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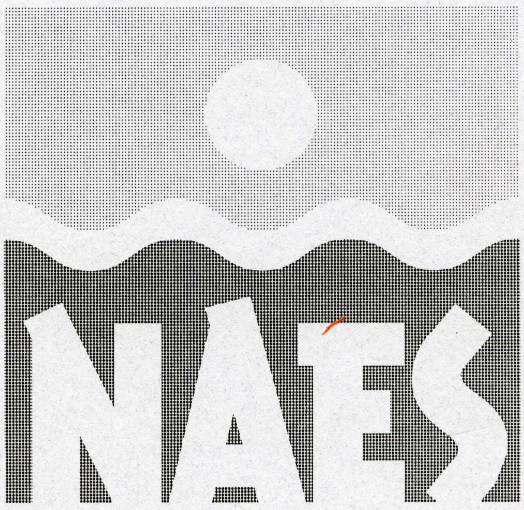

The Ethnic Experience in the United States

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The National Association for Ethnic Studies

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The Journal of the
National Association for Ethnic Studies

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The Ethnic Experience in the United States

Special Editor: Faythe Turner

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BOOK REVIEWS

Editor's Note

This issue of the Journal of the National Association of Ethnic Studies presents an interesting cross section of ethnic groups in the United States: Native American, Vietnamese, Latino, African American. Several of the articles involving these groups raise the persistent question of assimilation versus acculturation and where the health and welfare of the children of immigrants or the younger generation of immigrants lies. Shaw N. Gynan in "Hispanic Immigration and Spanish Maintenance as Indirect Measures of Ethnicity: Reality and Perceptions" has found that the newest generation of Latinos not only are more involved ethnically with their Spanish heritage than earlier immigrants but also are more proficient in English, information that might cause the promoters of English as the official language of the United States to rethink their position. In "An Examination of Social Adaptation Processes of Vietnamese Adolescents" Fayneese Miller, My Do, and Jason Sperber show that this age group finds its strength in a strong attachment to their ethnic community and proficiency in speaking and writing English: the first keeps them grounded and the second two allow them the confidence to progress in their new society. In "Community Versus Assimilation: A Study IN American Assimilation at Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial School" Sarah Shillinger shows through oral history the effects of being removed from one's ethnic community as Indian children were in the board school movement of the early twentieth century.

Tim A Pilgrim's article, "Giving Oral Expression 'Free Rein": Implications for Diversity of University Hate Speech Codes," wrestles with what is known as the "hate" speech that regularly slithers through U.S. society. He promotes the concept of community discussions to diffuse hate speech and yet encourage free speech.

We are especially pleased to publish Alma Rosa Alvarez' "National Traitors in Chicano Culture and Literature: Malinche and Chicano Homosexuals." At the closing banquet of a recent NAES Conference, a NAES member asked why this Journal had not published more articles on the subject of homosexuality or sexual preference. The answer, of course, was that we were not receiving articles on that subject. Alvarez' articles begins to correct the problem and is a mesmerizing analysis of the story of La Malinche and its ramifications for Mexican/Chicano homosexuals. This Journal always will be willing to push boundaries in directions our readers are interested in pursuing.

This issue's Review Essay is David Goldstein-Shirley's "Black Cowboys in the American West: A Historiographical Review." He presents the work done on black cowboys during the last half of the 20th Century. This work has been a long time coming and is frustratingly incomplete and thin, so this essay is a beginning, and a generous beginning at that, of repairing the record. Goldstein-Shirley, through his review of the work that has been done on the subject gives any researcher a perfect place to begin.

Faythe Turner
Greenfield Community College

National Traitors in Chicano Culture and Literature: Malinche and Chicano Homosexuals

Alma Rosa Alvarez
Southern Oregon University

This article examines the literary representation of a treatment of homosexuality in Mexican/Chicano culture. In this study, Alvarez argues that this cultural treatment is rooted in the gender paradigm central to Mexican/Chicano culture: the narrative of *La Malinche*.

In his novel *The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gomez*, John Rechy, a gay Chicano writer, tangentially illustrates how the issue of homosexuality fares within a Mexican/Chicano context:[1] the protagonist, Amalia, condemns her son, Juan, for being gay, and her condemnation results in his expulsion from the family. Because notions of family in Mexican/Chicano culture are inextricably tied to Catholicism, nationalism, and culture, Juan's exile extends beyond the family to include exile from Mexican/Chicano culture. What follows is a brief analysis of the connections between Catholicism, nationalism, and culture in traditional Mexican events and myths that have given rise to homophobic attitudes in Mexican/Chicano culture. Ultimately I argue that it is these types of traditional connections between Catholicism, nationalism, and culture in *The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gomez* that make the exile of the young gay Chicano, Juan, eminent.

Although many of Octavio Paz' statements in *The Labyrinth of Solitude* are controversial, particularly those dealing with Chicano culture and gender issues, his discussion of religion's place in Mexican society is generally accepted by the Chicano community. He asserts that the depth of Mexican religious feelings is located in "fiestas" as events of leisure containing both nationalist and religious symbolic importance.[2] Paz claims that fiestas are events where the Mexican can open up and converse with "God, country, friends or relations," a phrase which highlights the most important elements of Mexican culture: religion, nationalism, and community.[3]

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That notions of religion, nationalism, and community appear to be inextricably connected in a space where the Mexican is seemingly most at ease and ideologically vulnerable attests to their importance in Mexican culture. A clear example of the interconnectedness of religion and nationalism is the celebration of Mexican Independence Day. On the surface Mexican Independence Day appears primarily to be a state holiday; however, because the person responsible for the call to arms (a call for community) against Spain (nationalism) was a priest (Father Hidalgo) (religion), this national holiday is inescapably tinged with a religious communal strain.

Similarly, religious symbols such as Our Lady of Guadalupe are often found to contain a nationalist character. This is particularly evident in the unionization of farm workers under the direction of Cesar Chavez. Because the farm workers were primarily of Mexican origin, the union leadership in an attempt to organize the farm workers appropriated the religious image of Our Lady of Guadalupe as a unifying point. The Virgin's status as intercessor for Mexicans, her representation of Catholicism in a primarily Protestant nation (the United States), and her brown skin united the Mexican farm workers not only through religious appeal but also through what she represents in a geographical location away from home -- a shared lifestyle, race, culture, and religion. Thus in the U.S. Our Lady of Guadalupe goes beyond serving solely as a religious symbol; she takes on a nationalist character, while in turn the community of the farm workers union, through the use of Guadalupe's image, takes on a religious character. Notions of community, religion, and nationalism once again prove to be strongly interconnected elements in Mexican/Chicano culture.

Although the interconnection of community, religion, and nationalism can be important and empowering, there are situations in which these connections inhibit growth or discussion. In "Gay Liberation and Coming Out in Mexico," sociologist J. M. Carrier discusses the lack of sexual privacy among single Mexicans and links it to the Mexican familial system. Carrier explains that in Mexican society Mexican children tend to live with their families until marriage. The reason for this is that Mexican families are constructed on a communal level which promotes the existence of grandparents, parents, children and sometimes other extended family members in one household.[4] As a consequence of communal living, which is provided by hierarchies of gender and age and cultural rules that are influenced by nationalist and religious ideologies, heterosexuality as well as homosexuality is monitored and repressed. The religious ideology forming the familial rules of the household is Catholicism under which any type of premarital sexuality is forbidden and illicit; thus Mexican families not only prohibit sons' and daughters' sexual conduct within the household but also prohibit the discussion of sexuality within the home. However, within Mexican culture women are bound to

a double standard concerning sexuality; men are permitted to be sexually active outside of the home, while women are not. The cultural acceptance of this double standard is due, in part, to the Mexican's national collective psyche embedded in the myth of La Malinche.

La Malinche, a mythological figure from Conquest times, is the symbolic representation of the Indian women who were seduced and raped by the Spanish *conquistadores*.[5] Perceived as cultural traitors to the Aztec nation for their "fleshly weakness," the blame levied on Indian women by the Aztec men was patriarchally informed because, in fact, more women were raped than seduced. Thus, the object of blame was not the mind or free will of the Indian woman but her body, vulnerable and literally or potentially open to foreign invasion. Malinche, through her own supposed openness as alleged translator and lover of Cortez, has been scapegoated and made the one figure responsible for the Spanish conquest. Because, according to popular myth, Malinche was at first embraced by the Spaniards and then discarded, La Malinche has been given the epithet "*la chingada*" or "the fucked one."[6] This epithet overshadows the concept of Malinche's active betrayal by a passive one associated with an oral and vaginal openness considered inherent of her sex.[7] The association of the female body with passivity and sexuality in conjunction with Catholicism have rigidified Mexican women's sexual roles, where under the guise of protection from falling into the Malinche trap and immorality, women are sexually repressed into chastity unless specified by morally sanctioned situations such as marriage.

On the other hand, because men's bodies are not genitally "open," men are not perceived as potential traitors and thus cannot be the "*chingados*." However, since Malinche is considered the symbolic mother of the Mexican race, men psychically feel part of the "*chingado*" legacy, a legacy of weakness. To not feel vulnerable, men disassociate themselves from the Indian mother/La Malinche by taking on the role opposite of "*la chingada*," "*el chingon*/the fucker," a man with an all-around aggressive sexual prowess.[8] Through this role men become involved in sexual exploits where their partners are penetrated and shown to be, in comparison, weak, thus proving their strength and their own impenetrability or manhood. Since often the partner(s) are Mexican women, considered open and weak, a reenactment of the conquest of the Indian women occurs. In addition to reifying masculinity, the reenactment asserts the notions of nationhood: the potential offspring produced will be Mexican not only in literal terms but also in symbolic ones. Thus, the male macho in his escapades of illicit or marital sex subconsciously fulfills a nationalist desire as he participates in the creation of the Mexican race, just like his Spanish forefathers did.

The "homosexual" man's body, unlike the heterosexual man's, is perceived of as open. Therefore, the negative connotations of passivity, weakness, and betrayal that are associated with Mexican woman are

associated with him. However, the homosexual man is further marginalized because unlike women his sexual acts are not procreative and do not reproduce the nation. Therefore, the homosexual is a national traitor. And because the Mexican concept of nation is one influenced by religion and culture, the homosexual is also a cultural and religious traitor.

In "Chicano Men: A Cartography of Homosexual Identity and Behavior," sociologist Tomas Almaguer argues that the oppression and devaluation of Mexicans/Chicanos in the U.S. heightens the cultural importance of the Mexican family; in a hostile environment the family becomes the primary economic, psychological, social, and cultural support system for survival in the U.S.[9] The heightened familial relationship increases both the lack of sexual privacy and the importance of family attitudes which because of nationalist and religious influences are often anti-homosexual. Almaguer explains, however, that Mexicans/Chicanos are not necessarily more homophobic than members of other cultures, but that for Mexicans/Chicanos, homosexuality is constructed differently than for Anglo-Americans. Under Anglo-American sexual systems homosexuality is defined by the sexual object, while under a Mexican/Chicano sexual system of socialization homosexuality is defined by sexual aim.[10] What this means is that for Mexicans the receiving agent in anal intercourse (called by Mexicans *pasivo*/passive) is constructed as feminine and homosexual, while the active inserting agent (called *activo*/active) is masculine and heterosexual. The distinction between *pasivo* and *activo* demonstrates the workings of the *chingon/chingada* dichotomy. On the other hand, according to Anglo-American definitions, both of these roles are considered homosexual because they involve a same sex love object. Almaguer explains that the "gay" Chicano's lack of privacy in the family and his straddling of both the Mexican and Anglo-American cultures and their sexual systems create conflicts which he must solve by "negotiating" his sexual identity between these two systems.[11] Negotiation of sexual identity for the Chicano also means negotiation of cultural identity, so that negotiation involves many risks.

One of the negotiation risks for the *activo* male is that his family, socialized under the Mexican sexual system, may negate his sexual identity as a U.S. homosexual because for the family and Mexican culture the *activo* is not homosexual. Denial of the male's sexual identity occurs because accepting his homosexuality in American terms signifies the family's assimilation into American culture, and assimilation is perceived as counterproductive to the Mexican/Chicano family particularly if the family or its members have been subjected to discrimination. As a contradistinction the *pasivo* Chicano is not necessarily denied sexual identity; instead he runs the risk of being considered by his family/community a cultural traitor or *malinchista*[12] for accepting what the family/community believes is an Anglo-American behavior.[13] What is striking in

both the *activo* and *pasivo* situations is that in determining "true" homosexuality the family privileges ethnicity and culture over overt sexuality. Thus, the axiom in place in Mexican/Chicano culture is that to be a "true" Mexican/Chicano the subject cannot be homosexual. Because family is predicated on notions of nation, culture, and religion, a particular closed model of family and family unity gets reified with the repression of homo/sexuality.

Examples of the conflict between Mexican/Chicano manhood and homosexuality can be found in literature as well as in sociological treatises. In Rechy's *The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gomez*, a conflict between nationalism (culture and religion) and sexuality arises. Throughout the novel the protagonist, Amalia, has difficulty dealing with her adolescent children's emerging sexualities. Instead of attempting to control their sexualities Amalia denies them, blocking communication between herself and her children, so that, in fact, Amalia feels left out of their lives.[14] However, it may be not that Amalia's children have excluded her from their lives but rather that Amalia in her denial of their sexuality, a prominent element of adolescence, has excluded herself from them. This is evident in the opening section where Amalia is preoccupied with Juan's and Gloria's behaviors. Concerned about Juan she says, "Worries about Juan!--handsomer each day and each day more secretive . . . . Was he in a gang?"[15] Unequivocally, Amalia's primary concern with regards to Juan is his possible involvement in gangs. Amalia's fear is legitimatized by her geographic locale in a gang-ridden neighborhood and by her experience with her oldest son, a gang member who committed suicide in prison. However, the words "handsome" and "secretive" are sexual and aesthetic markers which reveal that Amalia subconsciously worries about Juan's sexuality.

Similarly Amalia avoids Gloria's sexuality; however her concern for Gloria's sexuality is more pronounced than her concern over Juan's because Gloria is a female. Amalia's concern is based not only on traditional Mexican views of female roles and sexuality but on her own sexual experience in adolescence which reinforced repressive sexual roles: Amalia as a teen is sexually abused by her father and then raped by her father's friend's son. In both events the violator's actions are not questioned. Instead, Amalia, like her pre-Columbian predecessor, Malinche, is blamed. And so Amalia as an adult feels cause for alarm in regard to Gloria and says, "And who wouldn't worry about Gloria? So very pretty and wearing more and more makeup, using words even men would blush to hear."[16] As in the case with Juan, Amalia's conscious concern seems to be on a social level of propriety, seemingly divorced from sexuality: Gloria cusses. However, the fact that Gloria "us[es] words even men would blush to hear" suggests a latent manifestation of sexuality; after all, most cuss words have a sexual referent. This subtle suggestion is enforced by what precedes it: Amalia's obvious concern about Gloria's

physical appearance. Amalia's focus on Gloria's "prettiness" heightened by Gloria's use of makeup is not out of the ordinary given that Amalia's initiation into sexual relations of disempowerment have consistently started with the violator's remarks on Amalia's beauty. In actuality, then, Amalia's concentration on Gloria's "prettiness" is Amalia's own code word for sexuality.

Amalia's denial of her children's sexuality is based not only on Mexican/ Chicano roles but also on her attempt to create a cultural, theological model of compassion and understanding in terms of sexuality. Amalia is very much a product of the cultural system she has been reared in where *malinchismo* is an inherent possibility for women. As such she has been continuously blamed, first for the sexual abuse from her father and then her teenage rape at the hands of a family acquaintance whom she is forced to marry. The blame for her violated sexuality comes primarily from her family--from her father but most importantly from her mother, Teresa, who upon learning that her daughter has been raped refuses to discuss it since sexuality in an unmarried woman is not supposed to exist. Teresa's silence only serves to harbor feelings of guilt in Amalia, a guilt which Teresa then uses to incriminate her. The lack of comprehension from Teresa is symbolized by her devotion to "The Mother of Sorrows," an image of the Virgin Mary "somber . . . with a face of constant endured pain" whose long black robe hides her body and desexualizes her.[17]

As an adult Amalia adopts her favorite image of the Virgin Mary in the figure of "The Blessed Mother" in an attempt to avoid internalizing the blame for her violated sexuality. Unlike the Mother of Sorrows the Blessed Mother is robed in blue and has open outstretched arms, symbolizing her understanding and comprehension. For Amalia the Blessed Mother's understanding, however, comes from Amalia's attempt to purify herself through her evasion of blame. Whereas in this model Amalia eludes all blame and absolves herself through her prayers and conversations with the Blessed Mother, she accomplishes this through the denial of her body, which in fact is a denial of her sexuality. Therefore, even Amalia's compassionate and understanding model of theology is not comprehensive enough to include sexuality. What this translates to for her children is that comprehension is at the expense of their sexuality. In a sense, then, although Amalia has internalized the idea that sexuality, particularly hers, is "shameful and sinful," her model replicates the lack of communication that existed between herself and her mother, a lack which threatens the family unity necessary for Chicanos' survival in the U.S.

Nonetheless, in the narrative an opportunity for momentary family unity arises around notions of nationalism just as such opportunities arise for Mexican/Chicano families in the U.S. The catalyst for this unity is Mick, Gloria's current boyfriend, who is ashamed of being Mexican American. After Gloria accuses Mick of not being a "real Chicano guy"

because he is afraid of Chicanos, Amalia launches a nationalist attack on Mick.[18] She begins by deliberately calling Mick, Miguel, his actual name, and elicits the following response from him: "I told you I'm *Mick* and I don't speak Messican."[19] Amalia's provocation proves to be successful in that both Juan and Gloria ally themselves with her in attacking Mick's assimilation. Amalia's family locates Mick's assimilation, however, in the Malinche myth of openness and betrayal. Thus Mick's assimilation is thought to affect not only his position vis a vis nationalism but also by extension his manhood and religious background. The collapse of these issues into assimilation becomes evident when Gloria calls Mick a "born-again Chicken," and her family concurs.[20] Because assimilation is a form of openness to new cultures and because openness in Mexican/Chicano culture is associated with passivity, femininity, and betrayal (la Malinche), Mick, in being called a "Chicken," is denied his manhood. Mick's alleged passivity also leads Amalia's family to assume that Mick is a Protestant. It has been assumed that Mick, like Malinche, has been conquered but in this instance by Americanism, which for them automatically entails Protestantism. Mexican/Chicanos engagement in Protestantism is often perceived of as a form of *malinchismo* by other Mexican/Chicanos, particularly since in the U.S. Protestantism has often taken the form of cultural imperialism, so that even Anglo-European Catholic churches in the U.S., in order to avoid Protestant antagonism, have changed their images and joined the racial attack on Mexican Catholics. It is Mick's perceived vulnerability and openness to new national identity, which for Amalia and her family entails a change in religion, that aligns Mick with Malinche. This association removes him from being identified as a Mexican/Chicano man.

The family unity and closeness with Juan and Gloria that Amalia revitalizes make her believe that in fact she possesses good mothering skills:

> she cherished that she and her children were allied against the hateful young man . . . . Yes, she felt good, doubly so because her children had never been ashamed of being Mexicans; *she* taught them correctly, they were Mexican-Americans, like her.[21]

In turn her pride in having her children follow her good example on ethnic pride leads her to rationalize that she has a good family unit, and as such, it will defend her from oppression such as Mick's internalized racism. At this point in the narrative the previous problems of communication with Juan and Gloria no longer matter to her. Her faith in a good family structured around good mothering for maintaining Mexican nationalism rooted in *malinchismo* leads her to think that those "cherished moments [of alliance] would make whatever would follow easier."[22] And, in fact, Amalia's belief in this type of family unity is reinforced when Juan, in a Chicano male stance, defends her, the family, and by extension

Mexican nationalism by socking Mick in the face after Mick yells to Amalia, "Where's all that pride bullshit got you? . . . What are you? Just another fuckin' Mexican maid."[23]

Ironically, it is nationalism rooted in Malinchismo which destroys family unity. Mick responds to Amalia and her family by manipulating the same Mexican rules on masculinity that called into question his own manhood; he introduces not only sexuality but homosexuality. He tells Amalia, "At least I wasn't busted for being a fag, like your son!"[24] Mick succeeds in erasing the imposed category of *malinchista*, because whereas he symbolized ideological openness which is theoretically not permanent, Juan, in being labeled a "fag," represents bodily openness which is permanent and thus is always a symbol of betrayal to the nation, religion, and the family which is constructed through these. At this point Amalia focuses her energies on Juan and his sexuality with the following demand: "I want you to tell me now that you are not a maricon . . . . Tell me that now."[25] By saying this Amalia has unwittingly destroyed the family unity she constructed.

Even in a situation where she is squarely confronted with sexuality, Amalia tries not to deal with it. Although she does not show the same type of intolerance as her mother did towards sexuality, Amalia's adherence to her theological model of compassion and understanding attempts to deny Juan's sexuality and by extension his subjectivity as a gay male. Amalia's demand, "Tell me now that you are not a maricon,"[26] is her attempt to purge Juan from all blame. Juan's negation would serve then to reconstruct the family as she had constructed it moments earlier around a sense of nationalism and a latent religiosity.

Juan's refusal to deny his sexuality forces Amalia to deal with sexuality. Seeing that her model of compassion has failed and having no other model with which to deal with sexuality other than her mother's, Amalia replays the scene after her rape: just as her rapist calls her a "*puta*" and her family silently agrees, Amalia calls Juan a *puto*, a derogatory term referring to the homosexual passive agent. Use of this epithet demonstrates that Amalia has made the assumption that Juan, labeled and self- identified as homosexual in American terms, is also homosexual in Mexican terms. In fact she has no knowledge of his private sexual preference. Amalia succeeds in reconstructing a *malinche* scene, demonstrating one of the difficulties the Chicano gay male experiences *when* operating within both the Mexican and Anglo-American sexual systems. Juan's admittance of his homosexuality in U.S. terms and thus acknowledgment of his privacy, shows his lack of desire to negotiate between both systems of socialization. This transgression marks him, in Amalia's mind, as an outsider to the family and by extension to Mexican/Chicano culture, especially since Amalia has constructed the notion of family around a nationalism that is exclusive of sexuality. Her statement, "You are not a joto, no son of *mine* could be,"[27] reinforces Juan's expulsion

from the family and from Chicano cultural constructions of manhood in spite of the fact that earlier he had defended the family. Juan has become a cultural outlaw.

In *The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gomez*, Rechy has illustrated a movement, the movement of the gay Chicano from within the Mexican/Chicano family and culture to outside of that family and culture. In doing this he points to the gay Chicano's precarious position within the Mexican/Chicano family and culture. Most significantly, however, Rechy subtly demonstrates the underpinnings of this movement, a particular combination of religion, nationalism, and culture. By doing this Rechy forces the reader to question and explore the traditional locus of these three elements that have also played a significant role in shaping the Chicano Movement.

NOTES

[1]Although I recognize that Mexican culture and Chicano culture are two distinct cultures, in this paper I conflate the two because in terms of the subject matter--attitudes on homosexuality--both cultures share the same points of origin.

[2]Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude and Other Writings* (New York: Gove Weidenfeld, 1985), 25.

[3]Paz, 49.

[4]Joseph M. Carrier "Gay Liberation and Coming Out in Mexico," *Gay and Lesbian Youth* ed. Gilbert Herdt (New York: Harrington Park Press, 1989), 226-248.

[5]Paz, 86.

[6]Paz, 86.

[7]Malinche, aside from being Cortez' lover, is also thought to have divulged through translations what the weak points of the Aztecs were. Because of this Malinche is said to have been orally open.

[8]Paz, 82.

[9]Tomas Almaguer "Chicano Men: A Cartography of Homosexual Identity and Behavior," *The Lesbian and Gay Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 255-73.

[10]Almaguer, 257.

[11]Almaguer, 255.

[12]Paz, 86. Paz describes *malinchistas* as "those who want Mexico to open itself to the outside world."

[13]Almaguer, 262.

[14]John Rechy, *The Miraculous Day of Amalia Gomez* (New York: Arcade Publishing, 1991), 11.

[15]Rechy, 8.

[16]Rechy, 8.

[17]Rechy, 13.

[18]Rechy, 180.

[19]Rechy, 178.

[20]Rechy, 180.

[21]Rechy, 179, my emphasis added.

[22]Rechy, 179.

[23]Rechy, 181.

[24]Rechy, 181.

[25]Rechy, 182.

[26]Rechy, 182.

[27]Rechy, 183.

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Community Versus Assimilation: A Study in American Assimilation at Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial School

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No government policy has had more of an impact on American Indians than the boarding school movement of the early to mid-twentieth century. This movement isolated American Indian children from their homes and communities and attempted to assimilate them into European-American society. This article studies the effects of this policy on children at the Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial School in Wisconsin. It uses oral history to recapture the voices and experiences of teachers and students. The use of oral history allows a comprehensive understanding of the cultural, social and academic atmosphere of the school.

Dairy farms border both sides of Wisconsin Highway 47 until you enter the Menominee Indian reservation, Then, as though somebody had inscribed a line with a knife, the forest begins. Just before you drive through Keshena, the reservation's largest village, a large open space off to the right marks the site where Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial School once stood. Operated from 1883 to 1952, Saint Joseph's was a Catholic American Indian boarding school. The Complex was large with frame and brick buildings, dormitories, a church, fields, and a small dairy farm. The school is now completely gone. All that remains is a graveyard and the church. These are the only remaining physical symbols of the strong impact that Saint Joseph's had on the Menominee tribe. This paper will explore and analyze the lasting impression that Saint Joseph's has had on the tribe.

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Research Method

Researching American Indian boarding schools is not an easy task. Few written records exist, and those that do tend to be financial records and official correspondence written by the school's administration. These records were not written by and contain few allusions to either teachers or students. The only way to recapture the experiences and voices of the teachers and students is through oral history interviews. This paper is based on a series of oral interviews done between 1991 and 1994. Many former students were located using Saint Joseph's written records in the archives of Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Others were located with the help of the personnel of the Potawatomi and Menominee tribal offices. The interviewed teachers were identified through the Motherhouse of the Sisters of Saint Joseph's De Caroundelet in Saint Louis, Missouri.

Once identified, informants were contacted and asked for interviews. After they agreed, interviews were scheduled at a time and place of their choosing. Interviews were held in places ranging from the cafeteria at the Satin Joseph's Motherhouse to informants' living rooms on the reservations.

At the beginning of each interview permission was obtained to tape the interview and informants were told that their testimony would be used for publication and the tapes placed in a public archive. Also at this time a recorded oral copyright was obtained. After the project was completed the tapes were placed in the archives of Marquette University where they are available for use by researchers.

The information from the oral documents was combined with the information from the written records. Bias in both sets of documents were taken into consideration; however, written information was not assumed to be more accurate than oral information. The two sets of documents show different perceptions, and both sets are valid. For example, many of the written documents stress the financial difficulties Saint Joseph's faced; however, the oral documents state that the school was financially well off. These statements reveal different perspectives. The school had great difficulty procuring adequate funding for books and other educational equipment. Funds for maintaining buildings and grounds were limited throughout Saint Joseph's history. From the perspective of an administrator writing to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions (BCIM), the school was in desperate financial straits. Impoverished students had a very different perspective of the school's finances. Some of the students' parents sent them to Saint Joseph's because they could not afford to adequately feed and clothe their children through the winter. To such students Saint Joseph's appeared wealthy.

The School

Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial School was founded in 1883 as part of a federal policy to assimilate American Indians into mainstream American society. The boarding school movement began in the 1870's when Richard Pratt, an ex-army officer turned educator, envisioned a series of boarding schools where American Indian children could be completely isolated from their tribal communities.

