of the word.² However, though television may have made us more conscious of our unconscious and more aware of the dynamic relationship between other individuals' well-being and our own, the mutual feeding and forming and mutilating of one another's psyches is a process as old as mankind itself and one which had been recognized long before McLuhan's observations. C. G. Jung provides an illustration:

Every Roman was surrounded by slaves. The slave and his psychology flooded ancient Italy, and every Roman became inwardly, and of course unwittingly, a slave. Because living constantly in the atmosphere of slaves, he became infected through the unconscious with their psychology. No one can shield himself from such an influence.³

It is this profound psychological truth--that man's innermost center of being, his collective unconscious, is nourished or debilitated by everything any individual does with or for or to another individual--that Ralph Ellison grasps both philosophically and artistically and makes the dynamic core of his powerful *Invisible Man*. In his essay on Stephen Crane, Ellison says that "the deeper insights were available to him (as they are to each of us) through a ruthless plunging into the dark depths of his own

¹Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: Signet, 1964), p. 56.

²*Ibid.*

³C. G. Jung, *Contributions to Analytical Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1928), p. 173.

heart and mind."⁴ Ellison himself is the example, par excellence, of an artist whose intense plumbing of his own psyche yields "the deeper insights," and he brings them to fruition through the medium of print, but in a work that is certainly as electrifying an influence both on the world of literature and on the world of social dynamics as any electric medium could be.

Ellison says in "The World and the Jug" that "true novels, even when most pessimistic and bitter, arise out of an impulse to celebrate human life and therefore are ritualistic and ceremonial at their core."⁵ The almost mesmerizing effect that *Invisible Man* has on the emotions of its readers is surely, in large part, due to its being a ritualistic celebration of all human life as well as the realistic, and sometimes surrealistic, search for identity of one black individual.

The hero, or perhaps anti-hero, is an individual with a history (which becomes the novel) and ultimately a personality uniquely his own. He has his own dreams, which vary from time to time, but which are essentially to be useful and successful and recognized as a human being in a world dominated by whites; he makes his own mistakes, essentially the same mistake over and over again--allowing others to dictate what he should believe and do; he suffers his own private agonies as his illusions are torn from him and as he discards one after another of the apparent alternatives for achieving his dreams; and he finally makes his own terms with life and the rest of mankind: "The final act of *Invisible Man* is not that of a concealment in darkness . . . but that of a voice issuing its little wisdom out of the substance of its own inwardness--after having undergone a transformation from ranter to writer."⁶ Ellison asserts that "Action is the thing. We are what we do and do not do."⁷ His central character is what he is by reason of his own individual acts and negligences. "It is what the hero refuses to do in each section which leads to further action. He must assert and achieve his own humanity."⁸

Yet this character has no name and, in the beginning, no visible features or substance. Thus, he is Everyman. When as a boy he enters the smoke filled arena and is forced to fight other

⁴Ralph Ellison, "Stephen Crane and American Fiction," *Shadow and Act* (New York: Signet, 1953), p. 79.

⁵Ellison, "The World and the Jug," *Shadow and Act*, p. 121.

⁶Ellison, "Change the Joke and Slip the Yoke," *Shadow and Act*, p. 71.

⁷Ellison, "The Art of Fiction: An Interview," *Shadow and Act*, p. 180.

⁸*Ibid.*

black boys for the entertainment of the white men, there is more going on than just a particularly cruel incident in the life of one boy, more even than "a ritual in preservation of caste lines, a keeping of taboo to appease the gods and ward off bad luck."⁹ On its deepest level, this is an initiation rite in which all artists, indeed all mankind, must participate. Akin to the mythical beings whose time in the underworld is essential to the seasons of growth in the upper world, the hero of *Invisible Man* "must go down into the pit and face the mystery in order to be reborn,"¹⁰ and he must do this not once, but many times.

After the hero is expelled from his Edenlike college, he is once more an outsider, as are all Negroes, as are all artists, as are all men, until he can achieve a new identity. What follows is

. . . a series of initiations in which the hero passes through several stages and groups of identification. The changes of identity are accompanied by somewhat formal rituals resembling the primitives' [that is, primal or archetypal] rites of passage . . . [which] are essentially symbolic representations of birth, purification and regeneration in nature.¹¹

As nature is cyclical, the hero's progress toward identity and reality is cyclical. The "nigger" is kept "running," but not in a straight line.

At the paint factory, the hero again descends into the basement pit, is tried by fire, and experiences a weird sort of rebirth in a womblike box, from which he has to be freed by the cutting of an umbilical cord. His birth, however, like all birth, is accompanied by pangs of pain and loss of security. Later the Brotherhood gives him a new name and a new job, but again the security is short-lived. Even as the hero is initiated into his role by giving a speech in another pitlike arena, where darkness seems to surround him because of the glare in his eyes, he becomes again unsure of who he is. But he is reassured of his role by the Brotherhood once more, and a period of relative certainty follows until an anonymous note sets him running again. So it goes, periods of security and insecurity cycling back upon each other, more initiations occurring, until finally the hero ends up in the underworld of a coal cellar where, in a dream sequence, he is initiated into the world of reality by being stripped of all illusions and of the physical representations of his manhood, but not

⁹*Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁰Ellin Horowitz, "The Rebirth of the Artist," in Joseph F. Trimmer, ed., *A Casebook on Ralph Ellison's "Invisible Man"* (New York: Crowell, 1972), p. 239.

¹¹*Ibid.*, pp. 239-40.

of his humanhood. It is here, in fact, that the hero finds his identity as a human being.

The reader responds to the hero's various initiatory episodes not as an observer but as a participant, totally caught up in emotion. This thorough sense of identification with the hero Ellison effects by his skillful use of archetypal images and themes: sight-blindness; visibility-invisibility; darkness-light; whiteness-blackness; birth-death; father-God figures; the Oedipal myth; color, castration, flight, and season symbols.¹² Ellison uses such symbols consciously, knowing that it is basic to the fiction writer's confrontation with the world to plunge back into the "shadow of the past where time hovers ghostlike" and to convert "experience into symbolic action."¹³ Jung has explained that archetypes are the "formulated resultants of countless typical experiences of our ancestors . . . the psychic residua of numberless experiences of the same type."¹⁴ Thus, an artist who uses archetypes entrances the reader, for he speaks in a voice more powerful than his own; "he raises the idea he is trying to express above the occasional and the transitory into the sphere of the ever-existing. He transmutes personal destiny into the destiny of mankind. . . . That is the secret of effective art."¹⁵ Jung's words sound as if they were written with Ellison specifically in mind, for Ellison effects artistically exactly what he is enunciating philosophically: a fusion of self and other, a merging of individual and all humanity.

Ellin Horowitz, in a perceptive discussion of Ellison's imagery, interprets the hero's briefcase as his unconscious, in which are stored up things he cannot get rid of so that it becomes "a record of his being."¹⁶ Though Horowitz does not mention it,

¹²The archetypal nature of the symbols Ellison uses was brought home to me in a very personal way. Our five-year-old, Chad, excitedly insisted upon telling me a dream he had had: The scene was his kindergarten classroom, but the floor was made of dirt. It was "dark" and Chad could not "see," but he could hear his classmates around him. He was in the center of the "pit," he said, using this word I had never heard him use before. He had to count to eight in Spanish (his "trial," I suppose). When he had done that successfully, he heard his friend Jason call him, and they laughed and ran together around the room, which had become "light." I would interpret this as an initiation into society, writ small.

