The National Association for Ethnic Studies

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Editor's Note

The articles in this volume share a common retrospective focus, but they can be clustered around two themes. Two articles deal with theoretical and or conceptual aspects of Ethnic Studies whereas the other three are about specific ethnic/racial groups.

The lead article by Jack Eller, "Anthropology and Ethnicity: From Herder to Hermeneutics," reviews the evolution of the study of ethnicity in the discipline of anthropology. He points out that the early focus in anthropology had been on the so-called traditional or primitive societies; however these societies have been incorporated within the state systems and have become "ethnicized" as he puts it. Thus anthropologists have had to readjust their thinking. Some anthropologists focus on the study of ethnic boundaries and inter-ethnic relations in those new states. Others develop new theories for the study of ethnicity itself. These theories range from ethnicity as a primordial phenomenon to ethnicity as a socially constructed concept.

The next three are the group focused articles by Kanellos, Bloom, and Jones.

Nicolás Kanellos' article deals with the development of ethnic minority consciousness in the Spanish-language press in the Southwest and the role some leading activist journalists have played. He presents a rather comprehensive review of the developments in each of the states from Texas to California.

The activist journalists, according to Kanellos, saw themselves as advocates of the Mexican origin people in the Southwest.
They promoted cultural pride among the people while they also defended and asserted their civil and property rights.

The article by John Bloom examines how Native American students in the Indian boarding schools managed to use sports, among other things, to express their Native American identities. That these students succeeded is, indeed, a triumph of the human spirit because the boarding schools were dedicated to the destruction of the native cultures. It is interesting to note that one of the unintended consequences of the boarding school era was the rise of pan-Indianism.

David Jones describes particular scenes in two films. "Daughters of the Dust" by Julie Dash and "Malcolm X" by Spike Lee. His analysis focuses on ideological and gender resistance aspects of the films. "Both films," he says, "combine images of an African past with an American present using a pattern of historically specific myths and tropes." African American spectators have, on the whole, found these films meaningful. Jones points out, however, that other commentators like bell hooks, for example, see "Malcolm X" as a "Hollywood" "style" film with "predictable images of urban anger." Jones demonstrates the well-known fact that Hollywood is not willing to make films that are culturally different for economic and cultural reasons.

The last article by Beate Baltes reviews various shortcomings of multicultural education workshops. Baltes describes research findings that show that such workshops are ineffective and have led some educators to regard multicultural workshops as passing, educational fads. Others, who are more cynical, see them as vehicles for some people with political agendas. However, Baltes points out that the research is not overwhelmingly negative as many detractors allege. She suggests specific methods for making those workshops meaningful for educators in general and school teachers in particular.

Jonathan A. Majak
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
Anthropology and Ethnicity: From Herder to Hermeneutics

Jack Eller
Westwood College of Technology

For a long time, the central focus of anthropology has been on the study of the so-called traditional societies. However, with the transformation of those societies into “ethnicized” groups within state systems, anthropologists have had to rethink their concepts, theories, and methods. They have had to deal with, among others things, issues of cultural difference, cultural boundaries, and cultural movements. This article looks retrospectively at certain changes that have taken place in anthropology especially with regard to the study of ethnicity.

Anthropology has not generally been considered, by outsiders or by itself, as concerned centrally with ethnicity. As Evans-Pritchard, one of the deans of early anthropology, wrote: “While social anthropologists consider that their subject embraces all human cultures and societies, including our own,
they have...for the most part given their attention to those of primitive peoples.”i But, with the realization that there are no “primitive” peoples and with the transformation of supposedly isolated “traditional” societies into minorities within state systems, the discipline has not only found itself confronted with “ethnicized” groups but has been compelled to rethink its concepts, theories, and methods in ways which are significant and instructive for ethnic studies.

This opportunity to look retrospectively at anthropology traces the course of ethnographic and theoretical encounters with what would come to be called “ethnicity.” The major contributors to an “anthropology of ethnicity” are presented, even though they often did not see themselves as engaged in such an effort. Rather, as the field grappled with cultural difference, cultural boundaries, and cultural movements, it found itself inhabiting an “ethnic” landscape. As the qualities—and even the contents—of those cultures changed, anthropology necessarily reflected back upon its own concepts and theories and engaged in a significant re-thinking, especially in regards to what exactly a “society” is, what its relation to “culture” is, and how we should represent it ethnographically. These issues should be and have been important for ethnic studies and speak to the convergence of the social sciences in this crucial domain.

Romantic Nationalism and “Culture Circles”

Before there were scholars of ethnicity or nationalism, there were ethnic and national phenomena, or better yet, ethnic or nationalist activists; then, as today, “the significance of the ethnic factor in many societies has been forced upon us more by events than by research.” One of the first and most influential scholar-activists of what we could call “ethnic consciousness” today is the German nationalist philosopher Johann Herder (1744-1803). Herder believed that the agent of human history is not the species as a whole nor the individual but an intermediate level, the national group or nationality. This is because each national group, he argued, is an “organic unit,” a “national organism” with its own unique and natural qualities and genius, its own special culture and language, its
own national soul. Herder used such phrases as *Nationalgeist*, *Seele des Volks*, *Geist der Nation*, and *Geist des Volks* to capture this national peculiarity which was, to him, “inexpressible.” Being that the “natural and the national were synonymous in Herder’s mind”ii he perceived it as the ineffable yet rightful unit of mankind: “Every nationality is one people, having its own national culture as well as its language.”iii

Being a natural unit, “the group becomes a single being, an individuality, a personality,” in which culture is the national personality, the group mind. The bearers of this culture, and even more so the authors or creators of this culture, the “individual prophets, writers, artists or poets are but the means employed by the national soul to give expression to a national religion, a national language, or a national literature.”iv Being natural and distinct, national culture and the nation should be cultivated, unfettered by artificial rules and undisturbed by other foreign influences; to do otherwise would be to upset nature’s plan and to interfere with the natural processes of human development.

The relationship between early anthropology and the German philosophers like Herder (and Hegel and others) and ethnologists is a critical one for defining the concepts and the interests of the new field. German notions of *Kultur* and especially *Kulturkreis* are central in importance. *Kultur*, as Culture with a capital “c,” is seen as one great world phenomenon, unfolding, developing, progressing in Hegelian fashion. In this way, all of the particular cultures of the world can be placed on the continuum of Culture. The German ethnologist Graebner and others interested in cultural history and evolution used the term *Kulturkreis* or “Culture circle” to refer to clusters of cultural traits which existed at various places at various times and distinguished societies. The original culture circles were the goal of this study, and all of the world’s cultures were to be classified in terms of their relation—their proximity or distance, geographically, temporally, and culturally—to the fundamental circles. The distribution of cultural traits thus became a central preoccupation of ethnology, along with the history of their diffusion. E.B. Tylor states that the geographical distribution and the diffusion of cultural traits must be studied in the same manner in which the botanist and the zoologist study plant and ani-
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mal species and their diffusion. It might even be argued that ethnology began as a kind of naturalist science, each “culture” or “society” viewed as a “species” distinguishable by a list of characteristics.

The Critique of Race and Nationalism

In a way, Franz Boas, perhaps the first professional modern anthropologist, both followed previous intellectual trends and set new ones. Furthermore, especially for our purposes, he saw anthropology as a vital contributor to important issues of the day such as racism and nationalism. He successfully and repeatedly deconstructed race as a concept, arguing that a race is not an objective or demonstrable descent group; there is as much physical variation within a race as between races; there are no “clear-cut geographical and biological lines between the races;” and there is no correlation between race on the one hand and either mental or cultural characteristics on the other.

In his sociocultural analyses, Boas asserted that every “tribe” or “primitive society” is a closed society; even so, he recognized that primitive societies are not actually socially and culturally isolated, that even “the simplest groups” have been affected and changed by contact with each other. Every culture, then, is, in his view, constructed as much by external factors and influences as by internal ones. He also understood that, while social and racial phenomena are two discrete levels of reality and analysis, the two may overlap—“social divisions [may] follow racial lines”—and when they do the racial differences may be important for creating, preserving, and exacerbating social differences and inter-group conflict.

Boas also writes about nationalism in an instructive way. For example, he distinguishes between nation and nationality, using “nation” basically the way we would use “state” today and “nationality” basically as we would use “nation”; a nationality for him is “a group of people alike in speech, culture, and in most cases representing no fundamental racial contrasts.” Yet, although nationalities are usually racially homogeneous, he granted “only the slightest relation” between nationality and race; in fact, he found most racial
antipathies “fictitious” and actually derived from other sources than race, and in the final analysis he found both terms “vague.” He saw no necessary equation between nations and nationalities. A nationality may inhabit two or more nations (he gives Italy before unification as an example), or two or more nationalities may inhabit the same nation (he gave Czechoslovakia and Poland as examples).

What exactly constitutes a nation, then? This is problematic: objective characteristics like descent or unity of language are not sufficient to make a solidary, identity-sharing group. Instead, it is something more subjective, more psychological or emotional—“the community of emotional life that arises from our everyday habits,...thoughts, feelings, and actions.” Where that community feeling is lacking, even individuals who share descent and language may not share identity and may actually be in conflict. But where nation-boundaries and nationality-boundaries are not co-terminous, social frictions may arise, eventually taking the form of nationalist movements.

Boas, interestingly, distinguished between two kinds of nationalism: the nationalism of nations and the nationalism of nationalities. Predictably, the nationalism of nations (what we might call “patriotism” today) attempts to unify the people of the nation regardless of the differences of constituent nationalities; it is integrative at the “state” or civil level. The nationalism of nationalities (modern “nationalism”) strives to unify the people of the nationality regardless of nation (political) boundaries and is, therefore, disintegrative of actually-existing political organization and either separatist or “alternatively integrative” in the sense of positing a new political organization. Boas essentially applauded the efforts of nations and nationalities to integrate at a higher level, expressing “full sympathy” with their desire to dismantle “the artificial barriers of small political units.” However, he does not approve of nationalism in the sense of separatism and particularism, that is, of creating smaller and less inclusive social groupings. For him, inclusiveness, ever higher levels of social integration, ultimately a “federation of nations,” is not only desirable but inevitable. He sees such an inexorable march toward integration in history (notwithstanding moments of revolution and devolution) that he is absolutely
confident that this direction "will govern our history in the future" until its ultimate "consummation." \(^x\)

**The Ethnography of a Changing Africa**

It was considered by early professional anthropologists "to be an advantage to be able to study those societies which are structurally so simple, and culturally so homogeneous, that they can be directly observed as wholes, before attempting to study complex civilized societies where this is not possible." \(^xi\)

Thus, for theoretical and political (i.e. colonialism) reasons, much of early anthropology's (especially British social anthropology's) attention was turned to Africa. However, even "functionalists" like Malinowski questioned this homogeneity and readily admitted the realities of cultural diversity, contact, and change. Often enough, what anthropology has to study is not the "'uncontaminated' Native" nor the "well-defined, circumscribed entity" called "a society" or "a culture" of anthropological (and popular) imagination but a tumultuous social landscape in which each member and each society is part of a large, interconnected, constantly-changing whole which includes not only neighboring "natives" but Western societies and their agents and institutions as well. Therefore, even fifty years ago or more, he could maintain that "the scientific anthropologist must be the anthropologist of the changing Native. Why? Because what exists nowadays is not a primitive culture in isolation but one in contact and process of change." \(^xii\)

Malinowski referred to nationalism as one of the "new and unexpected forces and factors" on the contemporary cultural scene. But two opinions are manifest in his investigation of non-Western (largely African) nationalism: that this nationalism is not a purely "native" phenomenon and that it is not a purely "traditional" phenomenon. First, he perceived the role of Western culture, particularly but not exclusively in the form of colonialism and colonial administration, in the evolution or development of native nationalism. In cultural change, whether nationalism or some other type, there are generally "two cultures to deal with instead of one." New cultural phenomena and movements are a product of both cultural sources, but they are not a simple combination of the two old sources; rather, they
are “entirely new products” born of the impact and hybridization of the two cultures, and the resultant phenomena have “no antecedents in Europe or in African tribalism.” The nature, quality, and direction of a development such as native nationalism “is determined by factors and circumstances which cannot be assessed by the study of either culture alone....The clash and interplay of the two cultures produce new things.”\textsuperscript{xiii}

Thus, nationalism, or we might add ethnicity, is certainly not a simple continuation of traditional culture into the modern political world. It is rather an emergent and original social phenomenon in itself. Even if it takes the form of revivalism or irredentism or millenialism or what have you—even if it refers to or invokes tradition or culture or history—it is not “tradition” but some new treatment of and perspective on tradition. Such nationalism or ethnicity is precisely “retrospective” in the sense that it is not tradition but a memory of or a look back at a culture and custom which once was—or maybe never was. The former “tribalism” and the contemporary “nationalism” are anything but identical for Malinowski: tribalism is un-self-conscious, while the new nationalism is sophisticated and self-conscious, reaching for “elements of the old culture...with a secondary, almost ethnographic interest in racial history, customary law, and the artistic and intellectual achievements of their race.”\textsuperscript{xiv} The old tribalism is already dead, and what is afoot at present is not a memory but an invention.

Accordingly, the objective establishment by anthropological means of the “true culture” or the “true past” of a society is in the end less important, not only in itself but for understanding contemporary activities, than the study of what is going on presently and how that culture and past is being employed and deployed in the present. In true functionalist fashion, he argued that what anthropologists are often eager to collect (that is, what the “old men of the tribe” have to tell us about the past, the “authentic culture,” etc.) is less than useless as science, as scientific investigation of the past, since it is memory, “affected by sentiment, by retrospective regrets, and longings.” However, in a particularly insightful moment, Malinowski suggested that this is not only all right but important—important for understanding not the past but the present—since for the modern anthropologist studying cultural
change, “what really matters is not the objectively true past, scientifically reconstructed and all-important to the antiquarian, but the psychological reality of today.”

Therefore, he allows us to see that native nationalism, even in its early manifestations, is not “traditional culture at work” but “traditional culture remembered,” and that the “retrospective vision” upon which it is based is subjective and, ultimately, creative.

Fortes and Evans-Pritchard provide an analysis of several specific “traditional” African societies and find that they are neither so traditional nor always “societies” in the strictest sense. They describe, for example, that supposedly homogeneous African societies actually exhibit a striking amount of heterogeneity. In the introduction, they state that groups such as the Zulu, Ngwato, Bemba, Banyankole, and Kede “appear to be an amalgam of different peoples, each aware of its unique origin and history, and all except the Zulu and Bamba are still to-day [sic] culturally heterogeneous.”

The contributions which make up the book support this general contention, adding that the groups themselves and the territories they occupy are often fairly recent developments. The Zulu, for one, were only constituted as a “nation” when the defeated peoples of the great leader Shaka were organized into a single political-cultural complex; within the “nation” “old tribal loyalties and oppositions are still at work and faction fights frequently occur.”

Schapera describes how the Ngwato “tribe” is a congeries of people, with about 20% actually belonging to the “nuclear community” of Ngwato (and even they were aggregated only in the eighteenth century after a schism from the Kwena group) and the rest coming from diverse populations “who became subject to the Ngwato chiefs at various times through conquest in war, voluntary submission, flight from an invading enemy, or secession from some other tribe.”

Richards reports that many of the “traditional societies” of Africa have occupied their territory for less than two hundred years and many for as little as fifty to one hundred.

Finally, Gluckman argues that not only is diversity within “traditional societies” ordinary and tolerable but that conflict is also ordinary and may even be integrative. Societies, even small traditional societies, are “always elaborately divided...by customary allegiances” which cross-cut and sometimes con-
tradict and come into conflict with each other. The central point of his book is to show "how men quarrel in terms of certain of their customary allegiances, but are restrained from violence through other conflicting allegiances which are also enjoined on them by custom."xix Thus, it becomes possible to think of societies as internally diverse and segmented while still integrated; at the same time, it becomes clear that societies may not be as integrated as ethnic or national ideology and action stipulate or require. Finally, the crucial lesson for us in regard to modern ethnicity and ethnic conflict, as Gluckman's analysis shows, lies in the cross-cutting allegiances which "tend to inhibit the development of open quarrelling" and worse in the totalizing, and thus segregating, ideology. In contemporary ethnicity, some or all of these cross-cutting and therefore unifying institutions or customs are lost or denied. The totalization of "culture" and of the claims based on culture let slip the restraints which bind groups in civil, if hostile, relations and create conditions for uninhibited and total confrontation and conflict.

Plural Societies and Fluid Boundaries

The great early ethnographers tended to represent traditional societies as discrete units in general isolation from other groups and from outside influences, especially Western influence (even when, as we have seen, their own commentary contradicted this image). Two works in the 1950s began to challenge that view, both theoretically and ethnographically. One of these is Furnivall's *Colonial Policy and Practice* xx which is noteworthy for its acknowledgment of the inextricable link between traditional-societies-as-found and colonial and other outside factors and for the elaboration of the concept of "plural society." The book offers two consequential insights: that colonial societies (particularly Burma and Netherlands India or Java) are heterogeneous and that nationalism in the two societies is a result of colonialism. Burma, for example, is not one society but many; Burmese (or Burmans, as a "national" or "ethnic" category) are one of numerous peoples (which he calls "races") in the territory including Shan, Mon, Karen, Kachin, etc. "Burmese society" as a modern social system also con-
tains other important groups, the exclusion of which from analysis would illicitly simplify or even falsify the picture. These other groups include Indians, Chinese, and of course Europeans. Not only was this society heterogeneous, but it was also "enclaved," with Indians, Chinese, Europeans, and "Burmese" all filling different "niches" in the social system (with the Chinese and Indians monopolizing the "middleman" positions of finance and trade between Europeans and the general population). These groups formed what we would only call today "ethnic groups" and differed considerably in their interests. These differences resulted in communal violence in 1924 and 1931.