Pratt, determined to prove that American Indians could be taught to live and think like European-Americans, set up a model school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. Pratt chose the location because Pennsylvania had no American Indian reservations, and students could be completely isolated from tribal influences. The Carlisle school and its isolation policy quickly gained widespread acceptance among federal policy makers, missionary groups, and other "friends of the Indians" who wished to ensure the assimilation of American Indians. Children were to be educated to eschew all aspects of their tribal culture. In his 1889 Supplemental Report on Indian Education, Indian Commissioner Thomas Jefferson Morgan wrote that American Indians "should be educated not as Indians, but as Americans. In short the public school should . . . assimilate them."[1] Morgan also instructed all American Indian boarding school officials that when teaching American Indian students, to "carefully avoid any unnecessary reference to the fact they are Indians."[2]

A later Indian Commissioner, Ezra Hayt, echoed Morgan's views when he wrote, "The exposure of children who attend only day-schools to the demoralization and degradation of an Indian home neutralize the efforts of the school teacher, especially those efforts which are directed to advancement in morality and civilization."[3]

By 1880 the Indian Office (the federal department charged with overseeing American Indian tribes) began contracting with various religious denominations to operate boarding schools using the Carlisle school as a model. Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial School in Keshena, Wisconsin, operated under a contract between the BCIM and the Indian Office. The Bureau, located in Washington, DC, was responsible for administering all of the Catholic Church's boarding school contracts. The BCIM subcontracted out the actual running of each boarding school to various religious orders.

Problems with Saint Joseph's contract began shortly after the school opened. Many of these problems were common to Catholic boarding schools. Payments from the Indian Office, which were routed through the BCIM, often arrived late. In addition the BCIM remained responsible for the school's operation without day-to-day knowledge of the school's operation. However, at Saint Joseph's and other boarding schools located on Indian reservations, the most serious problem from an assimilationist point of view was the difficulty of removing students from their tribe's

influence.

Isolation at Saint Joseph's

Although the federal boarding school policy emphasized the removal of students from tribal influences, Saint Joseph's location just north of Keshena made total physical isolation virtually impossible. Saint Joseph's administration tried to compensate for the lack of physical isolation by creating a wall of social and cultural seclusion around the school. Students and teachers were not permitted to interact with the tribal community. The result was a hostile environment in which neither teachers nor students thrived.

In the oral documents isolation is a common theme which was almost as profound for the teachers as it was for students. The teachers rarely left the school grounds. For example, during the time Saint Joseph's operated, the tribe derived most of its income from the operation of a sawmill in Neopit, a village located about ten miles for Keshena. The sawmill, operated under the rules of a mainstream business, was tangible evidence that if the Menominee would accept individual jobs, become part of a modern work force, and relinquish their American Indian culture, then economic prosperity was assured.

The sawmill represented the same goals that were being taught at Saint Joseph's. According to the BCIM's contract the main purpose of Saint Joseph's was to assimilate Menominee children. The sawmill was also designed to assimilate Menominee tribal members. Despite the similar intentions contact between the sawmill and the school was minimal. The teaching sisters were often frustrated by their isolation. Sister Charles Helene expressed regret that although she was in Keshena for nine years, "I never did get to the mill and everybody that came to visit went up to the mill and I never did get to the mill."[4] Sister Mary Elreda, the sisters' superior in the 1940's, remembered, "I got up to the mill about a year after [I arrived] because I insisted."[5]

The isolation of the teachers is remarkable precisely because it seems so impossible. The lives of the teachers were structured in a manner designed to filter out influences from the tribal environment that surrounded them. There were two ways that this isolation was accomplished. First, every moment of their day was regulated. The teachers were responsible for every aspect of the students' care from fixing meals to teaching mathematics. There simply was not time for the teachers to interact with the tribal community even had they been so inclined .

The second reason is much more subtle: the religious framework in which the teachers lived. All of the permanent teachers were from religious orders. Most of the teachers were members of Sisters of Saint Joseph, headquartered in Saint Louis, Missouri. There were also several male high school teachers and administrators who were mem-

bers of the Franciscans located in Saint Louis. On occasion a non-religious teacher was hired to teach specific skills (for example, an itinerant shoemaker was hired temporarily to teach cobbling). The religious vows that the sisters made meant that their lives were structured around their mission: the school.

The sisters were not just isolated from the tribe; they were also isolated from Saint Joseph's administrative and financial problems. For example, on January 16, 1933, Father Engelhard, the school's administrator, had received the quarterly check for the Bureau and deposited it in the Bank of Sawano. Two weeks later the bank closed. The school lost $2,000, precipitating a financial crisis. When I asked former teachers about this incident during interviews, they stated that they were unaware of it. Sister Mary Evangela said, "I don't even remember Father [Engelhard] ever mentioned that he had any money in that bank."[6] This was confirmed by Sister Charles Helene who said, "He never did mention anything [about money]."[7]

This situation is ironic because the sisters were not simply employees who were paid for their labor. In theory the sisters were equal partners in the running of Saint Joseph's. The Sisters of St. Joseph's made a considerable financial contribution toward maintenance of the school This contribution was acknowledged by Paul Frickinger, the Associate Director of Education for the Indian Office. He wrote, "Under the terms of the annual mission contract the tribe pays $125 a year per pupil, whereas the cost of the boarding school when operated by the federal government was more than $300 per capita."[8] Frickinger went on to explain that the "difference in cost is due to the fact that the Sisters serve without pay."[9] Despite this contribution, Saint Joseph's was always understaffed. In 1885 the school had twelve teachers: six sisters, one lay teacher, and five male teachers. At that time, Saint Joseph had 150 students. Although the student/teacher ratio is reasonable at 12.5 students per teacher, this figure is misleading because teachers did not simply educate. They were expected to provide all necessary services to students and were never off duty. Former teachers remember the long hours:

> get up at five o'clock, had to be in the chapel at twenty after five, and we had prayers and meditation; at about ten to six we went to church. We had mass at six thirty . . . [We got up at] four thirty in the morning at the boy's school. You'd get up and stoke the fire. You'd get on these big containers of water to make their cereal [and] their drinks. One sister had to stay [at home and not go to mass] and [we] took turns, like, if I stayed this week, then [the] next week the other sister [would]. When we got home everybody had a job. We either went to the

> children's dining room or we went upstairs and made our beds or something . . . Then the bell would ring when breakfast was ready and you answered the bell and you either had school or something and then at five to eight you went to church with the kids for eight o'clock mass. [At] eight thirty, we went to school . . . and then we taught until three o'clock. But [because of] my duties in the mornings, I did not go to school . . . . I took kids I had there . . . . The fifth and sixth [graders] only went to school a half a day because they had to help around the house. I would take a group and we'd clean a dormitory today and tomorrow we'd clean another dormitory and then one day we'd clean part of the school. We worked like you'd not believe. Three o'clock, school was over and then we'd come over to take care of all the playrooms and then we'd take care of the children 'till we put them to bed.[10]

However, putting the students to bed did not end the teachers' day. Teachers were expected not only to teach but also to serve as dorm mothers and surrogate parents. Sisters slept in cubicles that were curtained off from the students' dormitory. As this 1930s anecdote from Sister Charles Helene illustrates, lack of privacy was a continuing problem.

> One night I slept right in the dormitory with the girls and I remember this one night, this child must have been walking in its sleep . . . . I think this child tried to get in bed with me. Well I woke up and here was this . . . little girl . . . . I took her back to bed and tucked her in and she slept the rest of the night. But she frightened me.[11]

This occurrence was not isolated. Sister Mary Ignace remembers a similar incident:

> I felt a tap on my shoulder. I sat up and I did not see anything. 'Cause [at] first we just had a curtain around our beds . . . and I looked around and finally I looked down and here was this little kid and as soon as she saw that I saw her she turned around. She was new and she couldn't open the back of her little pajamas. After I opened her up [she went] down the hallway. We had a toilet down there at the other end of the hallway . . . . she then came back to my cell and turned around. I buttoned her up and she went back to bed. That took care of that.[12]

Student Isolation

The School's administrators tried to eliminate, or at least minimize, the interaction of the students with the tribal environment; however, this task proved to be almost impossible. Students developed a series of tactics to circumvent the school's isolation attempts.

In keeping with its isolation policy, Saint Joseph's severely limited home visitation. Home visitation was discouraged by the Pratt Plan and federal policy. Pratt's model school in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, permitted no home visitation at all until the student graduated. School vacations were spent with European American families. Called outings, this program was designed to expose students to actual European American home life and to prevent any interaction with their tribal communities that might interfere with the school's assimilation policy. Saint Joseph's followed this policy by only exposing students considered either by the local Indian agent or by the school to be sufficiently assimilated. Irene Pywasit, a Menominee student, recalled that students who failed to conform were given demerits, and "If we got too many demerits we couldn't go home . . . for the summer."[13] Sister Ann Agatha, a teacher at the same time, confirms that the administrator knew "who was privileged to go home and the rest had to stay. Some stayed for two weeks; some stayed for the whole month. [Others] went home . . . once a month."[14]

At Saint Joseph's students who missed their homes often ran away. Although it is impossible to estimate the exact number of runaways because of the lack of written sources dealing with the issue, it appears to have been a significant problem. Most of the former students interviewed for this oral history admitted to running away from the school at least once. Mildred Kaquatosh, an orphan who ran away, was proud of the fact that "the police didn't get me."[15]

Most of the evidence on runaways comes from the students themselves. All of the teaching sisters were unwilling to discuss runaways. The teachers did, however, mention a few revealing facts. Sister Mary Ignace said, "Father Engelhard would always go out when the girls would go." Sister Mary Evangela remembered, "One time this girl ran away from school and poor Father Benno had to go out and catch her. He stopped at the [student's] house and of course she wasn't there. He just happened to look up and there she was sitting . . . [on the] rafters hiding from him."[16]

Perhaps the most revealing point about this story is Sister Mary Evangela's way of telling it. She assumed that the student's family would not return the girl to school or help Father Benno Tushaus locate her.

Saint Joseph's policy not only separated students from the parents and tribal community, but also separated siblings. This was an extension of the policy followed at Carlisle. Pratt ordered students from

the same tribe to be separated immediately after entry into the school. This was not possible at Saint Joseph's because the student body was largely Menominee. Instead, to lessen family and by extension tribal ties, the administration separated children from the same family. Catherine Waukecheon, another student, remembers losing contact with family members. "There were seven of us in my family, but they were the big kids. We were there . . . we were in the same building but we weren't together. I missed the boys [my brothers]."[17]

Josephine Daniels, a student, remembers the impact separation had on her sister, Elsie:

> Mother Superior came . . . over . . . . She says that she was Mother Superior [and] to call her mother. I looked at her and I looked at my sister and I told my sister we were supposed to call her mother. And my sister says I know my mother and she says, "I am not going to call her mother." They introduced us to another nun there [and] . . . she took my sister and went and put her in a . . . little girls' room downstairs kind of in back of the . . . building . . . . Then I heard my sister screaming away and I wanted to run to my sister and they grabbed ahold of me and she said . . . I couldn't go . . . . I yanked away from her and I went to my sister and she was in a corner: sitting in a corner. I [asked] her, "What's the matter? What are you screaming about?" She says, "I'm scared of these people."[18]

The policy of separating siblings was only partially successful in isolating students because it failed to take into account the clan structure of the tribe. Like most American Indian tribes the Menominee tribe is organized into clans. Among the Menominee children are members of their father's clan. Cultural and religious beliefs maintain that all members of a clan are related. Saint Joseph's attempts to lessen the ties between siblings rarely succeeded because of the strength of the clan bond.

Frances Walker, a former student, remembers her first night as a student at Saint Joseph's:

> I was lying there . . . . I didn't really know anybody . . . 'cause my relatives were all in higher grades . . . . I remember sitting up . . . and another girl sat up . . . and she waived to me . . . . I looked at her, Oh, my land . . . it was like . . . there's someone in this room with me . . . . Then a couple of the others sat up and then they waved to me . . . thought . . . I got five relatives in this room.[19]

Frances Walker was referring to fellow clan members. As long as these bonds were in tact, assimilation into European American culture would be extremely difficult for the school to achieve.

Students also found ways to circumvent the school officials' attempt to isolate them from each other. Irene Pywasit remembers deliberately breaking school rules in order to be sent to the boy's building for discipline. She remembered that it gave her a chance to see her male cousins. The only other time male and female students saw each other was in church where they were not allowed to speak to one another.

Language Isolation

Another form of isolation imposed on students was the immediate substitution of English for the tribal language. One of the first steps toward this goal was the creation of an English-only environment. Federal govemment Indian policy insisted that students speak and be addressed only in English. John Atkins wrote in the 1887 *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs* that, "The first step . . . towards teaching the Indians the mischief and folly of continuing in their barbarous practices is to teach them the English langauge."[20] He went on to write of the "impossibility of civilizing the Indians in any other tongue than our own would seem to be obvious." Most of Saint Joseph's students learned English within their first year at Saint Joseph's, "making replacement of Indian languages with English the most successful of all attempts at assimilation."[21]

The transition from Menominee or Potawatomi to English was not always an easy one for students. Tillie Sayresrun recalled that when she first arrived at the school, the teachers had, "a student [tell] me in my language that I shouldn't talk my language. I had to learn English . . . . 'Otherwise the nuns would get after us . . . .' So that's what I did. I was scared of them so I guess my English was scared into me when I was in the first grade."[22]

The school's English-only policy was strictly enforced. The students remember several approaches that were used with students who were slow to adopt the English language. Irene Pywasit recalled that, "If we were caught speaking our language we were punished severely. We might get a kerosene shampoo or a bar of yellow soap shoved in our mouth—that was just part of it."[23]

The students' acceptance of the forced change to English was further complicated by the fact that many of the teachers and administrators were not themselves Native English speakers. In 1890, the English language proficiency of Saint Joseph's faculty became a major issue between the Indian Office and the school's administrators. In a report to the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, Father O'Doric Derenthal stated that the teachers, "except four [were] born American, and of the

foreign born only two—our carpenter and baker—are not able to [speak perfect English. However,] they can get along."[24]

Another complicating factor was that the English-only standards applied only to students. Frank Keshena remembers a 1930s incident: As a tribute to Father Engelhard, they, "were taught to sing . . . 'O Christmas Tree' . . . in German. That's a German song and we were taught to sing that in German . . . the entire school of Indian students."[25] The dual standard confused many students. The message some students received was that it was acceptable to speak German, a European language, but not Menominee, an American Indian one. This double standard negated the message the teachers were theoretically sending that it was necessary for everyone to speak English in the United Sates for economic reasons. Despite problems with English, most students did learn to use English exclusively in public. Linguistic conformity, however, did not mean, as school and Indian office official believed, cultural conformity.

Marginalization

Despite the attempts of Saint Joseph's officials to assimilate American Indian students into mainstream culture, many students resisted these efforts strenuously. In order for the school to assimilate its students, European American customs and language had to be substituted for tribal customs and language. This was the ultimate purpose of the school's isolation policy. This policy did not succeed. Its failure, however, did not mean that the students were unaffected by the school's assimilation policy. Students acquired some European American values and behaviors while at Saint Joseph's; however, they often found these attitudes unworkable and the behaviors impossible to maintain once they left Saint Joseph's. Josephine Daniels, for example, who returned to her parents at the age of fourteen, described her first encounter with them.

> The nuns told me, 'Go into the parlor,' the visitors' parlor. They said, 'Your mother is here.' I said, 'I don't have no mother.' 'Yes you do, Josephine, she's in there.' So I went running in and looked around. I seen a little bitty woman . . . sitting in the corner. She looked like a little girl and I come running out and I said, 'I never see no mother in there.' I said, 'What you call a mother?' [They said] 'Yes, your mother is in there.' 'No she's not,' I says. It made me laugh—she's real short, shorter than me. She's skinny. My mother imagery was big tall German type woman . . . When my father came, it was worse yet. My father was stocky and real muscular, a

> lot [like a] bull and [like a] little bulldog . . . That's what I thought when I seen him . . . My father imagery was very different. My father imagery was like Father Engelhard—real kind, genteel, soft, old and gray . . . . It was hard for me to identify with my father—you know, my father use to talk—well like real Indian language—where Father Engelhard had real fine speech . . . . I came back here [to the Potawatomi tribe].[26]

Daniels remembers her difficulty in becoming part of tribal life again. It "was just different . . . . I couldn't understand the neighbors. The [other] children didn't like me either because I was curling my hair . . . and always ironing my clothes . . . . Nobody [on the reservation] ironed clothes, and nobody curl[ed] their hair. They were always out picking berries or weeding gardens."[27]

Daniels' adjustment problems extended beyond her immediate tribal environment to rejection by the larger society. She missed her "church terrible." The first time she attempted to go to church, "everybody just looked at me and glared." Daniels then tried to attend Catholic religious training, where they told her

> 'We don't have no Indians here.' The priest, he just kind of looked at me and just looked over my head. All the other students were saying that Indians are pagans . . . . I just said 'all right' and took my catechism and I walked off . . . . I was a real good religious student. I tried to go to church but I couldn't so that crumbled. When your religion crumbles something else crumbles too. Like an old horse [you] just lay down [and] have a hard time getting up.[28]

These incidents ended Josephine Daniels' formal involvement with the Catholic Church and her attempts to assimilate into European American society. She eventually readjusted to life on the Potawatomi reservation as well as becoming an accepted and influential elder. However, in her words, the readjustment "was a trauma to me."[29]

Conclusion

Assimilation is the mutual accommodation of two parties. It requires both the desire and the willingness of the person attempting to change and the acceptance of the group into which the person is being assimilated. Neither was present here. Saint Joseph's isolated students from their tribal environments and submerged them in a European American culture, a culture where they were never comfortable

nor accepted. Ironically, whenever they did enthusiastically embrace the values and behaviors of the European American culture, they were not treated as equals by members of that culture. The result was inevitable: former boarding school students were neither fully members of their tribal cultures nor, as the school administration hoped, were they indistinguishable from European Americans.

NOTES

[1]Thomas Jefferson Morgan, *Supplemental Report on Indian Education*, 1 December 1889, House Executive Document Number 1, 51st Congress, 2nd Session, Serial 2841, cixvii, in Francis Prucha, ed. *Documents of the United States Indian Policy* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1975), 180.

[2]Thomas Jefferson Morgan, "Instruction to Indian Agents in Regard to Inculcation of Patriotism in Schools," House Executive Document, Number 1, 51st Congress, 2nd Session, Serial 2841. cixvii in Prucha, 1975, 181.

[3]Ezra Hayt, quoted in Francis Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indian* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 232.

[4]Sister Charles Helen Frecker, oral history interview, St. Louis, Missouri, 29 July 1993. The tape of this interview is available to researchers at the Marquette University Archives in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[5]Sister Mary Elreda Willet, oral history interview, St. Louis, Missouri, 29 July 1993. The tape of this interview is available to researchers at the Marquette University Archives in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[6]Sister Mary Evangela Gribbon, oral history interview, St. Louis, Missouri, 29 July 1993. The tape of this interview is available to researchers at the Marquette University Archives in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[7]Frecker.

[8]Paul Frickinger, Letter to Superintendent, Keshena Agency, 1 October 1940. Located in Bureau of Catholic Indian Mission Series 1 Correspondence files for Wisconsin, Green Bay Agency, Menominee Reservation, Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial School, 1940, in the Marquette University Archives, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[9]Frickinger.

[10]This is a compilation of oral histories recorded 29 July 1993 of Sister Mary Ignace, Sister Mary Elreda Willet, and Sister Ann Agatha Muser. All of these informants were teachers at Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial School in the 1930s and 1940s. The tapes of these interviews are available to researchers at the Marquette University Archives in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[11]Frecker.

[12]Ignace.

[13]Irene Pywasit, oral history interview, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 17 July 1991. The tape of this interview is available to researchers at the Marquette University Archives in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[14]Muser

[15]Mildred Kaquatosh, oral history interview, Neopit, Wisconsin, 27 June 1994. The tape of this interview is available to researchers at the Marquette University Archives in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[16]Frecker

[17]Catherine Waukecheon, oral history interview, Keshena, Wisconsin, 19 July 1994. The tape of this interview is available to researchers at the Marquette University Archives in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[18]Josephine Daniels, oral history interview, 24 May 1994, Blackwell, Wisconsin. The tape of this interview is available to researchers at the Marquette University Archives in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[19]Francis Walker, oral history interview, 23 March 1993, Keshena, Wisconsin. The tape of this interview is available to researchers at the Marquette University Archives in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[20]John Atkins, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 21 September 1887, House Executive Document Number 1, 50th Congress, 1st Session, Serial 2542, 20 in Prucha, 1975, 176.

[21]Atkins in Prucha, 1975.

[22]Tillie Sayresrun, oral history interview, Neopit, Wisconsin, 23 July 1994. The tape of this interview is available to researchers at the Marquette University Archives in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[23]Pywasit.

[24]O'Doric Derenthal, Letter to J.A. Stephens, 11 May 1890, located in the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions Series 1 correspondence files for Wisconsin, Green Bay Agency, Menominee Reservation, Saint Joseph's Indian Industrial School in the Marquette University Archives, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[25]Frank Keshena, oral history interview, Keshena, Wisconsin, 21 July 1994. The tape of this interview is available to researchers at the Marquette University Archives in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

[26]Daniels.

[27]Daniels.

[28]Daniels.

[29]Daniels.

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Giving Oral Expression 'Free Rein': Implications for Diversity of University Hate Speech Codes

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This paper uses history, law, and First Amendment theory to examine the concepts of political correctness, free speech, and hate speech in a search for a solution of how best to deal with hate speech incidents that occur in the university campus community. The paper notes the American tendency toward tyranny of the majority as noted by Alexis de Tocqueville in the 1830s and then proceeds to examine the double-edged sword of free speech. By guaranteeing freedom of speech we promote the right to shout down ethnic and other minority groups; by providing penalties against those who use it to shout others down we make society less free. This paper suggests a different answer: promote more speech expressed in community meetings conducted in an atmosphere that is safe and encouraging for all to express their views.

Introduction

In America free speech has served the white male-controlled status quo for 200 years. At the same time it has given gains slowly to people of color, those with differing ethnic backgrounds, women, and those who are differently abled. Now society debates how to "manage" speech (often labeled Politically Correct or PC speech) even though speech originally was considered to be free, not manipulated.

The last several years have seen an intensification of a PC debate along with increased governmental action or threat of it—all of this having implications for diversity. Universities tried speech codes to punish "hate speech" in efforts to promote diversity (two thirds of the nation's universities had them), but they may be falling into disfavor.[1] If their

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demise comes, freedom to shout down those of different color or gender or ethnicity will reign supreme. Hate speech, thus, would seem to be a troublesome concept running counter to the aspirations of a nation considering itself a melting pot of different ethnicities and counter to a notion of freedom and equality for men and women of all races, classes, ages, and disabilities.

This paper examines this limited area of the implications for diversity by this struggle over how to handle hate speech on university campuses. It is important to have a conceptual context and keep the following questions in mind as we explore the problem:

Do unsavory repercussions result if society outlaws forms of expression of hatred against ethnic minorities? Are values of pluralism best achieved by suppression of intolerant views? Should freedom of expression for views we detest be disallowed? Are campus speech codes wise, or do they chill skeptical speech and the free exchange of ideas? Do solutions other than speech codes exist? Of course, there are a few absolute answers to such questions, but there is a substantial body of literature devoted to these topics which we do not have time to discuss.[2]

My own thinking thus far has only led me to this conclusion: For a university campus community free speech is certainly important, but if we automatically grovel before a sweeping interpretation of the First Amendment as a right to shout others down because we are FREE to speak in such a manner, we risk a society in which there is little room for the empowerment of people of all ethnicities and in effect make real freedom a myth.

PC — A Concept Tied to Hate Speech

We must begin by exploring a concept tangentially related to hate speech, and that is political correctness (PC). PC is a term suggesting that words, actions, and perhaps even ideas must conform to non-offensive or non-discriminatory norms (whatever they are). Regardless of its political ownership (or lack thereof) the very existence of PC fits squarely into any notion of cultural mainstreams and margins on university campuses. Some scholars credit its flourishing as arising from academics with progressive beliefs and actions that were labeled as politically correct. As such, this view says PC described an idealism that, at its worst, was exaggerated or silly and, at its best, is an ongoing impetus to make academic institutions more diverse, open, and egalitarian—an admirable trend.[3]

There is some irony in the notion that PC has been called by those who oppose diverse and egalitarian institutions "Facism of the Left" or "New Stalinism." Even former President Bush, while certainly not supporting campus protest of his decision to start a war in the Persian Gulf, noted the adverse implications of PC for free speech in a

1991 graduation address at the University of Michigan.[4]

Critics of PC often tend to single out extreme interpretations and applications of the policies and then use them to discredit a wider range of actions. For example, PC critics widely used the incident of a student who was reprimanded at the University of Pennsylvania for expounding the virtues of the notion of individual rights because they had been used to oppress historically powerless groups.[5]

PC critics also often lump together distinct policies instead of treating them as separate. At least five policies have been identified, only one of which relates to outlawing sexist, racist, and other hateful speech.[6] The heart of this paper stems from ramifications of this category.

There is also a paradox involving PC. It is important to note the danger and the quandary caused by PC in policies such as speech codes forbidding hate speech directed against less powerful races, ethnicities, or gender. This area is central to public discourse and is the foundation of civic intelligence necessary for self-governance.

These speech codes typically forbid direct fighting words, such as cursing into the face of an Asian and taunting her/him with degrading phrases. Some also forbid indirect hate speech such as dorm door posters. The paradox lies in the bind that such speech is disgusting and that it is regulated.

If we accept that the First Amendment protects above all else (in the words of Oliver Wendell Holmes) "freedom for the thought we hate," such PC policies limit open discussion of inflammatory but nonetheless important, issues. In effect they herd us toward a society of nodding and bowing zombies similar to the one portrayed in Margaret Atwood's novel, *The Handmaid's Tale*.

As noted earlier, however, if we bow down before a sweeping interpretation of the First Amendment, a society emerges in which empowerment is denied to people of a different ethnicity, race, or gender. Any hope for equality kindled by a semi-PC attitude may be doused by such hateful tirades of "free" speech (presumably covering everything but individual, face-to-face confrontations, known in legal circles as "fighting words").

The lack of clear thinking regarding PC can be seen in federal efforts to jump into the fray regarding hate speech codes. It was in 1992 that Larry Craig, a conservative U.S. senator from Idaho, headed the Congressional charge to enact federal legislation which would withhold funding from universities (virtually all get such funding) if they have behavior codes and harassment policies requiring PC speech and suppressing unpopular viewpoints.[7]

From one viewpoint Craig and other PC bashers exhibited the vision that PC will not ultimately serve the status quo. They believed that wide open and robust speech means no regulation of the time, place, or manner in which a point of view is delivered. Their view of free speech

is one of unlimited talkativeness. They want to preserve a right to shout down marginalized groups and keep them in a position of have-nots in regard to any "empowerment pie."

But in the long run such tactics make the margins of society rough margins. Unhappy groups on the fringe do not always flow easily with the mainstream, especially if they believe they are unheard and perhaps invisible to the majority. It is under such circumstances that change can come abruptly—sometimes in a revolutionary manner—when those in the margins have had enough and won't take it any more so to speak.

Hegemony and Rights

Next we should look broadly at what transpires in a so-called democratic community. Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony can be applied to almost any society or nation—communities in their own right—not in the throes of revolution. While in prison in the 1920s, Gramsci sought reasons why revolution seldom materialized in the manner predicted by Karl Marx. Gramsci devised the concept of hegemony, which accounts for people's willingness to conform to societal forces. He theorized that strong states rule almost exclusively through hegemonic means.[8]

Hegemony accounts for people's reluctance either to rebel or to even make demands being willing instead to seek a comfortable niche within existing society. Such a powerful constraint of inherited ideology is a main key to the voluntary element of hegemony. Any lack of what is called "critical consciousness" on the part of citizens could be connected to a non-thinking—or underthinking—willingness to conform. In effect, hegemony accounts for a willingness to be content with the smallest sliver of the "empowerment pie."[9]

To put it simply, people, even those with a mere sliver of the pie, long to be part of the community—almost at any cost—even though the community embodies negative qualities. Rather than struggle continually against those negative qualities, people conform willingly, and the prevailing power structure in the community need not exert force, for that willingness to conform, even under domination and discrimination, works in favor of the power structure. Hegemony is in place.