¹³Ellison, "Introduction," *Shadow and Act*, p. xvi.

¹⁴Jung, *Contributions to Analytical Psychology*, p. 246.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 248.

¹⁶Horowitz, *A Casebook*, p. 241.

this interpretation explains beautifully the hero's strange remark to his pursuers after he has fallen down through the open manhole: "I've had you in my briefcase all the time and you didn't know me then and can't see me now."¹⁷ The hero means more than that he has had therein the false identities given him by various white men. He means that in each individual's unconscious are carried the acts and feelings of all other individuals. When any individual is tortured, emasculated, and shorn of illusion, all suffer, including the torturers, for their acts return to them as effects. Moreover, because of the inextricable flow of the unconscious of one individual from and into what Jung calls the "collective unconscious," each individual derives his identity, as well as his well-being, from that of all other individuals. It is this inescapable interdependence that is Ellison's central theme.

The final initiatory rite underground, the perfectly conceived nightmare scene, brings home to the hero and to the reader the shattering realization of all men's ontological oneness and complicity in the fate of mankind. The hero, in an exhausted state and an altered state of consciousness, dreams of castration and sees his bloody blobs spilling out his seed. He says to the assemblage, "there hang not only my generations wasting upon the water . . . but your sun . . . and your moon . . . your world . . . and that drip-drop upon the water you hear is all the history you've made, all you're going to make. Now laugh you scientists" (p. 493). Having plunged outside of scientific history, outside of dialectical materialism, into the chaos, darkness, and myth that he had so feared, the hero has been put in touch with his own unconscious and the collective unconscious of the race, not of blacks or of whites, but of the race of mankind. And once this happens, the hero realizes that all men are brothers in a way so basic that no amount of denial, either by word or act or lack of act, can negate the fact. In retrospect, it becomes clear that, in the earlier initiations, it is not only the black hero who is tried and found wanting or who suffers the consequences of the action or lack of action. From the white town bigwigs at the battle-royal to black Bledsoe (bled-so) to white Norton (northern) to black Lucius (Lucifer) Brockway to Mother Mary to Brother Jack --all of them are "running too, running all over themselves" (p. 497); all are inextricably involved in the initiation rituals; all suffer in their own ways because of the burden of guilt which is stored up in each one's individual unconscious and in the collective unconscious of the human race.

It is significant that the hero refers to Jack, Emerson, Bledsoe, Norton, Ras, the school superintendent, and others who had run him and then emasculated him as "scientists." The drip-drop of his blood and semen into the waters of life, the hero says, is these scientists' only contribution to history. What

¹⁷Ralph Ellison, *Invisible Man* (New York: Signet, 1947), p. 490. Hereafter, pages will be cited in the text.

Ellison means is illuminated, though predated, by a passage from Jung:

History, as an effective reality, is not contained in thick books, but lives in our very blood. . . . In the end it resolves itself to nothing less than this: is one willing to be unhistorical and, therefore, to make history, or not? No one makes history who does not dare to risk everything for it, even his own skin. For he carries through the experiment, which is his own life, to the bitter end; and in so doing he interprets his life, not as a continuation but as a beginning. Continuation is a business already provided for in the animal, but to initiate is the prerogative of man; the one thing of which he can boast that transcends the animal.¹⁸

Jack, the dialectical materialist, and the other pragmatists and realists gathered there would deny Jung's concept of history and the hero's new grasp of reality as unscientific and not empirically demonstrable. Indeed, they do dismiss the hero's profound insights by calling him a "mystic idealist" (p. 493).

Whether or not Ellison had ever read Jung's passage, its point is so precisely Ellison's point that he could well have written *Invisible Man* as an amplification of Jung's assertions. In the "Prologue," Ellison's narrator tells the reader to "beware of those who speak of the spiral of history; they are preparing a boomerang" (p. 10), and he speaks of a yokel who won a boxing match, who "knocked science . . . cold" (p. 11) by refusing to go along with his opponent's sense of time. These are insights that the hero grasped during the nightmare scene. Though the hero's potentiality to affect history through the continuation of his personal line has been destroyed, he has stepped outside of conventional time and can see that this bitter end is really a beginning, that he still has the capacity to affect and to effect history through joint effort with those who have castrated him and who will, in turn, be castrated by the boomerang of history if something is not done to prevent it. The hero's final words in the dream sequence are these: "No, no, *we* [emphasis added] must stop him [the mechanical man of the future, which is now]!" (p. 494).

Following the dream sequence, in the "Epilogue," the narrator asserts that the black and white strands of American life are inextricably interwoven:

Our fate is to become one yet many--This is not prophecy, but description. Thus one of the greatest jokes in the world is the spectacle of the whites busy escaping blackness and becoming blacker every day, and

¹⁸Jung, *Contributions to Analytical Psychology*, pp. 184-85.

the blacks striving toward whiteness, becoming quite dull and gray. (p. 499)

But there is more going on than the general homogenization of attributes. There is that psychological determination of one another through the unconscious that Jung illustrates with his description of the slave infection of the master. "I'm your destiny, I made you," says the hero to Mr. Norton, which makes Norton think the hero is mad (p. 500). But the invisible man has learned that he is "linked to all the others in the . . . semi-visible world," which means not only that there is a political unity of interest among the "mere pawns in the futile game of 'making history'" (p. 497), but, more fundamentally, that each human's "individuation," to use a Jungian term, flows from and into the continuous stream of the collective unconscious and thereby derives its being and its meaning. So even though the history of mankind lives in the hero's blood, in his racial memory, in his unconscious, he has, as Jung says, to risk everything to make history. What he has to risk, according to Ellison, is his own humanity.

The hero's invisibility is not only a matter of being unseen by others, says Ellison, it is also a result of the hero's refusal "to run the risk of his humanity, which involves guilt."¹⁹ There is guilt because of the complicity of all men in each other's lives and in the history that is yet to be made. It is to be hoped that the guilt lays the foundation for responsible action. "Humanity is won by continuing to play in the face of certain defeat" (p. 499), says the narrator, sounding much like Camus.

The hero does not know whether accepting the lesson clubbed into him by reality has placed him in the rear or the avant-garde, but he leaves that to history, to Jack and his ilk, the scientific historians, to figure out while he studies the lesson of his own life (p. 495). This is as it should be, for the hero is both outside and inside history; while having a very personal history, he is, paradoxically, ahistorical. His blood and his unconscious predate historical time, yet carry the history of the race. And, absurd though it may be, he must bear his share of responsibility for the blood and the unconscious of every individual now and in the future. Running the risk of one's humanity means, finally, to accept consciously and act upon what has been true subconsciously all along. One cannot achieve a state of equilibrium until his conscious and unconscious are brought into harmony. One cannot find his individual identity until he feels his collective identity. Surely this is that area of which the hero speaks "in which a man's feelings are more rational than his mind" (p. 496).