In Burma he sees nationalism at its earliest in the area of religion, on the part of Buddhist monks who organized religious revivalist movements and institutions such as the Young Men's Buddhist Association. Nationalism at this stage took the form of interest in the past culture of Burma—or one of the past cultures of Burma. By 1921, though, he reports that nationalism had passed from religious to political expression, and the new General Council of Buddhist Associations set its goal as home rule or even complete separation from England. The divergent interests of the constituent communities, coupled with the low mobilization of the masses, made concerted action difficult. There was, in effect, no "Burmese nation" from which a movement could arise and for which it could speak. The consequences of self-government have been profound. As a first step, a Burma Government was established under the British Parliament in 1937 but showed a number of weaknesses. For one thing, the legislature had authority only over Burmese people and not others in areas traditionally and administratively associated with Burma, such as Karenni, the Kachin Hills, or the Shan states. For another, the legislative seats were allotted on two different principles, territory and community. Just under a third of the seats (40 out of 132) in the House of Representatives were reserved for communal or other special interests, 37 of those 40 for Karens, Indians, Chinese, and naturally Europeans. Thus, representative government actually did not help integrate the society but rather set the stage for the activation, aggravation, and escalation of "sectional friction"(487). Placing groups in a position to com-
pete for political power as groups threatened to elevate cultural and economic differences into political and "nationalistic" level.

The other element in Furnivall's analysis, and by far the more enduring one, is his concept of the plural society. Politically, a plural society "comprises separate racial sections" (or again, we might prefer "ethnic" over "racial," although in the case of Burma the differences are more than just cultural). There is a mix of different groups, each with its own culture, language, religion, etc., but more crucial than their co-presence is their social segregation: "they mix but do not combine" (304). They live side-by-side as citizens of the same polity but do not form a society in any significant way; they constitute a sort of caste system without the religious integration of the real thing. This is why Furnivall rejects the characterization of the U.S. and Canada as plural societies: they have "plural features" (that is, a diversity of cultures and races sharing political and economic space), but they also have at least some measure or ideology of integration and equality.

An even more influential early ethnography for the purpose of elucidating ethnicity and the relation between ethnic groups and culture also took place in Burma. Leach's *Political Systems of Highland Burma* was the first serious and successful challenge to the standard approach of anthropology toward "society" and "social boundaries" up to that time. Encountering an extremely diverse and tangled cultural situation in the area of fieldwork, the Kachin Hills Area, he found that it was impossible to maintain simple and consistent distinctions or boundaries between the "social groups."

The two main social categories in the region are Shan and Kachin. Shan are Buddhist, wet-rice cultivators, and organized into hierarchical "castes" with a hereditary nobility. Kachin, on the other hand, are an assortment of "hill peoples" with significant differences in language, territory, and politics from each other. Thus, here began Leach's problem. First, there was no systematic relation between the linguistic, the territorial, and the political aspects of Kachin groups; it was difficult to determine where one group ends and the next begins, or even whether they are "different groups" at all. Second, transfer of population, individually and collectively, is possible
between Kachin and Shan categories; Shan society has been assimilating Kachins for at least a century (and probably much longer), such that "nearly all low class Shans are probably either of slave or commoner Kachin origin" (222). And the overall oscillation between political structures which he found within Kachin societies was also a result of association with and imitation of Shan politics: Kachin chiefs took Shan princes as their role-models and attempt to emulate their powers and prerogatives.

From these observations Leach asked the question which naturally occurs to us today but which he was perhaps the first one to perceive: When can we say that two groups are "two different societies" or merely "two segments of the same society"? The failure to tackle or even recognize this problem anthropologically up to this point, he argues, is in the very anthropological concepts of "society" and "culture"; in such complex and enmeshed social contexts as highlands Burma, "ordinary ethnographic conventions...are hopelessly inappropriate" (281). In fact, he maintains that the differentiation of Shan and Kachin as distinct "societies" was an invention of British colonial administration in Burma, which imported Western notions of discrete social units and even more so of race. The entire population was classified for administrative purposes by race—race, he finds, "being a synonym for language....The Kachins were deemed to be a 'race' therefore they must possess a special language" (43). Further, the British tried to draw clear territorial boundaries between the "Shan" and "Kachin" "societies." Where language/dialect and territory coincided, especially if some order of kinship relation could be established for the "enclosed" group, a "tribe" was inferred.

Leach's answer to this situation is to reconceive the units of analysis in anthropology and the reasons for cultural variation. "Tribe" is, at least in many cases, an "academic fiction": "the ethnographer has often only managed to discern the existence of 'a tribe' because he took it as axiomatic that this kind of cultural entity must exist" (291). Rather, he suggests a unit of analysis appropriate to the ethnographic context, which in the present case would be the entire Kachin Hills Area with its many cultures, languages, and named collectivities. Such
collectivities would not be considered "social isolates" but elements in a larger and more inclusive social system. Second, the collectivities which comprise the system, and indeed the system itself, should be seen to have no stability through time: individuals flow from one political system to another; entire villages or groups undergo structural transformation from one political system to another, and the very form of the over-arching system may change as time proceeds. The traditional anthropological notion of equilibrium in society is rejected by Leach.

Thus, in the end, Leach concludes that cultural categories and cultural identities are not really objective, tangible things but subjective, symbolic things; the identity or boundary of a social collectivity "is not necessarily ascertainable in the realm of empirical facts; it is a question, in part at any rate, of the attitudes and ideas of particular individuals at a particular time"(288). In reconceiving "culture" and "society" as so open, fluid, even invented, the relationship between the two becomes for us analysts and ethnographers much more problematic, various, and unique to each case.

**Primordialism: Natural Bonds to Cultural Givens**

Within a decade, *Old Societies and New States*, appeared and shaped subsequent discourse, not only within anthropology but within ethnic studies. A number of authors contributed to this volume, but by far the most influential chapter is the one written by Geertz himself, "The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics in the New States." The book grows out of and adds to the increasing awareness among anthropologists of the cultural consequences and problems of the "new states" formed as a result of decolonization; while this topic is compelling enough in itself, it also has implications for the typical "objects" of the discipline, the "traditional," small-scale social isolate called a "society" or "culture." With the new "nation-building," the so-called "integrative revolution," these social units are no longer isolated and self-contained but become part of larger, more inclusive social
systems. Anthropology's method and concepts would have to adjust accordingly as the objects of study themselves or perhaps even disappear.

Geertz, following Edward Shils, sees the problem of the new states as stemming from the "primordial" diversity of the enclosed societies within the states, which resists or at least complicates the creation of a state-wide society or "civil order." In a word, "the new states are abnormally susceptible to serious disaffection based on primordial attachments" (259). He goes on to explain his notion of "primordial" and "primordial attachment" in one of the most oft-quoted passages in all of anthropology or ethnic studies:

By primordial attachment is meant one that stems from the "givens"—or, more precisely, as culture is inevitably involved in such matters, the assumed "givens"—of social existence: immediate contiguity and kin connection mainly but beyond them the givenness that stems from being born into a particular religious community, speaking a particular language, or even a dialect of a language, and following particular social practices. These congruities of blood, speech, custom, and so on, are seen to have an ineffable, and at times overpowering, coerciveness in and of themselves. One is bound to one's kinsmen, one's neighbor, one's fellow believer, ipso facto, as the result not merely of personal affection, practical necessity, common interest, or incurred obligation but at least in great part by virtue of some unaccountable absolute import attributed to the very tie itself (259-60).

The political problem, as he sees it, is that this primordial particularism—"tribalism, parochialism, communalism, and so on"—threatens civil order and state integration in a more aggressive and insatiable way than other forms of social identity or discontent. "Economic or class or intellectual disaffection threatens revolution," but primordial disaffection threatens the boundaries if not the very existence of the state; it rejects outright the whole idea and fact of the state and its disembodied civil order outright. For this reason primordial sentiments have "a more ominous and deeply threatening quality than most of the other...problems the new states face" (261).
Circumstantialism: Ethnic Boundaries, Not Ethnic Contents

There were always those in anthropology and elsewhere, like the Marxists, who rejected the primordial argument and favored a constructionist or “circumstantialist” approach. The seminal book within anthropology for this position was *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* by Barth and his contributors. Like Leach before them, they find that cultural variation and social/ethnic boundaries are not co-terminous: groups with qualitative cultural differences are often subsumed under the same social/ethnic label and identity by outsiders or even by members, while groups with no major cultural differences are often distinguished into two or more social/ethnic categories. Consequently, “although ethnic categories take cultural differences into account, we can assume no simple one-to-one correspondence between ethnic units and cultural similarities and differences” (14). Failing to find any sure understanding of ethnicity through a description of the content of a culture, Barth directs our attention instead to the relations between groups and the ways culture is used to generate and preserve those relations.

The two central notions of this approach are ethnic boundary and social interaction. Ethnic groups are categories or categorial distinctions, socially bounded groups as determined by the social conditions in which two or more groups live and interact (even if that interaction takes the form of no interaction, as in total communal segregation). Ethnic groups are thus understood “as a form of social organization,” a particular species of social categorization which “classifies a person in terms of his basic, most general identity, presumptively determined by his origin and background” (13). One of the curious and problematic things which he and his colleagues, and many other anthropologists, have noticed, though, is that social identity is not entirely ascribed, that people can in fact change their identity and their social/ethnic affiliation in many cases (although not always or in any way). In the book under discussion, fur farmers in Africa, for example, can become Baggara pastoralists. What is interesting to Barth and the rest is that, although personnel may flow from one category or group to
another, the boundaries of the categories or groups persist. In fact, in this view, the continuity of ethnic groups depends neither on biological nor cultural continuity; individuals may come and go, and cultural traits may come and go. On the contrary, the "continuity of ethnic groups...depends on the maintenance of a boundary. The cultural features that signal the boundary may change, and the cultural characteristics of the members may likewise be transformed; indeed; even the organizational form of the group may change, yet the fact of continuing dichotomization between member and outsiders" can remain (14). Simply stated, it is "the ethnic boundary that defines the group, not the cultural stuff that it encloses"(15).

The ethnic-boundary approach allows—or forces—us to consider how ethnic distinctions emerge. Barth proposes that there is no obvious or a priori way in which ethnic groups are formed or in which culture is deployed in the formation; indeed, only circumstances will determine which cultural traits "are used...as signals and emblems of difference," which "are ignored," and which "are played down or denied"(p.14). Any number of elements—"tribe, caste, language group, region or state," to which we might add religion, history, race, custom, and others—are perfectly adequate and useful as ethnic "dia­critica." Additional consequences to mention in this diminution of the role of cultural difference in ethnic identities would be that the loss of difference between groups, assimilation in the purest sense, would not necessarily lead to a reduction in the personal salience or the "organizational relevance" of ethnic identity and that a great knowledge of culture, in particular of the history of culture—of culture in the past, of "tradition"—would not necessarily lead us to a greater knowledge or understanding of the ethnic group.

Constructing Culture and Rethinking Anthropology

Barth’s and other studies emphasize creativity and adaptability over tradition and the "survival" of primordial factors. In particular, changes in the subject-matter of anthropological inquiry (ostensibly, "primitive" or "traditional" societies) began to raise epistemological concerns within anthropology itself. These changes include the emergence of new social groups, "super-
tribalization” or the formation of larger social units through amalgamation or absorption of smaller ones, culture-based (i.e. indigenous rights or irredentist) social movements, cultural revivals, etc., state-building processes and cultural resistance to these processes (including nationalist and separatist movements and ethnic wars), “tribally” organized resistance to development projects such as the Kayapo anti-dam activities in Brazil, and the “nativization” or rejection of post-colonial Western culture and/or the reclamation of (sometimes defunct) traditional cultural features. We might also mention the entry of “tribal peoples” into professional and political positions, with advances in their education which gave them access to anthropological writings. Altogether, these factors raised the unavoidable issue of inter-society contact and extra-society connections, rendering the concept of isolated and static societies utterly obsolete. They helped precipitate an epistemological crisis in anthropology: who exactly is the Other? How can we describe them in ethnographic terms? How can our methodologies cope with the interconnected complexity of the emerging social order? In the end, is knowledge of other cultures possible, and if so, what responsibilities and guilt do we bear as members (and representatives) of dominant, formerly colonial societies?

Among the first to respond was Hymes, with three issues of importance to ethnicity. The first of these revolves around the concept of culture as “traditional” versus “emergent.” If the objects of study are changing, then the study too must change: anthropology should, Hymes states, redefine itself from the study of primitive or small-scale societies to “the study of the emergence of cultural forms in concrete settings and in relation to a world society.”xxiv The second issue concerns the role of anthropology in particular and of Western society in general in the political, that is exploitative, relations between “our” society and “the Others.” William Willis, one of the contributors, defines anthropology as, to a large extent, “the social science that studies dominated colored peoples—and their ancestors—living outside the boundaries of modern white society.”xxv Therefore, anthropology has been anything but a pure scientific endeavor; even the concepts and theories of anthropology he sees as having political ramifications: ideas
of primitive society, of isolated society, of functionalism, of ethnographic voice at work to “absolve white people of their crimes” against colored societies, to “facilitate the imperial policy of divide and rule,” and to “preclude the discovery of socio-cultural links wider than tribal allegiances.”

The third issue from Hymes’ book is the specifically epistemological one—whether our ethnographic descriptions are objective accounts of other cultures. Berreman quotes Zaretsky’s criticism of the positivist ethnographic tradition “that the truth is there and that it is objectively discoverable, if only we experts look hard enough; if only we find the right models.” Scholte takes a clear stand in asserting that anthropology “is never only scientific” and that, “as cultural products and processes” themselves, anthropology’s concepts, methods, and “knowledge” are bounded by the culture and interests of anthropologists, making anthropology itself an appropriate object of investigation to anthropology.

Wagner takes this analysis one step further, considering how anthropology actually invents culture, in two senses: as the general idea of culture and as the particular individual social units or cultures to be described. This invention consists of the assumption and then the construction of “a concrete entity, a ‘thing’ that has rules, ‘works’ in a certain way, and can be learned”; that is, as the anthropologist tries to account for, understand, and represent the behavior of others, he/she creates a cultural “object” out of the data and experience. Anthropology, in this interpretation, is “the study of man ‘as if’ there were culture” (10). “The study of culture is in fact our culture” (16). He even likens anthropology to a culture-cult.

Having allowed this kind of creativity to anthropologists, he says, we cannot deny the same kind and import of creativity to the culture itself and its members. He goes so far as to suggest that invention is culture. The implication of this perspective is that all people—anthropologists and natives, “modern” or “traditional”—are creatively assembling and advancing their behavior, the reasons for their behavior, and the circumstances (or interpretations of circumstances) of their behavior continuously, especially under conditions of social ambiguity or novelty which provide a kind of culture shock; people control
and make sense of their experience “through all kinds of imagined and constructed ‘rules,’ traditions, and facts” (35).

Since then others have continued to develop and build upon these insights with important consequences both for anthropology and for ethnicity studies. Hobsbawm and Ranger, for instance, present data to show that many phenomena which we call traditional are in actuality relatively new, that behaviors or symbols “which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented.”xxix Such “invented traditions” refer to the past and avow a continuity with the past, but this continuity is “largely factitious,” serving an ideological function as “a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion.” The invocation of the past, the establishment of a link to the past, gives ethnic groups and nations what they need most—an apparent continuity and naturalness or primordiality. In fact, they assert, as others have, that “tradition” of this sort is evidence of a distinct and decisive break with the past, a new self-consciousness, reflexivity, and problematization of culture and identity which would be odd if not impossible in the “traditional” setting to which invented traditions refer: after all, “when the old ways are alive, traditions need be neither revived nor invented”(8).

Anderson goes even further to consider nations as “imagined communities” in which the members “will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.”xxx The crucial features of this image of nation are its boundedness, its sovereignty, and its community (that although there are social differences and inequalities—vertical differences—within the nation yet the nation shares a “deep, horizontal comradeship”). In particular, the development and diffusion of printing and vernacular print-languages created “unified fields of exchange and communications” giving rise simultaneously to a culture, an audience for that culture, and the mental image of that audience as a community to its far-flung members. In print but not only in print, for also in other mass media like radio and television, as well as in political activity (the formation of parties, the giving of speeches, the casting of votes, etc.) and many other practical behaviors, a disparate group can
come to recognize or believe in commonalities with each other, whether or not those commonalities are old or even real.

Kuper picks up one thread of this argument to show that a particular kind of culture, or a particular conception of culture, is invented, that is, "primitive" culture. He demonstrates, through a consideration of the early history of anthropology, how the idea of primitive society was "a fantasy which had been constructed by speculative lawyers in the late nineteenth century" such as Bachofen, Maine, McLennan, and Morgan (8). Indeed, the "idea of primitive society fed the common belief that societies were based either on blood or on soil and that these principles of descent and territoriality may be equated with race and citizenship, the contrasting components of every imperialism and every nationalism" (9). Yet, even as he says this he perceives that anthropology is changing—perhaps again, reinventing itself. "It is no longer about the primitive, and no longer particularly or necessarily about 'the Other'" (243).