Indeed, the prevailing conceptions of rights do not wander far from hegemony. Stuart Scheingold noted a quarter century ago that we have a myth of rights, which includes a belief by citizens that American political institutions will respond to just claims and perceives rights as working in behalf of change but predominantly reinforcing the status quo.[10] There is little wonder why it is a struggle to break free of domination when people participate in their own domination by being silent.

de Tocqueville: A Tie-in

For an understanding of the relationship of PC to hate speech and a campus community, it is important to note that PC can become a term standing for social non-movement. When PC works well, there is little movement from the margins or fringe of society to the mainstream. Those on the margins—and on campus that often means ethnic and other minorities—need assistance, a "safe haven," in finding a more comfortable place in the community instead of remaining comfortably on the fringe.

But ensuring obedience and molding society are not new notions. In the 1830s Alexis de Tocqueville provided important thinking regarding such considerations in America that dovetail into an understanding of PC/hate speech. He called it the "absolute sovereignty of the majority."[11]

It seems that regardless of any division of property and power, the collective populace, in essence, have control, and the individual (or the few) cannot dispute this power of the majority, who, voluntarily and collectively, forge the path for their community.

The majority, de Tocqueville wrote, thus holds strong potential for tyranny and definitely exercises power over opinion. When the majority is undecided, public discussion is carried on, but as soon as the majority forms its opinion, no dissenting views are permitted, and opponents must unite with supporters on the issue in question, in part because a majority "has the right both of making and of executing the laws."[12] This domination of opinion runs counter to any pure democratic practice and poses potential for tyranny by limiting any real diversity of opinion to which democratic states pay lip service.

de Tocqueville said he knew of no other country than America in which there was so "little independence of mind and real freedom of discussion" and noted the "formidable barriers around the liberty of opinion" raised by the majority as well as the penalties for those who went beyond them, for they were "in danger of an auto-da-fe" and "exposed to continued obloquy and persecution" until they yielded and were silent as if they felt "remorse for having spoken the truth."[13]

The result of tyranny of the majority is a severe limit on any potential for diverse opinion. Those who violate the barriers are shunned or forced to search out another community with views more similar to their own. The pressure to conform is in the form of an unspoken power that both the marginalized person and the majority recognize. There is, in all this, of course, a strong relationship to many conditions under which people of diverse ethnicities live and interact on college campuses.

Legal and Regulatory Tie-ins for Campus Diversity

In the 1993 U. S. Supreme Court decision *R.A.V. v. St. Paul*,

justices voted 5-4 to throw out a St. Paul, Minnesota, ordinance banning displays of racial bias. The court said such government regulation went too far. The St. Paul ordinance, which had banned the display of a burning cross or a Nazi swastika or any writing or picture which "arouses the anger, alarm or resentment in others on the basis of race, color, creed, religion or gender," violated the First amendment by punishing only certain forms of expressive conduct. The court said the First Amendment did not permit St. Paul to put special prohibitions on speakers expressing views on unfavorable topics.[14]

The high court has been quite supportive over the years in the need for a wide-ranging freedom of expression. Here are some examples:[15]

Justice William Brennan in *Texas v. Johnson* (the flag-burning case) wrote 'If there is a bedrock principle underlying the First Amendment, it is that the Government may not prohibit the expression of an idea simply because society finds the idea itself offensive or disagreeable.' Brennan also wrote 'The First Amendment does not guarantee that other concepts virtually sacred to our Nation as a whole—such as the principle that discrimination on the basis of race is odious and destructive—will go unquestioned in the marketplace of ideas.'

Justice Holmes wrote nearly a century ago 'If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate.'

In the case *New York Times v. Sullivan* in the mid-1960s Brennan wrote that 'debate on public issues should be uninhibited, robust and wide-open, and that it may well include vehement, caustic and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks.'

Similarly, Justice Harlan wrote in *Cohen v. California* (the "fuck the draft" decision) that 'we cannot indulge in the facile assumption that one can forbid particular words without also running the substantial risk of suppressing ideas in the process.'

Spurred by political ramifications and PC concerns, a philosophy of limited free speech prompted university regulations against hate speech to be revisited or revised, and by 1993 more than 100 universities and colleges had passed regulations holding students to stricter standards of speech and press than exist in society as a whole (down from 1991 when it was estimated that two thirds of American universities had such codes),[16]

Here are some examples of how codes were revised:[17]

University of Wisconsin—(1992) repealed its speech code prohibiting students from uttering racist or sexist slurs, which had been adopted in 1989.

University of Texas, Austin—(1992) administrators sent their hate speech policy to general counsel for review.

University of Michigan—(1992) in light of *RAV v. City of St. Paul* (the cross-burning decision) general counsel said any action taken against students under its code were suspended while the university develops a new code in line with the Supreme Court's guidelines.

Stanford—(1992) a speech code was adopted restricting intentional, face-to-face racist, homophobic or sexual epithets.

University of Florida and New York University—codes took a moderate road and circumvented the free speech issue by regulating harassment, vandalism, trespassing, etc.

Wichita State University—faculty members voted down a proposal that students must take courses in race, gender and ethnicity.

University of Washington—faculty defeated a plan that would require PC sensitivity courses.

Drake University—faculty approved guidelines affirming academic freedom including a statement opposing any university regulation that would prohibit any form of speech or communication in the classroom, however offensive.

State of Washington—(June 1992) Senior Assistant Attorney General Richard M. Montecucco advised in the wake of the U. S. Supreme Court's *RAV* decision that 'colleges and universities proceed to address the problem [of malicious harassment] through educational programs and committees on diversity, and generally attempt to educate individuals about the concerns people of various ethnic origins and others have regarding statements which are offensive to a lot of people.'

The legal and university maneuvering to find middle ground suggests that colleges and universities cannot abridge the content of speech unless the speech falls into very exceptional categories: words that in-

cite violent behavior, really obscene speech, and possibly libel. These categories of speech are deemed to have such little redeeming social value and to be so undeserving of constitutional protection that the downside of forbidding them is outweighed by far greater social benefits and needed protection.

The Wisdom of Speech Codes

Are speech codes all that wise? Given the conceptual and legal complexities set forth, a comprehensive answer may not be found. Some think not. In noting that codes are designed to provide a "more tolerant, civilized, peaceful, and effective learning environment," Judge Joseph Bellacosa asked, "But what of the backfire and chill on skeptical speech and the free exchange of ideas? Does 'political correctness'—whatever that is—rear it ugly head and further complicate and misdirect the effort?"[18]

Bellacosa noted that in the short run, there is confusion of controversy and litigation concerning these codes, and "in the long run, these exertions on campuses across the country seem doomed by self-contradiction—*the head-on clash with the educational environment of free discourse and openness and re-examination of ideas, even detestable or very unsettling ones*" (emphasis added).[19]

"The central purpose of higher education," Bellacosa asserted, "is to expose students to a diversity of new ideas and people; to teach critical examination of the opinions and perspectives of others rather than blind acceptance or rejection based on direction from on high."[20]

Bellacosa noted that "*people do not want conformity and, yet, they do want civility*" (emphasis added) with the key being to continue the search for "alternative means to achieve the good ends—tolerance, mutual respect and a healthy, effective environment conducive to learning and discourse—without sacrificing fundamental values."[21]

Bellacosa also cited Yale President Benno Schmidt, who captured an important element of this side of the argument by noting that much expression that is free "may deserve our contempt" and that people will probably be moved to exercise their own freedom to "counter it or ignore it" but that universities cannot suppress or censor speech, "no matter how obnoxious in content, without violating their justification for existence."[22]

Schmidt's view, according to Bellacosa, is that on some university campuses, "values of civility and community have been offered by some as paramount values of the university, even to the extent of superseding freedom of expression," but that this view is "wrong in principle and, if extended, is disastrous to freedom of thought" in part because these codes are "typically enforced by faculty and students who commonly assert that vague notions of community are more important to the

academy than freedom of thought and expression."[23] But in spite of such admonitions, it may be useful to think another way about freedoms of people of different ethnicities who are shouted down and harassed because somebody is free under the Constitution to attack in such a manner.

A Different View

A stance in favor only of free speech is an important one but may not be comprehensive if those on the margins of society remain fearful and unheard. Are there solutions other than free speech or speech codes? Is there middle ground? I say the answer is yes, and others have said yes as well.

To counter hate speech on university campuses, here are some academic remedies that have been suggested previously.[24]

1) Use and enforce other codes governing student conduct.
2) Identify and promote profiles in tolerance and courage, such as teachers, and honor and exalt them so as to counter "lionizing of haters and disrupters."
3) Create demonstrations, projects and discourses, compelled or mandatory mediation, and counseling.
4) Formulate counterculture courses to examine and critically challenge hate-filled or baiting speech that hurts and injures. In other words, use "good speech to counter bad speech."
5) Promote incentives and disincentives that do not simultaneously produce disproportionately adverse consequences; use stigma and shunning and "speech chills."
6) Use traditional tools and other mechanisms higher education institutions have designed to protect minorities' interests during their education.
7) Enforce anti-bias policies and laws that already exist.
8) Strive for affirmative action in the hiring of professors and strive to achieve enrollment of a diverse student body.
9) Support multicultural events, minority student organizations, and the development of workshops and forums for moderated discussion of controversial ideas and subjects.

All these are solutions with potentially positive ramifications, and used alone, in groups, or en masse, would help resolve hate speech problems. But there is also another remedy (embedded in part in the ninth solution above) with deep ties to a notion of free speech, and I believe it may be a more healing approach. In fact, if used to complement some of those suggested just above, it has the potential to make

the university community into a safe haven for all ethnicities. The remedy is embodied in the belief that more speech is the solution to hate speech.

Hate speech codes do not achieve this. Placing limitations on the verbal expressions toward group hatred, as First Amendment philosopher Franklyn S. Haiman has noted, does not make those attitudes disappear. Instead, it forces them underground. In effect, suppression of hateful expressions makes society think it has solved a problem that actually persists. Those who are clever enough will evade the regulations and perhaps increase the persuasiveness of their arguments by phrasing them in less repugnant terms. This, in turn, makes censored material and its advocates into martyrs and increases public curiosity about their stances.[25]

A watershed question might well be this: How many of a society's problems go on festering just because they are not discussed openly? It is no secret regarding human societies that only in a full and robust discussion where all ideas can be aired do people have a chance to achieve understanding. If views are forbidden or limited, those holding them are resentful and hold onto the views. They may move, as if in a de Tocquevillean scenario, to a different community, but the fallacies of the view are not challenged. And the hate remains.

If a remedy of more speech is to work, however, it must not be unregulated speech. Robust speech is best expressed in a forum which mirrors a town meeting that de Tocqueville might have found as he wandered through America in the 1830s. After all, democracy as we know it has evolved from such community meetings where differences were worked out. Differences, like bad wounds, cannot heal if they are wrapped but not cleansed. Community meetings that discuss all aspects of that which is hated allow the necessary cleansing that can promote the healing. And, if the discussion is to cleanse, it must be orderly and mostly rational. Thus, all views, including the hateful ones, must be allowed and even promoted.[26]

This means that the community meeting again provides the guidance, as such meetings traditionally are "regulated" by a moderator or moderators who allow all views to be heard—but not all at once, for that would be chaos. The moderator(s) bear a special burden in making sure the community meeting does not result in a tyranny of the majority. This person cannot permit the meeting to become one in which only those shouting down the hateful speech are heard.

Instead, the moderator(s) must make certain all those with views, however hateful or marginal, express them, even if they do so meekly. The atmosphere, while likely to be spirited and emotional for some and at times fearful for others, must be made into a safe haven in its own right—so safe all will speak freely. In this way tyranny of the majority will be avoided.

Some of the elements of this approach can be found in a modified form in an incident at Arizona State University earlier this decade. The handling of the hate speech incident there gives a rough blueprint of how to handle many hate speech incidents in university campus communities.

At ASU, a student had taped to the outside of his dorm room a computer printout, "Work Application (Simplified for Minority Applicants)." It contained the usual stereotypes about Mexican Americans and African Americans. Three African American women living on the floor above saw the poster knocked on the door and persuaded a roommate of the culprit to take it down and allow them to make a copy. They informed the residence director, who notified a campus environmental team. But the poster, though hateful, was clearly permissible under the First Amendment, so instead of fighting a legal battle they would likely lose (and which would take time and not promote much understanding), those concerned called a meeting of dorm residents. In that community meeting, all, including those who felt the hate speech sting, were allowed to speak out. The campus newspaper reported on the meeting, and in spite of some sentiment to discipline the poster's owner, the head of the Student African American Coalition, a sophomore named Rossie Turman, called for a press conference and rally to voice concern—and one can presume raise consciousness regarding the issue.[27]

Presumably the meeting had a moderator who allowed all views to be expressed, and, hopefully, all views were expressed. If the meeting were lengthy enough, the pettiness, falsity, and ignorance of the hateful views would become clear to those holding them, and understanding and learning (consciousness-raising) would occur. The answer does not lie in suppression of expressive hate speech, and it does not lie in having a society with rules that allow hateful speech to dominate. The answer lies in promoting more speech. Most likely, it must then be combined with reasonable regulation against hateful behavior—for example, from the solutions listed above.

Conclusion

This, on the whole, is my present stance. But my mind is not totally at rest regarding the issue. There is, after all, conformity—and tyranny of the majority—to consider, which easily can be promoted in a society driven by a mass media controlled by those with selfish interests rooted in profit and manipulation not in promoting diversity and equality.

So I keep searching for other alternatives because it seems unwise to give free expression total free rein. And it can be disastrous to outlaw all behavior that embodies expressive characteristics. The problem still exists. Wide-open, robust discussion may well help us arrive at the truth, and the truth may well set us free, but for ethnic minorities I sometimes wonder if it is worth waiting forever for freedom.

NOTES

[1]Don Pember, *Mass Media Law*, 6th ed. (Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown, 1993), 89.

[2]Of course, many others have explored the concepts examined in this paper. To explore this body of literature, I suggest that readers begin with the following sources: Beckwith, Francis J. and Michael E. Bauman, eds., *Politically Correct? Debating America's Cultural Standards* (Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1993); Berman, Paul, ed., *Debating P.C.: The Controversy over Political Correctness on College Campuses* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1992); Brownstein, Alan E., "Hate Speech at Public Universities: The Search for an Enforcement Model," *The Wayne Law Review Spring* 1991, 1451-68; Dworkin, Andrea, *Life and Death* (New York: The Free Press, 1997); MacKinnon, Catherine A. , *Only Words* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993); and Matsuda, Mari J., et.al., *Words that Wound: Critical Race Theory, Assaultive Speech and the First Amendment* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1993).

[3]Nadine Strossen, "Political Correctness: Avoiding Extremism in the PC Controversy," *Visions of the First Amendment for a New Millennium* (Washington, DC: The Annenberg Washington Program, 1992): 16-17.

[4]Strossen, 14-17.

[5]Strossen, 18.

[6]Strossen, 18. Strossen credits this list to Gary Wills. The other four categories include 1) applying affirmative action in selecting students and faculty, 2) modifying a traditional "canon" of academic works with a more multicultural curriculum, 3) applying social pressure in a persuasive manner, and 4) promoting the use of softened terminology regarding such matters.

[7]See, for example, Matthew Ribinson, "A Fork in the Tongue: Proposed Bill is a Step in the Right Direction Towards Abolishing Restrictive Speech Codes," *The UCSD Guardian*, 6 February 1992, 4, 6.

[8]Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, ed. Quintin Hoare, et.al. (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1971). Gramsci also said that creating a new culture does not only mean "one's own individual 'original' discoveries." To him it also meant diffusion in a critical form of truths already discovered, their "socialization" as it were, and even making them a basis of vital action, an element of coordination and intellectual and moral order. (See Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, 325).

[9]Walter L. Adamson, *Hegemony and Revolution: A Study of Antonio Gramsci's Political and Cultural Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). Adamson says hegemony can be the consensual basis of an existing political system within civil society or it can refer to an overcoming of the economic-corporative, referring to the advance to a class consciousness.

[10]Stuart A. Scheingold, *The Politics of Rights: Lawyers, Public Policy and Political Change* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974).

[11]Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1945), 264.

[12]de Tocqueville, 273.

[13]de Tocqueville, 273-4.

[14]*R.A.V. vs. St. Paul* 112 S. Ct. 2538 (1992).

[15]The exact citations of the following court cases can be found in Gerald Gunther, "Good Speech, Bad Speech: NO," *Stanford Lawyer*, September 1990, 7, 9, 41.

[16]Pember, 89.

[17]These examples were culled from a variety of sources and included in a Bureau of Faculty Research speech titled "Political Correctness and Hate Speech on the University Campus," by this author, Western Washington University, Fall 1993.

[18]Bellacosa.

[19]Bellacosa.

[20]Bellacosa.

[21]Bellacosa.

[22]Bellacosa.

[23]Bellacosa.

[24]For a discussion of the remedies below, see Joseph W. Bellacosa, "Regulation of Speech on Campus: Suitable to a University or Oxymoron?" *New York Law Journal*, 24 June 1992, 2. A sample list of the kinds of hate speech incidents including the following: Stanford (1988)—Black features were painted on a Beethoven poster. [Discipline—white student expelled from housing by administration]. Tufts University (1990)—A student poked fun at a friend wearing a bandanna by calling the friend "Hey, Aunt Jemima." A bystander took offense at what she perceived to be a racist remark. [Student was put on academic probation and found guilty of harassment.] Brown University (1991)—Douglas Hann celebrated his 21st birthday by getting drunk and yelling expletives against Jews, homosexuals and blacks in the quad (a year earlier he had been sentenced to attend a race relations class and get alcohol abuse counseling). [Disciplined for the second offense by being expelled.] Occidental College (1992)—A male who called a female student an insulting four-letter word for vagina. [Discipline—sentenced to work thirty days of community service.] University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (1992)—Conservative radio personality Mark Belling was invited to speak but then was attacked by objects hurled by protesters and driven off the stage. [The local ACLU leader criticized the assault of free speech but rationalized the mob's behavior by saying students were justifiably frustrated—racism and homophobia led them to violate the First Amendment rights of others. Student newspapers, left and right, denounced the demonstrators.] Dallas Baptist University (1992)—An untenured assistant professor of sociology argued in a colloquium against certain tenets of contemporary feminist dogma. He presented evidence suggesting all known societies assign roles on the basis of gender and suggesting some of the differences between men and women originate in biology and genetics. [Discipline—His presentation caused a storm of controversy and charges were brought against him by the administration. He and a dean who refused to investigate were denied reappointment.] Harvard (1992)—Editors of the conservative magazine *Peninsula* put up a flier in April 1992 advertising a symposium on "Modernity and the Negro as a Paradigm of Sexual Liberation" and depicting a black woman doing a striptease before an audience of white men. It was captioned "...spade kicks, what other kicks are there?" [The Harvard-Radcliffe Black Student Association condemned the flier for fostering a climate of harassment at the institution.] University of Pennsylvania (1993)—Freshman Eden Jacobwitz shouted out the window of his dorm to women members of a black sorority who were whooping it up below. He said they were water buffalo and if they wanted to party, a zoo was nearby. [Discipline—asked to hold a racial sensitivity seminar in his dorm and have a harassment charge noted on his transcript (refused and went to trial—outcome unknown).]

[25]Franklyn S. Haiman, "The Remedy is More Speech," *American Prospect* (Summer 1991), 30-35.

[26]The notion of community meetings, sometimes called town meetings, is not new. For example, First Amendment Philosopher Alexander Meiklejohn was known for advocating such meetings regarding his belief of how self-government should work. See Alexander Meiklejohn, "The Rulers and the Ruled," *Free Speech and Its Relation to Self-Government* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), 1-27.

[27]Kaurence R. Stains, "Speech Impediments," *Rolling Stone* August 1993, 45-6, 48-9, 79.

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Hispanic Immigration and Spanish Maintenance as Indirect Measures of Ethnicity: Reality and Perceptions

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Many supporters of official English have accused U. S. Hispanics of refusing to learn English and rejecting the traditional assimilationist model by clinging to their ethnolinguistic identity. An analysis of U. S. Census data from the last thirty years refutes these claims. The picture of U. S. Hispanic maintenance of ethnolinguistic identity has evolved. Here we show that while adult Spanish loyalty has decreased, youth Spanish loyalty has increased; however, Spanish maintenance does not occur at the expense of English proficiency. Once recent immigrants are subtracted from the Hispanic population, U. S. Census figures show clearly that long-term limited English proficiency has decreased substantially. This analysis clearly supports the conclusions of experts who have noted that Hispanic youth are embracing a bilingual model, one which allows them to maintain their ethnolinguistic identity while acquiring the English skills necessary for success in the United States.

INTRODUCTION

The last three decades have seen an impressive rise in the rate of Hispanic immigration to the U.S. Many Americans question whether Hispanics are now maintaining their language to the exclusion of English.[1] This concern about language is symbolic of fears that a politically and culturally separatist mentality is developing among U.S. Hispanics.

While the rate of Hispanic immigration to the U.S. remained relatively steady during the sixties and seventies, during the eighties the rate of immigration doubled (see Table 1). A series of events conspired to drive Hispanics to the U.S. in search of economic and political refuge. Fully two-thirds of the increase, one million immigrants, came from

Mexico, which during the eighties endured a prolonged economic crisis. Political upheavals in Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Columbia added another 330,000. Poverty and war were therefore largely responsible for the historic increase in the number of U.S. Spanish speakers.

The popular press has publicized polls that convincingly demonstrate that Americans on the whole have become increasingly hostile to immigration. Whereas in 1965 a Gallup poll found that only 33% surveyed agreed that immigration to the U.S. should be decreased, that figure climbed to 42% in 1977. A Times/CBS poll conducted in 1986 registered another increase in hostility to immigration to 49%, and a poll conducted June 21-24, 1993 of 1,363 people recorded that 61% favored decreasing immigration.[2] Individuals who derive their sense of self-worth from what they perceive to be the stability of the society in which they live feel threatened and less sure of themselves as they witness changes. The shifting status of English is the source of a considerable level of anxiety, which surely has been exacerbated by the high levels of speakers of "foreign" languages in the U.S.

In the literature on ethnicity self-recognition by a collectivity is accomplished in a partly contrastive way, that is, by defining one's group as separate from another.[3] A change in public language use heightens the consciousness of an ethnic group of the boundary between its own identity and that of another group. In the case of the U.S., many monolingual Anglophones increasingly come into contact with speakers of other languages and become more aware of who they are as a group and at the same time become fearful of their future.

Certain politicians and lobbyists have tried to work the fear of change and heightened sense of ethnic boundaries to their advantage. Perhaps the best-known of these is Pat Buchanan, who in 1984 specifically linked the immigration question with issues both racial and linguistic when he stated "The central objection to the present flood of illegals is that they are not English-speaking white people from Western Europe; they are Spanish-speaking brown and black people from Mexico, Latin America, and the Caribbean."[4]

Another group that responds to and purports to represent the fears of Americans that Hispanics in particular represent a serious threat to the ethnolinguistic integrity of the U.S. is U.S. ENGLISH, an organization of over half a million which has been analyzed extensively in sociolinguistic literature.[5] The claims published by U.S. ENGLISH that U.S. Hispanics are refusing to learn English are examined in the present article in light of data produced in academic research and by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The purpose of this analysis is to use little understood sociolinguistic aspects of national U.S. English-Spanish bilingualism to refute incontrovertibly the claims of many official English boosters but at the same time to reveal the dynamic effect of change in languauage use on ethnolinguistic identity.

Table 1
Hispanic Immigration to the U. S., 1960-1990

(not included: Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay)

	Census Year		
Country	**1961-1970**	**1971-1980**	**1981-1990**
Spain	30,500	30,000	15,800
Mexico	443,300	637,200	1,653,300
Cuba	256,800	276,800	159,200
Dominican Republic	94,100	148,000	251,800
Costa Rica	17,400	12,100	15,500
El Salvador	15,000	34,400	214,600
Guatemala	15,400	25,600	87,900
Honduras	15,500	17,200	49,500
Nicaragua	10,100	13,000	44,100
Panamá	18,400	22,700	29,000
Argentina	42,100	25,100	25,700
Chile	11,500	17,600	23,400
Colombia	70,300	77,600	124,400
Ecuador	37,000	50,200	56,000
Perú	18,600	22,700	41,300
Venezuela	8,500	7,100	17,100
TOTALS	1,104,500	1,408,300	2,799,400

Ethnolinguistic Identity

The sociolinguistic dimension of U.S. Hispanic bilingualism is relevant to the larger question of ethnic identity, but the analysis of census data presented here is specifically related to language use and not to ethnicity *per se*. The task of determining just how the very revealing facts of immigrant and non-immigrant Spanish and English language use in the U.S. may be related to the larger sociocultural and political questions of ethnic identity is left to future research.

Ethnolinguistic identity is not entirely dependent on language use, and, conversely, use of a given language is not necessarily indicative of a certain ethnic identity; however, the term itself strongly implies a relationship between the two.[6] A U.S. Hispanic who speaks no Spanish is probably not the same ethnically as another U.S. Hispanic for whom Spanish is a native language. Native knowledge of a language does not confer a certain kind of ethnicity, a fact evident to some Chicano exchange students during their stays in Mexico, during which they discover how very different they are from Mexicans.[7] Nevertheless, the U.S. Spanish-speaker who first travels to a Spanish-speaking country frequently experiences a rediscovery of aspects of his or her ethnicity of which he or she was previously unaware.

The U.S. Hispanic community is very diverse but is responded to politically as a unitary entity by some politicians, by lobbying concerns such as the 500,000 member U.S. ENGLISH organization, and by many Americans. Political postures reflect, albeit imperfectly, popular sentiment, and popular sentiment, in turn, is relevant to the question of ethnicity, since the phenomenon is not merely a function of a group's view of itself but of how outsiders view the group as well.[8]

A revealing example of the fear of the rise of Spanish is cited in the pages of U.S. ENGLISH, which quotes John Hughes, a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist who was Assistant Secretary of State from 1982 to 1984:

> Spanish is a second language for many, the sole language for some. The 1980 census indicated that 23 million Americans do not speak English at home; by the year 2000 the total number of non-English-speaking Americans will be just under 40 million. Nobody questions their right to maintain the language and culture of their ancestry, or the desirability of doing so. What language people speak at their own dinner tables is no business of government.[9]

Hughes may have meant simply that there will be 40 million individuals whose first language is other than English, but note the hyperbole that

both explicitly and implicitly is present in his prediction: people whose first language is not English are not English speakers. As we shall see, that assertion is simply not supported by the facts.

While it is important to recognize that ethnicity and language are only indirectly related and that in certain areas of the U.S. the influence of immigration is felt much more than others, Hispanic maintenance of ethnolinguistic identity is viewed in this article as a national phenomenon, evidence for which is limited to self-evaluations of U.S. Hispanics reported to the U.S. Bureau of the Census. This is entirely appropriate, since the paper is essentially a response to those politicians and constituent groups who claim that the putative shift away from English and toward Spanish is a phenomenon national in scope.

The Context of U.S. Hispanic Language Behavior

In 1990, of the 230,445,777 persons in the U.S. who were age five or over, 31,844,979 spoke a language other than English at home (see Table 2). Of these, 13,982,502, or approximately 6% of the U.S. population reported not speaking English at the level 'very well.' The census bureau reports that over 75% of nonnative English speakers claim to speak English at least "well."[11] This means that of the 32 million non-native speakers of English slightly fewer than eight million or 3.5% reported speaking English less than "well." Even someone who reports that his or her English is only "fair" hardly can be considered to be a non-English-speaker, so this method of determining acceptable English proficiency is conservative. Nonetheless, even using this conservative estimate, 96.5% of the country speaks English "weli" or "very well."

Table 2
Summary Statistics on Language Use from 1990 U.S. Census
(Persons 5 years and over: 230,445,777)[10]

Mother tongue of U.S. citizens 5 years and over who speak a language other than English	Number of U.S. citizens 5 years and over who speak a language other than English	Number of U.S. citizens 5 years and over who do not speak English 'very well'	Percent who do not speak English very well'
Spanish	17,345,064	8,309,995	47.9%
Asian/Pacific	4,471,621	2,420,355	54.1%
TOTAL	31,844,979	13,982,502	43.9%

Within this national context the figures in Table 2 show that while the proportion of U.S. Hispanics who report speaking English "very well" is somewhat higher than that of the total population of non-English-mother-tongue Americans, a higher proportion of the U.S. population of Asian/Pacific origin is of limited English proficiency (as defined by this overly conservative method). The figures in Table 2 also reveal that although speakers of many other languages were also living in and immigrating to the U.S., speakers of Spanish constituted the overwhelming majority of individuals claiming a language other than English as their mother tongue.