Ellison has said that the artist seeks transcendence over personal guilt through socialization of his guilt in a work of art

¹⁹Ellison, "The Art of Fiction," p. 180.

in the form of ritual.²⁰ Having recognized that there seethes a chaos below the surface of apparently rational human relationships, that people rationalize what they shun or are incapable of dealing with, that these rationalizations become ritual as they govern behavior, and that the rituals become social forms, it becomes the function of the artist to recognize them and raise them to the level of art and thus transcend them, for his own good and the good of all humanity.²¹ Not only artists, but all men, need expiation for their sins to their fellowmen, sins which weigh on their unconscious and damage their well-being, whether they consciously recognize it or not. By participating vicariously in the rituals of the work of art, by allowing the archetypal symbols that the artist uses to penetrate both conscious and unconscious, men experience an emotional catharsis that enables them to *feel* their humanity more fully.

Ellison's *Invisible Man* provides one of the best examples of all time of a work of art's causing people to feel their own humanity. Ellison's agonizingly personal search of his own psyche is socialized and made so richly meaningful to readers that they, we, become much more than readers. We feel, we participate in, the invisible man's experiences and insights. Why we are touched so deeply, so electrically, Jung's insights help us to understand. What Freud once said to the Viennese author and playwright, Albert Schnitzler, whom he is said to have regarded as his alter ego, might well have been said by Jung to Ellison: "I have gotten the impression that through intuition--actually in consequence of careful introspection--you know all that I have discovered in tedious work on other men."²²

In the "Prologue," the narrator says, "the end is in the beginning" (p. 9), which at the time seems to be an Aristotelian structural concept. It turns out to be a Jungian philosophical concept as well: By becoming unhistorical and thus making history, by carrying through the experiment, his life, by risking his very skin, the hero is not only initiated but initiates. He makes a beginning. Thus, he transcends the animal and becomes truly human. Ellison's narrator says, in the final pages, that he "must shake off the old skin and come up for breath," even though he recognizes that the breath he takes may be either of spring or death. Actually, which it is does not matter, for "there is a death in the smell of spring" regardless (p. 503). That the end is in the beginning is a fact of life, absurd maybe, but a fact, nevertheless. Moreover, the narrator's last words, "Who knows but

²⁰Ellison, "Twentieth-Century Fiction and the Black Mask of Humanity," *Shadow and Act*, p. 55.

²¹Ellison, "The Art of Fiction," p. 175.

²²WIPB TV "Program Guide," March, 1975, in a discussion of a *Masterpiece Theatre* series.

that, on the lower frequencies, I speak for you?" (p. 503), make clear that the old skin he is sloughing off is being replaced by the skin of all mankind. What better end and beginning than this?

BOOK REVIEWS

GRETCHEN M. BATAILLE, DAVID M. GRADWOHL, and CHARLES L. P. SILET (Editors). *THE WORLDS BETWEEN TWO RIVERS: PERSPECTIVES ON AMERICAN INDIANS IN IOWA*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1978, 148 pp., \$7.95.

The presentation of symposia papers in book form poses several editorial problems, the chief of which is maintaining a unity of focus between the various offerings. With one or two notable exceptions, the papers in this collection treat aspects of the Native-American experience within the boundaries of the present state of Iowa, but, unfortunately, that rubric is too broad to provide an organizing principle definite enough to hold the book together. The result is something of a mixed bag. Although each of the papers is presented as a "chapter" and some attempt at cross-reference between individual papers is made, it is necessary to approach each of the sections on its own terms.

Fred McTaggart's "American Indian Literature: Contexts for Understanding" is a useful account of the difficulties involved in studying Native-American literature from the perspective of the dominant culture, and his suggestion that Indian narratives might better be presented through the medium of animated film rather than straightforward prose is especially intriguing. Charles Silet's "The Image of the American Indian in Film" promises much more than it delivers, and his assumption that the Indian as portrayed in traditional American literature is without a voice is patently absurd in view of the interest American writers have taken in Indian rhetoric from the beginning. Edward Purcell's survey of negative stereotypes and misinformation in Iowa public school textbooks is a valuable reminder of the extent to which racism can be fostered, whether consciously or not, in the name of education. David Gradwohl's paper touches upon this same problem in part and proceeds to discuss the role of archaeology in correcting some recurring misconceptions about Iowa's prehistory.

"Mesquakie History--As We Know It," by Bertha Wasekuk, is an interesting attempt to synthesize tribal history from oral and written sources and, in its modest way, bears comparison with a work like Momaday's *Way to Rainy Mountain*. The remarkable collection of photographs entitled "The Red Earth People in 1905" provides a glimpse into the world of the Mesquakie around the turn of the century. These pictures are moving testimony to the resilience of a traditional society as it experiences transition yet resists total transformation. Donald Wanatee's study of the interchange between tribal and Euro-American systems of government, despite its tendency to oversimplify the complexities of tribal polity, helps explain the United States' failure to grasp the needs of tribal cultures for their own social order.

Essays by Reuben Snake, Owana McLester-Greenfield, Adeline Wanatee, Michael Husband and Gary Koerselman, Joseph Hraba, and Donald Graham explore the problems of assimilation, urban relocation, and Indian education from the Native-American perspective and constitute a more unified segment of the book than do the earlier selections. A selected bibliography on the Indian in Iowa, compiled by Gretchen Bataille, rounds out the volume.

The unevenness of *The Worlds Between Two Rivers* suggests something of the uncertainty of purpose that continues to plague American Indian Studies, or the "Indian biz," as an Osage friend of this writer refers to it. It is still unclear whether Native American Studies should be academic or activist in its final orientation, and thus far a productive balance between these two equally desirable ends has proven elusive. However, the discipline is young, and the amount of scholarship and debate it has already generated bodes well for its future. Meanwhile, *The Worlds Between Two Rivers* reflects the relative strengths and weaknesses of the discipline at this stage of its evolution.

-- William Bedford Clark
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College Station, Texas

KAY GRABER (Editor). *SISTER TO THE SIOUX: THE MEMOIRS OF ELAINE GOODALE EASTMAN, 1885-91*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978, 175 pp., \$10.95.

Elaine Goodale Eastman was a white woman from the East who decided early in her life that her "mission" was to educate the Sioux Indians of the Dakotas. The memoirs, published in 1978, were written in the thirties from notes and diaries kept by the writer from 1885-1891. Thus, there are three distinct periods of time the contemporary reader must consider. By 1978 standards, Eastman is a sympathetic, if somewhat naive, young woman. Placing her within the context of the late 1900's, however, the reader finds that she was extraordinary in her compassion for the understanding of native life. One must accept as a given that Elaine Goodale, as a product of her times, believed first in educating, Christianizing, and Americanizing the Indians. Beyond this, however, she was not shy about criticizing the government as "indifferent or inefficient." She once wrote to a Congressman, "Perhaps on no subject does the average Congressman display a more whole-souled, confiding and self-gratulatory ignorance than upon the Indian question." Unlike most of those who accepted assignments in the outposts reluctantly, she went willingly and against the recommendations of those around her. Once there, she learned the Sioux dialect, participated in the daily life of "her people," and ministered to the physical as well as the spiritual and mental health of the children.