In fact, the object of anthropological inquiry is often these days anthropology itself. This is most forcefully posited in Clifford and Marcus. In Clifford's introduction, he asserts that ethnography, the central activity of knowing and describing culture in anthropology, "is always caught up in the invention, not the representation, of culture." Our knowledge of other cultures is not entirely scientific or "objective" because it is partial and perspectival, constructed in the encounter between anthropologist and member, and conditioned by all sorts of anthropological customs and conventions. In fact, such knowledge could not be scientific or objective since cultures "are not scientific 'objects'...[but] are produced historically, and are actively contested" (18). In particular, the notion of anthropological literature is taken very seriously, alluding to all of the literary devices and tropes that ethnographers employ to represent the knowledge or experience they gain in the field and to present that knowledge and experience, from narrative voice to scene-setting techniques to the dissolution of the investigator into the "objective" account of the culture. Description is implicated with representation (choices about how to make the culture-as-learned-by-the-ethnographer at once clear, convincing, compelling, and relevant) as well as interpretation and, in the end, invention by both researcher and informant; the informant
“invents” answers to specific questions, and the researcher “invents” a coherent monograph and therefore “culture” out of the answers. Thus, Clifford identifies what he calls the “cultural poesis” which is located in the “specific exclusions, conventions, and discursive practices” of ethnography.

The consequences for ethnicity of the poetic and political invention of culture should be obvious. Fischer, explicitly states that ethnicity, like all other facets of culture, “is something reinvented and reinterpreted in each generation by each individual,”xxxiii even if it may seem natural, incomprehensible, or individual him/herself. As an invention it can never be mere or pure tradition but is a contemporary product of “a process of inter-reference between two or more cultural traditions,” particularly the “ethnic” culture and the modern plural culture in which it is currently situated and for which it is currently prepared. Therefore, as we have seen repeatedly, ethnicity may evoke a past to which it is connected—and it may even actually be connected to that past—but the real point of ethnicity, Fischer writes, is to create new values, a new vision of meaning and “the good,” “an ethic workable for the future.”

Conclusion: The Message of Culture—and the Messenger

The anthropologist is a messenger, yet he or she is a not mere and objective messenger: when one finds a message (the “culture” or may even more so the “meaning” of the culture) “he appropriates it, translates it, and makes it ‘relevant’ to those to whom he delivers it.”xxxiv In a certain sense, anthropology creates or styles its message and meaning out of its encounter with particular people and social situations. The anthropologist does not, in the end, merely discover a society or culture nor “translate” cultural “texts” “the way the translator does. He must first produce them”(43).

The implication for ethnicity in simply this: if, upon reflection, we can identify and attribute these facets and forces to the anthropological “version” of culture, we can hardly deny them to the “native’s” or “member’s” version. In other words, as members go about “doing” their culture they are also creating their culture, out of the same “complex play of desire and power” which is heightened and focused in the ethnographic
encounter. “Culture” and “history” exist as a kind of passive and plastic data which individuals, groups, and proto-groups and would-be groups can interpret, consciously or unconsciously, and even manipulate in the service of their desire and power. Desire—to be a group, to be a superior group, to right perceived wrongs, to establish a culture-based society or polity, or what have you—can color the “facts” or “truths” of “culture” so thoroughly that the desire becomes the truth; in a more sinister manner, if an individual, party, or group desires to achieve power or status by way of culture, by invoking culture and calling upon others to heed the call, it is all too easily done. In the process, the messenger takes on a second role as message-creator, although he or she may mystify this role by claiming merely to “find” or “discover” or “recognize” or “represent” a true culture out there. At the same time, message receiver, the “group-out-there,” which may not have been waiting for a message, has its own desires, which may or may not coincide with those of the messenger—or may be made to coincide.

In a sense, then, the ethnic leader or “ethnic entrepreneur” not only carries a cultural “truth” but invents one, especially when the ethnic group is not fully “self-aware” or “awake” until the leader and his truth appear. This is why we so often find competing leaders with competing messages about what the group is, which part of its culture or history is most critical to its identity and future, and what it should do next. Ethnic members, like anthropologists, are free to look for their message, to let their desire lead them toward certain messages, and to act upon the message which compels or serves them; different members will necessarily find and convey different messages from the same culture and history, and the “ethnicity” which ultimately emerges can only be understood as a consequence of “the complex play of desire and power” between the competing versions and their competing carriers.

In conclusion, we have followed the development of the concept of ethnicity and ethnic group in anthropological theory and ethnography from that of a natural and primordial, almost physical and spiritual, phenomenon to a problematic and variably-bounded one to, ultimately, a constructed, political, poetic, and future-oriented one. We have seen that this development has been driven principally by changes in the phenomenon
itself—the rise of new groups, the demise of old groups, the shift of cultural foci of existing groups, and the emergence of political significance for ethnicity. Anthropology, as the science of culture, has helped problematize culture in a valuable way for ethnic studies. Simply put, ethnicity is not identical to culture or tradition, and ethnic groups are not necessarily distinct cultural groups. It has become clear that we cannot get at ethnicity merely by way of "cultural content," of a list of cultural traits on which ethnic groups differ point by point. Groups in any common social system will share some traits and vary on others, and the ethnic lines do not always fall where the cultural lines do—and neither lines are permanent. In fact, an objective list of cultural traits does not even exist in a certain sense but is constructed, invented, in social interaction, whether this interaction is the fieldwork encounter, the colonial encounter, or the contemporary ethnic members' experience in his or her plural society. While ethnicity and ethnic conflict are not mere or pure cultural opportunism, and invention (of groups or even of traits) is not completely without restraint, failure to recognize the contextual, circumstantial, fictive, and political qualities of ethnicity render it and its resultant manifestations much more opaque, irrational, and absolute than they really are.

NOTES


iii Ergang, 88.

iv Ergang, 87.

vi Boas, 74.

vii Boas, 78.

viii Boas, 89.

ix Boas, 91.

x Boas, 98.

xi Evans-Pritchard, 8-9.

xii Evans-Pritchard, 12.

xiii Evans-Pritchard, 25.

xiv Evans-Pritchard, 158.

xv Evans-Pritchard, 29.


xviii Gluckman, 57.


xxv William Willis, Jr., “Skeleton in the Anthropological Closet,” in *Reinventing Anthropology*, 123.

xxvi Willis, 143.

xxvii Hymes, 93.


xxx Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*:
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xxxiii James Clifford and George Marcus, eds. Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography (Berkeley: University of California Press, 186), 2.

xxxiv Michael Fischer, "Ethnicity and the Post-Modern Arts of Memory," in Writing Culture: Poetics and Politics of Ethnography, 196.


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A Historical Perspective on the Development of an Ethnic Minority Consciousness in the Spanish-Language Press of the Southwest

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Various scholars have treated ethnic newspapers in the United States as if they all have evolved from an immigrant press. While one may accept their analysis of the functions of the ethnic press, there is a substantial and qualitative difference between newspapers that were built on an immigration base and those that developed from the experience of colonialism and racial oppression. Hispanics were subjected to "racialization" for more than a century through such doctrines as the Spanish Black Legend and Manifest Destiny during the nineteenth and early twentieth century. They were conquered and incorporated into the United States and then treated as colonial subjects as is the case of Mexicans in the Southwest and the Puerto Ricans in the Caribbean. Some were incorporated through territorial purchase as was the case of the Hispanics in Florida and Louisiana. (I would also make a case that, in many ways, Cubans and Dominicans also developed under United States domination in the twentieth century.) The subsequent migration and immigration of these peoples to the United States was often directly related to the domination of their homelands by the United States. Their immigration and subsequent cultural perspective on life in the United States, of course, has been substantially different from that of European immigrant groups. Hispanic native or ethnic minority perspective has manifested itself in the political realm, often as an attitude of entitlement to civil and political rights.

Many of the Hispanic newspapers which developed in the Southwest after the Mexican War was concluded in 1848 laid the basis for the Hispanics in the United States to see themselves as an ethnic minority within this country. While the
origins of their journalistic endeavors date back to the period before the all-important signing of the peace treaty between the United States and Mexico, it was the immediate conversion to colonial status of the Mexican population in the newly acquired territories of California, New Mexico and Texas that made their journalistic efforts a sounding board for their rights first as colonials and later as "racialized" citizens of the United States. 

Had there been native Spanish-language newspapers in operation in Florida or Louisiana and/or a sufficiently large population to sustain them at the time of their take-over by the U.S., the Hispanic ethnic minority press might have begun there as they became territories and later states in the Union.

Although the printing press was not introduced to California and New Mexico until 1834, during the Mexican period, the society there, as in Texas, was sufficiently literate to sustain a wide range of printing and publishing once the press was allowed.iii Newspaper publication in what became the Southwest in the United States started in 1813 with the publication of La Gaceta de Texas (The Texas Gazette) and El Mexicano (The Mexican), papers published to support Mexico's movement for independence from Spain. In 1834 and 1835, Spanish-language newspapers began to appear in these northern provinces of Mexico: Santa Fe's El Crepusculo de la Libertad (The Dawn of Liberty)iv and Taos' El Crepusculo (Dawn, 1835-?).v Prior to the U.S. conquest, these other newspapers were published in New Mexico: La Verdad (The Truth, 1844-1845) and its successor, El Payo de Nuevo México (The New Mexico Countryman, 1845).

Beginning with the American presence during the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846, various newspapers began publishing in English and bilingually in English and Spanish in California and New Mexico. Numerous English-language newspapers had been publishing in Texas for Anglo-Texan communities since just before the proclamation of the Texas Republic in 1836, with newspapers in Stephen F. Austin's colonies dating back to as early as 1824. From California to Texas the norm among many of these first Anglo-owned newspapers was to publish in English and Spanish. In New Mexico, publishing only in Spanish or bilingually was a necessity for the Anglo owners of the newspapers because the vast majority of
the inhabitants of the territory were Spanish speakers. In California, newspapers received a subsidy from the state as well as from some cities for printing laws in Spanish, as the state constitution required laws to be issued in both languages.vi One can imagine how this developed into a profitable enterprise once the Spanish-language market was identified and cultivated. Indeed, the Spanish-language section of Los Angeles’ Star grew into La Estrella de Los Angeles and then as a separate newspaper: El Clamor Público (The Public Clamor, 1855-1859). From San Francisco’s The Californian (1846-1848), the first Anglo-American newspaper in Alta California, to New Mexico’s Santa Fe Republican (1847-?), to Brownsville’s La Bandera (184?-163?) and to The Corpus Christi Star (1848-?), the Anglo-established press was a bilingual institution. The Anglo-American press in the newly acquired territories as a general rule provided translation of the English-language news in Spanish. However, according to Stratton, only about twelve percent of the journalists employed by these newspapers were Hispanics.vii This imbalance and the predominance of Anglo ownership and administration of the press was typical of the colonial condition of Hispanics in the Southwest:

...the conquering group establishes media for the conquered group but then controls the media by restricting employment opportunities, establishing a dual labor market, controlling the context of the news, and delivering even that news a week later to members of the conquered group. More concise description of the neo or internal colonial control of the press could not be more clear.viii

Even Spanish-language newspapers that were published independently by Hispanics were often dependent on the Anglo business community and the economic and political power structures for their existence. Many of the Hispanic publishers, drawn from the upper classes, were able to survive in business by working within the system, not attacking it in the name of ethnic or civil rights.ix In fact, many Spanish-language newspapers maintained links to their English-language counterparts
and to the Anglo establishment. Los Angeles’ *La Crónica* (The Chronicle, 1872-1892?), in fact, advertised itself as the city’s “official” newspaper, principally because it held a city printing contract. Still other Spanish-language newspapers from California to Texas were affiliated with the political parties and only published around election time to support party platforms and candidates in the Hispanic communities. All of this leads Gutierrez to conclude the, “The lines of dependency, coupled with the content of newspapers, would seem to indicate that attempts were made to harness the Spanish-language press and utilize it as an instrument of social control.”

Despite this attempt to control the Hispanic population through the press, the Anglo-Americans’ migration into the region brought with it from the East advanced technology and equipment. Ironically, this directly resulted in printing presses coming into Hispanic hands as never before and the subsequent founding of more and more Spanish-language newspapers to serve the native Hispanic population of the Southwest. And when the railroad reached the territories, dramatic changes occurred as a consequence of greater access to machinery and technology as well as better means of distribution for print products. The last third of the century, thus, saw an explosion of independent Spanish-language publishing by Hispanics.

**New Mexico**

Drawing comparably fewer Anglo settlers and entrepreneurs than California and Texas and because of its larger Hispanic population, New Mexico was the territory that first developed a widespread independent native Hispanic press. Not only did more Hispanics live there, but they also lived in a more compact area and with comparably less competition and violence from Anglo newcomers. The *Nuevomexicanos* were able to hold onto more lands, property and institutions than did the Hispanics of California and Texas. Control of their own newspapers became essential in the eyes of Hispanic intellectuals and community leaders in the development of *Nuevomexicano* identity and self-determination in the face of
adjusting to the new culture that was foisted upon them during the territorial period. *Nuevomexicanos* were in a double-bind. On the one hand, they wanted to control their own destiny and preserve their own language and culture while enjoying the benefits and rights of the advanced civilization that the United States had to offer through statehood. On the other hand, they immediately became aware of the dangers of Anglo-American cultural, economic and political encroachment in New Mexico. According to Meléndez, many of the intellectual leaders, especially newspaper publishers, believed that the native population would only advance, learn to protect itself, and merit statehood through education; they saw the newspapers as key to the education and advancement of the natives as well as to the protection of their civil and property rights. *Nuevomexicanos* felt the urgency to empower themselves in the new system and to retain some of the power they had under Mexico while Washington delayed statehood for more than fifty years, in expectation, of Anglos achieving a numerical and voting superiority in the territory.xi

In the decade following the arrival of the railroad in 1879, native Hispanic journalism increased dramatically in the New Mexico territory. According to Meléndez, a true flowering of *Nuevomexicanos* periodicals followed in the 1890s, when some thirty-five Spanish-language newspapers were being published.xii The result was that the English-language and bilingual newspapers were left to serve a mostly English-speaking elite, while the Spanish-language papers were serving the rest of the inhabitants. By 1900, every settlement along the Rio Grande corridor had Spanish-language newspapers, and the practice extended into southern Colorado and to Texas. The most populous cities supported the greatest press activity: Las Cruces, Albuquerque, Santa Fe and Las Vegas.xiii From 1879 to the year New Mexico was admitted as a state of the Union, 1912, more than ninety Spanish-language newspapers were published in New Mexico.xiii By 1891, native Hispanic journalism had become so widespread and intense that a newspaper association was founded, La Prensa Asociada Hispano-Americana, to set up a network of correspondents, to share resources and to facilitate reprinting items from each member newspaper in a kind of informal syndica-
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tion. Thus in a few short decades some native inhabitants of what had been a backwater province under Mexico and a frontier colony under the United States had been transformed into intellectuals and activists utilizing print and transportation technologies. They took the lead in ushering their community into the twentieth century and statehood.

How and why did this occur? Meléndez posits that there was a political exigency to preserve their language, culture and civil rights. He writes: "The 'communications circuit' used by local journalists functioned, on the one hand, as counterhegemonic discourse that subverted assaults on Mexicano culture, and on the other, as a way to channel the power of literacy to change society."xiv The new technology that Nuevomexicanos adopted did not represent fundamental cultural change; rather it empowered cultural expression that was long held and deeply rooted in the area. As Meyer put it, "The Spanish-language press, as a bridge between tradition and modernity and as an advocate of its people in Hispanic New Mexico, served as a counter discourse contesting the Anglo myth of the frontier and claiming a space for otherness in American society. In its pages one finds the multivocal reality of neomexicano cultural identity that resists monolithic definition."xv

Meléndez documents how the Nuevomexicano journalists set about taking control of their social and cultural destiny by constructing what they saw as a "national" culture for themselves, which consisted of using and preserving the Spanish language, formulating their own version of history and their own literature, all of which would ensure their self-confident and proud entrance to the Union. From within the group of newspaper publishers and editors sprung a cohesive and identifiable corps of native creative writers, historians, and publishers who elaborated on a native and indigenous intellectual tradition that is the basis of much of the intellectual and literary work of Mexican Americans today. In addition, the young journalists quite often went on to become leaders in New Mexico trade, commerce, education and politics—a legacy still felt today.