The Increase in the Number of U.S. Spanish Speakers

During the life of U.S. ENGLISH, Spanish, the world's third or fourth largest language depending on how such matters are figured, has also grown tremendously in the U.S.[13] The growth of Spanish in the U.S. is a complex phenomenon. Millions of people are involved, which makes precise quantification a daunting task. What is more, this historic demographic shift must be examined not only in absolute terms, but as well in relation to the broader patterns of U.S. population growth. Bills, Hernández-Chávez and Hudson have refined a number of relevant measures which simplify the job of understanding language shift.[14] The most basic and easily understood is "count," which is simply the total number of individuals in a given group. In Table 3 the U.S. and U.S. Hispanic counts are presented. The figures are indeed striking. The historic increase in the numbers of U.S. Hispanics that occurred during the last decade was actually eclipsed in some respects by the increase in Hispanics during the seventies, which alerted the supporters of official English to the perceived challenge that their language faced.

In 1970, the total U.S. population was 203,302,031, and Hispanic density, defined by Bills, Hernández-Chávez and Hudson as the proportion of the population that is of Hispanic origin, stood at only 3.9% (see Table 3). Just over 12% of those Hispanics had immigrated to the U.S. during the previous decade. By 1980, of the total U.S. population of 226,545,580, 6.4% was Hispanic. The Hispanic population had increased by 5,536,017 to 14,608,673.

The data on the increase in the U.S. Hispanic count may be analyzed in greater detail in order to allow for a more complete understanding of this important demographic shift of the seventies (see Table 4). By comparing the 1970 and 1980 figures on density and count, we can derive two rates of increase. The first is an increase in Hispanic count, calculated by expressing the difference between the 1980 and 1970 figures as a proportion of the 1970 count: 14,608,673 - 9,072,602)/ 9,072,602 = .61. Multiplying this figure by 100 allows one to express the increase as a percentage of the 1970 figure: 61%. The rate of increase

in Hispanic count dropped to 50% in the next decade. A second rate of increase is in what Bills, Hernández-Chávez, Hudson, refer to as "density," that is, the percentage of the entire population that is Hispanic (see density figures in Table 3). The rate of increase in Hispanic density from 1970 to 1980 was 64%. During the next decade the rate of increase was much less at 38%.

Table 3
U.S. Hispanic Count and Density, 1970-1990[12]

Census Year	U.S. Count (USC)	Hispanic Count (HC)	Hispanic Density	Hispanic Immigrant	Hispanic Immigrant
1970	203,302,031	9,072,602	3.9%	1,104,500	0.5%
1980	226,545,580	14,608,673	6.4%	1,408,300	0.6%
1990	248,709,873	21,900,089	8.8%	2,799,400	1.1%

Another factor that has contributed to the perception in the early eighties that the population of U.S. Hispanics, especially Spanish-speaking Hispanics, was increasing rapidly, was the tremendous influx of immigrants to the U.S. In 1970 only 0.5% of the U.S. population had migrated from Hispanic countries during the previous decade (this is labeled Hispanic Immigrant Density in Table 3). In 1980, 0.6% of the U.S. population had migrated from Hispanic countries. Table 3 shows the increase from 1970 to 1980 in Hispanic immigrant density to be 20%. Certainly this increase was even more noticeable in border states.

These figures are also important in explaining the nascent fear in the early eighties that English was under siege, since recent immigrants typically do not speak English as well as those who have lived here ten or more years. During the eighties the increase in Hispanic immigrant count and density was even more dramatic and lends further support to the idea that the increased *linguistic* evidence of Hispanic presence fueled the anti-immigrant and English-only movements of the eighties. What is especially remarkable about the data in Table 4 is the large difference between Hispanic and *Hispanic immigrant* rates of increase. Whereas the rate of increase in total Hispanic count and density dropped, the rate of increase in Hispanic immigrant count and density rose. To the casual observer the effect was a notable increase in the use of Spanish in the U.S. during the seventies and especially during the eighties.

Table 4
Rates of Increase in U.S. Hispanic and Hispanic Immigrant Count and Density, 1970-1990.

Census Year	Hispanic Count	Hispanic Density	Hispanic Immigrant Count	Hispanic Immigrant Density
1970-1980	61%	64%	28%	20%
1980-1990	50%	38%	99%	83%

The Increase in the Number of Spanish-Speakers

The above analysis of the effect of rising Hispanic and Hispanic immigrant count and density shows the basis of some of the fears of those associated with U.S. ENGLISH, but an important question has been left unanswered. Are U.S. Hispanics clinging to their mother tongue? Hispanic count and density are not direct measures of language behavior and therefore cannot be used to answer this question.

Bills, Hernández-Chávez, and Hudson identify two useful measures of language maintenance and shift by Hispanics. They include "loyalty," the proportion of a group that is Spanish speaking, and "retention," the ratio of youth loyalty to adult loyalty. Data on loyalty and retention based on U.S. census data are presented in Table 5. These measures can be used to present a more accurate picture of maintenance of Spanish in the U.S. A glance at Table 5 will reveal that among young and old Hispanics alike, the vast majority report using Spanish. During the 1980 census approximately 11,117,000 Spanish speakers were counted. This figure was later revised upward to 11,549,000. Of these individuals a total of 2,952,000 aged 5-17 spoke Spanish. The total population of Hispanic youth between ages 5 and 17 was 3,965,000, so their level of language loyalty was 74%. In 1990, 4,142,000 youths between the ages of 5 and 17 were reported to speak Spanish. Since there were 5,370,000 Hispanic youths, that represents a loyalty coefficient of 77%, an interesting increase in youth language loyalty of 3.6% but hardly the massive shift fears expressed repeatedly in *U. S. ENGLISH Update*.[15]

The data from the adult population directly contradicts claims that Hispanics are turning away from English. In 1980 out of a total of 8,981,000 U. S. Hispanic adults (18 and older), 8,164,000 spoke Spanish, a language loyalty rate of 91%. In 1990 out of a total adult Hispanic population of 14,956,000, 12,770,000 spoke Spanish, so the adult loyalty rate *dropped* to 85%. The figures in Table 5 show that the rate of retention (referred to on the chart as "youth/adult loyalty") of Spanish

has actually increased by just over 10%. Since retention is the ratio of youth loyalty to adult loyalty, the increase to a large extent is due to the decrease in adult loyalty, which makes retention by the younger generation appear all the more striking. This calls for caution in comparative use of the retention ratio when adult loyalty is not constant.

U.S. Hispanic Ability in English

Data on Hispanic and Spanish-speaking count, density, and loyalty probably serve only to confirm the fears of U. S. ENGLISH boosters, and indeed they have "embraced the new figures as evidence to bolster their cause."[16] The statistics welcomed by U. S. ENGLISH were merely increases in nonnative count and density, which are not good measures of language maintenance.[17] Even measures of language maintenance do not provide an adequate response to what is perhaps the most ardent claim by supporters of official English: that Spanish speakers have stopped learning English.

Table 5
Changes in U.S. Hispanic and Spanish Speaker Count, Loyalty, and Retention, 1980-1990

Census Year	1980	1990
Total Hispanic Count 5 years old and over	12,946,000	20,326,000
Total Spanish Speaker Count 5 years old and over	11,117,000	16,912,000
Total Language Loyalty	.86	.83
Hispanic Count 5-17 years	3,965,000	5,370,000
Spanish Speaker Count 5-17 years	2,952,000	4,142,000
Youth Language Loyalty	.74	.77
Hispanic Count 18 years old and over	8,981,000	14,956,000
Spanish Speaker Count 18 years old and over	8,164,000	12,770,000
Adult Language Loyalty	.91	.85
Youth/Adult Loyalty Ratio	.81	.90

In order to answer the question of U.S. limited English proficiency (LEP), 1980 data are analyzed first (see Table 6). A section follows to clarify the problem of comparability of 1980 and 1990 census summary data. Finally, 1990 data are analyzed and compared with those of 1980. Data on the issue of Hispanic ability in English are displayed in Table 6.

Table 6
Hispanic Limited English Proficiency and Long-Term Limited English Proficiency, 1980-1990.

Census Year	1980	1990	Rate of Increase
Total U.S. Count	226,546,00	248,710,000	10%
Total Hispanic Count	14,609,000	21,900,000	50%
Total Spanish-Speaking Hispanic Count	11,117,000	16,912,000	52%
Non-Immigrant Spanish-Speaking Hispanic Count	9,709,000	14,113,000	70%
Total Immigrant Count	1,408,000	2,799,000	99%
Total Hispanic LEP Count	2,708,000	4,228,000	56%
LEP Density among All Hispanic Spanish-Speakers	.24	.25	5%
LEP Density among All Hispanics	.18	.19	6%
Spanish-Speaking LEP Density in U.S. Population	.01	.02	100%
Total Spanish-Speaking LTLEP Count	1,300,000	1,537,000	18%
LTLEP Density among Non-Immigrant Spanish-Speaking Hispanics	.13	.11	-15%
LTLEP Density among All Hispanics	.09	.07	-22%
Spanish-Speaking LTLEP Density among All U.S. Population	.0057	.0062	9%

Hispanic Limited English Proficiency in 1980

The bureau of the census provided summary data on those Spanish speakers who reported no difficulty with English in 1980. Of the 14,609,000 Hispanics, approximately 11,117,000 age five and older reported speaking Spanish, and 2,708,000 (24% of Spanish speakers, 18% of all Hispanics, and 1% of the U.S. population) reported difficulty with English. During the previous decade, approximately 1,408,000 Hispanics had immigrated to the U.S. Assuming that recently immigrated Hispanics have difficulty with English, by subtracting the number of recent immigrants from the total number of LEP Hispanics, a core of 1,300,000 long-term LEP (LTLEP) speakers of Spanish can be identified. To the extent that the assumption concerning the English ability of immigrants is wrong, the number of enduring monolingual Spanish speakers could be even greater. The procedure establishes a minimum limit to the count of LTLEP, the occurrence of which may be due to linguistic isolation, economic marginalization, lack of motivation, or lack of educational opportunity.

Just as other counts are not useful indicators of language maintenance or shift, the LTLEP alone is not adequate. Three indices of LTLEP density need to be derived. The number of non-immigrant Spanish-speaking Hispanics is derived simply by subtracting the number of immigrants from the Spanish-speaking Hispanic total. Dividing the LTLEP count by this figure, we obtain an index of LTLEP density among non-immigrant Spanish-speaking Hispanics of 13%. This is an important figure, for it responds to the fear that supporters of official English had in the early eighties that those who had lived for an extended period of time in the U.S. and persisted in using Spanish were rejecting English. That fear is simply unfounded. Of long-term U.S. Hispanic residents, 87% have no problem whatsoever with English. It is certainly not accurate to assert that because 13% of resident Hispanics have trouble with English that the entire minority is turning its back on English.

Critics of the U.S. Hispanic presence almost unfailingly refers to all Hispanics without distinguishing on the basis of ability in Spanish, so it is appropriate that an index of LTLEP density among all Hispanics should be calculated. As can be seen in Table 6, the result is .09 or nine%. This figure takes into account the fact that many Hispanics do not speak any Spanish at all, a fact that certainly is not emphasized by those who whip up fear against Spanish-speakers and their descendents.

Finally, since critics of bilingualism constantly publicize the putative threat that the Hispanic refusal to learn English represents to national unity, it is important to calculate the proportion of U.S. citizens who are Spanish-speaking LTLEP. The 1.3 million LTLEP Spanish-speakers in 1980 represented just under .06% of the American population.

This, plus the newly arrived immigrants, in concrete, demographic terms, was the size of the linguistic threat from Spanish-speakers that was faced in the U.S. in the early nineties.

The Comparability of 1980 and 1990 Census Summaries

Census statistics are found in widely disseminated publications such as the *World Almanac* or the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Since the 1980 summary described Hispanic ability in English in terms of "reporting no difficulty with English," and the 1990 summary described Hispanic ability in English in terms of "not speaking English 'very well,'" the general impression caused is that Hispanic ability in English has declined over the last decade.

It is now all too easy to confuse two very different statements about language ability. U.S. citizens in 1990 were asked to locate their language ability along a dimension ranging from "very poor" to "very well." The 38% of Hispanics who did not choose the category 'very well' did not necessarily rate themselves as "very poor," "poor" or even "fair" (refer again to Table 2). In fact, as noted above, according to Barringer the Bureau of the Census reports that when the category "well" is added, the number of English speakers among non-native Americans jumps to 75%. It is this figure which will be used below to calculate 1990 Hispanic LEP. The problems of comparability notwithstanding, a reasonable procedure can be formulated to determine in a future study the extent to which Hispanics and others who have been in the U.S. for a decade or more continue to be limited in English proficiency (LEP).

Using the census estimate that 75% of nonnative speakers of English speak the language "well" or "very well," we can assume conservatively that 4,228,000 of the 16,912,000 Spanish-speaking Hispanics were LEP in 1990. Note that this figure is only roughly comparable with the 1980 census summary statistics which reported ability in terms of having no difficulty. Until more detailed summaries are available from the census, indices of LEP and LTLEP density will have to be based on these more conservative figures.

Hispanic Limited English Proficiency in 1990

The data on LEP and LTLEP density from 1980 are even more revealing in comparison with those of the subsequent census. In 1990 as shown in Table 6, 21,900,000 of the total U.S. population of 248,710,000 were Hispanic. The 4,228,000 Hispanics who in 1990 reported speaking English less than "very well" or "well" represented only a slight increase in LEP among Hispanics (6%); however, in the U.S. the increase in LEP Hispanics jumped 100%.

The huge increase in Spanish LEP as a percentage of the U.S. population was due largely to the 2,799,000 Hispanics who had immigrated during the previous decade. When this figure is subtracted from the LEP count, only 1,537,000 Hispanics are LTLEP. This represents an 18% increase over the LTLEP count from the previous decade. Reiterating the limited usefulness of count for determining language maintenance and shift, we turn to the figures on LTLEP density. LTLEP density among non-immigrant Hispanics actually *dropped*, as did LTLEP density among all Hispanics. Whereas LEP increased 100% in the U.S. as a whole, LTLEP increased only 9%.

Attitudinal Shift in Language Loyalty

One may wonder how Americans could be so worried about the imagined Hispanic refusal to learn English when in fact the percentage of LTLEP Hispanics dropped by 15%. The statistical analysis of the census above reveals two facts especially germane to the issue of U.S. ENGLISH perceptions of sociolinguistic reality. The first fact that emerges from the census analysis that explains the perception that Hispanics and other ethnic minorities are shifting languages is the striking difference between adult and youth language loyalty evident from Table 5. This interesting attitudinal change was reported in the *New York Times* to be documented in a study of 5,000 eighth and ninth grade children of immigrants by Johns Hopkins sociologist Alejandro Portes who discovered high ratings of self-proficiency in English among Mexican-Americans and Cuban-Americans (85% and 99%, respectively).[18] These figures for Mexican-American children, in fact, correspond nearly exactly to the 1980 census data that indicated that 85% of Hispanic youth reported "no difficulty with English."[19] These figures indicate that there has been no shift away from English. What is interesting in this context is that Portes makes the striking discovery in his study that 56% of the Mexican-American children prefer Spanish over English, despite their high level of English proficiency.

Hakuta and D'Andrea demonstrate that language shift among youngsters is a robust phenomenon, even in a linguistically isolated Hispanic enclave in Northern California. This directly refutes Tanton's assertion that such isolation leads to Spanish maintenance and failure to learn English. English proficiency among Hispanic youth is a function of age of arrival to the U.S., time of residence in the U.S., and whether parents were born in Mexico or the U.S. Language attitude does not predict proficiency but significantly does predict language choice, in other words, what language a young person will use with peers, siblings, or adults.[20] Solé's study of Southwest U.S. census statistics is one of several that confirm significant language shift among Mexican-American youth.[21]

Proponents of U.S. ENGLISH are quite right in perceiving an attitudinal shift. It is evident in public places. Children in particular no longer feel that they must throw away their mother tongue in order to succeed in the U.S. Portes interprets this change to mean that the old model of assimilation has been debunked. Hakuta and D'Andrea's study, as well as census statistics, shows that a positive attitude toward Spanish does not affect proficiency in English but rather how their proficiency in Spanish is viewed and whether they will choose to use Spanish when the opportunity presents itself. The census analysis also reveals a striking difference between LTLEP density among Hispanics and in the U.S. as a whole. The impressive progress in English by Hispanics resident in the U.S. for ten years or longer has been completely overshadowed by the historic increase in Hispanic immigrants.

While it is true that in cities having a higher proportion of recent immigrants there are also higher rates of retention of Spanish,[22] high rates of immigration (see Table 1) of Hispanics have *not* caused LTLEP density to increase. On the contrary, the vast majority of Hispanics continue to acquire English to a high degree of proficiency. This fact is testimony to the fact that Hispanics do learn English well, in stark contrast to what has been implied and claimed for years in *U.S. ENGLISH Update.*

CONCLUSION

Immigration has had a marked effect on the U.S. community as a whole. What is more, the number of Spanish speakers during the last decade increased dramatically, by 50%. An accompanying effect has been a change in the attitude of U.S. high school children toward their own ethnolinguistic identity (see Sontag's 1993 reference to the Portes study). Hispanic and other ethnic minority youth are less willing to accept an assimilationist model that requires them to abandon their ethnolinguistic identity as the price to pay for full participation in American society.

While the rise in the use of Spanish is obvious to many, the casual observer cannot easily ascertain Hispanic English ability. The census shows the vast majority of all Hispanics speak English well. Adult Hispanic loyalty towards Spanish has actually dropped and the proportion of Hispanics of limited English proficiency has decreased.

Organizations and movements which promote and defend bilingualism must understand the facts of U.S. bilingualism in order to counter baseless claims that the Hispanic community in particular is becoming more and more ethnolinguistically separatist. Explaining the truth of language maintenance and shift is no easy task, since the numbers are very large and the argumentation somewhat technical. That data that show indisputably that nearly all Hispanics learn English well must be publicized. Otherwise, the positive youthful attitude toward ethnolinguistic

identity will be unfairly interpreted as rebellious and will strengthen the backlash against bilingualism.

NOTES

[1] For an analysis of the U.S. ENGLISH organization's campaign against ethnolinguistic diversity in the U.S., see Shaw N. Gynan, "An Analysis of Attitudes toward Spanish as Expressed in *US ENGLISH Update*," *Southwest Journal of Linguistics* 12 (1993), 1- 38.

[2] Seth Mydans, "A new tide of immigration brings hostility to the surface, poll finds," *New York Times*, 27 June 1993, section 1, 1, 16.

[3] See Joshua A. Fishman, *Language and Ethnicity in Minority Sociolinguistic Perspective* (Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters, 1989), 33.

[4] Buchanan's comments are quoted in Jonathan Alter and Michael Isikoff, "The Beltway Populist." *Newsweek* 127 (4 March 1996): 24-27.

[5] See for example Thomas S. Donahue, "'U.S. ENGLISH': Its life and works," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 56 (1985): 99-112; David F. Marshall, "The question of an official language: language rights and the English language amendment,"*International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 60 (1986): 7-75; Joshua A. Fishman, "'English only': Its ghosts, myths, and dangers," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 74 (1988):125-140; James Crawford's brief but revealing history of the organization in *Bilingual Education: History, Politics, Theory and Practice* (Trenton, NJ: Crane Publishing Co., 1989), 54-58; and yet another interesting set of details of the group's ties to anti-immigrationist causes in Raymond Tatalovich, *Nativism Reborn?: The Official English Language Movement and the American States* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1995), 10-16.

[6] See Fishman, 1988, 32; refer also to Howard Giles and Patricia Johnson, "Ethnolinguistic identity theory: A social psychological approach to language maintenance," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 68 (1987): 69-99.

[7] For a frank and memorable chronicle of one such voyage of discovery, see Erlinda Gonzales-Berry, *Paletitas de Guayaba* (Albuquerque NM: Academia/El Norte Publications,1991).

[8] Fishman, 1988, 24.

[9]John Hughes, "For US, it's English," *Christian Science Monitor*, 28 June 1985, reprint *Update* 3 (4), 3.

[10]U.S. Bureau of the Census, "1990 Census of population and housing summary tape file 3C" (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993).

[11]Felicity Barringer, "For 32 million Americans, English is a second language," *New York Times*, 28 April 1993, A18. Barringer reports revised 1980 census figures of 11,549,000, but since the figures on difficulty with English reported by the census bureau are based on the original data, the slightly lower figures are followed throughout this article.

[12]Data for all charts are taken from reports by the U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1960 census of population. General social and economic characteristics: United States summary* (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962); *1970 census of population. National origin and language* (Washington DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975); *Statistical abstract of the United States: 1980.* 106th Edition (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1985); and "1990 Census of population and housing summary tape file 3C" (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993).

[13]Sydney Culbert, "The World's Languages," in *The World Almanac and Book of Facts* (New York NY: Pharos, 1994), 578-79.

[14]Garland D. Bills, Eduardo Hernández-Chávez and Alan Hudson,. "The geography of language shift: Distance from the Mexican border and Spanish language claiming in the Southwestern United States," *University of New Mexico Working Papers in Linguistics* 1 (1993): 15-30.

[15]For an example, refer to former U.S. ENGLISH director John Tanton's editorial, "Things are different now," *Update* 3 (1985): 6.

[16]Barringer, A18.

[17]Bills, et al., 23.

[18]Data from the study by Portes are reported by Deborah Sontag, "A fervent 'no' to assimilation in new America: children of immigrants rewriting an axiom," *New York Times*, 29 June 1993, A10.

[19]See Shaw N. Gynan, "La nueva política lingüística en los Estados Unidos: Propósitos y motivos," in *Language and Language Use: Studies in Spanish*, ed. Terrell. A. Morgan, James F. Lee, and Bill. VanPatten (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1987), 182.

[20]Kenji Hakuta, and Daniel D'Andrea, "Some properties of bilingual maintenance and loss in Mexican background high-school students," *Applied Linguistics* 13 (1992): 72-73.

[21]Yolanda R. Solé, "Bilingualism: stable or transitional? The case of Spanish in the United States," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 84 (1990): 35-80.

[22]Bills, et al., 26.

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An Examination of Social Adaptation Processes of Vietnamese Adolescents

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The purpose of the study was to examine the factors that affect the ways in which Vietnamese youth feel about themselves and their "place" in society. More specifically, the purpose was to determine the relationship between sociocultural factors (i.e. language proficiency, length of residence, socioeconomic class, ethnic identity, and cultural continuity) and such person-oriented variables as depression and alienation. Thrity-one college and fifteen high school students responded to a series of questions about themselves, family, relationships, personality, and achievement motivation. It was found that perceived problems with one's ethnic group, cultural continuity, and parental attitudes toward schooling significantly predicted depression. Degree of attachment to one's ethnic community, English speaking and writing abilities, and outlets for derpession tended to predict future outlook or feelings of hope versus alienation. Several variables were highly predictive of acculturation. Some of those variables are native language ability, English speaking and writing ability, outlets for depression, and perceived problems with one's ethnic group. Implications of the findings for Vietnamese youth and future directions are discussed.

Research on children of Asian American children has typically focused on academic achievement. Although such research is of critical importance in the development of cognitive models for achievement, it fails to acknowledge such critical development issues as affective and behavioral development. In fact it has been suggested that Asian American children lag behind other children in social development. The problem with this assertion is that it does not address differences between first, second, and third generation children of Asian descent. Another problem with research on children of Asian descent is that the data is usually aggregated across the various Asian groups. There is a need to

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examine the various Asian groups, especially those of Southeast Asian versus East Asian descent, separately from other groups. The reasons for immigration vary across class. Some have immigrated for economic reasons while others have immigrated purely for political reasons.

Adolescence is a time when young people begin to expand their frame of reference to include peers. Family is no longer the only purveyor of information about the world. In other words, the inclusion of peer perspectives makes for a more socially complex view of the world and contributes to the continuing development of a young person's sense of identity. Research on Asian Americans suggest an authoritarian approach to parenting[2] and a belief in family as the primary reference point regardless of age of the child. This view of development for Asian families is cultural and generationally limited. In other words, children of Asian descent who are born in the United States and those who immigrated at a very early age are not only Asian but American as well. They experience a double consciousness[3] or a bicultural identity. This double consciousness often conflicts with the values of the family. For example, the "parenting" culture might dictate that young people enter into an arranged marriage, often when the female is still of high school age. The young female who is second generation or immigrated during early childhood and who is bicultural might object to such an arrangement. The young female who is a recent immigrant and primarily monocultural in upbringing and experiences might be less likely to object. The first female has internalized the values of her peer group as well as those of her parents. Her identity is a product of a socially complex interaction of experiences.

This study focuses on the social and cultural development of Vietnamese first versus second and third generation adolescents. One purpose of the study is to examine the degree of acculturation or social adaptation as a result of language, length of residence, and ethnic group identity. A second purpose is to determine whether or not perceptions about and expectations associated with one's ethnic identity affect a person's perception of their "place" within family or other social entities.

Background and Overview

Vietnamese, especially those who are first generation, are often categorized as refugees. A refugee is defined as any individual who leaves his or her country of birth because of fear of persecution due to race, religion, nationality, or membership in a particular social group. Refugees are usually unable to take advantage of safety and protection mechanisms that exist within their country of birth and are often unwilling or unable to return. Kunz describes two types of refugees--the acute and the anticipatory refugee.[4] The acute refugee is someone who leaves his or her country of birth due to political change or military actions. The

acute refugee has little or no grasp of his or her adopted country's language or cultural mores. They therefore are likely to experience cultural incompatibility, alienation, and family turmoil. This view of first generation immigrants is one that minimizes educational background and social adaptability. It also does not address age differences. While the negative experiences might be true for late adolescents and adults, young children, who have not yet entered middle childhood, might experience fewer negative cultural effects and greater social adaptability with the adopted country since middle childhood is when reference points begin to shift from parents to peers. The anticipatory refugee or immigrant, on the other hand, is someone who leaves his or her country before military actions or political destabilization prohibit an orderly departure. Anticipatory refugees are often prepared for resettlement in another country. They are familiar with the language of their adopted country and have some means of financial support or some idea about how they might support themselves or reenter their profession upon immigration. Again, this view does not address the needs of young people but does address the fact that cultural incompatibility is not always a factor for immigrants to the United States. Middle to late adolescents who have the general appearance of an anticipatory refugee but none of the financial concerns are also likely to have fewer adaptation or compatibility issues.

Vietnamese began the immigration process during the fall of 1975. The early immigrants are technically referred to as acute refugees. It is somewhat difficult to classify those who arrived during the 1980s since some had some command of the language but few visible means of financial support. The first wave of immigrants from Vietnam was somewhat educated but lacked kinship networks or ethnic supports in the United States. They were also distinct both culturally and ethnically from people in the United States. The lack of kinship networks and established Vietnamese communities encouraged the need to learn English and American culture. The absence of an established community and the need to learn how to negotiate one's way within an adopted country could lead to feelings of alienation toward one's culture of origin and greater assimilation among young people.

The second wave of immigrants was less likely to experience the need to assimilate or experience alienation because of established ethnic supports, communities, and social welfare structures.[5] The need to "learn the culture" could be less urgent, especially for adults. In order to survive, the first wave had a need to learn the culture, thereby successfully enhancing their ability to negotiate, integrate, and achieve upward mobility within their "new" country. Jones and Strand have shown that contact with people outside of one's ethnic group or community is essential for "successful" adaptation to another way of life.[6] The lower the degree of outside community contact, the more difficult it is to adapt to another way of life. It is therefore argued in this study that second

generation Vietnamese adolescents will be more socially adapted than recent immigrants but will also experience greater cultural discontinuity with their own ethnic culture and family than later immigrants.

Psychological Well-Being and Social Supports

As stated previously, the first wave of immigrants provided ethnic and social support for the later wave of immigrants. Given the fact that social supports are readily available for later immigrants, the later group would have a less urgent need to learn the "new" culture. They are also less likely to experience cultural discontinuity. In fact, some researchers[7] have found that ethnic social and tangible support from family and friends can affect one's feelings of well-being and decrease alienation. The more functional and meaningful the social supports, the higher the individual's sense of well being.