This book is an easily read account of frontier life told from the point of view of a young woman who went against the tide of her times in many ways. In both her attitude toward the Indians--she admits that the stories she sent back East were "propaganda" for the Indians--and her attitude toward what she could do as a woman, she was an exceptional person. Male officers and government officials were repeatedly shocked by her travels unarmed with groups of Indians and her utter lack of fear living with the Sioux. If there had been other whites as aware as she of the Indians' humanity, the tragedy of Wounded Knee and the greater tragedies of stolen land and betrayal could have been averted.

Writing in retrospect, Goodale makes the difficulties of her life appear easily confronted; she comes across as calm and understanding, easily able to endure hardship and oppression. But writing about a period of time forty years earlier and having had time to reflect upon her experiences, she may indeed have romanticized some of the accounts. This cannot be known, but certainly her memoirs communicate a view that is absent from military accounts; her memories are closer to those of Black Elk. Indeed, Elaine Goodale's description of Wounded Knee sounds much like that written in *Black Elk Speaks*: "Women and children were scattered along a distance of two miles from the scene of the encounter." Thus, Goodale's book is one which confirms what Indian oral and written traditions have tried to convince us of--that government promises were not kept; that rations were slow in coming, if they came at all; that Indian people were arbitrarily assigned "American" names; and that the last decades of the nineteenth century were years of suffering and frustration for Indian people as well as for those dedicated to helping them survive.

Elaine Goodale is also remarkable in her attitude toward herself as a woman. Not only was she unorthodox in her choice of a career in the Sioux territory, she accepted with resignation having given up her career to become a wife and mother whose pleasures after marriage were "vicarious ones," enjoyed only through her husband's books, travels, and lectures. This woman braved many "frontiers," and her enemies were not the "savages" described in many historical accounts of the period. In her attempts to educate the children of the Sioux Nations, she did battle with the "negligence and apathy of Congress and the public" and confronted the notions of what was "woman's work" and "feminine." The experiences of Elaine Goodale Eastman are essential reading to understand that the story of the frontier was not just the story of trappers, hunters, and settler families. Also on that frontier were brave women such as Elaine Goodale and Laura Tileston, women whose convictions were strong enough to lead them into the uncharted territory to do what they believed to be right.

-- Gretchen Bataille
Iowa State University
Ames, Iowa

WILLIAM E. SIMS. *BLACK STUDIES: PITFALLS AND POTENTIAL*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1978, 140 pp., \$8.50.

According to the author of this important study, the students who instigated the demand for Black Studies were a "new breed" of Black students. They were different from the White Majority in their manners, speech, style of dressing, and walking. They were also different from their Black predecessors in these same areas. In addition, they were veterans of the Civil Rights Movement; their heroes were Black activists--Ralph Brown, Malcolm X, and Eldridge Cleaver; they had no intention of "escaping the ghetto."

This new breed wanted to rid higher education of its racist policies and make it responsive to the Black communities, or make it give them programs and courses that were relevant to their experience and methods to improve the quality of life in Black communities.

Dr. Sims describes how many of these students were recruited by faculty or administrators because of increasing Black pressure from the outside. As a result of this pressure, the recruiters began to examine their consciences. Having done so, they recruited Black students whose high school average was low but whose transcripts indicated areas of academic strength. The assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1969 brought into existence a demand for increased Black admission quotas. GED tests and junior colleges were also utilized as means to get more Blacks into higher education.

These activist students were aware of the tremendous power for change that they could exert, but they made mistakes such as: 1) the lack of any kind of plan that looked beyond the concession by the college of the need for Black Studies; 2) poor selection of faculty to coordinate the programs; 3) selecting coordinators who did not have nor develop the art of making friends and influencing people; 4) lack of understanding of the budgeting procedure (Sims illustrates the point that when Black students started the push for Black Studies, they gave absolutely no thought to the seven stages of the budget, therefore these unsophisticated coordinators placed serious limitations on the future of Black Studies programs initially); and 5) individuals pushing for the programs did not have any plan to fall back on.

It is true that the students did make mistakes, but, the author asks, what about the political games played by the institutions, then and now? The students were, and are, human beings unable to break through that impenetrable wall of institutional racism. The author asserts that the curriculum committees delayed implementation of the new Black courses. When these tactics failed, the curriculum committees questioned whether the experiences of Black people were worth studying. (Sims points out that

it is easier to move a cemetery than to move a university curriculum committee.) Furthermore, white administrators of these institutions had no intention of committing the necessary funds to guarantee a program equal in quality to all other programs on the campus.

Universities did not commit space, time, equipment, or people to the Black Studies programs, nor did they provide effective remedial programs for those whose high school training was inadequate in such skills subjects as reading, writing, and mathematics. There were also administrators who responded to the whims of professors who fought Black Studies for reasons partially racist and partially economic.

The point is made by Sims that the majority of the programs had no orderly structure, and this fact was obvious to the university presidents; but they did nothing about these problems. Therefore, the demise of many Black Studies programs was inevitable.

However, the students not only had to face hostility from the white administrators, faculties, and students, they had to face vocal objections from Black scholars and civil rights leaders not connected with educational institutions who feared that these studies would not offer any stability to the new Black nationhood. The critics of Black Studies never admitted that there were very good, well-organized programs.

Sims gives us some practical pointers toward better programs, such as a course outline for Black Women in History. This course syllabus delineates the purpose, objectives, reading list, evaluation, and suggested research topics for a fourteen-week course, plus a five-page annotated bibliography. He also includes an outline for a course of introduction to Black Studies, as well as sound advice for the Black Studies coordinator. Included with this advice is a description of an apologetic racist, of the tactics he is likely to use, and how to detect them. He exposes many tricks that the apologetic racist has available to hold the line on Black faculty appointments. Also, he gives good advice on the planning of a Black faculty organization on a white campus (it should not be patterned after the major faculty organization).

He suggests that Blacks should stop the foolish habit of labeling leaders as "militant" or "conservative" because our enemies never make such distinctions. We are separately, but equally, hated by them.

Sims compiled useful data on western Land Grant colleges. As a graduate of two Land Grant colleges and the president of a Land Grant college, he speaks with authority in this area. Dr. Sims has also published widely in the area of Black education. In this particular study, he points out that Black Studies coordinators at

western Land Grant colleges do not have authority commensurate with their various and diverse responsibilities.

Sims summarized his book by making the following recommendations for effective implementation of Black Studies courses: 1) Higher education should institute a series of short in-service programs designed to change attitudes that are based on ignorance; 2) presidents should place greater emphasis on and commit more funds to an interdisciplinary approach to Black Studies programs; 3) the Land Grant colleges should move immediately to increase the number of Black students in each of the schools involved in the study; 4) colleges should stop restrictive policies, such as the setting of financial aid deadlines, which are in direct opposition to long-standing minority cultural patterns; and 5) students should accept some of the responsibility for the improvement of developing procedures to insure a racial balance in colleges in the western part of the United States.