The cultural nationalism of these native journalists, of course, sprung from the necessity to defend their community
from the cultural, economic and political onslaught of the “outsiders.” Their newspapers were to provide “la defense de nuestro pueblo y nuestro país” (the defense of our people and our homeland). And, in keeping with their community leadership, their defense of cultural and civil rights was often issued in front page editorials that in no uncertain terms made it clear that Nuevomexicanos had to assume a posture of defense in order to survive and that part and parcel of the defense was the furthering of education and cultural solidarity. Typical of these editorials were the many printed by Enrique H. Salazar, the founding editor of La Voz del Pueblo (The Voice of the People, 1889-1924) and later El Independiente (The Independent, 1894-192?), in which he blamed the social decline of Nuevomexicanos on Anglo-American domination and racism. Salazar clearly envisioned a battle of cultures and rights:

Our periodical...will continue its watch to protect the interests, honor and advancement of all of the segments of our great Territory. The well-being of the people of New Mexico and principally of the native population will be at every instance the powerful motive that will impel with great vigor our efforts in the publication of our weekly. We are the foot soldiers of the community, guarding its rights.xvi

One magazine that stood out in furthering the literary goals of the Nuevomexicanos was the Revista Ilustrada (The Illustrated Review), which Camilo Padilla founded in El Paso, Texas, in 1907 and continued to publish in Santa Fe, New Mexico, from 1917 to 1931? Revista Ilustrada was ahead of its time in identifying and furthering a Hispanic ethnic minority culture in the United States. Unlike New York’s Revista Ilustrada, which in the 1880s and 1890s envisioned an international, pan-Hispanic readership, New Mexico’s squarely situated itself in the home, although it tried to connect the culture of New Mexico and the Southwest to that of Mexico and the greater Hispanic world. In addition to publishing poetry, stories and history, the magazine offered space to Nuevomexicano intellectuals to ponder the fate of their culture.

Among the collaborators were such notables as
Nuevomexicano historian Benjamin M. Read, poet and novelist Eusebio Chacón and linguist and professor Aurelio M. Espinosa. In its furtherance of the Spanish language and Hispanic culture, the Revista Ilustrada included the works of some of the outstanding Spanish American literary figures of the time and advertised books of European and Latin American literature in Spanish that could be bought directly from the magazine, including works by Cervantes, Dumas, Fernández de Lizardi, Hugo, Isaacs and Verne; also appearing on the lists were works of regional and folk literature. After 1925, Padilla’s cultural work went far beyond the pages of the magazine to the founding and administration of El Centro de Cultura in Santa Fe, a center for cultural, literary and social events, but foremost a place for native art and culture practice. Another activity brought Padilla’s nativist concerns directly into the political realm: he was one of the organizers of a third party, El Club Político Independiente (The Independent Political Club) to represent the concerns of the native Nuevomexicanos.xvii

As Meléndez asserts, the promotion of a “national” literature and a “national” history by these editors and writers demonstrates that as early as the late nineteenth century the Nuevomexicanos were seeing themselves as a national minority of the United States. This idea was furthered by the region-wide Hispanic American Press Association through exchanges with newspapers in Texas and California and by the awareness of region-wide dispossession and proletarization of the Mexican-origin population. That they recognized the value of their own local history, folklore, and literature and had elevated it to print was a conscious part of this minority identity formation that was taking place. They simply needed to preserve an identity within the bounds of an overwhelming and pervasive Anglo-American national culture.

California

Soon after the influx of Anglo-Americans occasioned by the Gold Rush and statehood in 1850, the native Hispanic population of California became overwhelmed and was quickly relegated to a minority status.xviii The post-Civil War migration further accentuated the immigration of Anglos, the arrival of the
railroads, the breaking up of the Californio ranches, and the conversion of the economy to American capitalism and the native population into a proletariat.

Almost as soon as newspaper ownership came into the hands of the native Hispanic population of California, an ethnic minority consciousness began to develop.\textsuperscript{xx} When Francisco P. Ramírez took the Spanish section from the \textit{Los Angeles Star} and founded a separate newspaper, \textit{El Clamor Público} (The Public Clamor, 1855-1559), he created a landmark in awareness that Hispanics in California had been and were being treated as a race apart from the Europeans and Americans who had immigrated into the area. They were being dispossessed of their lands and rights and they were being converted into a proletariate. In addition to covering California and U.S. news, \textit{El Clamor Público} also maintained contact with the Hispanic world outside California and attempted to present an image of refinement and education that demonstrated the high level of civilization achieved throughout Hispanic world. This, in part, was a defensive reaction to the negative propaganda of Manifest Destiny which had characterized Mexicans and other Hispanics as unintelligent and uneducated barbarians incapable of developing the lands and natural resources of the West and thus justified these lands and resources being wrested from their hands by the superior newcomers. \textit{El Clamor Público} depended on subsidy from the city of Los Angeles and had strong ties to the Anglo-American business community in the city. In addition, it was aligned with the Republican Party. Ramírez and his paper were also staunch supporters of learning English;\textsuperscript{xix} not only was it important for business but also for protecting the Californios' rights. These pro-business and Republican stances, nevertheless, did not stop Francisco P. Ramírez from assuming an editorial stance in defense of the native population.

Only seventeen-years-old when he took the helm of \textit{El Clamor Público}, Ramírez was a supporter of Mexicans learning the English language, of statehood and of the United States \textit{Constitution} from the outset. However, his indignation increased as the civil and property rights of the Californios were not being protected by that \textit{Constitution} he loved so much. He became a consistent and assiduous critic, attempt-
ing to inspire the Hispanics to unite in their defense and to implore the authorities to protect the Hispanic residents of California, who were being despoiled, even lynched. In his August 28, 1855, editorial entitled “Inquisición” (Inquisition), Ramírez decried the vigilantism of the Americans, who had come to displace the native population and their penchant for lynching Mexicans:

This procedure used by the American people has filled all of the descendants of the Spanish race with indignation. The authorities of a country should care for the security of its citizens, and it is incumbent upon them to judge and punish the criminal; but the infuriated mob has no right to take the life of a man without finding out if he has committed the crime of which he is accused.... Since 1849, there has existed an animosity between Mexicans and Americans, so foreign to a magnanimous and free people to such an extent that these [Americans] have wished with all their heart that all of the Mexicans had just one neck so that it could be cut off all at once. They [the Mexicans] have suffered many injustices, and they have especially been mistreated and abused with impunity in the mines. If a Mexican has the misfortune to place a suit in a court of this State, he is sure to lose it. It is impossible to negate this assertion because we know this has befallen many unfortunates who in spite of the efforts they have made to obtain their rights and impartial justice.xx

Ramírez was instrumental in raising consciousness about this injustice, and oppression was not an isolated and local phenomenon. He reprinted news and editorials from around the state and focused on the role of the Spanish-language press in building this consciousness. For example, in his 23 February 1886 editorial entitled “El Periodismo en California” (Journalism in California), Ramírez reprinted D. J. Jofre’s editorial from San Francisco’s El Eco del Pacífico (The Pacific
Echo, 1856-1878) which emphasized the role of the press in protecting *la raza* in California:

Nowhere is the need for a Spanish-language newspaper more evident than in the state of California ..., as Americans and as individuals of the noble Spanish race to which we belong, we believed it our duty ... to raise our powerful voice with the armaments of reason, in order to denounce before the supreme court of public opinion the abuses and injury that have been and continue to be with frequency inflicted upon the individuals of our race; we believed it our duty to construct a permanent shield in the service of our Spanish countries as an alert against all of the illegal advances in the past and present towards absorbing them, outrageously taking them by surprise to extermination and death, and annihilating the nationalities of the invaded peoples.... All of the individuals of the diverse Spanish nationalities in California, in honor of our race, should protect it [the Spanish-language press] ... 

What is also notable about this stance—which was presumably held by Ramírez as well, for he states that Jofre's editorial "has much truth and sane judgment"—was that the oppression of Hispanic peoples in California is placed within the perspective of U.S. territorial expansion in the hemisphere.

The editorials of Francisco P. Ramírez certainly were a basis for the development of a Hispanic ethnic minority consciousness in the United States; his influence in disseminating that point of view in the native population and raising its consciousness as a people cannot be underestimated: "The very force of occupation brought the first notions of Mexican American nationalism and resistance in the nineteenth century—predating the Chicano Movement by about one hundred years. The concept of Francisco P. Ramírez, through his Los Angeles Spanish weekly *El Clamor Público*, proposed the term *La Raza* to denote Mexican Californians." Historians have
also seen him as a pioneer in the struggle for civil rights for Mexican Americans and Hispanics in the United States: *El Clamor Público* was a public defender speaking out against unfair administration, the manipulation of juries, corrupt practices, and prejudiced application of the law. It also sought to inform and instruct the Mexican people on civics as well as the basics of statute and emigration law.... Ramírez loudly and frequently stated that though life had been poorer, matters were a lot better off before 1848, and he used a phrase that would be heard again, *this land is our land*.

In summary, Ramírez seems to have been the first Mexican American journalist in the West and Southwest to consistently use the press to establish a nativist perspective and to pursue civil rights for his people.

In many ways, Los Angeles' *La Crónica*, on which Ramírez worked for a while, became a successor to *El Clamor Público*. The major investor in *La Crónica* was Antonio Coronel, a major figure among Californios, a business and political leader who had served in the militia and was an administrator of missions and a judge during the Mexican period. During the American period, he was an elected councilman, a county assessor, and even mayor. When he founded *La Crónica* in 1872 he had just finished a four-year term as state treasurer. Coronel was a devout believer in democracy and majority rule; however, he became involved more and more in the struggle to stem the tide of dispossession of California land and culture. His activism for the preservation of the Spanish language was formalized in 1856, when he petitioned the Los Angeles school board for bilingual education, a request that was ultimately denied. He continued to insist on the use of the Spanish language in the public sphere because of its importance for business and commerce and its importance in serving the public. His support of *La Crónica* must be seen as part of his commitment to the language and culture of the California native Hispanics. Coronel himself and the majority of Mexican Americans in the Southwest at this time were Republicans. As former citizens of Mexico, where slavery had been abolished
since 1821, they identified with the Union during the Civil War. Indeed, many of them were of mixed Indo-Afro-Hispanic heritage. Their “race” was continuously under attack. Antonio Coronel himself had been subjected to racial slurs from his Democratic opponents in the mayoral race of 1856.

Throughout its issues, La Crónica not only defended Mexican Americans against racism but waged a battle for cultural preservation. And preserving the Spanish language, again, was at the heart of preserving the culture. In its February 24, 1877, issue, for instance, La Crónica bemoaned the trend of Mexican Americans losing their ability to speak Spanish and specifically called upon the Spanish-language press to take on the defense of Spanish as part of its community mission. La Crónica, as holder of the concession for printing public notices in Spanish for the city government, had an official role in this regard.

In insisting on integration into the American education and political system and on learning the English language for survival, while promoting the preservation of Hispanic culture and the Spanish language, El Clamor Público and La Crónica and most of the other Spanish-language newspapers of California in the three decades after statehood created a firm basis for the development not only of an ethnic minority identity but also of biculturalism — which is precisely what Hispanics advocate today in the United States.

Arizona

Two newspapers were noteworthy in Arizona for developing a sense of Americanism and entitlement of the Mexicano-origin population. Tucson’s El Fronterizo (1878-1914) and El Tucsonense (1915-1957). Founded by Carlos Velasco, an immigrant businessman from Sonora, Mexico, El Fronterizo covered news from both sides of the Arizona-Sonora border and developed a sense of regionalism, catering to the needs of the mining communities in the area as well as to the business interests of the Tucson community. It was progressive and it promoted modernization of the region and pacification of the local Indian tribes—often in virulently genocidal terms! But more than anything, Velasco, who had been a sen-
ator and superior court judge in Sonora,xxv advocated Mexican American voting and participation in the political system:

The raza because of its respectable numbers in Arizona, could well partake of the greatest amount of guarantees, if they had their just representation in the more important public posts. But in a very injurious manner it seems that, with a few honorable exceptions, the raza has resigned itself to licking the chain which binds it to the controlling powers of those who would take advantage of their ignorance and disunity, those who do not return the service rendered, nor judge them worthy of any kind of consideration...xxvi

Like most of the Mexican American newspapers in the Southwest, El Fronterizo was aligned with the Republican Party; however, it would customarily endorse Democratic candidates if they were Hispanic and potentially increase the representation of Hispanics.

What made El Fronterizo a particularly notable milestone in the development of a Mexican American ethnic minority consciousness was that its editorials and stories supported the civil rights agenda of the Alianza Hispano Americana (The Hispanic American Alliance), the longest lived Mexican American mutualist and civil rights organization, not coincidentally founded by the newspaper's intellectual publisher, Velasco. According to Gómez-Quíñones, "El Fronterizo published perhaps the clearest and strongest advocacy for Mexican electoral and civil rights of any southwestern newspaper in the 1870s." xxvii Velasco also campaigned tirelessly against discrimination throughout the Southwest and suffered "enmity, poverty and insult in defending the people of his race."xxviii

Although Velasco was a prime mover in the Alianza and the founder of El Fronterizo, it was a rancher who traced his lineage back to the Spanish colonists of the area, Ramón Soto, who was able to articulate best the ethnic minority ideology that would solidify the community. And he did it with three
essays that he published in *El Fronterizo* in July 1892. Soto called for Mexicans in Arizona to unite and set aside their differences in order to vote as a block for Mexican candidates. He asserted their entitlement rights in order to combat the disenfranchisement that could come from considering themselves foreigners:

> All of us in general believe that this country is the exclusive property of the Americans, any one of whom arriving from New York, San Francisco or Chicago has the right to be sheriff, judge, councilman, legislator, constable or whatever he wants.... Such an American can be Swiss, Italian, Portuguese or whatever. Always, in the final analysis, he is an American. And ourselves? Are we not American by adoption or birth? Of course we are. And as sons of this country, being born here, do we not have an equal or greater right to formulate and maintain the laws of this land that witnessed our birth than naturalized citizens of European origin? Yes. Nevertheless the contrary occurs. Why? Because of the indifference with which we view the politics of this country. Erroneously possessing a patriotic feeling for our racial origins, our interests are here yet our souls remain in Mexico. This is a grave error, because we are American citizens ....

Sheridan believes that Soto’s essays and speeches were very influential in getting the Mexican American community to re-focus and to realize once and for all that its destiny was truly in the United States and that it had to concentrate on bettering the conditions of Mexicans here; he even purposefully referred to the community not as the “Mexican colony” but as the “Hispanic American colony” in order to bring the community into the mainstream of life in the United States, much as European immigrant groups had been doing in their adopted country.
A few Texas Mexican newspapers in the 1850s on occasion assumed activist roles, such as San Antonio's *El Bejaraño* (The Bejar County, 1855-18__?), whose masthead proclaimed “dedicado a los intereses de la población México-Tejana” (dedicated to the interests of the Texas Mexican population). While clearly helping to define the interests of the native Mexican population and taking the lead on such issues as teaching Spanish in the public schools (1 February 1855) and defending the rights of Mexican American teamsters to do business (13 February and 5 March 1855), *El Bejareño* was far from articulating the rights of Mexican Americans and it never assumed the aggressiveness that Francisco P. Ramírez had. Towards the end of the century there were a number of newspapers in Texas that represented Tejano issues and culture. *El Regidor* (The Regent, 1888-1916), founded in San Antonio by Pablo Cruz, was just such a journal. In 1901, Cruz took on the cause of an unjustly accused and condemned Tejano, Gregorio Cortez, not only in the pages of the paper but also in the community by raising funds for this victim of culture conflict who was soon elevated to legendary hero status by the Tejano folk. Through Cruz's efforts, Anglo lawyers were hired for Cortez's defense, and after one appeal after another and various changes of venue to avoid local prejudices, Cortez was eventually found innocent of murdering a sheriff.

An important figure in establishing a Texas Mexican identity and fighting for Tejano rights was the militant journalist Catarino E. Garza. Born on the border in 1859 and raised in or around Brownsville, Garza was educated in both the United States and Mexico and worked in newspapers in Laredo, Eagle Pass, Corpus Christi and San Antonio. In the Brownsville-Eagle Pass area, he became involved in local politics and published two newspapers, *El Comercio Mexicano* (Mexican Commerce, 1886-?) and *El Libre Pensador* (The Free Thinker, 1890-?), which “criticized the violence, usurpation, and manipulation suffered by Mexican Americans.”xxx Beginning in 1888, when he confronted U.S. Customs agents for killing two Mexican prisoners, Garza became more militant and struck out at authorities on both sides of the border, including the repre-
sentatives of dictator Porfirio Díaz, with a band of followers that included farmers, laborers, and former Texas separatists. A special force of Texas Rangers eventually broke up his force of raiders, and Garza fled in 1892 to New Orleans and from there to Cuba and Panama, where he was reportedly killed fighting for Panamanian independence from Colombia. Garza's exploits were followed in detail in the Spanish-language newspapers of the Southwest and helped to coalesce feelings about exploitation and dispossession among the Mexican American population. This process was also abetted by the reprinting of Garza's articles in newspapers throughout the Southwest.

One of the most influential newspapers along the border was Laredo's *La Crónica* (The Chronicle, 1909-?), written and published by Nicasio Idar and his eight children. Nicasio Idar had been a railroad worker and one of the organizers of a union of Mexican railroad workers in Texas: La Alianza Suprema de Ferrocarrileros Mexicanos. As a publisher, he never abandoned his working-class and union background. He and his family took the forefront in representing the rights of Texas Mexicans. In the pages of *La Crónica* and a magazine they published, *La Revista de Laredo*, he promoted the defense of the native Mexican population and their civic and political projects. Idar was in the vanguard, establishing Mexican schools for children in Texas. His daughter, Jovita Idar, was at the forefront of women's issues and collaborated in a number of women's periodicals. One of his sons followed in his footsteps and went off to Colorado to help in organizing miners. *La Crónica* decried everything from racism to negative stereotypes. It also leveled criticism at factionalism and bloodshed in revolutionary Mexico. Idar, however, saw the Revolution as an opportunity for Texas Mexicans and Mexican immigrants to unite and reconquer their lands and thereby enjoy greater freedom.