The more supportive one's social networks and the longer the time of residence in the United States, the less one is likely to feel alienated.[8] On the other hand, the higher one's personal level of anxiety, the greater the degree of expressed alienation. Specifically, young people who have very practical reasons for needing to learn a new culture must negotiate two very different worlds--the world of the ethnic enclave in which they live and the world outside that enclave. The process of negotiating between the two "worlds" could lead to ethnic identity issues and increased anxiety about one's cultural group. For these young people the enclave provides the supports necessary to decrease anxiety on one hand but increase it on the other. The pressure to participate in ethnic related celebrations and events at the same time the young person is adjusting to or acquiring another identity could lead to a great deal of anxiety for young children. It would seem, therefore, that length of residence in the United States is a major variable in the development of feelings of alienation and anxiety.

Although an orthogonal relationship has been found between length of residence and alienation,[9] the opposite also has been found. The longer the length of residence the more alienation. It is suggested that the more bicultural the individual, the greater the degree of normlessness, isolation, and powerlessness, all components of alienation. Biculturality may lead to heightened intergroup or interethnic conflict. It can also lead to increased conflict with parents. Asian American youth, as they become more socialized by American values and begin to behave according to prescribed American norms rather than Asian norms, often have difficulty with parents and members of their ethnic enclave when attempting to act on or out those "new" American values. The traditional values of the home conflict with those of the larger society. Several researchers have found that intergeneration differences[10] and the degree of adaptation anc acculturation to mainstream culture

often result in parent-child relational conflicts.[11] This is complicated by the fact that the bicultural youth, because of their language abilities and knowledge of the "new" culture, often assume many of the roles that parents are usually responsible for, like negotiating with bank officers, grocery personnel, and bill collectors. They become the family spokesperson.[12] So, on the one hand the young person is encouraged to learn the new culture, while on the other they are criticized for becoming a part of that culture. It is argued in this paper that this situation has negative consequences for the psyche of Asian American youth.

Several researchers[13] have proposed that the ability to understand and communicate in the host country's language is a major predictor of economic and social success. Roberts and Starr,[14] for example, have found that a refugee's command of the English language is an important factor for smooth transitions and biculturality. In other words, the greater the language proficiency, the greater the cultural, structural, and marital assimilation.

Ethnic Identity Development

Learning to cope during adolescence while at the same time experiencing cultural discontinuity within another country adds to the stress that young people often experience during adolescence. Matsuoka states that the age at which a young person comes to United States is a significant determinant of how quickly the person learns and adapts to American behavorial patterns.[15] Vietnamese adolescents, for example, arrive in the United States at a critical and vulnerable time during their identity development. The adolescents, since they have no well-formed cultural or personal identities, are easily influenced and confused by the juxtaposition of Vietnamese versus American values in their life. More specifically, while the family sees traditional values and the family's interest as taking precedence over the wants, needs, and desires of individual family members, young people are trying to carve out a separate indentity from the family.

The need to achieve a separate, yet attached identity is a normal part of development. Unfortunately for the young immigrant, the culture in which one is attempting to develop a separate identity is different from that of the home. While the non-native culture encourages independent thinking and decision-making, the native culture encourages subjugation of self for the good of the family.

Traditional values and expectations are challenged by the norms, values, and survival needs experienced in the host country. Southeast Asian girls, who are expected to assume a traditional role and place within the structure of the family, often are forced to work outside the home to ensure basic survival of the family. The changed role and expectations for some Southeast Asian girls creates conflict and threatens

to disrupt or lead to the breakdown of traditional patterns of familial and cultural behavior.[16] The adolescents are often forced to leave school to marry or work in order for the family to survive.

Although traditional patterns of behaving are often threatened by the realities that one must confront in the adopted country, the prioritization of traditional values and beliefs are not totally disbanded. To exemplify this phenomenon, Nguyen and Williams surveyed Vietnamese and White adolescents and their parents about Vietnamese and American values.[17] They found that regardless of the time spent in the United States, Vietnamese parents still strongly endorsed traditional family values while Vietnamese adolescents tended to reject those values. This generation gap was greater for girls than for boys. These changing gender roles may further point to the intergenerational conflict that arises when ethnic youth become bicultural.

Interestingly, it has been found that Vietnamese parents approve of certain adolescent privileges like freedom of choice regarding dating, marriage, and career but encourage absolute obedience to parental authority. This could create a cultural conflict for the adolescent and further affect intergenerational relations.[18] The message that parents convey is "become a success in the United States, but find a way to do it without becoming American; be grateful for your freedom here, but don't embrace it as a way of life." The adolescent, who experiences this mixed message, must contend simultaneously with the development crisis associated with the formation of identity and the biological crisis of "coerced homelessness." Adolescents who are continuously pressured to choose one culture over another could become depressed.

Factors Which Contribute to Depression

Several factors have correlated with the development of depression among Southeast Asians. Callies et al., in a study of depression and alienation, found that depression symptoms remained high for those Hmongs who were socially isolated (alienated), unemployed, and non-English speaking.[19] Nguyen and Peterson, on the other hand, observed that acculturation to American society was positively correlated with increased reports of depressive symptoms and the occurrence of stressful life events for Vietnamese-American college students.[20] This was especially so for young females who had a lessened identification with Vietnamese society.

Nguyen and Peterson posit that a lack of identification with a single culture leads to depression.[21] Feelings of being more American and less Vietnamese may result in an identity crisis and lead to depression and stress. These feelings are heightened when relations between the parent and child or among peers are strained. Given the competing roles of Southeast Asian girls, it is not surprising that females experience more depression than males.[22]

Education and Acculturation

Level of education has been proposed as a predictor of ethnic group members' attitudes toward the United States. Henkin and Nguyen, and Forward and Rick proposed that the longer one has been in the United States and the higher the level of education, the less positive the attitude toward the United States.[23] In another study Celano and Tyler found that education was predictive of acculturaion or the learning process through which at least some of the cultural patterns of the host country are adopted.[24] Although education determines socioeconomic status, Celano and Tyler have found that education alone is less predictive of acculturation than socioeconomic class.[25] Given that education refugees often work at jobs for which they are overqualified, education becomes less of a factor for acculturation than socioeconomic class. The higher the class level the greater the social mobility.

In sum, the personality and social development of Vietnamese adolescents is influenced by such factors as age at immigration, education level of parents, exposure and attachment to like-ethnic group community, and immigration status. The study reported in this paper is an attempt to further understand the psychological development of Vietnamese adolescents.

METHODS

Subjects: The Southeast Asians who participated in this study were Vietnamese, Laotian, and Hmong. The Hmong and Laotian samples were too small to allow for reliable statistical analysis; therefore, only the Vietnamese data is reported in this paper. A total of 46 Vietnamese young people, 31 college and 15 high school students in the northeast, responded to a series of items included in a survey packet. Table 1 provides background information on the participants. Of the 31 college students, 12 were male and 19 were female. Also, none of the college students were recent immigrants or acute refugees. Of the high school students, seven were male and eight were female. All of the high school students were relatively recent immigrants. The mean age for the college students was 20.2 with a range of 18 of 23 and the mean age for the high school students was 17.6 with an age range of 14 to 21.

Materials and Procedure: A survery packet was mailed to all students at a northeastern university who were listed as Vietnamese. Thirty-five students were identified through this process. The return rate of the mailed surveys for this group was 88.5% (N= 31). High school students who were enrolled at a particular school in the northeast and were listed as Vietnamese were also mailed survey packets. The return rate for this group was 95% (N= 15). In order to assure the reliability of items for the high school students, the items in the survey packet were

translated into Vietnamese by a trained translator and later retranslated back into English for analyses.

Items included in the survey packet were based on the work of various researchers.[26] Celano and Tyler measured the extent to which an immigrant adopted American habits, life style, language, and customs by using Szapocznik's Behavorial Acculturation Scale (BAS).[27] The alpha coefficient for the BAS is .72. Seven of the 24 BAS items were used in this study. The items focused on language spoken at home, work, school, and with friends. The items also focused on the language listened to on radio and read. The Cronbach alpha for the revised scale items was .53.

Nguyen and Peterson, to measure degree of identification, have used seventeen questionnaire items with Vietnamese regarding acculturation to America society.[28] The Cronbach alpha for these items for this sample is .61. In order to assess Vietnamese adolescents and their parents' attitudes toward Vietnamese as compared to Western values, 16 items from a 29 item 5-point likert-type scale were used. The items were labeled relationship factors and dealt with gender roles and parental relations. Some of the relationship items were "the oldest girl in the family should help her parents take care of the house and the younger children whether she wants to or not;" "boys should have more privileges than girls," and "a woman's job is as important as her husbands." Some of the relational items were "youth should not argue with adults; parents always know what is best" and "when family members are angry with each other they should let each other know."

Eleven items from the Jones and Strand study,[29] which focused on perceived problems confronting Vietnamese in America, were administered. The problems to which the students were asked to respond dealt with money, difficulty in understanding American life, English language problems, ethnic support, etc.

Twenty-three items measuring reference group assimilation were used.[30] These items refer to the establishment of close intergroup relations and occupational, educational, and other institutional integration. The Cronbach alpha for the revised questionnaire was .79. The items dealt with language fluency, ethnic community proximity, ethnicity of preferred partner, and traditional values.

The depression subscale from Rumbaut's Indochinese health and adaptation research project was used.[31] The items on the depression subscale ask "how often in the past month have you felt"... and "when I'm depressed I...." The Cronbach alpha for the depression subscale is .80.

Finally a background information questionnaire was included in the survey packet. The background information items asked about ethnicity, gender, age, year of immigration to the United States, years of schooling in the United States, and educational level of parents.

RESULTS

Background Information

Ninety-two percent (N= 12) of the male and 79% (N= 19) of the female college students were born in Vietnam as compared to 100% (N= 7) of the male and 100% (N= 8) of the female high school students. However, the male (M= 14.5, SD) and female (M= 12.26, SD= 4.05) college students had more schooling in the United States than the high school male (M= 2.14, SD= 1.07) and female (M= 3.38, SD= 3.16) students. This is explained by the age of arrival in the United States. The college students were more likely to have immigrated to the United States between the ages of 1 to 13 as compared to high school students who tended to have immigrated between the ages of 12 to 20.

The socioeconomic status of the students varied for the college and high school students. Sixty-seven percent (N= 21) of the college students were middle to upper middle class compared to 7% (N= 1) of the high school students. Ninety-one percent (N = 13) of the high school students were working to lower class compared to 32% (N= 10) of the college students.

In addition, father's education level was positively correlated with mother's level of education ($r= .68$ $p<.01$) and family socioeconomic status ($r= .58$ $p<.01$). The higher the level of parents' education the higher the family's socioeconomic status.

Cultural Attachment and Values

Several regression analyses, controlling for unequal Ns, were conducted. The presence of a Vietnamese ethnic enclave, $F (2, 44)= 6.39$, $p<.05$) and the ability to speak and write English, $F (2, 44)= 7.96$ $p<.05$) significantly predicted feelings of alienation and an increased future outlook. Established kinship networks and a supportive surrounding ethnic community tend to affect one's feelings about his or her future and place within society. The college students tended to have fewer ethnic contacts or associations and express more alienation than the high school students.

Other multiple regression analyses revealed that perceived problems with one's ethnic group, $F (3, 43)= 4.94$ $p<.05$, cultural continuity, $F (3, 43)=4.19$ $p<.05$, and paternal attitudes toward schooling, $F (3, 43)= 5.55$ $p<.05$, predicted depression among Vietnamese adolescents. Cultural continuity in this study involves familiarity with Vietnamese traditions and customs, celebration of Vietnamese holidays, indoctrination of future generations in Vietnamese traditions, beliefs that are in agreement with traditional Vietnamese beliefs and values, adoption of parents' major philosophies about family and tradition, and consideration fo

parents' feelings when making important decisions. Adolescents who believe in and celebrate Vietnamese customs and traditions, whose beliefs are consistent with their parents and involve parents in all major decisions are less depressed than those who experience cultural discontinuity.

The more seriously one perceives such problems as a lack of money, separation from the family, lack of ethnic support, language comprehension difficulties, poor housing conditions, and interethnic conflict the more he or she expresses feelings of depression. Also, the stronger parents feel about their children getting good grades or working hard in school, the more likely their children are to feel depressed.

Vietnamese adolescents hold traditional beliefs about their culture. The longer the residence in America the higher the acculturation, $F(, 44) = 4.42$ $P<.03$. The presence of an ethnic community also tended to lead to less acculturation, $F(, 44) = 4.34$ $p<.02$. This was especially true for the high school Vietnamese males.

Correlations of Personality and Alienation Variables

Younger college females were more depressed than older college females ($r = .54$). In addition preference for the American way of life and preference of untraditional female gender roles were positively correlated ($r = .74$). On the other hand college female students who prefer traditional female gender roles are more likely to have a positive future outlook ($r = .53$). The more years of education females have and the more they believe in traditional Vietnamese values, the more likely they are to have a negative future outlook or feel alientated ($r = .50$). Females who are acculturated tend not to prefer the Vietnamese way of life ($r = .63$). The more traditional the females, the more they prefer traditional gender roles.

A positive relationship was found between depression and preference for untraditional parental relations ($r = .69$). College males who preferred untraditional parental relations tended to be depressed, to have a positive future outlook ($r = .66$)., and to identify as Vietnamese ($r = .65$). College males who prefer traditional parental relations ($r = .88$) and are more proficient in Vietnamese ($r = .80$) tend to be less acculturated.

High school females were less likely to feel depressed than college students. Although length of stay per se is not correlated with depression, one could speculate that it does play a role. The college students have spent more time in the United States than the high school student but they are more likely to be depressed. On the other hand, the more traditional high school males are in their beliefs about parents and culture, the more negative their future outlook ($r = .85$).

Socioeconomic Class

The college students tended to have a higher socio-economic class background than the high school students. Sixty-four percent of the college students were middle to upper middle class compared to 7% for the high school students. In addition, father's level of education was positively correlated with mother's level of education (r = .68) and the combined family socioeconomic class (r = .58). The higher the parents' level of education the higher the family's socioeconomic class.

Self-Identification of the Adolescents

The majority of the college students identified as Vietnamese-American, while less than one-fourth of the high school students identified as Vietnamese-American. The high school females were more likely to identify as Vietnamese (75%), while 43% of the high school males identified as Vietnamese and the other 43% were unsure of their identification.

Social Development and Academic Achievement

The academic achievement of the students is presented in Table 1. All of the students, with the exception of the high school females, were doing well academically. Nearly half of the grades reported by the high school females was "D." The high school females spent more time on homework than the other students but benefited the least. The precarious role of high school females within traditional Vietnamese families may explain their relatively mixed academic performance. On one hand the females are expected to achieve academically, on the other to be subservient to the family and behave according to prescribed traditional beliefs and customs.

The social behavior of the students is not atypical adolescent behavior. Many young people use alcohol and drugs but do not abuse alcohol and drugs.

Parental Involvement in Schooling

Parents respond differently to the achievement behavior of males versus females. Seventy-five percent of the males stated that their parents get upset when they get bad grades, 25% of the high school students' parents get upset, and 14% of the college females and high school males' parent get upset (see Table 2). The response of the parents of the high school females might explain the fact that 43% get grades of "D." The parents tend not to be satisfied with the performance of the females, no matter how good.

Overall, college students tend to be more depressed than non-college aged Vietnamese students. Specifically the collge females (M= 15.37, SD= 3.30) scored lower on a depression scale than college males (M= 17.33, SD= 3.00), high school males (M= 21.75, SD= 3.30), and high school females (M= 22.40, SD= 1.94).

Depression outlets used by the young people are presented in Table 3. College students prefer to spend time alone or talk with friends when they feel depressed. High school students also tended to spend time alone and talk to friends. The high school females, however, tend to talk to parents rather than each other. Having someone to talk to decreases feelings of depression and improves one's views and hopes for the future.

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the study was to examine factors which lead to feelings of alienation and depression among Southeast Asian adolescents, especially Vietnamese. It was found that perceived problems with one's ethnic group such as cultural discontinuity and parental attitudes toward schooling predicted depression. High school girls were more likely to receive grades of "D" than either high school males or college students. Yet, these females study as often as the others. The girls' parents, however, tend to criticize their academic achievement and to demand better grades no matter how hard they try or how well they do. Coupled with this is the parents' belief that girls should assume a traditional role within Vietnamese families. Given females' need to affiliate, any perception of displease by parents could result in a decreased achievement motivation and self-concept. In addition any perceived cultural discontinuity between the young persons' personal identity and their cultural identity, as defined by parents, could lead to frustration and depression.

English language proficiency was also related to depression. This is contrary to past findings which have shown that those who are least proficient in English have higher rates of depression than those who are more proficient.[32] In this study, however, students with higher English proficiency and longer lengths of residency were more depressed than those students with less proficiency in English proficiency and relatively short lengths of residency in the United States. It is suggested in this paper that length of residence is related to psychosocial health. Immigrant populations begin to resemble the dominant culture in terms of educational outcomes and mental health issues the longer their residence in the United States. This is regardless of whether or not one has assimilated or become acculturated. Society's perception of ethnic groups affects perception vis-a-vis the dominant culture.

On the other hand, the greater the students' command of English the more likely they are to have a positive future outlook. Supportive kinship networks or attachment to an ethnic community also influence future outlook. There is a large body of literature in developmental psychology that supports the notion that attachment relations are important for cognitive growth. Specifically, young people who have healthy familial attachments are less likely to be negatively affected by threats to their social and emotional development.[33]

Several factors predicted acculturation in this study. English language proficiency and use at home versus school, depression outlets, cultural continuity, and parental attitude toward schooling predicted acculturation. The more proficient in English the less the attachment to one's ethnic group, and the longer the stay in the United States the more acculturated the individual. Although it could be argued that length of residence is associated with acculturation, it is probably more reasonable to suggest that the acculturation expressed by longer resident Vietnamese is primarily due to the need to develop a group identity that reflects both their Vietnamese and American culture. Recent immigrants are more likely to be attached to their ethnic group and therefore less likely to be in established Vietnamese communities as compared to the integrated communities of the longer resident Vietnamese. Although the longer resident Vietnamese might live in an integrated community, their parents might still adhere to and practice traditional Vietnamese customs.

The desire of the parents to practice traditional Vietnamese customs may conflict with the adolescents' desire to assimilate, to be like his or her peers. This could lead to young people counterarguing with their parents and an initial embrace of American values. Although this could be viewed as a sign of youthful rebellion, it is also an indication of a search for a personal identity. Miller has proposed that counterarguing is an indication of both an age appropriate level of cognitive development and a temporary alienation.[34] Specifically, the alienation expressed by the young people in this study is temporary. This is especially true for those young people who were either born in the United States or immigrated at a very early age. The temporary alienation is reflective of a belief in one's inability to affect parents' cultural beliefs, practices, and expectations of their children while still living at home but also a belief that they will gain control over their life after they leave home. Since the young people who tended to express alienation in this study were college age, it seems that the students have a future outlook but an alienation that can best be described as temporary.

Are Vietnamese adolescents who have been in the United States for a significant amount of time ashamed of their heritage or simply trying to reconcile or negotiate between their two very distinct cultural experiences? This question was not addressed in this study. Future research is needed to answer this question. On the other hand, it was found that the college students in this study were less likely to celebrate

Vietnamese holidays or to plan to pass on Vietnamese customs and values to later generations than the high school students.

As a matter of fact, many of the college students preferred a non-Vietnamese mate whereas the high school students all preferred a Vietnamese mate. These findings are reminiscent of the Clark and Clark doll play findings. Do Vietnamese adolescents come to prefer White culture and desire to become as "white as possible" in order to be perceived as just like the majority society? There are many questions that need to be addressed relative to Vietnamese youth. This study, however, is significant in that it focused on Vietnamese youth and their immigrant status. Specifically, this study showed that Vietnamese youth that have been in the United States for a relatively long period of time are more susceptible to depression and alienation than recent immigrants. Future research will need to expand on this finding. Although a major limitation of this study is subject size, it does mirror the number of Vietnamese that are found in major educational imstitutions in the northeast. Still, future research studies will need to increase the subject size.

NOTES

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Table 1

Academic Achievement Among Young Vietnamese Youth

	College Students		High School Students	
Grades	Males	Females	Males	Females
As	55%	37%	16%	
As & Bs	27%	42%	16%	57%
Cs	18%	21%	50%	
Ds			16%	43%
Homework:				
<1 hour	17%			
2-4 hours	25%	17%	71%	25%
4-6 hours	42%	56%	29%	63%
>6 hours	17%	28%		13%
	N=12	N=19	N=7	N=8

Table 2

Perceived Parental Involvement In and Attitudes Toward Achievement Behavior

	College Students		High School Students	
	Males	Female	Males	Females
Parents Encourage/Help	25%	42%	19%	20%
Parents Get Upset About Bad Grades	75%	14%	14%	25%
Parents Punish Bad Grades	0%	14%	29%	13%
Other Types of Reactions For Bad Grades	25%	43%	43%	25%
Good Grades/Parents Encourage to do Better	8%	5%	29%	63%
Good Grades/Parents Happy	58%	79%	43%	13%
Parents Think All Grades Should Be Good	33%	16%	0%	13%
Good Grades/Parents Reward	0%	0%	29%	13%
	N=12	N=19	N=7	N=8

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Depression Scores Among Vietnamese Youth

College Females	M = 15.37	SD = 3.30	N = 19
College Males	M = 17.33	SD = 3.00	N = 12
High School Males	M = 21.75	SD = 3.30	N = 7
High School Females	M = 22.40	SD =1.94	N = 8

The lower the score the greater the depression.

Black Cowboys in the American West: An Historiographical Review

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Few subjects in the ethnic experience of the United States are as fraught with mythology and misinformation as black cowboys. Although absent from most classic history texts of the American West, black cowboys probably constituted about a quarter of the working cowboys in the nineteenth century, although quantitative data to establish a number are lacking. This essay reviews the historiography of black cowboys published during the last half-century, noting how much of it is marred either by glossing over the presence of black cowboys or by credulously repeating estimates of their numbers established by earlier work. The essay speculates whether such problematic scholarship stems from unacknowledged prejudice among mainstream historians or from carelessness and calls for more and improved scholarly attention to the role of African American cowboys in the American West.

Of the estimated 35,000 cowboys on the Western American frontier during the second half of the nineteenth century probably several thousand were black, although figures offered by several historians must be regarded as no more than conjectures.[1] A potentially high percentage of Blacks in the cattle business is remarkable, especially considering that in both 1860 and 1910 they constituted less than one percent of the West's population.[2] Yet scholarly attention to them has been intermittent and patchy at best. After a handful of texts on the topic were published in the 1950s and 1960s, interest waned, and even some recent, major works on the American West give short shrift to black cowboys. Two books published in the last five years, however, signal that a new generation of scholars is willing to advance understanding of Blacks in western history. Richard W. Slatta's (1990) *Cowboys of the Americas* presents a comparative study of cowboys throughout the Americas and includes discussions of race and race relations on the U.S. frontier.

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Artistic output by and about cowboys is the focus of *The Cowboy: Representations of Labor in an American Work Culture* by Blake Allmendinger (1992). Although his book focuses upon the culture of cowboys rather than on the historical record, his understanding of myth leads him to correct much sloppy and erroneous scholarship that characterizes earlier works. Yet the picture of black cowboys as resistors of oppression remains shrouded in an overly-mythologized West.

Although no longer chattel, freed Southern Blacks at the beginning of Reconstruction immediately faced the multiple crises of disenfranchisement, segregation, and poverty. Without access to land ownership upward mobility was impossible for the great majority of blacks. Eric Foner writes that "blacks in the Redeemers' New South found themselves enmeshed in a seamless web of oppression, whose interwoven economic, political, and social strands all reinforced one another."[3] He notes that, faced with little or no opportunity to resist such weighty oppression, some Blacks in the post-Reconstruction South considered migration to Africa or to the West.

Although mass migration of black Americans to the West never materialized except for about 20,000 black "exodusters" who migrated to Kansas in 1879 and 1880[4], small numbers of individuals did move to the frontier states. There they joined Blacks who had worked as slaves on Western ranches. Suddenly free men, many blacks continued to work as ranch hands, but for wages. Although the West was no utopia for blacks, it offered far greater opportunities for dignity and livelihoods than did the New South.

Biographies and autobiographies of black cowboys appeared as early as the turn of the century, and many accounts of white cowboys' lives refer to black workmates.[5] Except for a few isolated articles, however, mainstream scholarly journals for decades bore no evidence that historians were aware of this aspect of western history. Not only were black cowboys ignored, black soldiers, ranchers, and farmers went virtually unmentioned in the traditional academic literature.

In early twentieth-century history texts, Blacks received some attention, although it was unsustained. In his 1922 work of popular writing, *The Cowboy*, Philip Ashton Rollins merely mentions in passing that "a more than occasional negro" numbered among the "men of the Range." Rollins' work is laced with folklore and myth, but even serious scholars failed to provide a more accurate portrayal of the West. For example, in Walter Prescott Webb's monumental *The Great Plains* of 1931, he praises Rollins but makes no mention of African Americans.[6]

The black civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s sparked some interest in topics of African American history, but the advances made in recognizing Blacks' place in western history were "uneven."[7] Much of the western settlement story remains to be told; even respected works published since 1965 pay little attention to Blacks in the cattle

industry. Robert R. Dykstra's *The Cattle Towns* (1968), which covers the growth and decline of several Kansas towns, overlooks the part that Blacks played in the story of that region.[8] Richard A Bartlett's social history of the frontier up to 1890, *The New Country* (1974), merely mentions that a quarter of the cowboys on the trails were Black and that "the blacks were good frontiersmen."[9] Even the 1988 magnum opus of Rodman W. Paul, *The Far West and the Great Plains in Transition, 1859-1900*, notes only that a black former slave, Bose Ikard, rode with Charles Goodnight and Oliver Loving in their establishment of the Goodnight-Loving Trail.[10] In fact, though, Blacks not only rode the trails; they were instrumental in the creation of all of the major cattle trails. Paul's only other reference to Blacks in the cattle business is his notation that they "frequently served with cattle outfits, most often as cooks, sometimes as remuda men [wranglers], and perhaps a few thousand as cowboys."[11] Finally, David Dary's specific look at cowboys, *Cowboy Culture* (1981), mentions little more about Blacks than that the descendants of slaves brought to Texas "were probably among the first black cowboys."[12] Earlier scholars, however, had already established the fact that some slaves themselves became cowboys. Dary apparently overlooks the work that had demonstrated—albeit in a spotty manner—the numerous contributions of black cowboys.

A handful of other scholars began to fill the void regarding black cowboys. One of the topic's two principal rediscoverers was Philip Durham. In a sketchy essay that appeared in 1955, Durham briefly noted the conspicuous absence of post-World War II material on the black cowboy. Interestingly, Durham was a professor of English, not of history. Because at the time he was occupied with writing a book unrelated to black cowboys, Durham did not return to the topic that he had rediscovered until, with Everett L. Jones, he wrote a 1964 essay title, "Negro Cowboys," and a book, *The Negro Cowboys*, which was published in 1965.[13]

The significance of the fact that it took two literature professors to produce the first book about the history of black cowboys was not lost on Durham and Jones:

> As teachers of English, the authors came upon this subject through a long-standing interest in the backgrounds of Western American literature. Pursuing this interest we discovered, to our surprise, an unimagined number of Negro cowboys, who had been dropped from the history of the West.[14]

Their book, although seriously flawed, attempted to reinstate in western historiography the African American cowboys.

Durham and Jones' account of the black cowboy is incomplete mainly because primary sources from a mostly illiterate profession are rare. The book remains important, however, because in its anecdotal way it clearly establishes a significant presence of Blacks among the cowboys. With Durham and Jones' account the story begins to unfold.

Beginning about fifteen years before the Civil War, Easterners began moving to the western frontier in increasing numbers seeking new opportunities. Many took slaves with them. "Most of the first Negro cowboys were slaves," write Durham and Jones. "Brought by their masters from the old south, they arrived in a new country and were set to learning a new trade," taught by Mexican vaqueros, by cattle-raising Indians, or by the masters themselves (14).

Most of the newcomers settled in southeastern Texas. The area grew rapidly.