Finally, Sims pinpoints the crucial issues relating to Black Studies in higher education today. He strongly believes:

The main problem facing higher education today is not financial exigency, it is not unionization, it is not equality for women faculty. It isn't any of these issues that are debated on every campus across the country. The important, almost critical problem facing higher education is whether it will enlarge its vision and its academic milieu to include black students and black programs.

Dr. Sims concludes with an optimistic projection that student activities will reemerge with far deeper and more urgent implications than those of the turbulent sixties. In this regard, it is expected that Blacks will better cope with the political decisions which will be made about Black education in that period of history. Black Studies programs must ascertain a more stable position in this era of educational reform.

His presentation is quite well-organized. This work is written with great clarity and with such style as to make it fascinating reading. It is a balanced book in that it appropriately looks at all facets of Black Studies in an orderly and dispassionate manner. He definitely accomplishes his goal, presenting a "systematic discussion of Black Studies programs in American higher education since 1968."

-- Adlean Harris
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FRANCESCO CORDASCO (Editor). *ITALIAN AMERICANS: A GUIDE TO INFORMATION SOURCES*. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1978, 222 pp., \$18.00.

The great proliferation of knowledge that has caused a problem of control and retrieval of that knowledge has caught up with the expanding field of research in ethnic-immigration history. Francesco Cordasco's newly edited work, *Italian Americans: A Guide to Information Sources*, therefore is a major contribution in the field. The student of ethnic-immigration history and the related social sciences will find it a useful tool because it is the most comprehensive up-to-date bibliographical register on the Italian Americans. The book is Volume 2 in Gale's Ethnic Studies Information Guide Series dealing with ethnic groups in the United States.

This volume represents a continuation of Professor Cordasco's earlier bibliographies which appeared in 1972 and 1974. Well-equipped to organize the vast literature on the Italian Americans, the editor has included materials in both English and Italian. *Italian Americans* contains over 2,000 entries.

Systematic arrangement provides easy access to the entries. There are seven chapters: I. General Reference Works; II. Social Sciences; III. History and Regional Studies; IV. Applied Sciences; V. Humanities; VI. Newspapers and Periodicals; VII. Fraternal, Professional, and Religious Organizations. Within each of the first six chapters, the listings are arranged alphabetically with subheads. Equally valuable are the three indices, one each for author, title, and subject listings.

The major criticism is leveled at what is not included, rather than what is included. An appendix, entitled Audiovisual Materials, contains only three entries on a single page (p. 179) and is perhaps the weakest section of the book. Since the novel and other literary forms are included in the chapter on the humanities, one can justify relevant motion pictures in the appendix. Certainly serious themes centering on Italians and Italian Americans have been examined in numerous motion pictures. Further, are there no oral histories and slide documentaries available? The section on the media could be expanded.

Italian-American Studies is a legitimate academic discipline. A considerable number of dissertations have been written, and the number is growing. Although listings of dissertations can be had elsewhere, a separate chapter with these entries would add a further dimension to the volume.

In organizing such a guide, the compiler faces the problem of the time element that is beyond his control. For example, the two popular Italian-American magazines that were recently inaugurated with great fanfare, *I AM* (1976) and *Identity* (1977), are now

defunct, but they are included in the guide. On the other hand, two noteworthy periodicals published in Chicago are missing: *Fra Noi* and *La Parola del Popolo*, the latter being Chicago's oldest newspaper now celebrating its seventieth anniversary!

Nevertheless, Professor Cordasco has provided a major reference work on the important sources on the Italian Americans. The literature has been systematized to make referrals more manageable. This, in itself, is a valuable contribution to the literature relating to the Italian Americans.

-- Frank J. Cavaoli
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JOHN L. HODGE, DONALD K. STRUCKMANN, and LYNN DORLAND TROST. *CULTURAL BASES OF RACISM AND GROUP OPPRESSION: AN EXAMINATION OF TRADITIONAL "WESTERN" CONCEPTS, VALUES, AND INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES WHICH SUPPORT RACISM, SEXISM AND ELITISM*. Berkeley: Two Riders Press, 1975, \$4.25 paper, \$12.50 cloth.

Dualism, a concept that simply tends to view the world in terms of "either-or" categories rather than "both . . . and," has been examined and analyzed as the primary contributor to and cause of Western domination. The dangers of dualistic thinking are, according to Hodge et al., habit forming and unconscious. The Western practitioners of such thinking trace their ideology to the ancient Greek philosophers whose ideas support and reinforce existing oppressive patterns.

That the dualistic way of thinking is found most always in Western cultures and the "both . . . and" category is most prevalent among non-Western cultures is discussed as something more than a mere coincident. Using astute and respected resources that compile an impressive bibliography, the authors have documented the effects of dualism on Western social organization. They explain how this category of thinking has promoted group oppression through colonialism, racism, and sexism. The dualistic thinker is portrayed to be at odds with nature, causing a continuous struggle of the will for domination over the universe. The non-Western concept of the universe tends not to seek control, but to establish a balance that is compatible.

A provocative discussion of human nature explodes an accepted tenet founded in the religious notion of original sin, the notion being that "man is basically evil." According to Hodge et al., this idea is unverifiable in principle and self-contradicting in practice. They contend that "if human nature is evil, then any pronouncements by humans concerning human nature will be subject

to being affected by this evil and therefore . . . erroneous." The Western thinker used the idea of original sin to build institutions that controlled "sin" and, with this mandate, imposed "goodness" by means of "civilization," "christianity," and other names that now spell group oppression. The contradiction is that "if man is evil, then there is no reason to trust or accept any judgment or interpretation by any human concerning this nature."

The importance of this work lies in the avant-garde approach taken by the authors to present the etiology of group oppression and the exploring of racism and sexism in depth. This work goes beyond the comfortable diagnosis of ethnocentrism as the leading cause of group oppression in Western culture. It also dissects the established social institutions of Western society, particularly religion and traditional philosophical thought. This examination confirms the fact that Western cultural thought has supported and reinforced "paternal" domination of the non-Western world. This, in itself, would be a complete treatment of the topic, but the authors also propose solutions for change. Admittedly, the changes in reality would require a cultural revolution. They state, "this change must encompass but not be limited to economic and social change and further, include changes in interpersonal relationships." The solutions have all been heard before and represent a rather naive approach when considering the vast degree of oppression that has just been presented.

Students in the social sciences will find this work invaluable. The content is well-documented, and the authors make their position clear as they explore evidence of various forms of domination.

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Chicago, Illinois

JOHN HIGHAM (Editor). *ETHNIC LEADERSHIP IN AMERICA*. (Symposia in Comparative History, No. 9.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, 214 pp., \$12.95.

The growing awareness of America's ethnic pluralism has become one of the factors shaping modern American history. Ethnic writers, as well as ethnic leaders, began the task of illuminating the meaning of their own historic and cultural traditions within the larger contexts of the nation and of the world. They have served as interpreters of their people.