*La Crónica* was opposed to the more internationalist and radical efforts of *Regeneración* and the Brothers Flores Magón. However, Idar headed up a political movement of his own: El Primer Congreso Mexicanista (The First Mexicanist Congress). The Congress, which met in Laredo (from September 14 to 20), had as its main purpose the unification among all Mexicans in the state of Texas in order to battle
injustice. According to Gómez Quiñones, such action was to be premised on a consensus that would arise from addressing the following questions: (1) Mexican civic consciousness, that is “nationalism” in the community; (2) trade union organizing; social and education discrimination; (4) the role of the Republic of Mexico’s consular offices and relations with consuls; (5) the necessity of community-supported schools to promote Spanish-language and Mexican cultural instruction by Mexican teachers; (6) strategies and tactics to protect Mexican lives and economic interests in Texas; and (7) the importance of women’s issues and organizations for improving the situation of “La Raza.” In part a civil rights agenda, the program was a combination of questions or themes as well as organizing and advocacy priorities that took into account cultural, economic and political aspects.xxxii

The Congress, which had attracted some four hundred delegates from organizations throughout the state, concluded with the founding of La Gran Liga Mexicanista (The Great Mexicanist League), an association of organizations that promoted the nationalist ethos of “Por la raza y para la Raza” (By the People and for the People). The Congress also founded the women’s association of the movement, the Liga Femenil Mexicana (League of Mexican Women), in which Jovita Idar took a leadership role.

Another newspaper that served the Tejano community was San Antonio’s El Imparcial de Texas (The Texas Impartial, 1908-1924), which found new readers in the large influx of refugees from the Mexican Revolution. Founded by a druggist from the border, Francisco A. Chapa, who had been educated at Tulane University in New Orleans and settled in San Antonio in 1890, El Imparcial de Texas was strictly a business venture of a man who had gained the reputation in both Anglo and Mexican communities of being a progressive man of science, interested in education; he was so well thought of that he was
elected treasurer of the board of education and a member of the Business Men's Club. Chapa, nevertheless, had a political commitment to the Mexican American population, and used his newspaper to promote electoral activism as well as to celebrate Mexican American contributions to the World War I effort at a time when Mexican American loyalty was in question among Anglos. Chapa was called upon by Anglo politicians to get the Mexican American vote behind them and became a man of considerable power and influence.xxxiii

Journalistically one of Chapa's most valuable contributions may have been his hiring of Ignacio E. Lozano as business manager for the newspaper. Lozano went beyond the business side of the operation and began writing editorials and writing up news items, and by 1911 he was the main force behind El Imparcial de Texas. Ultimately Lozano broke with El Imparcial, possibly because it primarily served Mexican Americans, and Lozano saw the need for a grander, more professional newspaper that would encompass the large immigrant community. The daily newspapers that were founded in the major urban centers of the Southwest by Mexican immigrant publishers soon displaced many native Mexican American ones, although the natives' issues and perspectives were also assimilated and represented in many of these papers, as much as they were in La Prensa. In smaller towns and cities, nativist efforts were able to survive into the post-World War II era and the open recognition of a Mexican American identity.

A broader reading of the hundreds of Spanish-language newspapers published in the Southwest from the mid nineteenth century until World War II will substantiate that an ethnic minority and sometimes a "racial" minority consciousness was developing indeed. More importantly, thousands of readers in Southwestern communities were consuming and assimilating these ideas for decades. Further reading of periodicals will show that these rudimentary nineteenth century perspectives made their way into English-language publications and into the stances that the major civil rights organizations assumed from World War II period to the present.
NOTES


iv Henry R. Wagner, “New Mexico Spanish Press,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 12/1 (January, 1937), 2-3, presents an in-depth discussion about the founding of both *El Crepúsculo de la Libertad* in Santa Fe and the *El Crepúsculo*, another newspaper published in Taos by the important historical figure Father Antonio José Martínez. Also see Félix Gutiérrez,
There is some indication that a bilingual English-Spanish newspaper might have been published in San Antonio, Texas, during the 1820s, but no extant copies have been found. A prospectus dated 9 April 1823 announced that an American named Ashbridge would be issuing the Texas Courier every Wednesday morning beginning 16 April in English and Spanish. Stephen F. Austin expressed joy in a letter dated 20 May 1823 upon hearing of the newspaper, but documents show that if any issues were ever published the newspaper would have ceased publication by July because that was when Ashbridge’s press was shipped to Monterrey, Mexico, following its sale on 13 June 1823. Another newspaper of which no copies have been found is Mexican Advocate published in Nacogdoches in 1829. It might have been a bilingual newspaper. See John Melton Wallace, Gaceta to Gazette: A Check List of Texas Newspapers, 1812-1846 (Austin, TX: University of Texas Department of Journalism Development Program), 42, 64.


Gabriel Meléndez, So All Is Not Lost: The Poetics of Print in
Meléndez’s book is the most thorough and deeply interpretive study ever performed on any segment of Hispanic print culture in the United States.

X Gutierrez, 41.


xii Melendez, 26.

xiii Melendez, 28.

xiv Melendez, 29.

xv Melendez, 30.


xvii *La Voz del Pueblo*, 7 June 1890.

xviii Melendez, 198.

xix The standard text describing this process is Leonard Pitt’s *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-


XXII In the Spanish original Ramirez refers to "raza Española" not in its traditional Spanish sense of "people," but in the Anglo-American sense of race as a biological, not cultural, classification of people.

XXIII D.J. Jofre, "El Periodismo en California (Journalism in California)," El Eco del Pacifico, 23 February 1886.


XXV Gomez-Quinones, 218.

XXVI Gomez-Quinones, 233-4.


XXVIII Gomez-Quinones, 268.

XXIX Gomez-Quinones, 268.

Translated by Sheridan, 109-10.

Sheridan, 110.

Gomez-Quinones, 291, 315-16.

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Sports and the Politics of Identity and Memory: The Case of Federal Indian Boarding Schools During the 1930s

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The federal government of the United States developed a complex system of boarding schools for Native Americans in the 19th century. This effort was generally insensitive and often brutal. In spite of such brutality many students managed to negotiate and create new understandings of traditions and cultural autonomy while in such schools. Now, however, some former students remember their lives as students with mixed emotions. Drawing on oral history interviews and public official documents, the author examines the recreational and athletic life at the boarding schools and finds that students were, nevertheless, able to experience pleasure and pride in creating new ways of expressing their identities as Native Americans.

During the late 19th century, the federal government of the United States developed a complex system of boarding schools for Native Americans. The schools were created as part of a crusade by a coalition of reformers who aimed to assimilate indigenous Americans into dominant Anglo-Protestant society. With a fervor that was partly evangelical and partly militaristic the creators of the boarding school system hoped that through education they could bring about a mass cultural conversion by waging a war upon Native American identities and cultural memories.

The federal effort to educate Native Americans was so total in vision and scope and so often brutal in its enforcement that it is sometimes difficult to imagine how students survived
such an experience that could be profoundly dehumanizing. Recent scholarship, however, has explored oral histories and documents generated from boarding school students. Work by Brenda Child, Sally Hyer, Alice Littlefield, Tsianina Lomawaima, and Sally McBeth has shown that students not only survived their experiences, but in doing so reimagined their ethnic identities in ways that were creative, inventive, and in dialogue with the historical contexts that indigenous people have faced in North America during the twentieth century.¹ Much of this scholarship has also argued that the 1930s were a particularly important time when economic depression and federal reform created a new terrain over which struggles for Native American identity and memory took place. In spite of the brutality that they often faced, many students managed to negotiate and create new understandings of tradition and cultural autonomy while at school and frequently remember their lives as students with a complex set of emotions. The popular culture, athletic teams, and sporting activities that students experienced at boarding schools comprised one of the most important regions of this terrain where the federal government, educators, and students themselves negotiated the meanings of American Indian identities and memories.

The existence of relatively autonomous cultures among students at boarding schools constitutes one of the most significant findings by new scholars of Indian boarding school history. Lomawaima and Child, for example, explore how students at Haskell in Lawrence, Kansas, and at Chilocco in northern Oklahoma organized their own cultural lives around pranks, gangs, and the breaking of rules. Their research reveals insidious folklore among female students, male gangs that dominated peer relations, students fermenting and drinking their own alcohol, and even outright student rebellion.² Sports comprise a little studied but concrete site at boarding schools where students negotiated these cultures within the boundaries of their institutionalized lives. From a very early date in the history of the federal Indian boarding school program, physical education was a core part of the curriculum at many schools. Educators hoped that calisthenics literally could foster moral and intellectual progress by altering the body types of students. Just before the turn of the century institu-
tions like Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania and Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, began high profile athletic programs. Each fielded football teams that competed successfully against the best college squads in the country, and they trained some of the greatest athletes of the early 20th century, including Jim Thorpe, Hall of Fame baseball pitcher Charles Albert “Chief” Bender, football star Jon Levi, and distance runner Louis Tewanima. Other schools also competed successfully in sports such as track, girls basketball, and lacrosse. Unlike physical education or recreation, these athletic programs were created to provide schools with a valuable source of public relations, providing “proof” that Native American children could be assimilated and taught to compete with grace and sportsmanship.

Sports, however, were not only an important part of the scheme that some had for blending indigenous cultures into the melting pot. Although the high profile athletic programs at Carlisle and Haskell did not last, sports ended up becoming institutionalized into the very fabric of daily life at boarding schools, and became a part of the culture that students created for themselves at these institutions. Alice Littlefield, in her oral history of students who attended the Mt. Pleasant Indian School in Michigan, argues that the historical position that American Indian students faced in boarding school made sports an important source of pride, one that ran counter to federal assimilationist ideologies. Through interviews, Littlefield found that former students, particularly male ones, had vivid memories of Mt. Pleasant competing successfully on the high school level in football and basketball, particularly of times when they beat non-Indian opponents. “Given the assimilationist aims of the BIA educational system, athletic prowess became a symbol of Indian identity and Indian pride.”

Littlefield’s conclusions suggest that sports were a complex part of boarding school life, one that posed specific possibilities for Native American students to creatively reimagine their cultural memories, traditions, and identities. At the same time Littlefield’s observations about sports being a site for expressions of resistance are unique for they tend to conflict with what other scholars have observed about the relationship of school sports to youth and social reproduction. For example
cultural analysts like Stanley Aronowitz and Douglas Foley also have studied the relationship of school sponsored athletics to the cultural construction of youth in the United States for over a century. Their work has shown how athletic competition fosters conservative values and behavioral norms. In his exploration of contemporary working class culture, for example, Stanley Aronowitz argues that school operates as an institution of socialization for young people in capitalist societies and that officially sponsored sports are part of a process in which play becomes serious competition, and more voluntary forms of recreation, like intramurals, "are denigrated." He argues that officially sponsored high school sports teams alienate most people from participation in the game, and that the majority experience a high school game as passive spectators.

Like Aronowitz, Douglas Foley has carefully examined school sports as an important cultural form in which young people "learn capitalist culture." Foley interprets a local high school football team that he examines as an ethnographer as engaged in a community ritual that ultimately reinforces patriarchal norms, race and class hierarchies, and militaristic values. By focusing on the event at that level Foley exposes the limitations of sports as a vehicle for cultural resistance and instead reveals "the durability of the politically unprogressive cultural traditions that the people find pleasurable and self-serving." Foley's research details how local businesses, Anglo community leaders, local boosters, and male citizens all invest heavily in making the football game a symbolic centerpiece of local life. Foley understands that as a cultural site for the expressions and emotions of young people sports are more of a rehearsal for proscribed adult roles than an imaginative vehicle through which alternatives are explored.

If, indeed, one acknowledges the conservative cultural codes and social functions that sports tend to provide, then how is it possible for Native American students to have expressed themselves in any but the most limiting ways through the athletic competition that took place at boarding schools? Littlefield's oral histories reveal an irony: former students expressed anti-assimilation sentiments through cultural forms like football that contain meanings and codes which support assimilation. Yet, if we understand ethnicity as a constant
process that, in the words of Michael Fischer, emerges out of struggle, such an irony is not necessarily something that we would want to explain away. April Schultz, in her work on ethnic identity and creation, has argued that cultural experiences that might on the surface seem to provide evidence of assimilation often, when examined more closely, convey a range of meanings. Writing about the complex history of assimilation among Norwegian immigrants, Schultz concludes that ethnic identities are a “process of identification at a particular moment to cope with historical realities” rather than fixed items that are either maintained or lost. Ethnicity is a constant process in which historical and cultural memory is rendered meaningful in dialogue with the social and cultural contexts presented at any historical moment.

Patricia Albers and William James also have argued in their study of the Santee (Sioux) that ethnic identity is actually part of a dialectic process in which people “differentiate and label themselves in relation to others” within the “concrete circumstances and dynamics of social relationships” that are present at a moment in history and that help define how groups are differentiated from one another. Popular culture is a location where this kind of dialectic process often takes place. George Lipsitz suggests that popular culture forms, which can include popular sports activities and events, are contradictory and multi-layered and can be understood as vehicles for recalling alternative memories from the past that exist in dialogue with the concrete conditions and possibilities that subjugated people face at any historic moment.

The 1930s presented a unique cultural moment for Native Americans who attended federally operated boarding schools. Early in the history of these institutions many Native American parents actively resisted sending their children away. By the 1930s, however, economic depression led many American Indian families to send their children to boarding schools as a way of obtaining relief. Ironically those who did end up attending boarding school discovered a set of circumstances and possibilities for autonomous youth cultures that were freer than any others that had existed before at these institutions. In part this had to do with reforms taking place within federal Indian educational policy.
In 1928 the Meriam Commission investigated life at boarding schools and issued a scathing report that expressed dismay over their conditions and curriculum. The report cited malnutrition due to lack of funds for food and criticized the military routine, lack of time for free play and recreation, and the uniform curriculum that defined boarding school life. With the appointment of W. Carson Ryan as BIA Director of Education in 1930 and John Collier as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933 the Agency initiated many of the changes recommended by the report. Among other things Ryan advocated more respect for Native American cultures, more time for free recreation at schools, the outlawing of corporal punishment, and less emphasis on discipline. Ultimately Collier focused the attention of federal Indian education policy upon building day schools located on reservations, and he hoped to eventually phase out the boarding school system altogether.

Sports were an important institution that the Collier administration set out to reform within the system of off-reservation boarding schools. After the Meriam report, the Bureau of Indian affairs had begun to discourage boarding schools from using sports as a source of public relations, in large part because accusations of professionalism and corruption had created embarrassments for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1932, on the eve of Collier's reign over the BIA, officials in Washington had begun to draw a stark contrast between a collegiate level athletic system they saw as costly and exploitative and a high school level athletic system that they saw as more in line with the goals of federal Indian educational policy. In a report to the Office of Indian Affairs on athletics at the Albuquerque Indian School Harold Bentley used the occasion to contrast what he saw as a favorable high school system at Albuquerque with a more corrupt system that existed at Haskell. Collier went even further, discouraging school sports teams altogether in favor of more participatory recreational activities. The 1941 *Manual for the Indian School Service*, for example, states that "Intramural athletics and games in which everybody has a chance to play shall be encouraged, rather than formal gymnastics or calisthenics or interscholastic athletic competition."

The reforms initiated by the Collier administration as
well as the changes in boarding schools brought about because of the Meriam Report seem to have had an effect on football programs, football being perhaps the most successful and highly visible boarding school sport between 1890 and 1930. Institutional changes, for example, that lowered the average age of boarding school students severely undercut the ability of highly visible teams to win against college competition. This transformation most dramatically affected the football team at Haskell, which went from being ranked number four among college teams by the Associated Press in 1927 to being dropped from the schedules of its most respected opponents by the mid-1930s. Haskell eventually eliminated competition against college teams altogether by March of 1939, a move applauded by education officials at the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

While these policies would seem on the surface to embrace a form of athletics that Aronowitz might identify as less alienating and more playful and participatory, Haskell alumni were most vocal in their opposition to the elimination of a college schedule for the football team. In 1935, for example, George Shawnee, Secretary of the Haskell Alumni Association, wrote to the Acting Superintendent of Haskell expressing concern over the football team’s recent lack of success. The letter vaguely refers to “rumors” that the school might veer away from high profile college athletics. Shawnee expresses concern over such a move, arguing that the football team had been an important, publicly visible symbol for Native American people around the United States, referring to the massive fundraising effort in the mid-1920s that helped to build Haskell’s 10,000 seat stadium with money entirely generated from indigenous people.

We know it could not have been accomplished without the splendid showing of the football team during those years and the widely accepted belief among the Indians that it was worthy of this extraordinary recognition. They believed the public looked upon the team as representing not only Haskell but the Indian race, and they wished to give to the school any equipment which might enable it to maintain its proud place in college athletics.
Shawnee expresses a sense of pan-Indian pride that historians like Littlefield, Hyer, and McBeth have cited as emanating from the specific contexts of boarding school experiences. Littlefield and Hyer single out sports as a particularly important cultural location for such expressions.

One might understand the Bureau’s approach to sports during the 1930s as a response to the exploitation of boarding school athletes that had taken place in earlier decades. However, Shawnee’s letter suggests that the rationale and implications of this policy were far more complex. For example, Bureau of Indian Affairs officials who advocated recreational athletics over interscholastic sports were often concerned with more general reforms undertaken at boarding schools during the 1930s which gave students a great deal more time to themselves than they had ever had. This free time created possibilities for autonomous cultures, mischief, and other actions by students outside the direct supervision of teachers and administrators.