> "When Texas entered the Union in 1845, it had about 100,000 white settlers and 35,000 slaves. By 1861, when Texas seceded from the Union, it had more than 430,000 white settlers and 182,000 slaves," according to Durham and Jones.

In some areas all-black crews were common, and there even were some free black owners of cattle. Moreover, some black cattlemen owned slaves (15,17).

The Union's victory in the Civil War left Blacks in Texas free but not well-off. "Most of them were illiterate, unskilled farm hands. Some were skilled artisans, others capable cowboys," but, whatever their lot, all Blacks in Texas faced "the bitter heritage of racial antagonism" during and following Reconstruction (22-3). Durham and Jones write the following although their evidence for this assertion goes uncited.

> Upon Negro cowboys, however, [social, legal and economic] sanctions fell less heavily than upon many other Negroes, for as cowboys they held a well-defined place in an early established social and economic hierarchy (24).

Elsewhere, in fact, they contradict their claim that black cowboys suffered any discrimination. They continuously emphasize that black and white cowboys faced equivalent hardships and equivalent rewards in what the authors imply was a color-blind environment.[15]

Richard W. Slatta's account of frontier racism contradicts Durham and Jones' conclusions. "Frontier democracy is a myth," he writes; "As in society at large, whites imposed their will and rule on nonwhites." He claims that black cowboys suffered less economic discrimination than

did Mexican vaqueros but in general "found no more upward social mobility on the frontier than elsewhere in society."[16] Ironically, Slatta's principal source for his understanding of Blacks in the West was Durham and Jones despite his divergent interpretation of how Blacks were treated.

Although Durham and Jones provide the first reasonably comprehensive account of black cowboys, W. Sherman Savage had been researching and publishing on the topic a generation earlier. Savage published his first article, "The Negro in the History of the Pacific Northwest," in 1928 and soon expanded his studies to the entire West. His 1940 article, "The Negro in the Western Movement," although also tending toward anecdote, established a foundation for later scholars who eventually stumbled onto this "new" topic.[17]

It took fifteen years for a scholar such as Durham to follow Savage's lead. Had Durham not serendipitously come upon the topic, the Black cowboy might have remained obscure to the mainstream historian. It is clear that Durham relied heavily upon Savage, citing the elder scholar's publications several times in *The Negro Cowboys*. Writing his own book eleven years later on Blacks in the West, Savage refers to Durham and Jones only once, in his introduction; he had done the primary research long before. The renowned American historian Ray Allen Billington, who wrote the foreword to Savage's book, said of Savage: "He was, in the truest sense, a pioneer, blazing a path into an aspect of the past that had been too long neglected but that his successors were to follow."[18]

Two works, both published in 1971—William Loren Katz's *The Black West* and Kenneth W. Porter's *The Negro on the American Frontier*—cover in summary fashion the African American presence on the shifting frontiers of America.[19] Savage, however, spent the thirty-six years between his "The Negro in the Westward Movement" article and his book studying little else, and his *Blacks in the West* (1976) is monumental. Savage's is the first book to give a comprehensive picture of Blacks in various occupations in the trans-Mississippi West.

Savage focuses on Blacks in the military, in business and industry, in politics, and in education. By describing the entire western *milieu* as faced by Blacks in the nineteenth century, Savage provides a solid background for understanding where the black cowboys fit. His book also serves as a more credible—because more rigorously documented—source when Durham and Jones are unclear, misleading, or incomplete. For example, Savage states that most antebellum free Blacks in the Far West "were distributed among the Pacific Coast states"[20]; this rounds out the picture presented by Durham and Jones who, because they look at slave in addition to free states, focus primarily upon Texas. On the other hand, Savage's work is both narrower in geographic scope and broader in its consideration of occupations than is Durham and Jones'. His book necessarily offers fewer, although more accurate, details specifically about black cowboys than does Durham and Jones'.

Economic and social forces—such as increased settlement of the Plains which blocked major trails and improved transportation which obviated cattle drives—ended the heyday of the cowboy. Fiction resurrected the cowboy but in a romanticized, distorted—and bleached—form. In the nineteenth century, the mythical West began to replace the genuine West in the world's psyche.

Durham and Jones cite the absence of black cowboys in popular media as a reason for their absence in public consciousness. Fictional western tales in dime novels became extraordinarily popular in the East among credulous readers who knew nothing of the real life of the West, and in about 1,500 such novels published between 1860 and 1898 Durham found Blacks appearing only insignificantly. Beginning with Owen Wister's *The Virginian* in 1902, after the West already had been settled, the modern Western stories emerged but offered no improvement. They, too, with only a few exceptions, forgot the black cowboy.[21] In fact Larry McMurtry's novel, *Lonesome Dove*, published in 1985, is one of the first literary works that accurately portrays the racial composition of typical Western cattle drives, and its television serialization marks one of the first accurate representations on that medium.

Durham and Jones attribute the lack of interest in black western history to the growing racism of the period. They state that "the decade following 1900 has frequently been called the 'nadir' of [w]hite-Negro relations in American," a view confirmed by C. Van Woodward in *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, among others.[22] One might assume that this alleged traditional oversight of black cowboys in the early twentieth century literature carried over into the mass media of the second half of the twentieth century thereby explaining the gross underrepresentation of black cowboys in film depictions of the West. Durham and Jones, however, assert,

> writers and casting directors who have studied the old West and who know something of its diversity believe that they must respect the ignorance of their audience.... They fear that the accurate representation of the Negro's role in the opening of the West would paradoxically seem to be a falsification of history.[23]

Durham and Jones explicitly attempt to return black cowboys to their rightful place in the overall story of the West. They claim that twentieth-century racism has "fenced out" the Black from history when, in actuality, "the West once nearly approached the democracy that [Americans] are still striving to achieve..." (3, 229). This view—that racist attitudes after the West's settlement have eroded understanding of what was a democratic place and time, and that restoring Blacks to Western history will restore an appreciation of that democracy—locates Durham

and Jones in what Lawrence B. deGraaf calls "the recognition school" of historians. The members of this school accept, for the most part, the Turnerian vision of frontier democracy and simply wish to recognize Blacks as part of that vision.[24]

Others maintain a radically different view. Members of what deGraaf calls "the racism school," contend that when the role of Blacks in the West is clearly established, the notion that the West was democratic will have to be abandoned. The West, these scholars believe, was no more egalitarian than the rest of American society.

deGraaf suggests that both perspectives reveal biases. Pre-1960s scholars suffered "blindness ... to ethnic history ... due to their infatuation with the ideas of Frederick Jackson Turner," but more recent scholars who employ themes of racism are influenced too often by "the climate of opinion in the 1960s...." deGraaf concludes by calling for "more studies"; he convincingly argues that historians need to do more comparative work regarding the various ethnic peoples in the old West and the legacies that they have left.[25]

Indeed, much work does remain to be done. As the case of the missing Black cowboys indicates, ignorance of significant aspects of history can seriously impair reasoned interpretation, and misguided paradigms, combined with mythologized portrayals in mass media, can be exceptionally difficult to rectify. Fortunately, and at long last, new work on this neglected topic is beginning to emerge.

Ironically, it has taken another professor of English, Blake Allmendinger, to begin unraveling some of the erroneous but often cited work by Durham and Jones, the two literature professors who resurrected the topic of black cowboys a generation earlier. Allmendinger's 1993 article in the *Journal of American Culture* sharply criticizes Durham and Jones. He calls their *The Negro Cowboys* "a 'researched' work which seemed pathfinding [in 1965] but which now reads like nothing more than a series of plot summaries about famous black cowboys."[26] He notes that they also published a children's book in 1965 in which their chapter on Deadwood Dick (the nickname of the black cowboy Nat Love) reads just as it does in the ostensibly scholarly text. He also accuses Durham and Jones of whitewashing Nat Love by disregarding Love's later career as a Pullman porter; a black man serving white passengers would raise uncomfortable issues of black servitude.

William Loren Katz, who published the aforementioned *The Black West* in 1971, published *Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage* in 1986. In his account of the largely unacknowledged African American heritage of many American Indians, he takes Durham and Jones to task for their "distorted" account of Blacks' role in the West. Their statement that "'for every Negro renegade who joined against the white man, a company of Negro soldiers fought the Indians' ... understates the number of Black Indians by hundreds of thousands. It also suggests slaves should remain loyal to their owners and praises those who 'fought the Indians.'"[27]

An examination of Durham and Jones' bibliography suggests that the authors accepted too credulously many cattlemen's personal accounts. Typically mixtures of fact and bluster, these autobiographical accounts make entertaining reading but are problematic sources for historians. Unfortunately many who followed Durham and Jones simply reproduced their sometimes inaccurate information. For example, Allmendinger reveals in his 1992 monograph, *The Cowboy: Representations of Labor in an American Work Culture*, that Durham and Jones' figure of five thousand black cowboys—a figure that subsequently made its way into at least five other books—was based solely on a single cattleman's guess. "Other than rephrasing the claims that Durham and Jones have made, scholars seldom introduce new information concerning black cowboys and the work that they did," Allmendinger states. When *The Negro Cowboys* was republished in 1983 by the University of Nebraska's Bison Books, it included no new foreword or other more recent material, indicating either the paucity of new work in the intervening eighteen years, the unwillingness of the authors to update their work, or both.[28]

Richard Slatta's (1990) more recent comparative study, *Cowboys of the Americas*, discussed above, also earns Allmendinger's criticism. Slatta (1990) writes that Nat Love earned his nickname, Deadwood Dick, at an Independence Day celebration in Deadwood, Arizona, when Love's autobiography clearly states that it took place in Deadwood, South Dakota. Slatta (1990) also incorrectly identifies Love's birthplace as Ohio; in fact, it was Tennessee. Such sloppiness with details calls into question Slatta's (1990) broader interpretations and conclusions, indicating that even the most recent scholarship on black cowboys is marred.[29]

Two ostensibly comprehensive and long works on the American West published this decade exemplify most recent scholarship which continues to provide little or no information about black cowboys. The landmark work, *The Oxford History of the American West* (1994), merely mentions once in more than 800 pages that a "considerable minority" of African American cowboys worked in Texas and Oklahoma.[30] This single, brief mention appears in a chapter written by renowned Western historian Richard White. Ironically, his own recent work, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West* (1991), despite running more than 600 pages, bears no reference at all to Black cowboys.[31] This omission is particularly puzzling given White's statement in the book that the "new minority histories" partly inspired his re-examination of the American West (xvii). In fact, White's continuing suggestion that most cowboys were white requires more evidence given the lack of quantitative data; if, say, 25 percent of cowboys were black and 30 percent were Mexican or Mexican American, no racial group would have constituted a majority.

Considering the continuing paucity of work on the black West and, moreover, the unreliability of the work that has been done, Allmendinger rightly states, "Scholarship has not done a sufficient job of illustrating the labor that black cowboys enacted."[32] Allmendinger's own work focuses on expressive forms of cowboy culture and does not attempt to provide the historical record he finds lacking in previous work. At least he exposes several important flaws in existing historiography on the subject, an important first step toward establishing a fuller historical record.

Historians should resume the search for the truth about black cowboys in the context of the social and economic crises that brought them to the West and that greeted them once there. Perhaps a forthcoming book by Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier* and another edited by Monroe Lee Billington and Roger D. Hardaway, *African Americans of the Western Frontier*, will contribute to that search.[33]

NOTES

[1]The statistics regarding numbers of black cowboys are newly contested. Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones estimate that about five thousand cowboys in the West at the end of the nineteenth century were black ("Slaves on Horseback," *Pacific Historical Review* 33 [November 1964: 409), but Blake Allmendinger ("Deadwood Dick," *Journal of American Culture* 16 [Winter 1993]: 88) reminds us that William W. Savage, Jr., casts doubt on their figure and that no one has convincingly established an accurate estimate.

[2]Jack D. Forbes, *Afro-Americans in the Far West: A Handbook for Educators* (Berkeley, CA: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1969), 34.

[3]Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 598.

[4]Robert G. Athearn, *In Search of Canaan: Black Migration to Kansas, 1879-80* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1978); Nell Irvin Painter, *Exodusters: Black Migration to Kansas after Reconstruction* (New York: Knopf, 1977).

[5]Lawrence B. deGraaf, "Recognition, Racism, and Reflections on the Writing of Western Black History," *Pacific Historical Review* 44 (February 1975): 24.

[6]Philip Ashton Rollins, *The Cowboy* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1922), 22; Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Plains* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1931).

[7]deGraaf, 22.

[8]Robert R. Dykstra, *The Cattle Towns* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1968).

[9]Richard A. Barlett, *The New Country: A Social History of the American Frontier, 1776-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 130.

[10]Rodman W. Paul, *The Far West and the Great Plains in Transition, 1859-1900* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 193.

[11]Paul, 128.

[12]David Dary, *Cowboy Culture: A Saga of Five Centuries* (Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas Press, 1981), 69.

[13]Philip Durham, "The Negro Cowboy," *American Quarterly* 7 (Fall 1955): 291-301; Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones, "Negro Cowboys," *American West* 1 (Fall 1964); Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones, *The Negro Cowboys* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983; originally published in 1965).

[14]Philip Durham and Everett L. Jones, *The Negro Cowboys*, v.

[15]For example: "All the real cowboys—black, brown, red and white—shared the same jobs and dangers." Durham and Jones, *The Negro Cowboys*, 1. William Loren Katz argues in *The Black West* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1971) that racism characterized much of the West.

[16]Richard W. Slatta, *Cowboys of the Americas* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 159, 168.

[17]Ray Allen Billington, foreword to *Black in the West*, by W. Sherman Savage (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), x-xi.

[18]Billington, xi.

[19]Katz, *The Black West*; Kenneth L. Porter, *The Negro on the American Frontier* (New York: Amo Press, 1971), 7.

[20]Savage, *Blacks in the West*, 10.

[21]Durham and Jones, *The Negro Cowboys*, 220-1.

[22]Durham and Jones, *The Negro Cowboys*, 223; C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 96.

[23]Durham and Jones, *The Negro Cowboys*, 229.

[24]deGraaf, 35-6. See Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Significance of the Frontier in American History* (New York: Ungar, 1963).

[25]deGraaf, 50-1. A good example of the credulous Turnerian perspective is George R. Woolfolk, "Turner's Safety Valve and Free Negro Westward Migration," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* 56 (July 1965).

[26]Allmendinger, "Deadwood Dick": 87.

[27]William Loren Katz, *Black Indians: A Hidden Heritage* (New York: Atheneum, 1986), 5.

[28]Black Allmendinger, *The Cowboy: Representations of Labor in an American Work Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 159-160.

[29]Allmendinger, "Deadwood Dick": 89; Richard W. Slatta, *Cowboys in the Americas* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 169; Nat Love, *The Life and Adventures of Nat Love* (Salem, NH: Ayer, 1992; originally published 1907), 7, 97.

[30]Richard White, "Animals and Enterprise," in Clyde A. Milner II, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss, eds., *The Oxford History of the American West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 262.

[31]Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991).

[32]Allmendinger, *The Cowboy*, 12.

[33]Quintard Taylor, *In Search of the Racial Frontier: African Americans in the American West, 1528-1990* (New York: Norton, forthcoming); Monroe Lee Billington and Roger D. Hardaway, eds., *African Americans on the Western Frontier* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, forthcoming).

Book Reviews

Michael Angelo. *The Sikh Diaspora: Tradition and Change in an Immigrant Community.* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997). 255 pp., $65 cloth.

This is a peculiarly narrow book, although published as part of a series on Asian Americans entitled *Reconceptualizing Culture, History, Politics.* The title is misleading, at first referring to "the Sikh diaspora," the settlement of India's Punjabi Sikhs throughout the world, but then indicating "an immigrant community" which turns out to be in the U.S., the upstate New York region around the capital, Albany. Angelo wanted to study Sikhs, a highly visible religious Indian sub-group, to see the effect of interaction with American culture on traditional religious values and attitudes. He found 2,694 Asian Indians in the 1990 Albany district census of 777,584 people; only 90-100 of these were Sikhs, he discovered, and he was able to interview only 35 of these. In what sense these 35 interviewees constituted a community or are part of another community is not clear.

The study is limited in many ways. It seems to be a Masters or perhaps a Ph.D. thesis, with the interviews done in 1990. However, the bibliography stops in about 1985, and the few later entries are not actually cited in the text, although they are highly relevant (Margaret Gibson's work on the Yuba City Sikhs, my own on the Punjabi Mexicans). Joan Jensen's book is not cited, nor are edited works on the Sikh diaspora in North America by N.Gerald Barrier and Pashaura Singh, Milton Israel et al, and many other significant recent publications. There is no effort to place the research population in the context of Asian American studies, although current theoretical issues in the field pit a "diasporic perspective" against an easy assumption of acculturation. Finally, while Angelo's premise is that Sikh responses would be different from those of other South Asian religious groups, the author makes systematic compari-

sons with two other "assimilation" studies of predominantly Hindu Indians done about the same time and finds the Sikhs fit the same general pattern (65); he does not investigate this further.

The premises and methodology of this carefully done small-scale questionnaire and interview study are so questionable that it is hard to see any significance in the findings. Angelo posits a straight one-way assimilation process, with the "compelling nature of the host culture's alternative life style" (182) bringing about "small, moderate, or considerable" (93) change or "process" (112) for the immigrants. A methodical, descriptive, and outdated review of the literature on acculturation, American culture, immigration is followed by a discussion of research design and methods, then by an overview of Sikh history and a demographic profile of the questionnaire and interview respondents. Angelo's major problem was the unwillingness of most of the 90-100 Sikhs to participate in his study, which he attributes to paranoia resulting from the 1984 Indian Army invasion of the sacred Sikh temple complex in Amritsar, followed by the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by two of her Sikh bodyguards and a Sikh movement for an independent Khalistan: Sikh immigrants in the Albany area reportedly feared he would share his data with the Indian government. This problem evoked the most lively prose in the book from Angelo, whose writing is otherwise wooden and in need of editorial attention. For example, speaking of the low number of female respondents (12 of 35), he says, "This segment of the subject community proved to be an elusive subject to obtain response from. No objective reason could be ascertained by the author for such reluctance to participate in the study" (67).

The findings are presented in the final chapters, on patterns of dating and marriage, family ties and kinship obligations, and so on. Here Angelo first presents "tradition," summarizing research on patterns in India and among Punjabi Sikhs, and then "change," giving his findings from the 35 Sikh informants. At least he could have asked his informants about their practices and views before migration, in an effort to get some valid comparative data; only the most dedicated Sikh specialists will attempt to make sense of these very particular and almost entirely quantitative findings. In short, the author went to great lengths to prepare and administer valid and reliable survey instruments and interviews, but he has been unable to place his findings in the context of current theory or literature about immigration and ethnic experience.

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Elionne Belden. *Claiming Chinese Identity*. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997). 175 pp., $51.00 cloth.

Thirty years ago, when the field of Asian American studies was in its infancy, identity was one of the subjects that received much attention. Since then, a good deal of research on or related to identity has been conducted, and, in the past few years, several significant pieces of work have been published. *Claiming Chinese Identity* is not among the latter.

Belden's book is a poorly written examination of Chinese ethnic identity based on her anthropology doctoral dissertation. Her basic perspective is that the Chinese are shaping their collective identity out of what they perceive they share in common from Chinese history and culture, especially traditional Confucian values, and in opposition to key differences they see in Western/American values and practices. The Chinese maintain their identity through language and social relationships with kin and peers. They do develop new styles of being Chinese to fit in with their lives in the U.S., but they do not compromise the core elements of their identity. Belden views the Chinese as a paracommunity that lives beside nonChinese but, in their own minds, remains set apart and that prefers segregation except in matters where they can benefit themselves by going beyond their closely-knit social perimeters.

Belden's perspective primarily is derived from observations and conversations with children attending one class in a Houston Chinese language school along with input from their parents and others associated with the school or the local Chinese community. Most of the children's families are from Taiwan but originally fled from the Chinese mainland when Communist forces took over in 1949, and they apparently exhibit some of the characteristics of exiles. The children are attending the language school because they and their parents want to retain their Chinese language and traditional attitudes and behaviors. The children are in the most advanced language class, speak Chinese at home and during their social activities, tend mainly to associate with other Chinese, and are very involved with various Chinese cultural groups or programs. Therefore, Belden's research concentrates on only a segment of the Houston Chinese community, and she makes only passing reference to others. In addition, she collects little information about these children in nonChinese community or cultural contexts.

Belden readily acknowledges the limited focus of her study, but this focus leads to the development of a constrained perspective on identity that does not adequately address its complexity and fluidity or even its continuity in the face of increasing adaptation to American culture and society. Also, her perspective does not contribute to existing work on Asian American identity. Finally, Belden's focus, perspective, and dis-

cussion in general will for many readers reinforce one prevailing stereotype of Asian Americans as "perpetual foreigners."

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Julie Brown, ed. *Ethnicity and the American Short Story*. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1997). xx, 252 pp., $50 cloth.

Replete with essays, all excellent in diverse ways and covering a broad range of American ethnicities, this cutting-edge text successfully answers questions about claims of uniqueness and difference for ethnic American short stories as the grounds for inclusion in critical discussions of the genre.

For one thing, major differences do not derive from the traditionally taught American lineage, but rather from individual ethnic ancestral archetypes. Madolyn Jablon claims that for African American writers it is "oral narratives" and Gail Y Okawa, that for Hawaiians it is "talk story." But what about each individual ethnicity's unique cultural myths? Myths provide sources of commonalties between minority and mainstream short story writers, as well as differences. Instead of focusing entirely on differences, the editor might also have included essays on similarities to and influences by mainstream writers, as well as on differences. Also, as strong as all the essayists are in showing how "politics" (i.e., racism and sexism) impact on the work of ethnic "minority" writers, the essayists, except for Okawa, are weak in identifying class issues Further, Brown might also have expanded this fine work to include essays on more American "minorities," or perhaps might consider doing this in a second work.

Essayists such as Bill Mullen and John Streamas focus on the political as sources of inspiration. Mullen shows how pervasive racism impacted on the writing and publication of Richard Wright's and Chester Himes's powerful short stories, but fails to mention Langston Hughes and Zora Neale Hurston (who took on racism and sexism). Streamas discusses "The Invention of Normality in Japanese American Internment Narratives" during World War II, but omits R. A. Sasaki's *The Loom and Other Stories*. Other essayists take a feminist perspective. Margot Kelly analyzes the Chicana Tejana Sandra Cisneros' *House on Mango Street*, while Susan E. Griffin finally breaks the pattern of critical work restricted exclusively to that text with an analysis of Cisneros' true masterpiece, *Woman Hollering Creek and Other Stories*. Hardy C. Wilcoxon analyzes Chinese female student's responses to Amy Tan and Maxine Hong Kingston. Interesting, but not germane to the topic of this text. Susan Koppelman's "The Naming of Katz" links complex responses of Jewish Americans to "whitening" and passing in the dominant culture with those

of other "minorities," primarily African Americans.

Still another significant "minority" contribution to the genre of the short story is the "short story cycle" which Rocio Davis contends is characteristic of African American, Native American, and Asian American cultures, failing to acknowledge Latina innovations to the short story through the use of the "short story cycle" by Puertoriquenas Nicholasa Mohr, Rosario Ferre, and Judith Ortiz Cofer.

Even recent entries into the ethnic canon are included, such as Chris Wise's essay on Arab American ethnicity which deals with Ramzi M. Salti's use of the problem of coming to terms with homosexual identity in Arab culture. Laurie Leach analyzes the often tragic results of difference in relation to concepts of space and privacy in "Indo American" writers. However, she allocates too much space to a short story by an American writer married to an Indian that could have been shared with an Indo American writer.

Dr. Phillipa Kafka
Kean University

Karen Christian. *Show and Tell: Identity as Performance in U.S. Latino/a Fiction.* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997). 188 pp., $19.95 paper.

Christian's crucial contribution to ethnic studies is her book's argument that ethnic identity is more performance than essence. Of course, this is an unresolved and essentialized issue, but Christian summarizes the debate well, situating her study in the performance camp as she relies on Judith Butler's theory of performativity to examine the inter-related performances of ethnicity and gender in Chicano/a, U.S. Cuban, Puerto Rican, and Dominican texts. As Christian explains, static U.S. Latino/a identity categories create "collective fictions" that "regulate performances of gender, sexuality, and cultural identity," but alternative performances of ethnicity and sexuality, Christian argues, subvert these "collective fictions" and show instead that identity is always in flux (21). Her study thus refreshingly challenges the practice of defining "U.S. Latino/a" at the expense of excluding alternative texts, subject matter, and even authors. This is the book's greatest strength, making it a key text for U.S. Latino/a literary critics and ethnic cultural studies in general.

The essence *vs.* performance debate is fuzzy, however, so at times, Christian's analysis balances tenuously between two positions of a circular argument. While rejecting essential ethnic identity, for example, her study essentializes "dominant culture" and, more problematically, Anglo American identity, as if "Anglo" and "American" are not

themselves constructed identities. She briefly notes this dilemma, but by leaving it unexamined, her study "naturalizes" Anglo American identity in contrast to performed ethnic identities. Moreover, although Christian convincingly explains that ethnic authors do not necessarily produce ethnic texts, the discussion of Sheila Ortiz-Taylor and John Rechy, with its emphasis on biographical information, basically re-circulates the very argument Christian rejects by assuming lesbian or gay authors naturally write subversive lesbian or gay texts.

The book also misses several categories of analysis that would develop its otherwise insightful discussion. Christian rightly questions the presumed homogeneity of the U.S. Latino/a "experience" but overlooks Spanish colonization, U.S. neo-colonization, and global capitalism as significant historical factors that shape contradictory U.S. Latino/a identities, making their performances historically contingent on shifts in colonial consciousness. The absence of class analysis likewise ignores the way class status determines the different kinds of performances lower-, middle-, and upper-class U.S. Latino/as enact. Finally, although she alludes to it, Christian's study omits hybridity as a category of U.S. Latino/a identity. While performativity endlessly repeats prescribed identity categories, hybridity implies a level of agency and change: prescripted categories are not so much repeated as they are re-scripted. The concept of hybridity also bridges the difference between essence and performance more convincingly, since hybridity allows for a third identity category to emerge when two world views collide, in much the same way U.S. Latino/as perform, adapt, and indeed create hybrid identities in literature and life. These omissions aside, *Show and Tell* is a timely, bold, and indispensable study of U.S. Latino/a identity.

J. Alemán
University of Kansas

Daniele Conversi. *The Basques, the Catalans and Spain: Alternative Routes to Nationalist Mobilisation.* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1997). 338 pp., $44.95 cloth.

In this book, Daniele Conversi compares and contrasts two widely known nationalist movements in Spain: the Basques in the northeast and the Catalans in the east. Working from both primary and secondary sources including documentary material such as political pamphlets, communiqués, periodicals, and nationalists' declarations and writings, as well as sociolinguistic data and personal interviews, he constructs a detailed historical account of the emergence of both movements at the end of the nineteenth century through the 1980s. Included in his book are maps, glossary, extensive notes, index, and large bibli-

ography. Conversi's particular focus is on the leading intellectuals and intelligentsia who selected the "core-values" of the Basque and Catalan nationalist movements.

Conversi explains the violent nature of Basque nationalism as due in part to endemic political and cultural fragmentation. In Basque country, where the Basque language was quickly disappearing and there was little tradition of "high culture," there was continual difficulty reaching a consensus on "core-values." Conversi contrasts this to a more unified, inclusive Catalan nationalism with an established "high culture" and a consistent focus on a widely spoken language. Key to his analysis is the large impact of immigration on the two regions and their nationalisms. Due to these differences and others he discusses in the book, the impact of the Civil War and Franco's intolerant and violent anti-regionalist policies escalated violence in the Basque case but not among Catalan nationalists.

To an anthropologist, Daniele Conversi's attention to the use of culture, ethnicity, and symbols as tools for manipulation and mobilization is appealing. His work opens a space to consider the intentional as well as historically determined use of "cultural" and "ethnic" elements by interested parties, and his analysis of the intended and unintended results of such choices is interesting. This type of analysis brings up traditionally anthropological questions concerning definitions of "culture," that innocent looking word that often hides internal difference and power relations beneath a veneer of sameness and supposedly shared identity. This approach also provides material for those interested in how ethnic groups acquire their defining characteristics—through both bottom-up and top-down processes. Conversi's attention to the role of elites, of the state, and of culture in determining the outcomes of Basque and Catalan nationalisms is appreciated, but his evident confusion of "culture" with "high culture" throughout the book ultimately leaves his arguments unconvincing.