Johns Hopkins University history professor John Higham, whose works include *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American*

Nativism (1955) and *Send These to Me: Jews and Other Immigrants in Urban America* (1975), has compiled a collection of original essays by outstanding scholars who have probed the unique characteristics of leadership represented by eight distinct ethnic groups. In particular, all these scholars have analyzed the relations between the United States and the mother country, the status of the group in society as it attempted to combat prejudice and discrimination while it concerned itself with raising its socioeconomic level.

For Nathan Glazer, who writes about American Jews, the unanimous support of Israel is evident, and the only problem remaining for this ethnic group is the survival of that small nation. The social cleavage between "uptown" and "downtown" Jews has disappeared.

In the case of Japanese Americans and German Americans, a choice between the United States and the homeland gave these ethnic leaders concern. In the first case, Roger Daniels concludes that after Pearl Harbor, the Japanese American Citizen's League rejected the mother country and pledged unswerving loyalty to the adopted nation in spite of the relocation experience. Within the Japanese community, stress existed between alien fathers and native sons, with authority passing to the sons so that no focal point of protest survived.

In the case of the German Americans, Frederick Luebke feels that the problem of homeland loyalty proved so insoluble that it resulted in the destruction of national ethnic leadership. These early leaders had been belligerent and chauvinistic. German Americans, during the first World War, suffered tragic persecution. During the 1920's, accommodationist leaders emerged, and the final discrediting of efforts to organize the German-American community to identify with the Nazi cause resulted in the rejection of both the cause and the leaders. Thus, the attachment of the ancestral home by Japanese and by German Americans was changed by historic events.

Regarding Black leadership, Nathan Huggins explores the attitudes of leaders such as Booker T. Washington, who stressed dependence upon whites because of the overpowering constrictions of the American segregationist system, while others like W. E. B. DuBois were seeking reforms. Early twentieth century Black leaders felt powerless and frustrated. More recent ones have been seeking political power through a rising number of Black mayors and congressmen with a more diverse constituency. They have become more aggressive as well.

The American Indian had no concern about relations between the United States and the homeland, but for Native Americans, the grief resulting in land that was torn from them was catastrophic. Efforts to organize a unified leadership have been unsuccessful

because tribalism has fragmented authority geographically. The Native-American leaders have struggled among themselves over the distribution of their own resources. Robert F. Berkofer, Jr., concludes that frustration and distrust have not been abated over the efforts of their own leaders to either defend or to reject the "old ways." Equally diverse has been Hawaiian ethnic leadership goals.

Josef J. Barton discusses southern and eastern European groups focusing upon the leaders of mutual aid organizations, of cultural societies, and of labor unions, while Robert D. Cross details the psychic personalities of Irish leaders who were fiercely loyal to their own kind while acquiring a unique talent for working with people of different backgrounds in the pragmatic operation of big organizations.

Editor Higham admits that in-depth research is still needed for the style of leadership found in other American ethnic groups such as Italian Americans. Fortunately, the contributors to *Ethnic Leadership in America* have avoided easy solutions and simple stereotyping. Instead they have penetrated beneath the surface of the ethnic leadership experience in search of its deepest, most challenging meanings. Hopefully, future collections will more extensively include the insights of the ethnic groups explored so that they, too, can serve as interpreters of their people.

-- Edith Blicksilver

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ERNEST R. MYERS. *THE COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY CONCEPT: INTEGRATING THEORY, EDUCATION, AND PRACTICE IN PSYCHOLOGY, SOCIAL WORK, AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION.* Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1977, 171 pp., \$8.50 paper.

Psychologists and other social scientists are critically analyzing the "state of the art" of community psychology. Their question is how this developing discipline can be best organized for pursuit of knowledge needed to bring about positive community change.

Existing models are organized in several ways: community psychology--within the clinical psychology framework; community psychology--within the framework of several aspects of psychological specialties with interests in human problems; community psychology as an interdisciplinary profession outside of psychology altogether; and community psychology as an independent discipline.

Lack of consensus, with reference to which model is best, permits one to identify with an established model or to construct a training model of one's own choosing.

Ernest R. Myers has made a valuable contribution for the work of professionals and paraprofessionals in the social and natural sciences involved in the development of community psychology training models. He suggests an interdisciplinary model for the master and doctoral degree programs, with training parameters in terms of social systems levels of analysis, intervention, and practice.

Dr. Myers wisely justified the use of an historical-descriptive approach for his study as a defense against critics that may be expecting program recommendations based on empirical data. His reasons for selecting disciplines in which he has professional training and experience adds creditability to his theories and concepts. Listing the rationales for and objectives of the study lend support to his advocates.

The book is divided into three parts: 1) interdisciplinary origins in retrospect--historical reviews, 2) philosophical and theoretical congruence, and 3) toward a paradigm of community psychology training. The brief historical sketches of the disciplines selected for analysis adequately prepare the reader for Dr. Myers' articulation of these fields' interdisciplinary characteristics and commonalities.

Dr. Myers' synthesis of the historical highlights, value systems, and knowledge bases of psychology, social work, and public administration is presented clearly. The graphs on clinical psychology training, cross-referenced abstracts of programs in community psychology, social work, and public administration and public affairs, complement his well-documented related discussions. They enable the reader to comprehend better the interdisciplinary relationship of the study foci and knowledge bases common to the triumvirate fields under discussion. The graph illustrating the interdisciplinary overlap signifies the existence of some of the ideology, theory, and, to some extent, practices of the disciplines analyzed. The general systems theory, A Synthesizing Framework, is an appropriate title for the concluding chapter of Part Two. In this brief, concise chapter, Dr. Myers summarizes the bases for the training model that he suggests.

In Chapter VII, Parameters for Community Psychology Training, Dr. Myers reviews the purpose and basic assumption underlying his study. He reiterates his contention that an analysis of the selected disciplines would probably lead to identification of compatible ideological, theoretical, and methodological content that may be instructive in furthering the development of a viable training paradigm for community psychology. It is acknowledged

that, in part, his training directions resulted from reports of national conferences. The basic conferences from which input was considered are included in the appendices of the book.

The program suggested is presented in the closing chapter of Part Three. Preliminary statements of community psychology precede the following aspects of the suggested program: program assumptions, program goals, general principles, program description, research designs, and methods.

Dr. Myers provided separate outlines of the master's and doctoral programs in terms of core curriculum, required cognate courses, and field experiences. He notes that the general plan is flexible rather than rigid. Although the recommended program description assumes a traditional departmentalized higher education structure, alternative training schemes are suggested.

The charts of the systems approach to problem solving and the systems intervention continuum matrix illustrate that the problems addressed cross all systems levels--both interdependently and transactionally. Analysis of the charts show that the recommended plan for specialized study would prepare community psychologists to work at particular intervention levels (micro, mezzo, or macro). Those expected to perform predominately at the micro-system of direct services with individuals and small groups would follow the master's degree outline. The doctoral outline would be followed by those trained for teaching at the higher education level. Their community services would be at the intervention levels of the mezzosystem (neighborhoods and communities) and macrosystem (large-scaled complex systems).