Evidence shows that federal policy makers and educators at boarding schools were particularly concerned that this time be used “productively.” Throughout the 1930s, for example, the student run newspaper at Chilocco Indian School contained numerous articles advising students on how to behave during their leisure time. An article from January of 1939, for example, advises that “leisure time is your own time to do anything you wish,” and goes on to assert that “your leisure time would be spent in doing something that will help you some day.”

Another article from November of 1937 advises students on how to select a good movie, and another from 1938 advises students to be quiet when watching a movie or a play. A blurb in a December, 1937 edition warns students about the “evil effect” that a “lazy person” has upon a workplace.

Although these articles were presumably written by students, they, at least, indicate moral lessons that students were learning in the classroom, projecting in a campus publication. Many teachers, administrators, and policy makers saw intramural and recreational sports as a way to keep students occupied and provide supervised moral character training at the same time. A letter from F.W. McDonald, Director of Athletics
at Haskell, to the school’s superintendent in 1931 explicitly links the creation of a girls’ intramural program with social control. Several years ago, when a spirit of unrest was prevalent among the girl students, I organized tournaments in various sports, in which the girls took a great deal of interest, and I am positive did much to afford them recreation and exercise.\textsuperscript{xxi} It is not clear what the “spirit of unrest” is to which McDonald is referring. However, Brenda Child, in her work on the history of Haskell, discovered that there was a rebellion among students attending the school in October of 1919 in which five girls and four boys were expelled for taking part.\textsuperscript{xxii} The Haskell Institute course bulletin in 1940 expressed a similar theme associating intramural, participatory sports with moral character training under a section describing the sports programs for boys at the school.

Haskell provides a varied athletic program of intramural and interscholastic competition. This is done with a keen realization that clean sport affords students opportunity for personal development in health and character. Every phase of athletic activity is used as a means of guiding students to true manliness...The program is sufficiently varied to assure every student an opportunity for participation in his favorite sport....This activity will contribute to the development of his health, character, and personality in such a way as to further him to the road of successful living.\textsuperscript{xxiii}

In the minds of federal officials, interscholastic sports were opposed not only because they were exploitative but also because they ultimately did not bring about social progress. Intramural athletics were preferred not only because they were more playful but also because they built character and promoted “constructive and worthwhile” behavior. When Shawnee discusses Native American pride in his letter about Haskell football, he expresses a different priority from that which was being promoted by federal policy makers, one not centered on ideologies of national integration and progress but on the public interests and pleasures of indigenous people.

The policy changes initiated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, however, did not eliminate interscholastic sports. In
fact they provided an institutional context for another, more controversial sport to rise during the 1930s: boxing. From its beginnings boarding school boxing teams enjoyed unusual success in the southwest and Midwest. Because the sport required far fewer resources than football, it provided a vehicle for school superintendents, faculty, and students to achieve local and even national notoriety. Yet it also drew the ire of federal officials who associated boxing with corruption and vulgarity.

Chilocco had perhaps the best known team of any boarding school. Its squad was established in 1932 when a sports promoter from Wichita, Kansas persuaded Superintendent Correll to field a team from Chilocco for an American Legion Tournament. Chilocco's team performed well even though it had been hastily trained. Only one year later boxers from the school traveled to amateur tournaments as far away as Boston and were celebrated on the pages of the magazine, *Ring*.xxiv

Boxing was not only popular at Chilocco that undoubtedly had the best and most famous team but at other Indian boarding schools where popular boxing teams developed during the 1930s. Teams from Albuquerque, Haskell, Phoenix, and Santa Fe were quite successful, sending boxers to regional and national Amateur Athletic Union tournaments. Boarding schools fought against one another but also competed with local colleges, high schools, and amateur boxing clubs.

In a relatively short amount of time, one that coincided with a decline in the status of football at schools like Haskell, boxing emerged during the 1930s as one of the most important sports on Indian school campuses and a prominent aspect of boarding school life. Institutional changes partly explain why such a sport would grow in stature, but they offer an incomplete explanation. Boxing was also a sport that resonated with the lives of boarding school students. Changes in federal policy, school funding, and economic climate were all important to introducing boxing to boarding schools, but students developed and made meaning of the sport as an important part of their cultural lives. For example, Lomawaima writes that violent play, fights, and gangs were common at Chilocco among the male students. She argues that such behavior was, in fact, an expression of a more pervasively violent culture of discipline
and authority that existed at boarding schools. Fighting to settle differences was common, an accepted method of working things out. Not surprisingly, the boxers were foremost among Chilocco’s athletic teams. They won Golden Glove status and traveled to fights in Chicago and Madison Square Garden.xxv

Male students readily took to boxing as it was introduced into the boarding school athletic curriculum. The symbols and structures of amateur boxing during the 1930s helped to shape the kind of cultural expressions students would make through the sport. As Lomawaima indicates in her discussion of Chilocco’s boxing team, boarding school fighters often competed at national amateur tournaments sponsored by the Amateur Athletic Union. In oral history interviews, former fighters and boarding school students often highlighted these events even more than they did boxing matches that took place between boarding schools. Amateur Athletic Union tournaments usually took place in big cities, beginning with elimination matches in places such as Albuquerque or Wichita with winners advancing to a more general set of regional bouts in Kansas City or Denver, and ultimately to a national gathering in Chicago, New York, or Boston. The results of these fights received national attention in newspapers. This particular structure of amateur boxing in the U.S. during the 1930s made the sport a particularly meaningful one, for it offered fighters an opportunity to get off campuses on which many former students often report feeling isolated. Fighters I interviewed told of the excitement they experienced performing upon a public stage at AAU tournaments.

Just as Shawnee discussed in his letter regarding big time college football at Haskell, national boxing tournaments provided a forum in which students could express a strong sense of pride, and within the sport of amateur boxing this pride was often understood in terms of race. The urban contexts of AAU boxing tournaments during the 1930s tended to blur together distinctions within groups, and fighters were often categorized within broadly defined terms of national identity. For example a Navajo man who fought for the Santa Fe Indian School during the 1930s responded to a question I asked about ethnic groups against whom he fought, saying, “The
majority I think were black, with here and there Caucasians and very few Spanish.” A different Navajo man who also fought for the Santa Fe Indian School during the 1930s expressed a sense of racial combat more explicitly. When I asked him why he was a successful fighter, he replied,

I fought many a different people, like Anglo people, black people, you know, and boy I’m telling you, you put me in the . . . put my gloves on, I know for what I’m doing. You got the pride . . . if there’s any race that’s speaking different languages you got the pride to demonstrate that you going to be in there fighting...because you’re an Indian, you going to show what an Indian can do. So that was always my intention, ’cause when I fought against a black, man, well...I fought.xxvi

Both Elliott Gorn and Jeffrey Sammons have written about the important symbolism that national and racial pride has had within the field of professional prize fighting. The idea that a fighter is a representative of one’s race comprises a deep thread within the history of boxing in the United States.xxvii Such ideas were also a part of the amateur boxing culture of the 1930s and early 1940s. One particularly ironic example appeared in the February 13, 1941, edition of the Santa Fe New Mexican which reported that a “negro from Denver” and an “Ojibway Indian” would meet for the “white hope’ trophy offered the heavyweight champion in the Rocky Mountain AAU Regional boxing tournament.”xxviii

Although amateur boxing during the 1930s provided a stage upon which racial identities could become appropriated by boarding school students as a source of pride, it did not necessarily erase cultural differences between students. As Lomawaima points out, students at Chilocco were very conscious of their tribal languages and identities. In addition they divided themselves along a variety of other lines, including race (all students, she writes, were aware of those who had African lineage), geographical origin, gender, religion, age, vocation, and even athletic skill.xxix In fact a Navajo man whom I interviewed who was on the boxing team at Santa Fe Indian School associated prowess in different sports with particular tribal identities. He drifted into this discussion during our interview
after I asked if he was ever allowed to speak his native language at school.

Different tribes of Indians came to school here, and any number of, say like over twenty different languages are spoken here that represent different parts of the United States. So that's what they were. Some are interested in playing basketball... they travel different places you know. And they play good teams... And then again there are these track teams. Some of those Indians, oooh my. They get some of the fastest runners.xxx

Historian Joe Sando, a Santa Fe Indian School graduate, echoed this relationship between athletic skill and tribal origin during an interview I conducted with him. He told me, "I guess some of the basketball players came from South Dakota because they were taller and there were mixed breeds." These testimonials suggest that boxing provided a context for the prideful expression of pan-Indian identities among boarding school students that were made possible because of the particular circumstances that surrounded amateur fighting during the 1930s. However it also suggests that such expressions coexisted alongside a continued awareness of diversity among students and did not necessarily represent a stage within a linear process of assimilation.

In addition not all students experienced the sport of boxing at Indian schools primarily as a vehicle through which they expressed racial pride. The pleasures associated with boxing matches as social events are also important for understanding their significance to students, administrators, and government officials. Students who were not boxers recall how fights were exciting, fun-filled events that people looked forward to each week. Importantly, they were events that girls and boys could attend together and at which they could intermingle and express excitement.

This type of social event was particularly important to students, in part because sexuality was highly regulated at boarding schools. Females and males were often segregated at meal times, in their curriculum, and in class rooms, and dating was often carefully monitored. During the 1930s schools tended to allow more time for free interaction between boys and
girls, but still important gender boundaries surrounded occupational and moral training that remained in place.

In oral history interviews I have conducted, both female and male former students often have discussed regulations placed on the behavior of female students. They also report how they engaged in mischievous behavior that surrounded dating or the breaking of rules related to the regulation of sexuality. Weekly boxing matches on campus were an opportunity for the interaction between girls and boys during their leisure time. They were events that involved excitement and intense emotional expression. A woman who attended the Santa Fe Indian School during the 1930s, interviewed for the documentary *Santa Fe Indian School: A Remembrance*, remembered the boxing team fondly.

These boys were very good. Our boys were very good. And I never thought I'd like boxing, but I really enjoyed it then. The whole school attended.

This woman's seemingly contradictory sentiments over boxing parallels tensions that Kathy Peiss describes as emerging for working class women who increasingly participated in urban popular culture forms during the turn of the century. She notes how amusement parks and movie theaters helped to carve out appropriate spaces for women in public culture. The Victorian family model of the 19th century allowed for very little public interaction between men and women, relegating public space to a male “homosocial” arena and private space of the home as predominantly female homosocial locations. Commercial popular culture forms, however, allowed women to gain access to public space, although they usually found that such access was dependent upon male companionship for both safety and commerce.

For both male and female students boxing matches were public events. Even when they took place on campus, they sometimes attracted fans from surrounding communities. This was perhaps most true at Chilocco. A man who attended Chilocco during the 1930s and later went on to coach there remembered.

At Chilocco, the people would come from miles around for that boxing. There's something about it, about boxing. It's kind of like gambling I guess,
people were crazy about it! Boy, they just packed that gym. Just packed it up . . . , It was just those ranchers from over around Powhuska, and people from Wichita, Kansas, and people from Tulsa would come up for it. That's a hundred miles, you know. Back then, that was about a three or four hour drive. But they'd come up there and just pack that gym. 

At other schools where mostly students and faculty were in the stands, they were no less enthusiastic in their support for their team. The crowd, however, was not only something that created pleasure for students and townspeople and undoubtedly revenue for promoters and school administrators, it was a source of concern for federal officials throughout the history of boxing at Indian boarding schools. 

The BIA long opposed boxing as a sport for boarding schools and eventually banned it as a form of athletic activity in 1948. Their rationale included a discussion of the crowd. In an article published in Indian Education announcing the ban, BIA Director of Health, Fred Foard, and the agency Director of Education, Willard W. Beatty, wrote, 

There is still an animal-like ferocity in many of us, which accounts for attendance at prize fights, wrestling matches, midget auto races and other spectacles where life is endangered or where sadistic punishment is inflicted. 

The authors of this statement importantly align boxing with a range of working class amusements popular during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Such a concern is appropriate, for the educational curriculum at boarding schools trained students for working class occupations. The concern that the BIA expressed over boxing suggests that some federal officials considered the kind of pleasure gained at boxing matches a misuse of leisure time that, at best, was unproductive, and, at worst, evoked images of savagery. Certainly, officials in Washington were concerned about their liability with regard to the health of students. However, the institutional rhetoric against boxing suggests that BIA officials were very concerned with controlling and making “productive” the culture that students generated during their leisure time. Ultimately, what this
reflects is a discomfort with the way that a sport like boxing pro-
vided students with a forum for cultural expression that was
their own.

As M. Ann Hall has argued, play, games, and sports are
"real social practices", not "idealist abstractions with no con-
nection to the making and remaking of ourselves as human
agents, nor are they simple products of material conditions."xxxvi
Sports are cultural formations that are dynamic, that change
over time, and that provide some concrete sites in which peo-
ple have struggled to recreate ethnic identities that draw from
the past but that also critically speak to and reflect upon the
present. For adult Native Americans today who lived through
boarding school experiences, sports constitute an important
ethnic marker, one that positions their ethnicity in dialogue with
the particular historical circumstances that they have experi-
cenced. Within oral histories, former students reveal how sports
constituted a complex cultural practice where Native
Americans could not only respond to an educational system
that was often insensitive but through which they could also
experience pride, mischief, or pleasure, and create new ways
of expressing their identities as Native Americans.

NOTES

i See Brenda Child, “A Bitter Lesson: Native Americans and
the Government Boarding School Experience, 1890-1940”
(Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 1993); Sally Hyer, One House,
One Voice, One Heart: Native American Education at the
Santa Fe Indian School (Santa Fe: Museum of New
MexicoPress, 1990); Alice Littlefield, “The BIA Boarding
School: Theories of Resistance and Social Reproduction,”
Humanity and Society 14(1989), 428-441; Tsianina
Lomawaima, They Called it Prairie Light: The Story of Chilocco
Indian School (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1994);
Sally McBeth, Ethnic Identity and the Boarding School
Experience of West-Central Oklahoma American Indians (New

ii See Child, Lomawaima.

iv Littlefield, 438.


vi Aronowitz, 76.


viii Foley, 28-62, 200.


x Schultz, 1267.


xii George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990). Lipsitz understands rock and roll music during the early post-World War II era as an example of popular culture dialogic possibilities, a historic moment. Rock and roll became a cultural forum through which a new, multi-ethnic youth culture emerged. It certainly spoke to the alienation that many white, middle-class youths experienced in newly built suburbs, but it also was made possible because of historic conditions of poorer and non-white Americans: migrations of American-Americans and Latinos to urban areas in the
U.S. who infused their music and cultural expressions into popular music; the rapid growth of a consumer economy, an expanding recording industry aided by new technologies; and the increasingly central position of commercial broadcasting through television and radio in the daily lives of young people. These conditions not only allowed white, middle-class youths to enjoy a new form of entertainment, they created a diverse alternative to mainstream culture in the United States that was in dialogue with the textured experiences and histories of African-Americans, Latinos, and other under represented groups.

xiii Margaret Connell Szasz, *Education and the American Indian: The Road to Self-Determination Since 1928* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977). It is important to note that Collier was not successful at ending boarding school; in fact, some remain open today. The BIA was successful during this time period, however, in shifting the emphasis of Indian education toward on-reservation day schools.


xv Harold Bentley, "Report to the Office of Indian Affairs on Athletics at the Albuquerque Indian School, 1932," National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Record Group 75, Decimal Classification 750 for Albuquerque.


xvii George Shawnee, Letter to Haskell Indian School, 1935. NARA Record group 75, Decimal Classification 750 for Haskell.


Indian School Journal, 3 December 1937, 8.

F.W. McDonald, Letter to the Office of Indian Affairs, 1931. NARA Record Group 75, Decimal Classification 750 for Haskell.

Child, 275.

Information Bulletin for Haskell Institute, 1940-1941 (Archived at the Kansas Collection), 27.


Lomawaima, 125.

Oral history interview by the author.


“Indian Meets Denver Negro,” The Santa Fe New Mexican, 13 February 1941.

Lomawaima, 125.

Oral history interview by the author.

Joe Sando, interview by the author, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 10 January 1995.


xxxiv Oral history interview by the author.


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Afrocentric Ideologies and Gendered Resistance in *Daughters of the Dust* and *Malcolm X*: Setting, Scene, and Spectatorship

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“Myth, of course, plays a very important part in all of our lives, in everyone’s culture. Without myth and tradition, what is there”? Julie Dash

Introduction

This study of scenes from the films *Daughters of the Dust* and *Malcolm X*, describes images of myth, gender, and resistance familiar to African-American interpretive communities. Key thematic and technical elements of these films are opposed to familiar Hollywood practices, indicating the directors’ effort to address resisting spectators. Both filmmakers, Julie Dash and Spike Lee respectively, chose subjects with an ideological resonance in African-American collective memory: *Malcolm X*, eulogized by Ossie Davis as “our living black manhood” and the women of the Gullah Sea Islands, a site often celebrated for its authentically African cultural survivals. Both films combine images of an African past with an American present using a pattern of historically specific myths and tropes.
I am interested in the design of two scenes, in particular, which rely on audience engagement with complex elements of African-American collective memory: an early scene in Dash’s film where Eli and Nana discuss Eli’s forthcoming migration from the Sea Islands in which Nana comments extensively on the importance of remembering one’s African ancestors and Lee’s presentation of Malcolm X confronting white precinct officers after an NYPD assault on a black man. The relationship between gender, resistance, and Afrocentric authenticity is made clear in these scenes through the directors’ use of movement, music, and character development. I will analyze African-American film spectatorship, suggesting that African-American audiences often resist identification with conventional images of blackness in Hollywood film. And present close readings of Dash’s and Lee’s films as they might engage resisting spectators.