Laura Bathurst
University of California, Berkeley

Daniel Friedman and Sharon Grimberg. *Miss India Georgia*. Urban Life Productions. 22-D Hollywood Avenue, Hohokus, NJ 07423. VHS video, 56 minutes. 1997. Rental (may be applied to purchase price): $50.00; Purchase Price: College or University classroom use: $250.00; Public Library, Secondary School, or nonprofit community organization: $95.00; Personal Use Only: $39.95; Shipping and Handling: $6.00. Phone: (800) 343-5540; Fax: (201) 652-1973.

Miss India Georgia is an intelligent and insightful video documentary that tells the story of four Indian American teenagers, who in

the process of preparing for Atlanta's annual South Asian beauty pageant reflect on the trials and tribulations of their bi-cultural lives. It is a timeless tale told over and over as each new wave of immigrants has come ashore and their children have had to resolve the incongruities of their multiple ethnicities. *Miss India Georgia* captures with special poignancy the complexity of emotions that transpires and the interactions which the young women have with their parents, grandparents, friends, boyfriends, as they articulate their frustrations, impatience, and all kinds of mixed feelings at being caught at a confluence of such distinct cultures. The documentary is particularly deft at capturing the often subtle, often direct ways in which the young women navigate their social terrain, set apart by culture conflict and a hierarchy of marginalities brought on by their `brownness' in an otherwise culturally and racially homogeneous social sphere. The conflict is not about core societal values such as material success, which both the young women and their parents eagerly embrace, but those values which are popularly labeled old fashioned and traditional. The parents in the documentary, like most Asian Indian parents, embody a cultural heritage deeply rooted in tradition, convention and religion. Children are socialized to unquestioningly respect the authority of the parents. Cultural fidelity and continuity are disproportionately associated with upholding virtues associated with traditional Indian womanhood or femininity. This explains the parents' impermeability when it comes to relinquishing their hold on their daughters, especially when it comes to interacting with their young men-friends. But, in the social context of their adopted land, their objections to dating breeds rebellion and tremendous unhappiness among their progeny. *Miss India Georgia* does a remarkable job at portraying these disagreements judiciously. The documentary successfully shows how futile it is to generalize about Asian Indians and their assimilation experiences when it presents the unique ways in which each young woman resolves her particular experience of "twoness" and the additional marginalities that she perceives.

In several ways, however, the documentary does represent the Asian Indian community in a rather monolithic form. All four of the young women in the documentary come from very affluent, professional families, when in fact a large segment of Asian Indians, especially those who have recently immigrated, are neither affluent nor well educated and therefore experience their adopted country quite differently. Moreover, not all young women in the Asian Indian diaspora have adopted the traditional American notions of femininity so uncritically. As a matter of fact, many young women have tried to resolve their marginalities by seeking out community with those who have challenged traditional ideas of femininity, both Indian and American.

In other ways, however, *Miss India Georgia* quite effectively fulfills the objective it sets out for itself: to provide a narrative of the struggles

of four young women as they try to establish their identity as second generation Indian Americans. Therefore, it is an important addition to works relating to the American ethnic experience.

Kasturi DasGupta
Georgian Court College

Nathan Glazer. *We Are All Multiculturalists Now*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997). 192 pp., $19.95 cloth.

Some of the readers familiar with Nathan Glazer's writings may be surprised or intrigued, as the case may be, by his latest book, *We Are All Multiculturalists Now*. That title seems quite an extraordinary declaration from a man who became known in the 1980s for his neoconservatism as well as for his persistent criticism of certain liberal social policies such as affirmative action. Has he finally seen the light? Not exactly. The book is by no means an apologia nor is it a ringing endorsement of multiculturalism either. Indeed, the reader is held in some suspense till the last chapter to find out what Glazer really means by "we are all multiculturalists now." Nevertheless, his main purpose in the book, he says, is to examine the phenomenon of multiculturalism—"that new dispensation" as he calls it. And he does it with relative even-handedness.

To being with he declares that, as far as cultural wars in education are concerned, the multiculturalists have won. They have won in the sense that the old assimilationist orientation (dispensation?) in the curriculum toward the "melting-pot" ideal has been abandoned. That is his assessment, but one that is not shared by many critics of multiculturalism some of whom ascribe to it all that has gone wrong with education in public schools in particular and the society in general. Glazer identifies what he considers "the four big questions" that critics have about multiculturalism and he analyzes these questions in some depth. These questions, he says, represent critics' fears.

One of the fears is that multiculturalism will lead to national disunity. The distinguished historian, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., is one of the leading proponents of this view. He presents his case against multiculturalism in his controversial book, *The Disuniting of America* (1990). Schlesinger, Jr. is particularly harsh on Afrocentrism. Like most critics, he regards Afrocentrism as an offshoot of multiculturalism with a separatist agenda. He claims that Afrocentrist scholars are doing a disservice to African American history—a history that, he believes, is a part of the Western democratic tradition even though it had been shamefully neglected. While Glazer is also critical of Afrocentrism because he considers it extreme, nevertheless, he believes that the mainstream African

American experience is a significant, if not the legitimating, force in the multiculturalist movement. As a matter of fact, Glazer argues that African Americans have played a much greater role in American history than women.

The main demand of multiculturalists, as Glazer understands it, is for inclusion and not separatism, as most critics charge. He points out that the multiculturalists are "no Quebec separatists, Croatian nationalists, Sikh or Tamil separatists" (75). Indeed, Glazer underscores this point by citing the fact that members of the groups, such as African Americans and Hispanic Americans, who advocate multiculturalism are disproportionately represented in the U.S. armed forces and that their loyalty has not been questioned.

Glazer sees multiculturalism as the price America is paying for its failure to incorporate African Americans into its society. "Price" may be too strong a word, if not a wrong one, to use in this case. African Americans, in particular, and other advocates of multiculturalism in general do not have a punitive intent towards America. As a matter of fact, African Americans have continually been rebuffed on account of race by an America that has been willing to assimilate European ethnic groups. Glazer notes, moreover, with some discomfort, that as the other nonwhites are becoming less differentiated from whites in terms of residence, income, occupation and so forth, America will remain a society consisting of two nations, that is, black and the others. This pessimistic scenario, however, is not one envisioned by most multiculturalists. Their project is to bring about a better and more inclusive America. It is, in a sense, a quest for "a more perfect union."

Glazer admits that he had opposed intrusive government measures of integration. He and others, believed, apparently erroneously, that those measures were not necessary since discriminatory restrictions had been outlawed. He had in mind the pattern of integration of European immigrants for which he, admits, he was rightfully criticized by Ronald Takaki, among others. Nevertheless, Glazer is still an assimilationist at heart.

Finally, what does Glazer mean by "we are all multiculturalists now"? Well, he concedes the point that we are not *all* multiculturalists. He only used that expression in the same way others had used it before in reaction to something unpleasant and unavoidable. He cites the case of a nineteenth century British Chancellor of Exchequer, Sir William Harcourt, who is said to have retorted "we are all socialists now" when accused of socialism after having imposed progressive taxation on estates—an act that he thought inevitable. It was, therefore, not a wholehearted embrace of socialism.

Likewise Glazer recognizes the fact that racial and ethnic diversity is an unavoidable social reality in America. Thus, to whatever ex-

tent one wishes to accommodate this diversity, he says, one would be considered a multiculturalist.

Jonathan A. Majak
University of Wisconsin-LaCrosse

Cora Govers and Hans Vermeulen, eds. *The Politics of Ethnic Consciousness.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). xi, 377 pp., $79.95 cloth.

Govers and Vermeulen's book seems to be a timely one, considering the resurgence of inter-ethnic strife that is causing so much misery in many parts of the world, especially since the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the cold war. The book, however, is not an expose on the politics of ethnic consciousness. Rather, it is a collection of case studies that address certain aspects of ethnic consciousness. Govers and Vermeulen provide the theoretical context for these studies in the introductory first chapter of the book. Indeed, the book can be usefully divided into two main parts, with the first chapter constituting one part and the rest of the chapters constituting the other.

In the first chapter, Govers and Vermeulen describe, albeit briefly, the changes or shifts in ethnic studies since the 1960s. The first is the shift to social organization of ethnic differences. They point out that those who focused on social organization, like Fredrik Barth for example, have been dubbed "situationalists". Their study of ethnicity became a study of ethnic politics, with ethnic groups regarded as political and economic interest groups.

The second shift occurred in the 1980s—a shift to ethnic consciousness that is characterized as "constructionist". Much of the first chapter is focused on this second shift. Govers and Vermeulen hasten to point out, however, that constructionism is neither a movement nor a school, but its central concern is ethnic identity itself.

Ethnicity, they say, was regarded as a pre-modern phenomenon in functionalist theory—one that was destined to disappear as a result of modernization. Ethnic minorities were expected to be assimilated by dominant majority cultures. Govers and Vermeulen attribute this to an air of confidence that prevailed within nation states up to the end of WWII.

The post-WWII era saw the reassertion of ethnicity, brought about by, among other things, anti-colonial struggle and the rejection of assimilation policies in that nation states. In the United States, Jews had rejected assimilation as early as the turn of the century. In the 1960s, African Americans not only rejected assimilation but also asserted their racial and cultural identity. Ethnicity became a matter of ascription *and*

self ascription according to Govers and Vermeulen. They define ethnic identity as one distinguished by "a belief in common origin, descent, history, and culture" (6). Ethnic markers such as religion, language and physical appearance (race) are the stuff of politics of ethnic consciousness. Govers and Vermeulen concede that racial markers are more difficult to pass. Indeed, they point out, that certain social scientists—mainly sociologists—caution against subsuming "race relations" under ethnicity.

Ethnic identities are often presented by ethnic ideologists as ancient and unchanging. Such presentations, according to Govers and Vermeulen, are socially constructed to serve social needs at a particular point in time. This is why social constructionism is a useful concept in the study of ethnicity. Most of the case studies reported in the rest of the chapters in the book illustrate aspects of constructionism. For example, the Sinhala-Tamil conflict in Sri Lanka has fostered ethnic solidarity on each side. Peter Kloos points out in his study that Sinhala used to refer to a royal dynasty, but now it has become a bona fide ethnic identity for the Sinhalese.

Another study in the volume shows how social construction of ethnic identities sometimes entails the invention of traditions or rewriting of history. An example of this is a "new" ethnic identity that is apparently being constructed in Kosovo and Macedonia. Ger Duijzings points out that Gypsies in those areas are now claiming an Egyptian ethnic identity—a claim that he thought amusing at first. Indeed, even the Egyptian cultural attaché thought so, too. However, whether or not these are truly Egyptians is beside the point. The fact is that they are acting like they are. Duijzings notes that they even established contacts with the Egyptian ambassador. The Egyptians, in tum, have been intrigued by the claim to the point of making a television documentary about these self identified "Egyptians". How long this identity claim will endure is anybody's guess, but it will likely depend on social conditions.

Govers and Vermeulen see constructionism as a useful concept in the study of ethnicity. However, they point out that other scholars regard it as a passing fashion. Nevertheless, the politics of ethnic consciousness is something that will always be around as long as inequalities exist between ethnic groups. The main weakness of this book is that it does not treat the politics of ethnic consciousness in sufficient theoretical depth. Whereas the various studies reported in the book are good illustrations of the concept, they are too detailed and too lengthy for the general reader.

Jonathan A. Majak
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

Manuel de Jesus Hernandez-Gutierrez and David William Foster, eds. *Literatura Chicana, 1965-1995: An Anthology in Spanish, English, and Calo.* Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, Vol. 1912. (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997). xxxii, 487 pp., $29.95 paper.

The works included in this anthology, many of them previously printed, reflect six characteristic themes of Chicana/o contemporary literature: "the search for identity, feminism, conservatism, revisionism, homoeroticism, and internationalism" (xix). Organized chronologically according to various literary genres and replete with many useful notes, the anthology contains no index. Further, *Literatura Chicana* could also be assigned as required reading in American Studies courses, specifically in contemporary American literature courses, even though the editors suggest that the anthology be adopted for university level humanities, Spanish, ethnic, Chicana/o literature courses, in women's studies programs and social science departments.

Significantly, the editor's preface is written in Spanish, then reiterated in English, which immediately alerts readers to the bilingual nature of this anthology. All eight essays are written in English. Nine out of sixteen short stories are written in Spanish. Seven, including stories by Estela Portillo Trambley, Helena Maria Viramontes, and Gary Soto are written in English. Twelve out of thirty poems, including two anonymous early Corridos, are written in Spanish. Three poems are written in Calo ["Spanglish"]. Fifteen poems are written in English, as are all three plays. Of the two complete novels, one by Aristeo Brito, *El Diablo en Texas*, is written entirely in Spanish, the other by Gina Valdes, in English.

Also included in the anthology are five classics from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, such as the anonymous "Corrido de Joaquin Murrieta" and "Corrido do Gregorio Cortez" and both male and female writers are equally represented. However, instead of representing several authors twice in different genres, the editors might have used material from other contemporary writers such as Roberta Fernandez and Sandra Cisneros, perhaps the greatest of all Chicana short story writers.

Still, many other contemporary "classics" in Chicana/o literature are brought together in this otherwise inclusive anthology. For example, the essay section includes a segment from Richard Rodriguez's controversial *Hunger of Memory* and two feminist standards, Cherrie Moraga's "La Guera" and Gloria Anzaldua's "La Conciencia de la mestiza: Towards a New Consciousness." The short story segment contains Estela Portillo Trambley's feminist shocker, "The Paris Gown." The extensive poetry section includes Lorna Dee Cervantes' "Beneath the Shadow of the Freeway," but not her "Para un Revolucionario" which courageously confronts the hypocrisy of many male members of the La Raza move-

ment in advocating revolutionary social change—for themselves alone. Also included is "I am Joaquin" by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, the Whitmanesque poem that heralded the La Raza Movement. The theater section contains two historically significant plays by Luis Valdez, founder and leader of the traveling troupe created to forward the cause of the grape workers' strike, thereby perpetuating the Spanish traveling theater tradition, while adding a politically subversive message to the traditional repertoire.

All in all, the editors are to be commended for their judicious selections of material, while still providing the depth and breadth requisite for a representative anthology of contemporary Chicana/o literature.

Phillipa Kafka
Kean University

Clyde Holler. *Black Elk's Religion: The Sun Dance and Lakota Catholicism.* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995). xxxi, 246 pp., $39.95 cloth, $16.95 paper.

Few, if any, American Indian individuals are more widely known in the United States than the Lakota holy man, Black Elk (1863-1950). His story, particularly as presented by John Neihardt in *Black Elk Speaks*, has been required reading for legions of students taking classes in literature, religion, anthropology, and American Indian Studies. Scholars in those fields have generated a body of critical literature which has taken on a life of its own as Neihardt's book, originally published in 1931, has been reprinted in paperback editions many times since 1960. During the 1970s, Neihardt appeared on the Dick Cavett show and, along with Black Elk, became something of a cult hero. Meanwhile, heated debates have arisen as to whether Neihardt's book is ethnographically or historically accurate and whether it is a faithful as-told-to autobiography or a novel.

Clyde Holler's book is the most recent major work in this controversy. It deals with the question of Catholicism in Black Elk's life and the role of Christianity in contemporary Lakota culture, specifically regarding the Sun Dance. Holler came to this particular arena as a professor of religion teaching a class that employed Neihardt's book as a text. In 1983 he attended most of the final two days of a Sun Dance near Kyle, South Dakota. In order to understand the subject better, Holler perused numerous sources in anthropology, history, philosophy, and literary criticism. In the candid, almost defensive, introduction to his book, Holler admits that he may be trespassing into those areas from his base in classical philosophy and religious studies.

Holler fist summarizes the classic Sun Dance as observed between 1866 and 1882 by S.R. Curtis, Alice Fletcher and others. He then outlines the Sun Dance as remembered by informants for the period 1887-1911 and reported to James Dorsey, J.R. Walker, and Frances Densmore. The Sun Dance was officially banned by the U.S. government between 1883 and 1934, but Holler reviews evidence that the ritual continued as an underground observance in outlying areas. Black Elk affiliated with Catholicism in 1904 but played a significant role in the revival of the Sun Dance in 1930s. Raymond DeMallie, working with Neihardt's original field transcriptions, considers Catholicism as a phase in the life of Black Elk whom he views essentially as a traditionalist. Other writers, such as Michael Steltenkamp, perceive Black Elk as a fervent and progressive Catholic who essentially left traditional religion behind. In many ways, Holler attempts to document an intermediate position: "Black Elk's vision embraced the best of what he found in his own tradition, the Ghost Dance, and Catholic Christianity" (186).

Holler's thesis will not be accepted universally, but he sets out a number of points that scholars in ethnic studies will find worthwhile. Efforts to ban the Sun Dance and forcefully assimilate traditional Lakota religion were not successful. This fact speaks strongly for the persistence of basic world views and the continuity of cultural practices. Holler maintains that the essential ceremonial forms of the Sun Dance are still intact: "For traditionalists, the dance continues to be the central expression of their religion" (199). In the past there were many tribal, band, and family groups of deeply religious traditionalists to larger productions sponsored by tribal councils as tourist attractions. Holler asserts that "Lakotas maintain allegiances in two worlds, the Christian and the traditional" (202). But for many Lakota, participating in the Sun Dance is a principal means of maintaining their ethnic identity which, in former times, was more or less taken for granted as a matter of birth into the tribe, fluency in their language, and instruction by their practicing holy men. Thus, despite many changes in the Sun Dance and upheavals in Lakota culture during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, one can see the elements of survival and revitalization.

David M. Gradwohl
Iowa State University

Phillipa Kafka. *(Un)Doing the Missionary Position: Gender Asymmetry in Contemporary Asian American Women's Writing*. Contributions in Women's Studies Series, No. 158. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997). xix, 216 pp., $55.00 cloth.

Phillipa Kafka's clever book title turns on her deconstruction of what she sees as a simultaneous patriarchal and racist orientation of some contemporary literary criticism, akin to the unquestioned, naturalized supremacy presumed by agents of political imperialism such as missionaries. By focusing on what she sees as feminist and postfeminist writing by contemporary Asian American women authors—specifically, their attention to gender asymmetry—she demonstrates that we can read these works as a collective strike against the sexism of much (male) postcolonial, Marxist, and deconstructionist criticism and the racism of much (white) feminist criticism. Her readings of Amy Tan, Fae Myenne Ng, Gish Jen, R. A. Sasaki, and Cynthia Kadohata represent a provocative, new framework for understanding recent literature by Asian American women.

Kafka links the work of her subjects along seven themes, the most significant are "syncretism" (in which characters, in response to gender asymmetry, forge elements of two cultures to empower themselves); "paradox" (incorporation of "ambivalence and polyvocality" [6]); "unreliable narrators and inconsistent characters" (undermining authority by presenting problematic narrators and characters); and "revisioning the past." By making these thematic linkages, she provides a useful and illuminating framework for scholars and teachers facing the increasingly diverse and complex body of Asian American literature.

The book's greatest contribution lies in its analysis of multiple responses among Asian American female characters to gender asymmetry—the unequal social relations along gender lines—which belie the notion that Asian American women share a single perspective. Pearl, a Chinese American character in Tan's *The Kitchen God's Wife*, for example, represents a bridge between characters and between cultures, a syncretism that challenges the dated but stubbom East/West binary. In Jen's *Typical American*, the female characters, not the men, reach Confucian "equilibrium and balance" (109) through cultural syncretism. The Issei mother who dominates *The Loom and Other Stories* by R. A. Sasaki, by contrast, internalizes so completely the unquestioned gender asymmetry of two cultures that, only through flashbacks and without the understanding of her postfeminist daughters, the reader learns of the incremental dispiriting of a formerly courageous child accomplished by repeated episodes of gender oppression. Sasaki thus critiques gender asymmetry by way of the reader rather than that of a character or set of characters. Kafka's readings of Ng's *Bone* and Cynthia Kadohata's *The Floating World* are similarly insightful, especially as she contrasts fe-

male characters' respectively feminist and postfeminist responses to gender asymmetry.

Clear and ambitious, Kafka's book engenders (as it were) reconsiderations of Asian American women's writing vis-a-vis gender. It understandably says little about race itself in that it focuses on gender; it surprisingly says little about cultural differences between the Asian American ethnic groups it discusses (Chinese American and Japanese American). Nonetheless, by complicating the often oversimplified and sometimes wholly overlooked multiple ways that gender asymmetry is depicted by Asian American women writers, Kafka's book—which includes endnotes, a list of works cited, and an index that are nicely arranged and useful—provides an illuminating, new perspective.

David Goldstein-Shirley
University of Washington

Wahneema Lubiano, ed. *The House that Race Built: Black Americans, U.S. Terrain.* (New York: Random House, 1997). 323 pp., $26.00 cloth, $14.00 paper.

The House that Race Built is a fascinating account of race and racism upon the terrain of United States' culture in the 1990s. Seventeen scholars, brought together at a Race Matters Conference at Princeton University, produced various essays and were evidently given plenty of leeway by the book's editor, Wahneema Lubiano. Various disciplines of law, history, sociology, fine arts, ethnic studies, literature, divinity, and politics are represented. Contributors addressed issues ranging from homosexuality, affirmative action, O.J. Simpson and religion, to perspectives on work vis-a-vis play, culture, Black Nationalism, whiteness, crime, and the black diaspora. A common denominator, in my view, was the theme from Cornel West's perspective that race matters. The conference took its name from his work.

Stephen Steinberg mounted an impressive and passionate attack on the liberal retreat during the decades following the modern black-led Civil Rights Movement. Similar to Todd Gitlin's *The Twilight of Common Dreams* or Herbert J. Gans' *The War Against the Poor*, Steinberg took no prisoners in his analysis of a right-wing backlash to the social turbulence of the 1980s-1990s, and more specifically, the left's and/or liberal establishment's lack of a proper response. Particular issue is taken with West's perspective on "nihilism" expressed in *Race Matters*. Steinberg sees it as an inappropriate descriptor and reaction to black inner-city crime and youth violence. Similarly, Gitlin reported how "culture war" infighting allowed the Religious Right to gain a moral and political high-ground during the 1990s, and Gans articulated how academics (and others) permitted a war to be waged against the so-called

underclass. These scholars lament how such social issues, which disproportionately affect black Americans, are too often decontextualized from the political economy that spawned them.

Kendall Thomas points to West's failure to address Louis Farrakhan's homophobia, citing that the loquacious minister had "inflicted (black suffering) on the bodies of gay and lesbian African Americans" by his rhetoric. Angela Davis' excellent essay on the Capitalization of the criminal justice system does not even mention West, nor does Rhonda Williams' personal thesis on lesbianism. Perhaps they should have, whether in support of their views or as a critique. David Lionel Smith defended the Harvard scholar, pointing out that "West's conception (of nihilism) . . . has only the most superficial connections to such arguments" (of underclass black pathology). Stuart Hall rose to referee Steinberg's attack on West, but Hall's rambling discourse is almost incoherent.

Though West is given the last word, he does not produce any substantive responses to any of the specific points made by Thomas and especially by Steinberg, noting that their criticisms are a "misreading" of his work. This is a weak defense, particularly given the depth, breadth, and yes, validity of the criticisms. West should have mounted a far more viable response than what he leaves in a mere two and one-fifth pages at the book's end.

The House that Race Built succeeds admirably in breaking new ground on the terrain of racial ideology in the United States. However, the last word on the subject unfortunately falls short.

Clarence Spigner
University of Washington

Charles W. Mills. *The Racial Contract*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). 171 pp, $19.95 paper.

Over the past few years I have read a number of articles by Professor Charles Mills. I have found him to be a stimulating thinker and lucid writer. In fact, I had the opportunity to use his article, "Non-Cartesian Sums: Philosophy and the African American Experience" (*Teaching Philosophy*, September 1994) in an NEH seminar that I conducted on multicultural approaches to Honor College teaching. Mills is a significant voice among the small cadre of Black philosophers committed to correction of and expansion beyond the Eurocentric myopia of professional philosophy. In his previous scholarship he demonstrates not only that he is insightful, critical and creative, but that he also grapples with questions and issues that few other philosophers, (including fellow Black philosophers), have dared to address. Of particular note is his

provocative article, "Do Black Men Have a Moral Duty to Marry Black Women" (Journal of Social Philosophy, July 1994).

Mills is an Associate Professor of Philosophy and graduate advisor at the University of Illinois-Chicago. With his probing text, *The Racial Contract*, he now offers us an opportunity to digest his critical philosophical reflections on the nature of modern Western philosophy and political theory. He pervasively argues that both have unremitting, though hidden, ties to race, racism, and white supremacy. *The Racial Contract* challenges the philosophical orthodoxy of the white academy. Mills notes, "Philosophy has remained remarkably untouched by the debates over multiculturalism, canon reform, and ethnic diversity racking the academy; both demographically and conceptually, it is one of the 'whitest' of the humanities" (2).

Mills' conceptual alternative mandates we undertake the task of a historical reinterpretation of the Western modern world-system. The purpose of which is to disclose how modern (Western) political (power) structures and relations (at the very inception of their formation) incorporated white supremacy as a definitive political system. Concurrently, his conceptual alternative includes a theoretical (philosophical) imperative viz., a reconsideration of contractarianism beyond the constraints of social contract theory to the submerged notion of "the racial contract." Against the hegemonic self-conception of modern Western philosophy, Mills argues that racism (or more precisely white supremacy) is pivotal and not merely marginal in the very development of the modern philosophical tradition of contractarianism. This conceptual transporting of white supremacy requires uncovering the presence of "the racial contract." The complexity in unraveling the racial contract's material function and intrinsic locus as a determinate global political system of white supremacy is due to the ideological occlusion emanating from the intellectual tradition of social contractarianism. The ahistorical character of contractarianism from Hobbes to Rawls is juxtaposed to the concrete history of the racial contract. This latter contract was/is materially and institutionally manifested in slavery, the slave trade, genocide and plunder of native peoples, colonial and neo-colonial oppression and exploitation. The social contract assumes a social and political relationship on the principle of equality. The racial contract is grounded materially and philosophically on white supremacy.

My main criticism centers on Mills' perspective on the typology of the African American philosophical tradition with regard to moral and political theory. Mills (correctly) views his own text as a global theoretical framework for the analysis of race and racism. This global focus in turn directly confronts the presuppositions of the dominant white political theory. Mills assumes that those African American philosophers doing moral and political philosophy either simply pursue mainstream philosophy or are more local in their focus. By local in focus he means

addressing questions of affirmative action, Black 'underclass' or investigating African American philosophers (historical figures), e.g., Du Bois and Alain Locke, such that the broader debate is left undone. However, if we recognize Mills' claim that the racial contract is central and not marginal to a conception of the global, then the examination of the history of African American philosophers must not be seen as local in focus but as the (particular) vehicle to rethink what constitutes true universality. Though white supremacy fosters false universality (a distorted conception of the global) universality in and of itself is not false. Universality if it is not reduced to an arid abstraction must be mediated via particularity.

Mills' short but provocative text is a must-read for all those who seek to go beyond the veil of professional philosophical tradition. Mills' lucid and open writing style makes available a wealth of complex philosophical concepts and forms of analyses to the non-philosopher. Hopefully, we will hear more from Mills in the future.

John H. McClendon III
University of Kansas

Kyeyoung Park. *The Korean American Dream: Immigrants and Small Business in New York City.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997). 228 pp., $15.95 paper.

Kyeyoung Park illustrates how the Korean American dream emerges from a harsh reality. Park's central argument is that Korean immigrant adjustment is driven by an ideology of self-help. Within the context of this ideology, Korean immigrants see a close connection between entrepreneurial activity and basic survival in America. It is argued that the primacy of establishing one's own small business in order to generate stability and security has an overarching influence on the activities of individual Korean immigrants and the Korean American community in general. From this premise, Park describes how the preoccupation with entrepreneurship for subsistence shapes various spheres of life for Korean Americans. Chapters discuss how this ideological orientation sets the parameters for familial relations, gender roles, working conditions, political activities, and religious practices in the Korean community.