The program Dr. Myers suggests for the training of community psychologists is based on his research for preparing "social change agents" or "social systems interventionists" who are inclined to participate actively in urban Black communities. From his general model for training community psychologists, programs specifically designed for those inclined to serve other oppressed minority groups may be developed. He purposefully did not attempt to set up a fixed design for training in order to provide this flexibility.

Dr. Myers' study resulted in achievement of a personal goal, the enhancement of the recommendations resulting from the Vail, Sterling, and Austin Conferences, and the development of guidelines by which community problems may be solved. He pointed out the major strengths and limitations of his study, and, if taken seriously, his ideas can be incorporated in strategies for improving the quality of life for all Americans. Dr. Myers' book is recommended for reading for anyone interested in community social services. The conference reports in the appendices and the

extensive bibliography are valuable resources to have available in one's personal library.

-- George E. Clarke
North Carolina Central University
Durham, North Carolina

DAVID R. WEBER (Editor). *CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE IN AMERICA, A DOCUMENTARY HISTORY*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978, 318 pp., \$17.50.

Here is an important book which should be on the required reading list of all Americans. It is imperative reading for ethnic and minority group members. In this anthology, Mr. Weber gets to one of the fundamental issues in American society, liberty of conscience, and what the individual should do if civil authority clashes with conscience. The dualistic nature of justice in American society--one code for the whites, one for minorities; one for the rich, and one for the poor--makes this book as relevant to individual Americans today as it might have been at any point in American history.

One might quibble with Mr. Weber's selections and his disproportionate attention to the nineteenth century; however, representation in an anthology always presents problems. One might have liked to see more emphasis on thematic ties beyond the broad theme of civil disobedience. Recognition of a continuity in the Black experience concerning civil disobedience extending back at least to Benjamin Banneker would have provided another important dimension. These are only minor criticisms; the book, as it stands, makes an important contribution. The perceptive and insightful general introduction make the book worth the price.

The organization of the volume by traditions of civil disobedience as well as chronologically was a wise choice. The illumination of the traditions allows for the pointing out of differences and similarities in the American experience. It is important to know that dissenters in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were concerned and disobeyed authority in terms of religious liberty, not for social or political motivations. It is important to know that dissenters in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries disobeyed civil or governmental authority which was based on social or political motivations. Mr. Weber and the authors of the selections have important things to say about consequences, accepting individual responsibility for acts of civil disobedience which involve breaking the law, and what the future will hold in terms of civil disobedience in an American society where the individual feels less and less that anything he or she does or does not do will have any meaning, impact, or influence.

Many of the names in the selections presented will be familiar --Martin Luther King, Jr., Stokely Carmichael, A. Philip Randolph, Albert Einstein, Henry David Thoreau, Susan B. Anthony, John Greenleaf Whittier, William Lloyd Garrison, to mention a few--but all of the contributors make important statements. Each of the contributors raises challenging questions. This reviewer firmly believes that the maxim stated at the beginning of the book, "The Judeo-Christian religion has always maintained the duty to obey God speaking through conscience as superior to any civil law. . . . Touch where you will American thought and you will find this same emphasis on conscience," will not lose its influence; and while only a small minority may have the courage to carry out their convictions, this tradition will be maintained and must be maintained if justice is ever to prevail in American society for its divergent and multiethnic constituents.

-- George E. Carter
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

BARBARA A. CURRAN. *THE LEGAL NEEDS OF THE PUBLIC: THE FINAL REPORT OF A NATIONAL SURVEY*. Chicago: American Bar Foundation, 1977, 382 pp., \$25.00.

This is a substantial report sponsored by a number of legal associations (American Bar Association and American Bar Endowment) and foundations (Edna McConnel Clark Foundation and International Foundation of Employee Benefit Plans) and the Carnegie Corporation of New York. By its own assertion: "This study is the first, and to date only, such survey based on a national sample representing the adult population of the United States. Moreover, it provides a more comprehensive examination of the legal experiences and perceptions of the public than has been undertaken by any earlier survey."

The basic research objectives of this self-proclaimed study were twofold: 1) to examine the nature of the public's use of lawyers' services, and 2) to assess the public's expectations about legal services. The public, in this instance, consisted of a pseudo-random sample of 2,064 respondents drawn from a nationwide sample of block groups (randomly selected target neighborhoods). The reputable National Opinion Research Center (NORC), affiliated with the University of Chicago, was contracted to manage and conduct the survey field work which utilized a six-part questionnaire consisting primarily of structured questions and corresponding likkert-type responses (strongly agree, slightly agree, slightly disagree, strongly disagree, and no response).

Interestingly, nearly two-thirds of the sample (64 percent) never used attorneys. Yet, based on these views, certain

conclusions were drawn and then generalized to the entire nation. Six of the more interesting statements are as follows:

1. Black/Latino females were most likely to agree that lawyers should be consulted only after other alternative problem-solving strategies have been exhausted, while white females were least likely to view lawyers as a last resort.
2. The majority of Blacks/Latinos believed that lawyers were more concerned about getting clients than serving them.
3. Blacks/Latinos were more likely to be pessimistic about lawyers' interest in understanding what their clients want.
4. Relatively more Blacks/Latinos than whites expressed a low opinion of the ethical standards of lawyers, and white females were much more favorable in their view of lawyers than any other group.
5. Whites generally were more positive than Blacks/Latinos about receiving a fair trial and about the honesty and fairness of judges.
6. Blacks/Latinos, those with lower incomes, and the less educated were most likely to agree that the system favors the rich and their concerns.

Even then the study concludes by claiming that these differences are not significant enough to suggest major variations in the overall patterns of opinions and perceptions of lawyers and the United States legal system: "Indeed, the initial results of this survey suggest that the basic pattern of responses observed for the population at large also persists with only minor variation within the various demographic subgroups. . . . In short, there seems to be a core set of opinion about most matters involving lawyers, the courts, and the legal system that transcends demographic characteristics as well as prior lawyer experience."

Clearly, the study falls far short of its own proclaimed sophistication. It is awkwardly written, shrouded in legal jargon and clumsy statistical analysis, much of which is unnecessary for a descriptive survey of this type. Its readability is certainly restricted, even for those well versed in the law and scientific methodology. Moreover, the author failed to compare these findings with other studies, most notably, "The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society," "The Politics of Protest," and the "Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics." Hence, the data, without any viable comparison or synthesis, means little in itself.

The most critical omission, however, is the failure of the study to consider specific target populations such as the American

Indian. And related to this is the failure to distinguish between Latinos (Puerto Ricans, Chicanos, and Cubans) where distinctive cultural variations exist. Reservation and ghetto Indians, barrio residents, and other unique racial subcultures are not mentioned in the study, even though their legal plight is widely recognized.

-- Laurence A. French
University of Nebraska, Lincoln

ASSOCIATION NEWS AND BUSINESS

CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENTS

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INFORMATION:

Center for Latino-Latin American Affairs
 Northern Illinois University
 DeKalb, Illinois 60115

- 7th ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON ETHNIC AND MINORITY STUDIES -
 May 2-5, 1979
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Complete Conference programs will be available in March.