**Notions of Spectatorship Within African-American Interpretive Communities**

In an essay in *Black American Cinema* Manthia Diawara describes patterns of resistance in African-American film spectatorship. Diawara revises earlier theories of spectatorship suggesting that Hollywood film spectacle is structured primarily to solicit male viewing pleasure, a point expressed in Laura Mulvey’s classic study of film spectatorship, *Visual and Other Pleasures.* Diawara, Jacqueline Bobo, bell hooks and others explicate race as a primary factor in spectator identification and resistance, calling attention to “common sense” vernacular knowledge shared by black filmmakers and black audiences. This resistance is focused on Hollywood:

Whenever Blacks are represented in Hollywood, and sometimes when Hollywood omits Blacks from its films altogether, there are spectators who denounce the result and refuse to suspend their disbelief. The manner in which Black spectators may circumvent identification and resist the persuasive elements of Hollywood narrative and spectacle informs both a challenge to certain theories of spectatorship and the aesthetics of Afro-American
The term, "resisting spectators," describes audiences who do not "suspend disbelief" when presented with a Hollywood spectacle, particularly when these audiences encounter images of African-American culture. The complementary term, "interpretive community," describes audiences who share culturally-influenced interpretive strategies.

African-American interpretive communities have long contested images that appear in mass-distributed film, expressing resistance through organized campaigns and in informal settings. The NAACP protest against *Birth of the Nation* is an early example; anger expressed by black male interpreters against *The Color Purple* is more recent. Informal resistance is described in reflections about black working class spectatorship (Nelson George’s memoir, Blackface and Public Enemy’s song, “Burn, Hollywood, Burn,” catalogue informal resistance). Resisters call attention to patterns of representation: Are black characters cast exclusively as menials and criminals? Is white racism depicted as a real factor affecting black achievement? Do black characters shuffle and speak stereotypically? Is the film arranged to invite identification with kindly white mistresses (*Imitation of Life/Driving Miss Daisy*), white liberal heroism (*Mississippi Burning/Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner*) or sentimental notions of longsuffering and spiritual uplift (*Roots/The Color Purple*)?

Each of these films (and arguably Hollywood film in general) functions as a mythological text where the commonplace (which solicits identification) meets the spectacular (which solicits voyeurism). Films do not have unitary meanings, but their structure is familiar, endowed with “historical limits, conditions of use.” Confronted with the nationalist spectacle of Hollywood film, audiences are predisposed to interpret particular ideological formations in regularized ways; even among resisting spectators, dominant and subdominant readings are constantly in engagement. All audiences recognize the conventional meanings of myth, as Barthes suggests:

Mythical speech is made of a material which has already been worked on so as to make it suitable for communication: it is because all the materials of myth (whether pictorial or written) presuppose a
signifying consciousness, that one can reason about them while discounting their substance. This substance is not unimportant: pictures, to be sure, are more imperative than writing; they impose meaning at one stroke, without analyzing or diluting it. But this is no longer a constitutive difference. Pictures become a kind of writing as soon as they are meaningful: like writing, they call for a lexis. Film myth, like other genres of myth, presents meaningful representations of the real, whether intended as mimetic, ironic, or both. In the passage Barthes describes the difference between verbal and pictorial myth as one of medium; conventional myths are verbal, while film combines verbal with pictorial. In the practice of mythologizing, film directors imagine an audience that is familiar with the ideological conventions of the genre; audiences signify by comparing the spectacle to their own subject position. Directors of film, then, manipulate mythological tropes to solicit different degrees of identification with, and resistance to, spectacles on screen. Audience interpretation is complicated, however, by the presence of resisting spectators, who do not respond predictably either to the commonplace or to the spectacular. For directors such as Julie Dash and Spike Lee, the use of counter-hegemonic filmmaking strategies forms coded appeals to resisting audiences. Recognizing these appeals helps film readers reconstruct conversations between African-American directors and spectators who resent and resist racial images associated with Hollywood film. While there is no simple black-white binary that can characterize either commercial film production or audience reception, directors such as Dash and Lee are well aware of vernacularized audience resistance, and their film technique should be explicated with this in mind.

As a site of film empire, Hollywood has long produced images of race that circulate widely and influence everyday social relations. Hollywood's film empire has greatly influenced standards for film financing, technical elements of set and shot composition, genre, and distribution. Ideologically, overdetermined methods of interpreting film influence spectatorship and film critique. In his discussion of Oscar Micheaux, Thomas Cripps argues that to evaluate Micheaux as an oppositional
“auteur” rather than a disadvantaged imitator means “finding Micheaux a giant intellect who managed to make silk purses out of the sow’s ear of poverty that he was given to work with.”

Similarly, bell hooks’ celebration of interracial romance as portrayed in *The Bodyguard* becomes ironic in light of American film and society’s continuing fear of “miscegenation”: “Even though *The Bodyguard* conservatively suggests that interracial relationships are doomed, it remains a film that offers concrete meaningful intervention in the area of race and representation.”

Institutionally the virtual absence of all people of color from the most influential positions on production teams is another impediment to progressive change in film ideology. Shohat and Stam report that “minority directors of all racial groups constitute less than 3 per cent of the membership of the almost 4,000-member Directors’ Guild of America.”

Dash’s experience in seeking financing for *Daughters of the Dust* attests to the institutional constraints against the large-scale presentation of “unconventional” portrayals of African-Americans in film, due to marketing practices. Though space in this discussion is limited, a more detailed case could easily be built to show multiple ways that Hollywood, no longer a geographical location but a hegemonic site, constrains through technical, ideological and institutional impediments an expansion of the nature and size of African-American representation in American film.

Using the metaphor of Hollywood as film empire clarifies the position of resisting spectators and African-American directors as colonial subjects. The resistance should be read not simply as an invocation of the need for “realistic representation,” but as an effort to enable multiethnic voices to find expression publicly in the widest possible forums of mass communication. This notion is described by Shohat and Stam:

The issue, then, is less one of fidelity to a preexisting truth or reality than one of a specific orchestration of ideological discourses and communitarian perspectives. While on one level film is mimesis, representation, it is also utterance, an act of contextualized interlocution between socially situated producers and receivers. It is not enough to say that art is constructed. We have to ask:
Constructed for whom? And in conjunction with which ideologies and discourses? In this sense, art is a representation not so much in a mimetic as a political sense, as a delegation of voice. Within this perspective, it makes more sense to say of *The Gods Must Be Crazy* not that it is untrue to "reality," but that it relays the colonialist discourse of official White South Africa.x

Constructing an imagined spectator is thus necessary not only for describing hegemonic and counter-hegemonic patterns of representation but for considering the possibilities for resistance under the institutional and ideological constraints imposed by Hollywood filmmaking practice.

The film texts reviewed here use settings familiar to African-Americans: collective memory, integrating positivist history, folklore, myth, and Black aesthetics. A range of African-American artists have used this technique to re-envision U.S. national history: Toni Morrison, Shirley Anne Williams, Amiri Baraka, and Alex Haley are four recent examples. Their methods challenge historical discourse focused on nation-states, international warfare and "great men," by simultaneously drawing on traditional historical evidence (documents, oral histories) and collective imagination. Myth becomes a link between two systems of producing knowledge: (1) the academic collection of historical data by sanctioned and accredited individuals and institutions, and (2) the experience and impressions of a large yet marginalized group of African-American "slaves," free persons, and citizens.

bell hooks, however, notes that not much criticism has been produced on *Daughters of the Dust* which focuses on how myth functions:

It’s interesting that whenever an artist takes a kind of mythic universe and infuses it with aspects of everyday reality, like the images of women cooking, often the cinema audience in this society just isn’t prepared. So few of the articles that I’ve read about *Daughters of the Dust* talk about the mythic element of the film, because, in fact, there is this desire to reduce the film to some sense of historical accuracy. It is relevant for moviegoers to real-
ize that you did ten years of research for this film — but the point was not to create some kind of documentary of the Gullah, but to take that factual information and infuse it with an imaginative construction, as you just told us.\textsuperscript{x}\textsuperscript{i}

Debates over realism are inevitable in films which are historically set, but the demand for realism becomes more stringent in films that explore black-white relations in U.S. history from the counter-hegemonic position of resisting black subjects. A conventional discourse suggesting that the American Dream is intact despite racial difference informs movies such as \textit{Roots}, \textit{Driving Miss Daisy}, and \textit{The Color Purple}, all of which were released in forums which guaranteed wide exposure. \textit{Daughters of the Dust} and \textit{Malcolm X} are not centrally integrationist in ideology, and thus their deviation from Hollywood nationalism is underscored. The peculiar (to some) intertwining of history, myth and resistance necessitate a nuanced style of reading.

Briefly, I would like to point out commonalities between uses of myth in Dash and Lee's films, Afrocentric authenticity, and archetypes of gender. Malcolm X and the Gullah Islands are popular stopping-points in the search by African-Americans for the survival of the African heritage. Malcolm X's rise to prominence during the 1960s was centered on redefining the meaning of "African" within the context of contemporary U.S. life. His interpretation of black male manhood derides nonviolent resistance as a feminized strategy for resisting racism:

Julie Dash's film uses in African-American collective memory and is related as well to notions of gendered African authenticity. The centrality of the Gullah Islands to African "survivals" is reflected in the writing of Melville Herskovits on African-American culture:

Stories concerning God and Devil, or human or animal characters, which have similar explanatory bent, likewise have many parallels in West Africa, notable examples of this being in the "Bible tales" from the Sea Islands, where the process of reinterpretation stands out in stark relief. That such counterparts as these are found for explanatory tales and myths, as well as for the better-known African
animal tales, would seem to indicate that the body of African mythology and folk tales has been carried over in even less disturbed fashion than has hitherto been considered the case.

From these prominent sites, the filmmakers construct archetypes for gendered resistance. Malcolm X, as the prototypical male militant, confronts a white power structure and is tragically murdered — yet leaves a triumphant legacy on anti-colonialist activism. Nana, a survivor of long hard years of struggle in the American south, remains a source of reason and spiritual sustenance for a multigenerational cast of relations, with her oral histories of the passage from Africa and before. Resisting audiences recognize these archetypes and read them against a backdrop of locations familiar to African-American collective memory.

Myth, Matriarchy and Motion in Daughters of the Dust

Call on those old Africans, Eli. They'll come to you when you least expect them. They'll hug you up quick and soft like the warm sweet wind. Let those old souls come into your heart, Eli. Let them touch you with the hands of time. Let them feed your head with wisdom that ain't from this day and time. Because when you leave this island, Eli Peazant, you ain't going to no land of milk and honey.

This passage from the screenplay describes ties between the ancestral homeland of Africa and the here and now of the United States. Conflicts between the past and present are a source of vexation for nearly all the characters in the film, illustrating the dual consciousness of African-Americans noted by Du Bois and many others. A trope of fluid motion is invoked in the preceding scene by a group of female dancers at the beach, which the camera records at intervals while Eli and Nana converse. I aim to show how motion, character and images of Africa function mythologically in this scene, by appealing to ideologies and practices familiar to African-American vernacular.

The scene strengthens the association between the
Gullah Islands site and Afrocentric authenticity. The first image in the scene shows Nana in the family graveyard, where she is joined by Eli. Nana is surprised by his appearance, and this spectacle is followed quickly by a glimpse of adolescents on the beach who are singing and dancing. The conversation between Eli and Nana quickly takes a tone that foregrounds generational differences. Because the movie is set at a liminal point before the “Great Migration” of black people northward, there is tension around the issue of leaving the South. As an elder, Nana is concerned about how these changing events will affect everyone. With the pastoral symbol of a “chew stick” in her mouth, she quietly muses while sitting in the graveyard, until Eli speaks.

Just because we’re crossing over to the mainland, it doesn’t mean that we don’t love you. It doesn’t mean we’re not going to miss you. And it doesn’t mean we’re not going to come home and visit with you soon.xiv

Nana responds humorously, reacting to his grin. She calls him a “goober-head,” then reflects quietly on the distinction between African “goober” and American “peanut.” Then Eli hands Nana chewing tobacco, which Nana takes from him, commenting: “...your grandaddy Shad didn’t like to see a woman chewing tobacco.”xv Even Nana is silent as she considers the changes in custom that have come over the years. She mentions the need for the living to “keep in touch with the dead.” Then, the camera returns briefly to the girls on the beach, who are spinning with one girl in the center, reminiscent of traditional African dance. The theme of establishing continuity between the young generation and ancestors is enforced by Nana’s parallel commands to Eli: “Respect your elders! Respect your family! Respect your ancestors!”xvi

The topic in the conversation changes suddenly, when Nana realizes that Eli is concerned about his wife Eula, who is pregnant by either a rapist or by Eli. Eula has not revealed the identity of the rapist, to protect her husband from risking his life by seeking revenge. Nana tries to reassure Eli with the wisdom of an elder. The stage directions are bracketed in the following passage:

Eli, you won’t ever have a baby that wasn’t sent to
you. [Eli cannot look directly into her face. To show respect for his elder, he must turn his face from hers and listen well...] The ancestors and the womb...they're one, they're the same.xvii

Eli is increasingly troubled as Nana continues her attempts to comfort him, and the screen flashes briefly to the children dancing in front of the restless ocean. Nana entreats Eli to talk to his ancestors who are the thread connecting the three generations that are shown within this scene. Finally, the camera focuses on Eli and he replies vigorously:

How can you understand me and the way I feel? This happened to my wife. My wife! I don't feel like she's mine anymore. When I look at her, I feel I don't want her anymore.xviii

Later, Eli challenges the old models of religious practice:

When we were children, we really believed you could work the good out of evil. We believed in the newsprint on the walls...your tree of glass jars and bottles...the rice you carried in your pockets. We believed in the frizzled-haired chickens...The coins, the roots and the flowers. We believed they would protect us and every little thing we owned or loved. [in a bare whisper] I wasn't scared of anything, because I knew..., I knew, my great-grandmother had it all in her pocket, or could work it up.xix

Nana insists that Eli “never forget who we are, and how far we’re come,” adding that the recollections from the African past are too strong to ignore.

Eli's subsequent protest is forceful. He expresses frustration with being asked to use the tools of the ancients to carry him through struggles in the present:

What’re we supposed to remember, Nana? How at one time, we were able to protect those we loved? How, in Africa world, we were kings and queens and built great big cities? xx

Nana clarifies her purpose in her reply: “I'm trying to teach you how to touch your own spirit. I'm fighting for my life, Eli, and I'm fighting for yours.”xxi She refuses to allow him to look away, and as he comes closer, the screen cuts to the dancers, focusing on Iona and Myown in the midst of a trance (the screenplay
describes it as a spiritual possession). Nana's final speech expresses her conviction that not only are the Africans willing to come to Eli's heart, but he will need them often, in a land without "milk and honey" for its African-American citizens.

Considered as a whole, this scene is energized by an aesthetic related to its Africentric, feminist ideology. I will try briefly to review the portrayal of Nana, Eli, and the dancing children in relation to more customary big-screen practices. The coalescence of techniques in this scene insures that "spaces of agency exist for Black people, wherein we can both interrogate the gaze of the Other but also look back, and at one another, naming what we see."xxii

Nana appears in the scene as an Afrocentric matriarch, a contrast physically and behaviorally to the types presented by Hollywood for this role. Nana is slender, and there are no whites on the scene to demand subservience. She is not Christian and does not seek other-worldly redemption as an escape from earthly oppression. She is strong but not emasculating; Eli's challenge to her authority in the scene is not met with a show of superhuman determination. As we watch her throughout the film, she becomes a symbol of African survivals — the dust pours from her hand, in a reference to the title; she is criticized by others for her belief in the old ways but retains her beliefs; her connection to the great-grandchildren as well as her own elders is reinforced by the editing during the scene with Eli.

Feminist constructs are inscribed in the scene as well, particularly in the idealized relation of Nana to the elders and her superior wisdom in providing a solution to Eli's dilemma. Nana's close relation to the elders solicits identification among audiences who desire images of African-American resistance. Close-up shots frame Nana against the faded background of the woods throughout the scene, as she calmly reasons with the less composed Eli.

While Eli is choosing to leave his still-living relatives, Nana retains ties to deceased ancestors. Within the narrative frame of the scene, Eli disrespects both his wife and his elders with his insistence that: "When I look at her, I feel I don’t want her anymore."xxiii Nana's gentle reminder that Eula was never his property provides further feminist critique of male sexism.
As the film continues, support mounts as well for Nana’s belief in the common destiny of all family members, living and dead. The spontaneity and flexibility of Nana’s responses to criticism invoke an idealized feminine value — negotiation, not confrontation, as a strategy for resolving conflict.

The dancing children function as a chorus confirming Nana’s remarks. At certain points slow motion filming reinforces the fluidity of their movements. They dance as an assurance of Nana’s authority after she says to Eli, “Get on with you, son, or help me clean away these weeds”;xxiv after her words, “Man’s power doesn’t end with death. We just move on to a new place, a place where we watch over our living family...,”xxv and continuing at other significant moments throughout the scene. In many African dance traditions ritual dance is a means of contacting ancestors in the form of orishas who possess the dancers and play a role in future fortunes. It is worth noting, as well, that in this scene all the dancers are female.