Interestingly, the Korean American dream is laden with contradictions. Old constraints are replaced with new ones as familial and gender roles shift in response to conditions in the United States. Although an entrepreneurial ethos forms the nucleus of the Korean American ideology, many Korean owned businesses experience financial difficulties and high rates of insolvency. In fact, Park points out that most

Koreans experience downward mobility after coming to America. The contradictions of the Korean American dream are even reflected in religious activities. For instance, Park describes how Christian fundamentalism provides Korean Americans with a source of social support and escape from economic adversity, while simultaneously reinforcing the entrepreneurial ethos embedded in the Korean American community.

Park's narrative adds texture to prior literature. However, in a similar manner to other studies, it falls short of a meaningful discussion of the broader structural factors that generate and sustain the small business orientation of Korean immigrants. Park indicates that underemployment is rampant in the Korean American community, and subsequently, Korean Americans establish small businesses to survive. However, there is no direct examination of why Korean Americans initially encounter obstacles to full incorporation in American society, while their Anglo-American counterparts do not. Granted, Park explores this issue when discussing experiences Korean Americans have with racism and racial discrimination. However, the central role of racial hostility and intolerance in the Korean American experience, and the American experience in general, is suppressed by Park's thesis.

The well developed examination of parochial issues in the Korean American community is not balanced with a discussion of general conditions in society that set the parameters in which this community is confined. For instance, a handful of passages describe how Korean Americans experience racial tension within the context of their businesses, but scant attention is paid to systemic discrimination that initially shackles Korean Americans to the small business sector. Like other studies approaching the Korean American experience from this bent, Park does little to parry the collective denial of legitimized racism in American society.

Robert Mark Silverman
Jackson State University

Gail Pellet and Stanley Nelson (producers and directors). *Shattering the Silences.* California Newsreel, 149 Ninth Street, San Francisco, CA 94103. VHS video, 86 minutes. 1997. Rental: $95; purchase price: $295; previews; free for two weeks. Phone: (415) 621-6196.

"Our silence will not protect us," poet and feminist Audre Lorde has written, and broken silences recur with startling clarity in *Shattering the Silences*. The video documentary features professors of color from across the nation discussing their experiences as scholars, as people of color in predominantly white institutions, as women of color in predomi-

nantly male departments, and as husbands, mentors, and for some, as the first in their family to pursue a life in academia. Each story is compelling, sometimes painful, and always poignant.

The overarching thesis of *Shattering the Silences* is that scholars of color and ethnic studies programs invigorate the academy. Yet, the teaching of multicultural or alternative perspectives in area studies are often considered threats to the academy. For scholars of color presenting alternative versions of history, literature, political science, etc., their scholarship becomes suspect and ethnic studies programs come under fire. These circumstances fuel the debate over ethnic studies in universities across the nation. For advocates of the multicultural movement in academia, *Shattering the Silences* reiterates familiar language. For opponents, it's uncertain that the video will have much impact.

No documentary can claim impartiality, but *Shattering the Silences* attempts to show the opposing side of the ethnic studies debate with the appearance of Professor John Searle, University of California, Berkeley. His earnest comments about the presence of ethnic studies in the academy are at once insulting and laughable, but his positioning as the "angry white man" does a disservice to the video. One wonders how the interrogation of his conservative rhetoric would be elaborated, had a conservative African American professor been interviewed. Instead, *Shattering the Silences* rests on the standard, two-sided discourse of Us versus Them, Black versus White, Old school versus New school.

As oral history, *Shattering the Silences* is excellent. However, the video offers too much in its inordinately long 86 minutes. Several tangents punctuate the video: a segment with Gloria Cuadraz discussing the choice between the tenure clock and the biological clock; an interview with the effervescent Miguel Algarin and his success in coalescing academic and community work; Robin Kelley's thoughts on the struggle to cultivate a family life and a professional life when the demands on an ethnic minority faculty member are steep and multi-pronged. These and other tangents are engaging, deserving of an entire video in their own right. Yet, for eliciting discussion of the condition of scholars of color and the value of ethnic studies programs in the academy, *Shattering the Silences* is an excellent resource.

Belinda Acosta
University of Texas at Austin

Rakhmiel Peltz. *From Immigrant to Ethnic Culture: American Yiddish in South Philadelphia.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997). xi, 269 pp., $18.95 paper, $49.50 cloth.

Rakhmiel Peltz, in *From Immigrants to Ethnic Culture: American Yiddish in South Philadelphia*, presents one of the few ethnographies available on spoken American Yiddish in his investigation of the elderly children of immigrant Jews in a Philadelphia neighborhood. Drawing on audiotaped ethnographic data which includes life histories, personal narratives, interviews, and naturally-occurring interactions in local contexts, Peltz examines how Jewish residents attempt to maintain their yiddishkayt ('Jewishness') as they become a shrinking minority in what was once a thriving Jewish community.

Integrating approaches from sociolinguistics, gerontology, psychology, and anthropology, Peltz focuses on the interface of Jewish ethnic identity and Yiddish use across the lifecycle as a critical site for understanding how ethnic identities change over time and space. Residents' institutional affiliations and social networks are examined as Peltz considers social relationships within and across ethnic boundaries and generations. A sociolinguistic analysis of the pragmatics of English and Yiddish use in social interactions is a contribution of Peltz's study. The analysis is located in a comparative framework of sociolinguistic approaches of the study of bilingualism.

An unusual feature of this ethnography is the central role played Yiddish of his childhood and longings for a flourishing Yiddish-speaking community. However, Peltz does more than locate his own position as a "semi-insider". He also, as he acknowledges, "introduces Yiddish in contexts where it was not typically found, but where it could be spoken" (206). For example, a great deal of Yiddish-language data was generated in a Yiddish conversation class, *a gleyzele tey* ('a glass of tea'), he began at the local senior community center. He further initiated conversations and interviews in Yiddish, although most of the residents used primarily English (though many were fluent Yiddish speakers). Peltz can be viewed as an activist-ethnographer, committed to using a shared ethnic language to reinvigorate associations among language, memory, and group identity.

An implication of Peltz's stance is that the monograph is often a celebratory account rather than a critical investigation of social and linguistic change. In fact, as Peltz notes, prior to his community involvement Yiddish was used in only a few restricted contexts by community members, and most have not transmitted Yiddish to their children. As a result, we learn little of the power relationships and language ideologies which might have motivated speakers to use primarily English. There are hints that issues of social class are important. Peltz notes that these elderly Jews expressed ambivalence toward their working-class immigrant community and their home language, Yiddish (e.g. 127).

Further, Peltz's focus on the notion of "acts of identity" as elaborated by creolists R.B. Le Page and Andree Tabouret-Keller (1985, *Acts of Identity: Creole-Based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), means less attention is paid to "difference" as a site for identity construction. Intersections of gender, race, and class, in the construction of ethnic identity are downplayed.

Peltz's focus remains on the emotional gratification that elderly residents reaped from having new contexts and interlocutors for speaking Yiddish. The language and their early experiences with it in the private sphere of the home, Peltz argues, form the basis for an ethnic identity which can be mobilized at different periods across the lifecycle. There must be, however, group contexts for this resource to be mobilized. Peltz's mission is to provide those group contexts in order to strengthen a shared sense of ethnic identity. His mission, however, places limits on the scope and depth of his ethnographic analysis.

Ayala Fader
New York University

William S. Penn, ed. *As We Are Now.* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1997). 255 pp., $45.00 cloth, $16.95 paper.

There is an old spoken French Creole proverb that goes: *Bay Kou Blie, Pote'Mak Soje'*(He who strikes the blow forgets, he who bears the marks remembers). *As We Are Now* is a book of essays that reveals hidden memories retained in the collective conscience of many of America's indigenous peoples who bear the painful marks of past history. The thirteen contributors discuss and analyze mainstream American responses to the act of cross-fertilization, an act of love by persons from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds who dared to intermarry or bond with an underclass—people of color. Their narratives are both bold and introspective. In a straightforward search for truth, their perspecitves weave heretofore neglected patterns of clarity in offspring voices identified as *Mestizaje*, mixed, mixedblood, mixblood (editor's choice), crossblood, *Mestizo*. Arturo Aldama states: "We cannot discuss who 'we are now' as Indian crossbloods and mestizos/as without understanding the violence of history and our strategic and spontaneous resistance to the forces of material and discursive colonialism" (143).

What emerges in these essays are self-actualized definitions of identity; recognizing full well the existence of a privileged identity grounded in American psychosocial value orientations that elevated one cultural lifestyle over another, that equated things European with proper

norms of acceptance while attempting to reduce things non-European—the cultural manifestations of AmerIndians, Latinos, and people of color—to quaint art objects of acrylic fakery to be sold in the gentrified *Santa O-Fe*-like tourist walkways of America. There is a call to stop "imitating the imitation, recorded by people who had little or no idea of what they were seeing but believed they knew what they should be seeing . . ." (91). Carol Kalafatic observes: "Your distance from indigenous culture determines how you live. And, in general, any amount of European blood can provide that desired distance" (71).

Essayist Rainier Spencer, the son of an immigrant German mother and an African American father, is a personification of the long distance one must travel in the search for an authentic existence. The somewhat abstract journey he takes in response to White America's hypodescent condemnation of mixblood children of color is apt to be met with lively discussions. Spencer arrives at conclusions that speak to a new generation of liberated thought, an optimism that refuses to be dichotomized and pigeonholed into safe ethnocentric boxes of *racial category*. Challenged he will be by Blacks—mulattos included—who faced real dangers and bear the scars of white racist genocide, beatings, brutality, and rejection in American communities quite different from the "without incident" insularity of a Queens neighborhood in which Spencer cut his teeth.

Editor William S. Penn set out to open the doors to the hearts and minds of mixblood Americans, to allow us to hear their stories, their "ties to . . . belief systems that tug us in many directions" (124), and their concerns and conclusions about life in commercialized America. So poignant are their accounts that often one is compelled to do a second reading. Penn has achieved his goal quite well in this book. It should be required reading for all Americans, especially those scholars and students in Ethnic Studies and other disciplines focused upon the sociocultural experiences of mixblood Americans.

Maurice M. Martinez
University of North Carolina-Wilmington

Juan F. Perea, ed. *Immigrants Out!: The New Nativism and the Anti-Immigrant Impulse in the United States.* (New York: New York University Press, 1997). 342 pp., $21.00 paper.

Immigrants Out! offers a response to nativist sentiment in the contemporary discussion of immigration policy. Individually, each chapter in this edited volume charts the development of contemporary nativist sentiment, while identifying the themes that have nurtured nativism historically. Some important relationships are identified between issue

oriented politics and more general theses that emerge from nativist thought. For instance, in several passages English-only laws are described as a small, although highly symbolic, component of a broader ideology based on separatism and isolationism. Similarly, proposals to place restrictions on social welfare benefits for immigrants are linked to the more general curtailment of human rights. Moreover, the current trend toward heightened restrictions on immigration and naturalization is paralleled with restrictive immigration policies of the past. Not only are comparisons made between the social discourse that produced the 1924 Immigration Act and today's immigration debate, but parallels are also drawn between immigration policy in Nazi Germany and contemporary American nativism.

In each chapter, variants of these themes are reiterated. The echoing of these ideas reveals a clear consensus among the contributors which identifies racism as a strong influence on the nativist agenda. In fact, the two concepts, racism and nativism, become synonymous as one dredges through this cumbersome text. The general argument that nativism is an expression of racial intolerance and a formula for an oppressive parochialism is repackaged in each chapter. Unfortunately, at the end of this onslaught, no alternatives to the nativist agenda are delineated. The lack of any serious recommendations for a more progressive approach to immigration and naturalization policy is the main weakness of the book. This deficiency is compounded by redundancies across the chapters, and the absence of a meaningful synthesis of the text by the editor.

Although some of the themes identified in *Immigrants Out!* lend themselves to the formulation of an alternative policy framework, the articulation of such a policy agenda never emerges. Regardless of the motivation for this omission, it is worthwhile to identify some core issues that should be incorporated in a future volume. For instance, the book suggests that immigration and naturalization policies should be liberalized. Future volumes should explore the economic and social benefits of expanding immigration substantially, the advantages of accelerating the naturalization process, and the utility of extending the franchise to recent immigrants. At best, *Immigrants Out!* should signal an end to books that merely expose nativism, and it should prompt the beginning of a serious dialogue concerning the development of policy and planning instruments that bring immigrants to the United States.

Robert Mark Silverman
JacksonState University

Clara E. Rodriguez, ed. *Latin Looks: Images of Latinas and Latinos in the U.S. Media*. (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997). 288 pp., $21.00 paper.

The anthology *Latin Looks* is an important contribution to the literature on Latinos and their relationship to the mass media in the United States. It builds on the earlier work by Rosa Linda Fregoso, George Hadley-Garcia, Chon Noriega, Luis Reyes, Peter Rubie, Allen Woll, and others. The book focuses primarily on television and film; however, there is no discussion of the films produced in other countries, or the Spanish language films produced in the United States. The images that are developed in music, literature, or magazines are also not discussed, although there is an admission that these are an important sources which require analysis.

The book is organized with endnotes, index and references into four parts: Part 1, "Latinos on Television and in the News;" Part 2, "The Silver Screen: Stories and Stereotypes;" Part 3, "Creating Altemative Images: 'The Others' Present Themselves;" and Part 4, "Strategies for Change." This last part is particularly interesting because of its focus on the materials and techniques that can be used to promote analytical and critical viewing of ethnic and racial stereotypes among students and the lay public. This section also contains a chapter by Professor Rodriguez that focuses on the political strategies that Latinos can adopt to overcome discrimination and racialist typecasting in the media. These include support for specific anti-discriminatory legislation, support for increased government and corporate funding of programs that deal with Hispanic issues, and support for the development of training and career paths for Latinos in television and film, among others.

As would be expected, Professor Rodriguez concludes that Latinos are "underrepresented and misrepresented in the media," that "the underrepresentation in itself leads to misrepresentations," that "Latin looks are to a considerable extent determined by political, economic, and historical contexts," and that "the images themselves are often at variance" with the realities that are experienced by Latinos in their daily lives (1,5). Professor Rodriguez also has an answer for the new assimilationists who would ask why Latinos insist on being called Latinos instead of calling themselves "American?" According to Rodriguez, "Latinos who are U.S. citizens, whether or not they speak with an accent, are often met with the query, 'So what are you?'" Thus, Rodriguez argues, that Latinos with "Latin looks" should indeed focus on themselves as a group because, despite the claims of Dinesh D'Souza and acothers, the term "American does not suffice" (4).

Overall, this is a valuable collection of essays that will remain useful to students and the lay public for years to come. There is, how relatively minor but significant complaint. The editorial work by Westview Press should have been much more careful. The introduction, for ex-

ample, tends to be repetitious. An extreme example of this occurs when the following appears twice on pages 6 and 7—word for word!

". . . t(T)his does not mean that the images have been unchanging. Nor does it mean that there is total agreement on exactly what these images have been (see on this point, Chapter 6 by Berg). Last, it does not mean that only Latinos had negative images."

Gabriel Haslip-Viera
Hunter College

Jacqueline Jones Royster, ed. *Southern Horrors and Other Writings: The Anti-Lynching Campaign of Ida B. Wells, 1892-1900.* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997). 228 pp, $19.95 paper.

Ida B. Wells (Barnett) was the first writer to document the lynchings of African Americans. Born in 1862, at age sixteen she had to raise her four brothers and sisters after the 1878 deaths of her parents. Still, she managed to attend Rust College and Fisk University. While teaching school in Memphis, Wells first began writing articles for a church newspaper and then contributed to other Baptist newspapers. She used the pen name of "Iola," and the popularity of her articles led to her becoming co-owner of the Memphis *Free Speech and Headlight* in 1889. It was the lynching of three of her friends that caused her to question the lies surrounding lynchings of African Americans—that African American males were punished for raping white women. On March 9, 1892, she published the editorial "Eight Men Lynched" in the *Free Speech* that would force her to leave Memphis.

The search for the truth surrounding the deaths of friends Thomas Moss, Calvin McDowell, and Wil Stewart angered many whites in Memphis insofar as they destroyed the office of the *Free Speech*. Wells moved to New York and wrote for the *New York Age*, continuing her crusade. She published three pamphlets: *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in all its Phases* (1892), *A Red Record* (1895), and *Mob Rule in New Orleans* (1900) to demonstrate that lynchings were no more than murders of chiefly African American men. Many of them were fighting for their human rights. Wells traveled to England in 1892 and 1894, making speeches and writing articles against lynchings. While there she organized the Anti-Lynching Society of England. Between 1892 and 1931, the NAACP calculated that 3,318 African American men, women, and children were lynched by "parties unknown."

Using newspaper articles and other sources, Wells revealed that instead of Negroes assaulting white women, whites targeted them for being "sassy," "uppity," "saucy," independent, or exhibiting other supposedly offensive behaviors. In the case of Moss, McDowell, and Stewart,

Wells noted that local white newspapers justified their murders because of supposed assaults on white women. Instead, she found that their deaths resulted from a confrontation with a white storekeeper who was competing with them.

In her gruesome accounting of lynchings in *A Red Record*, Wells documented that whites murdered many African Americans for the following offenses: arson, suspected robbery, wife beating, race prejudice, alleged barn burning, alleged murder, alleged complicity in murder, self defense, insulting whites, conjuring, writing a letter to a white woman, alleged stock poisoning, for no offense at all, and other "crimes." She included the names, places, and dates of the murders. At the same time, Wells documented the sexual assaults and murders of African American girls and women by white men who received little or no punishment.

Besides demonstrating that lynchings were a tool to keep African Americans disfranchised, the book also shows the depth of commitment by Wells to end such monstrous practices. She described how lynchings (which incorporated beatings, burnings, tortures, and mutilations) were acts of terrorism. Even when sex was involved, she showed that in many cases it was consensual. Though not an easy book to read, it is an important one because it provides some insight into the post-Reconstruction period and its attendant racial violence.

George H. Junne, Jr.
University of Northern Colorado

Jeffrey Rubin-Dorsky and Shelley Fisher Fishkin. *People of the Book: Thirty Scholars Reflect on their Jewish Identity*. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1996). 507 pp., $22.95 paper.

People of the Book is an important contribution to ethnic studies and identity politics. It is a dense and reflective collection of essays which defines Judaism in personal and scholarly contexts. As one of the contributors, Nancy Miller, says: "It's not easy to write about being Jewish" (168). The editors divide the essays into four parts. After the introductory essay, Part 2, "Transformations," examines how the authors' activism grows out of their Jewish heritage. "Negotiations," looks at Jewish definition in the context of other Jewish and non-Jewish communities, and "Explorations," shows the relationship between being Jewish and pursuing a discipline. "Meditations," is an application of previous themes to specific literary works. Certain concerns cross over all four sections to make the search for identity continuous and shared.

For instance, many authors come to terms with Judaism's patriarchal heritage and their feminism, which produces what Susan Gubar calls "a

vexed relationship" (15). On the other hand is the modern Jewish tendency to seek acceptance from those who hold the sociological hegemony and can confer legitimacy, which is discussed by Sean Wolintz (336).

Elaine Marks recognizes that "coming to terms with the existence of anti-semitism . . . is an important component of 'being' Jewish in the late twentieth century" (348). Thus, the Holocaust surfaces throughout these essays to define what it means to be Jewish, for as Michael Roth says, Jews must carry this loss with them always (406).

An argument weaves throughout *People of the Book*. The authors, in their introduction, say that this book is part of the new identity politics, which is based on what ones does, as opposed to what one is (6). They see the idea of Jewish peoplehood, "as a spiritual/religious community of choice rather than an ethnic community defined by birth" (96-7). Thus, Susanne Klingenstein believes that Jews in the U.S. are freed from history, and thinking Jewish comes from living Jewish (194).

Others would understand being Jewish as racially constructed or historical, such as those who define themselves by the Holocaust or, like Laurence Thomas, see Jews as distinguished by their historical narrative, which unities them with Jews all over the world (176). The persistence of Jews as outsiders provides a metaphor of otherness in the literary critiques about both Jewish and non-Jewish authors in this volume.

However, no one would expect thirty Jewish scholars to agree. It is the diversity of experience with intersecting threads which makes this anthology an interesting journey.

There are two omissions in this collection. First, there is very little about teaching or politics within the academy. This book is about how being Jewish affects one's scholarship, not what it means to be a Jewish professor. Also problematic is the omission of scientists. Except for two anthropologists, all of the contributors are humanists, predominantly literary critics.

People of the Book remains a noteworthy discussion of what it means to be a Jewish scholar in the contemporary world. It is good to see something which comes to terms with Muriel Rukeyser's poem, quoted in the text:

> To be a Jew in the twentieth century
> Is to be offered a gift. If you refuse,
> Wishing to be invisible, you choose
> Death of the spirit, the stone insanity.
> Accepting, take full life. Full agonies:
> Your evening deep in labyrinthine blood
> Of those who resist, fail, and resist: and God
> Reduced to a hostage among hostages. (31)

Sandra J. Holstein
Southern Oregon University

Linda Mack Schloff. *"And Prairie Dogs Weren't Kosher": Jewish Women in the Upper Midwest Since 1855.* (St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1996). x, 244 pp., $29.95 cloth, $14.95 paper.

Wit and wisdom permeate this tome from its wonderful title to the end of the last chapter. The idea of Jews even considering the possibility of consuming brisket of prairie dog (without the cream gravy, of course) is hilarious. But behind this humor is the serious question of why the matter would even be considered. The book's title comes from the child of early Jewish immigrants of South Dakota recalling "my parents got tired of eating potatoes, and prairie dogs weren't kosher."

This book was originally planned to accompany a large exhibition entitled "Unpacking on the Prairie: Jewish Women in the Upper Midwest" organized by the Jewish Historical Society of the Upper Midwest and the Minnesota Historical Society. After opening in St. Paul, a smaller traveling exhibit (very instructive in itself) was to have been shown at other sites throughout the midwest. The book, however, has taken on a life of its own in dealing with a subject often ignored, namely, the survival of ethnicity in families or small groups of people who are somewhat isolated from their larger ethnic groups which, in turn, are often minorities within a larger society. In this case, studies of Jews in New York and other metropolitan centers, particularly in the urban east, are abundant. On the other hand, studies of Jews in the midwest and south are small in number. The covert strategies of survival and the historical experiences that Jews have had in the midwest, however, are quite instructive regarding ethnicity. The experiences of Jewish immigrants in the United States are not monolithic. To the contrary, they have varied. In essence, Jews living in the midwest have perhaps been forced to conceptualize and nurture their identities more than metropolitan Jews whose group identities are normally assumed and sustained by communal synagogues, mikvahs, yeshivas, and kosher butchers. Using the voices of Jewish pioneer women, and working from a wide variety of published, archival, and oral historical sources, Schloff discusses how and why families left the old world, settled in the midwest, set up households, found work, established syagogues, and created supportive sodalities. Jewish women were compelled to figure out ways, for example, to maintain a kosher household or least preserve their religious traditions as they perceived them. If, in fact, the food they prepared was not strictly kosher, then these pioneer women could at least honor and perpetuate the Sabbath (ritually and conceptually) by lighting the ceremonial candles and saying a blessing over their challah.

The text is accompanied by abundant photographs and maps that help tell the stories and elucidate the general pattern that Schloff is interpreting. This book is a worthwhile source for those interested in

women's studies, Jewish studies, and ethnic studies in general—because the issues dealt with here apply to other ethnic groups as well. My recommendation is to use this book in conjunction with other sources (also quoted by Schloff) that deal more in depth with the experiences of individual rural Jewish families: for example, *Dakota Diaspora: Memoirs of a Jewish Homesteader* by Sophie Turnoy Trupin (University of Nebraska Press, 1988) and *Rachel Calof's Story: Jewish Homesteader on the Northern Plains edited by Sanford Rikoon* (Indiana University Press, 1995). Although prairie dogs are, indeed, **not** kosher, Schloff's book offers much food for thought and provides some excellent examples that can be plugged into a number of theoretical frameworks dealing with ethnic identities, social adaptations, and cultural continuities.

David M. Gradwohl
Iowa State University

Brooks Thomas, ed. *Plessy v. Ferguson: A Brief History with Documents.* (Boston: Bedford Books, 1997). 205 pp, $19.95 paper.

One hundred years ago the Supreme court of the United States of America ruled in the case of *Plessy* vs. *Ferguson* that "separate but equal" was the law of the land. The high court finally decided in the 1954 case of *Brown* vs. *Board of Education, Topeka, Kansas,* that *Plessy* was unconstitutional. In his delivery of the *Brown* decision Mr. Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

During 1996, NAES CU-Boulder's Ethnic Studies Department, Howard University, and other organizations and institutions used this centennial anniversary to revisit that infamous case and examine its lasting legacy. Brook Thomas' book is a welcome addition to works analyzing the Court's reasoning.

Thomas presents the case of Homer Plessy, a man defined by blood quantum as "seven-eighths white," but according to the laws of Louisiana at that time was "colored." After being arrested after refusing to remove himself from an intrastate Jim Crow railroad car, Plessy pleaded his case before Judge John Howard Ferguson, a carpetbagger from Massachusetts. After losing the case before Ferguson, Plessy took it before the Supreme Court. The Court's decision purposely placed African Americans in a permanent second-class status reminiscent of the 1857 *Dred Scott* vs. *Sandford* case. In the latter, Chief Justice Roger Taney's opinion declared the following about Black people:

> They had for more than a century before been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and altogether unfit to associate with the white race, either in social or political relations; and so far inferior, that they had no rights which the white man was bound to respect . . .

Not only does Thomas effectively explain the legal implications of the *Plessy* case, but he also supplies pertinent supplementary information about its social implications. Besides linking *Plessy* to *Dred Scott*, he appropriately links it to the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and 1875, the Civil War constitutional amendments (13th, 14th, and 15th), the 1873 *Slaughter-House Cases*, and the 1886 *Yick Wo* vs. *Hopkins* case. He reveals Homer Plessy's role as a planned challenge to Louisiana's 1890 provision for separate intrastate railway carriages for whites and colored passengers, and how white novelist and lawyer (Plessy's attorney) Albion Winegar Tourgee became involved. Thomas provides a brief biography of each member of the Court and significantly, how the "color blind" metaphor has been revised from its original application to be used against attempts at Black strides.

Thomas also includes opinions by leading white and African American figures of the time, and responses by the press and law journals. He provides important links to discriminatory cases affecting other groups of color: Native Americans and Asians. *Plessy* was not merely a "black" case. Though Thomas does not delve into this aspect, it became part of the U.S. arm of imperialism in the Philippines, Guam, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. This accessible work can provide important information to anyone attempting to understand *Plessy* and its various ramifications.

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Notice for Contributors

Ethnic Studies Review is a multi-disciplinary, non-specialized international journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, methodological considerations, theoretical concerns, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. *Ethnic Studies Review* is a forum for the exchange of ideas.

The editorial staff welcomes manuscripts integrating theory and practice; the staff is equally interested in receiving manuscripts which are exploratory in nature. Contributors should note carefully the following procedures for submissions:

A. Manuscripts should be typewritten, double-spaced (including notes) and are not to exceed twenty-five pages (including notes).

B. *Explorations* publishes neither bibliographies nor reference lists with articles.

C. Notes should conform to the humanities style as found in the Chicago *Manual of Style* as follows:

Book	[1]Tomás Rivera, *Yo No Se Lo Tragó La Tierra* (Berkeley: Justa, 1977), 55.
Journal	[2]Orlin Malicher, "A Role for Social Workers in the Consumer Movement," *Social Work* 18 (January 1973): 65-66.
Newsletter Article	[3]James H. Williams, "Ethnicity and Human Rights: Raising the National Consciousness," *NAIES Newsletter* 5 (October 1980): 19.
Newspaper Article	[4]"Robert Moses, Master Builder, Is Dead at 92," *New York Times*, 30 July 1981, Midwest edition.
Article in a Book	[5]Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization," in *Handbook of Socialization*, ed. D. Goslin (New York: Rand McNalley, 1969), 347-580.
Thesis/Dissertation	[6]Michael G. Karni, *'Yhteishyra' - or For The Common Good: Finnish Radicalism in the Western Great Lakes Region 1900-1940* (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1975), 115-95.
Subsequent References	[7]Williams, 20.
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