INFORMATION:
Institute for Minority Studies
101 Main Hall
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
La Crosse, Wisconsin 54601
Telephone 608/785-8225

- THE CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES ASSOCIATION -
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INQUIRIES:
Jorgen Dahlie, Program Chairman
1979 CESA Conference
Department of Educational Foundations
University of British Columbia
Vancouver, B.C., Canada V6T 1W5

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FREDERICK DOUGLASS PAPERS PROJECT
Yale University

The appointment is one year, beginning in 1979, renewable. While the person appointed may also receive an appointment in the second year as Lecturer in the Department of History, the Afro-American Studies Program, or the American Studies Program, his or her primary responsibility will be work on the Douglass Papers Project.

QUALIFICATIONS: Ph.D. required. Specialization in 19th century reform; Political, Social, or Afro-American History preferred. Publications or work of publishable quality essential. Previous editing experience desirable.

DEADLINE FOR APPLICATION: March 1, 1979.

LETTER OF APPLICATION TO: Professor John W. Blassingame, Editor, Frederick Douglass Papers, 2103 Yale Station, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut 06520.

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APPLICATIONS, with curriculum vitae, statement of research interests, and three letters of reference to be sent to: Professor Herbert Hill, Chairman, Search and Screen Committee, Department of Afro-American Studies, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

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Articles, books for review, and other contributions may be sent to any one of the editors:

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Henri Giordan, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme (CNEI), 54 bd Raspail, 75006 Paris, France

Ethnic and Racial Studies is published four times a year--January, April, July, and October. The first issue appeared in January, 1978. The annual subscription rate for Volume 1, 1978, is \$18.00 (£9.00). (Special rates available to members of the British and American Sociological Associations--use coupons provided by associations.) Request a sample copy of the first issue or send your check and mailing information to either of the following addresses:

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THE NATIONAL CIVIL RIGHTS DIRECTORY:
AN ORGANIZATIONS DIRECTORY

Edited by Mary Lee Bundy and Irvin Gilchrist
Hard Cover - \$19.95

The context and the impetus for this directory is America, 1978. In the United States, 1978 has seen the eruption of a number of human rights issues into national prominence: the case of the Wilmington 10 was brought to national and international attention by their advocates; U.N. Delegate Andrew Young surfaced the issue of political prisoners generally; the Supreme Court decision on the Bakke case has made it paramount to do a re-analysis as to where the national commitment to racial minorities now stands; the Longest Walk became one of the most dramatic presentations of a people's plight since Resurrection City of the sixties; the CIA's and the FBI's record of spying and intimidation of minorities continues to surface; the Congressional Assassination's Committee has re-opened questions regarding the deaths of Dr. King and President Kennedy; the extent of police brutality is beginning to emerge; KKK threats and marches and the reactionary revision of the U.S. Criminal Code mark the efforts of extremists, while the entire world now waits to see if South Africa will have racial equality or continued white oppression and exploitation.

Designed to be supportive of efforts to fend off the renewed racist assaults and to support the struggle of racial minorities for economic and social justice, this directory brings within its scope over 500 organizations engaged in activity bearing on achieving the rights of African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans.

Included are both national and local professional and citizen groups, including hundreds of community groups organized around one or another local imperative including schools, jobs, and housing. This directory includes organizations concerned with the plight of political prisoners, the death penalty, police brutality, media access, voting rights, immigration, redlining, and Indian treaty rights. The range of college programs are represented, as are publishers, legal, student, religious, and other types of groups with a stake and interest in civil rights. Groups were asked to provide information about their current change activities. Thus, the directory is, in part, a documentation of civil rights activity in the U.S. today.

This directory is the third of this firm's national directories. Previously it has published *National Prison Directory* (\$31.00 set) and *The National Children's Directory* (\$39.95).

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- Vol. 6, 1978: "Minority Literature and the Urban Experience," *Selected Proceedings of the 4th Annual Conference on Minority Studies, April 1976*

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- Vol. 3, No. 2, December 1978

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES \$5.00 per Issue

- Vol. 1, No. 1, January 1978
- Vol. 1, No. 2, July 1978
- Vol. 2, No. 1, January 1979

EDITOR'S CORNER

George E. Carter

ETHNIC STUDIES LEADERSHIP?

NAIES and its journal, *Explorations in Ethnic Studies*, from their inception have tried to address the question of leadership within Ethnic Studies. A quick survey from a national perspective leaves one with a fear that no one is providing much in the way of leadership. The same situation seems to prevail at the state and local levels. Yet, more and more prominence is given to the multiethnic makeup and experience of American society. There is an obvious inconsistency involved in this situation. Why is there no national policy on ethnic studies or on the crucial issues facing American society generated by interethnic/racial conflict?

True, the Ethnic Heritage Studies Program under H.E.W. has been in existence for several years, and the program has a National Advisory Council; however, the resources provided have been so minimal that beyond awarding relatively small grants to a small number of applicants (sixty-five for fiscal year 1979), the program has done very little in the way of providing leadership or guidance. There are only three professional journals devoted specifically to ethnic studies. The number of colleges and universities with ethnic studies programs remains small and generally uncoordinated.

By comparison, the Canadian government appears as a shining star in the North. A Minister of State for Multiculturalism, within the Department of the Secretary of State, provides a focal point for leadership. The Canadian government's official policy of multiculturalism gives reality to an increased awareness and appreciation of the ethnic plurality of Canadian society. The publications program of the multiculturalism program far surpasses anything done in the United States.

NAIES as an organization is in a unique position to have a positive impact in providing leadership. Members need to take every opportunity presented to lobby in behalf of ethnic studies. The organization needs to develop a stand or position paper on what must be done in ethnic studies. The demographic reality of American society demands that we do more to promote ethnic studies as a viable tool of increased understanding. The American experience clearly indicates ethnic groups have the will to exist and to preserve their cultural values and heritages. The myth of the melting pot needs to be given up once and for all time.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

LOUIS SARABIA

One of three Vice-Presidents of the National Association of Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies. He is Director of the Chicano Affairs Program at New Mexico State University in Las Cruces.

DANIEL GOLDEN

Associate Professor of English at the State University College at Buffalo, New York.

NIEL TASHIMA

Presently in the graduate program of Anthropology at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois.

DONA HOILMAN

Department of English at Ball State University, Muncie, Indiana.

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**7th ANNUAL CONFERENCE on
ETHNIC AND MINORITY STUDIES
May 2-5, 1979
University of Wisconsin - La Crosse**

"ETHNICITY AND RELIGION" and **"THE INVISIBLE ETHNIC: THOSE WHO REFUSE TO PARTICIPATE"** are the highlight themes for the 7th Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies, May 2 to 5, 1979, at UW-La Crosse.

Nationally known speakers and entertainers, as well as teachers and researchers in the fields of ethnic and minority studies, will participate in the four-day Conference. Saturday sessions will be of special interest and value to elementary and secondary teachers.

The Conference is sponsored by the Institute for Minority Studies in cooperation with North Carolina Central University, Grambling State University, West Central Wisconsin Consortium (UW-La Crosse, UW-River Falls, UW-Eau Claire, UW-Stout), and the National Association of Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies.

Complete Conference programs will be available in March.

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, write or call:

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