This scene from Daughters of the Dust is a masterful integration of themes and techniques which operate throughout the film. The efforts of Dash to appeal to resisting spectators, particularly African-American women, is reflected in Jacqueline Bobo’s study of black female spectatorship, Black Women as Cultural Readers. Bobo describes Daughters of Dust as a film “deeply saturated in black life, history, and culture and is intended to honor those traditions,”xxvi Daughters of the Dust made remarkable impressions on the viewers she interviewed. I close this section with an interview transcript as a final assessment of the film’s effectiveness in appealing to resisting spectators. The woman in this passage stopped perming her hair after seeing the film:

It’s something I’ve been thinking about for so long, and I just didn’t have the courage to do it. I thought, Well, I’ll wait until I’m a student, because then I’ll be out of the workplace and won’t have to deal with those people who are going to have comments about my hair, and in school it’s a more liberal environment. But I saw that movie and I thought, God, look at how beautiful those braids are. I have cousins who grew up wearing their hair like that, cousins in South America who have
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braid. But my experience growing up in the United States, and being separate from that, and having my hair straightened when I was five years old, I've never had that experience. And I thought it would be nice to just know what my hair was like. It sounds so trivial, but that movie definitely had an impact on that.xxvii

This passage suggests the relationship of the film not only to collective historical myth, but to everyday practices of resisting audiences, as Dash and hooks suggest.xxviii

**Masculinity as Military Myth and Movement in *Malcolm X***

In this discussion of Spike Lee's *Malcolm X*, I am interested primarily in the relationship between militarism and masculinist ideology in the Brother Johnson rescue scene. Several conventional images of masculinity intersect in this scene: specific militaristic images (marching, dress, and background music); the "coolness" of Malcolm's character; and the contrast of an unruly crowd and the disciplined Muslims, highlighting Malcolm's personal power as the white police officer notes at the end of the scene: "That's too much power for one man to have." Ultimately, invocations of discipline and rigid motion express a masculinist ideology within an Africentric spectacle.

The scene begins when a Muslim brother interrupts a romantic conversation between Malcolm and Sister Betty to report the police assault on Brother Johnson. Then an on-the-street discussion describes the assault and challenges Malcolm to respond aggressively. The scene cuts to a shot of Malcolm and two brothers advancing up the circular stairway of the police precinct. They demand to see Brother Johnson, confronting two precinct officers who are initially unresponsive to the call for information.

One of several scene climaxes occurs when one officer goes to the window at Malcolm's request and sees a line of Muslim Brothers several floors below who turn their heads toward the window when the blinds are opened. Malcolm points out Brother Johnson's name in the register before the officer on duty sees it. After another angry exchange they are taken to see Brother Johnson (who is badly beaten) and
demand that he be taken to the hospital. The last portion of the scene follows the Muslim men on a march to the hospital. A crowd accompanies them on the march. As the brothers form a line and wait for medical news, the crowd behind them chants and shakes fists. The policemen are nervous and seek assurances from Malcolm that the crowd will be dispersed; Malcolm’s replies are ironic (“Fruit of Islam are disciplined men. They haven’t broken any laws — yet.”). After Malcolm receives word that Brother Johnson is receiving proper care and the officer asks again for the crowd’s dispersal, Malcolm cues the Muslim brothers to march by raising his hand, then pointing a finger to indicate the direction. The crowd disperses without incident as well.

A brief review of this scene demonstrates the transformation of the Muslims into a virtual military force representing the massive crowd of demonstrators, who are angry but lack the discipline to respond effectively to assaults like the one on Brother Johnson. This notion is initiated by an “anonymous” street discussion, where the camera whizzes back and forth between several people conversing about the assault and the likely response:

There was a scuffle
The brother was just watching
And the cop came, said move on
The brother didn’t move fast enough
for the ofay
I mean [nightstick sound]
the brother was bleeding like a stuck hog
So what you gonna do — you’ll rap a little.
He was a Muslim, but you ain’t gonna
do nothing but make a speech
Muslims talk a good game but they never do
nothing unless somebody bothers Muslims.

During this exchange, the camera moves rapidly between the speakers, blurring to indicate motion. Afterward, Malcolm is framed for a moment, then the scene cuts to the three Muslim brothers walking up the white spiral staircase to the precinct. Malcolm becomes the voice for the unruly but powerless crowd of people who have witnessed another unjust beating of a black man by a white police officer.
Crowd members fall in line beside the Muslims on the march to the hospital. The officer at the hospital also associates Malcolm with both the Muslims and the restive crowd behind them. This portion of the scene frames simultaneously the disorder of the crowd and the orderliness of the Muslim brothers. The crowd witnesses Malcolm's conversations with the officer and doctor, finally dispersing as the Muslims break rank, reinforcing the image of power coalesced in the figure of Malcolm. The white officer's acknowledgement of Malcolm's power is a final invocation of this theme.

The fusing of military images with a more general masculinist ethic is evident. The Nation of Islam itself invokes association with conventional military ideologies, with its emphasis on uniform dress, sobriety, black nationhood, and respect for authority. The conservative ties, haircuts and uniforms of the Muslims in the film imitates real practices of the Nation, which attempts to reconstruct self-images and behavior of black men emasculated by white-sponsored oppression. Resisting spectators are familiar with the Nation of Islam in practice, and recognize the directoral effort to depict an influential form of black nationalism.

The military imagery is strongest after Brother Johnson is taken away in an ambulance. The scene moves to the street, where the white officer, from a tiny, out-of-focus corner of the frame, requests that Malcolm break up the crowd. Malcolm, from the foreground of the shot, replies that he is not satisfied, and his order to the brothers follows: “To the hospital!” The shots feature Malcolm at the front of the crowd, a virtual general. As people on the street join the march, the camera pans the feet of the group, showing the hard-soled shoes of the Muslims. Music begins just after Malcolm’s marching order, building from a military drum roll to a brass overture. Later, the music alternates between drum rolls and the chanting of the crowd during Malcolm’s conversation with the police officer and doctor.

The emotional character of Malcolm in the scene is notable as well, ranging from authoritarian assertiveness to urban “cool.” As a result, images of power and irony are invoked simultaneously. Ernest expressions of power include the moments when Malcolm gives verbal and nonverbal com-
mands to direct the brothers during their march. Irony is used during Malcolm’s confrontations with the white power structure. These moments of quiet arrogance in confrontation with “white power” show a style of resistance certainly familiar to African-American interpretive communities. Thus, for resisting spectators, the film Malcolm X constructs masculinist myth using the precise, military movement of disciplined Muslims, combined with the “coolness” of Malcolm’s leadership: respect for higher laws but challenging everyday racism perpetrated by a white-dominated power structure. The scenes can be read in comparison to feminized motifs of movement in Daughters of the Dust which feature more fluid spectacles, like the slow motion rhythm of the ritual dancers contrasted with Malcolm’s imposing bearing and the militaristic beat of the marchers.

Conclusion

In this critique, I have tried to demonstrate the presence of certain mythological patterns and to suggest their relation to African-American interpretive communities, but I have not tried to evaluate them with an overtly politicized reading. The concept of essentialism is clearly relevant to association of certain tropes with gender to invoke authenticity. I am not fully comfortable with matriarchal romanticism in Daughters of the Dust nor the supermasculine mythologizing of Malcolm X, but my aim was to present the larger framework, where audiences interpret in varied ways according to their personal, though community-mediated, ideologies.

More partisan analyses of these films prove interesting as well, as in bell hooks’ critique of Spike Lee’s movie in Outlaw Culture. hooks suggests that Lee’s depiction of Malcolm X foregrounds black-white confrontation at the expense of larger critiques of global capitalism and economic injustice. hooks reads the film as an expression of “Hollywood” style, relying on minstrel-tinged spectacle, predictable images of urban anger, and conventionalities of epic biography for its effectiveness.

Unfortunately, few radically anti-hegemonic films about black/white relations are set in the present, and this I find to be a flaw with both Lee’s biopic and Dash’s feminist epic. I agree largely with hooks’ points on the absence of anti-capitalism in
Malcolm X; further, in my view, the setting of Daughters of the Dust in an idealized past and a mythological landscape also invokes romantic conventions, placing past and present forms of everyday racism at a safe distance from the screen.

That objection stated, I suggest that both feature films provide constructions of African-Americans which are useful for rethinking race in the American present. Much more work in this genre remains to be done by filmmakers and reviewers alike, and such work remains difficult because Hollywood is an economic and cultural empire.

NOTES


v Barthes, 110.


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x  Shohat and Stam, 180.

xi  Dash, Bambara and hooks, 30.


xiii  Dash, 97.

xiv  Dash, 92.

xv  Dash, 93.

xvi  Dash, 94.

xvii  Dash, 94.

xviii  Dash, 95.

xix  Dash, 96.

xx  Dash, 96.

xxi  Dash, 96.

xxii  Diawara, 289.

xxiii  Dash, 95.

xxiv  Dash, 92.

xxv  Dash, 92.

xxvi  Bobo, 132.
xxvii  Bobo, 193.

xxviii  Dash, Bambara and Hook, 30.

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“Not Another Multicultural Education Workshop”
(sigh): Why Teachers Feel Intimidated by More and More Workshops in Multicultural Education.

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Many educators consider themselves sensitive to diversity issues in one way or another. However, it is not uncommon for some teachers to feel intimidated by more and more staff development programs in multicultural education that they are urged or compelled to attend. This article suggests ways in which multicultural education workshops could be made meaningful for them.

Nowadays, teacher education is facing a lot of criticism for the shortcomings of school teachers. One area of criticism is multicultural education. Many critics, including some teachers, regard multicultural education as a tool for some people with political agendas. It is therefore not surprising for some teachers to feel intimidated by the number of workshops in multicultural education that they are required to attend.

Educators in the 21st century are aware of demographic changes, technological developments, global interdependency, as well as the increase in violence and ethnic hostility. It is not surprising that many educators have developed a certain sensitivity to the diversity in this increasingly culturally pluralistic nation. Why, then, do they need to participate in some more multicultural education workshops? Indeed, research shows that many multicultural education efforts are ineffective.
However, the results do vary, as demonstrated in the following brief summary of three studies of staff development approaches.

George L. Redman, for example, describes the effects of a ten week human relations training program that was based on the following goals: (a) to understand the contributions and life styles of the various racial, cultural and economic groups in society; (b) to recognize and deal with dehumanizing biases, discrimination and prejudices; (c) to create learning environments which contribute to the self-esteem of all persons and to positive interpersonal relationships; (d) to respect human diversity and personal rights.iii In his first human relations training program during the winter quarter of 1974-75 eighty-eight school personnel (non-life certified teachers, counselors, administrators, and other school personnel at the preschool, elementary, secondary, and college level) participated. In a second human relations training program during the spring quarter of 1975-76 ninety school personnel participated. The study showed that a positive change in empathetic reaction to minority people can be achieved and that these positive changes were still apparent two and one-half months after the completion of the program.

Several years later, Valora Washington conducted a five day workshop in an attempt to change multicultural education attitudes and multicultural classroom behaviors of forty-nine elementary school teachers in rural North Carolina. The results of a pre-/post-test measure showed that the training's impact was negligible. The attitudinal and behavioral ratings remained either constant or even declined slightly. iii

Again, several years later, Christine Sleeter and Susan Gould conducted a staff development project for multicultural education with thirty teachers from eighteen different schools. The project began with nine days per year built into the teachers' regular teaching schedule and was expanded by five more days in a second year. Sleeter concluded that the changes brought about by staff development structured around an individual development model are modest and uneven. She concluded that as long as the context and demands of teaching
remain structured as they are, teachers will tend to do little with multicultural education unless they happen to be people who “buck the system”. In summary, the research results on the effectiveness of multicultural education efforts not only vary but also indicate that workshops do not accomplish very much which leads to even more teacher resistance to participation in multicultural education efforts. This article suggests ways to overcome at least some of these negative attitudes and alleviate the educators’ frustrations, which are certainly not conducive to the success of multicultural education.

The Problem with the Concept

The term multicultural education has many different meanings and thus may convey different things to different people. Philosophies range from helping students assimilate into the cultural mainstream to encouraging students to take activist positions and challenge social inequalities. This variation frequently results in workshops that are weakly conceptualized and, worst of all, misinterpreted.

On the one hand trainers in multicultural education workshops often forget that educators already have an idea of what goals multicultural education should have and that they are already applying certain strategies in their classrooms. Nevertheless, workshops are often presented to all teachers in the same way and thus do not address the individual teacher’s philosophy or level of awareness of multicultural education issues. On the other hand participants often forget that a trainer might have a different philosophy that he/she is trying to promote. Usually, the issue of multicultural education is discussed during workshops without considering these backgrounds which leads to close-mindedness among participants and misunderstandings rather than meaningful communication.

Some Recommended Solutions

In order to change the sometimes negative attitudes of educators who are urged to attend multicultural education workshops, a trainer could consider the following:
I. Presentation of an established theoretical framework of multicultural education that demonstrates the range of philosophies of multicultural education;

II. Determination of participants' present philosophies of multicultural education;

III. Statement about the trainer's philosophy of multicultural education which will be promoted during the workshop;

IV. Realization of personal life experiences and/or school-related factors that might have influenced the development of educators' multicultural education philosophies.

After this introduction to a multicultural education workshop, the communication between the trainer and the participants would be based on clear ideas of each other's philosophies, thus opening up opportunities for a meaningful discussion.

**Implementation of the Solutions**

The four steps of the solution could be implemented in the following way:

I. **Presentation of an Established Theoretical Framework of Multicultural Education**

   I personally consider the theoretical framework proposed by Christine Sleeter and Carl Grant to be the most comprehensive at this time. Sleeter and Grant reviewed the existing literature which claims multicultural education as its subject and developed a taxonomy that illustrates five distinct philosophies of multicultural education:

   - **Teaching the Culturally Different (CD):** This approach simply recognizes distinct personalities. Teachers assist students in acquiring the knowledge, skills, and attitudes that allow them to participate successfully in, as well as to compete with, the public culture of the dominant group. Even if students are encouraged to maintain their own cultural identity, teachers see the goal of multicultural education as providing transitional bridges for their students of color to assimilate into the cultural mainstream and into the existing social structure.
   - **Human Relations (HR):** This approach focuses on cooperation and communication between people of different backgrounds.
This concept is aimed mainly at the affective level - at the attitudes and feelings people have about themselves and others. It attempts to foster good relationships among students of diverse heritage to replace tension and hostility with acceptance and care.

*Single Group Studies (SS):* This approach fosters cultural pluralism by recognizing all cultural groups as equal and by honoring the intrinsic worth of all human beings. Respondents to this approach strive to develop acceptance, appreciation, and empathy for a rich cultural and linguistic diversity. This approach implies a transmission of the traditions of all cultures equally and respectfully so that students not only cherish their own ways of life but also respect those of others.

*Multicultural Education (MC):* This approach promotes cultural pluralism and social equality by appreciating, protecting, and enhancing diverse cultures. Gollnick summarized the five major goals of this approach as (a) promoting strength and value of cultural diversity; (b) developing a sense for human rights and respect for cultural diversity; (c) changing discrimination in society; (d) developing acceptance for social justice and equal opportunity for all people; and (e) developing a sense for equal distribution of power among all individuals and groups.

*Multicultural Education and Social Reconstruction (SR):* This approach goes a step beyond the preceding approach by also requiring multicultural education to prepare students to question the status quo and to challenge the existing social structural inequalities. It invites students to become skilled workers and thinking citizens who are also agents for change and social critics. This definition implies a common responsibility to work actively towards social structural equality and equal opportunity in schools.

**II. Determination of Participants' Present Philosophies of Multicultural Education**

At the beginning of a workshop in multicultural education, the trainer should determine the participants' present philosophies of multicultural education. This could be done through discussion but might be more time efficient when conducted in the form of a questionnaire, such as the "Assessment of
Multicultural Education Philosophy" (see Appendix). This instrument identifies teachers’ tendencies towards one of the five approaches determined by Christine Sleeter and Carl Grant.

To give the workshop participants at least some indication of how their personal philosophy compares to other teachers’ philosophies, the trainer could give the participants the results of a study that used the “Assessment of Multicultural Education Philosophy” instrument. The study was conducted within the San Diego Unified School District with 509 teachers (a fourth of the teacher population) of junior and senior high schools. Study results indicated that HR was the most common approach with 35.2 percent of the educators selecting it. The second most common approach was SS with 23.6 percent followed by MC with 17.5 percent. SR and CD turned out to be the least common approaches with 13.7 percent and 10.0 percent respectively.

Figure 1. Frequency of the Approaches to Multicultural Education in the San Diego Unified School District.

III. Statement about the Trainer’s Philosophy of Multicultural Education

Now that participants are aware of their own philos-
phies, the trainer needs to explain his/her personal philosophy of multicultural education. Many teachers’ initial attitude towards attending another multicultural education workshop is that it is a waste of time since they implement multicultural education in one way or another in their classrooms already. Some even feel intimidated that they are urged to attend another one.

A trainer needs to clearly state which of philosophies of multicultural education identified by Sleeter and Grant will be promoted during this particular workshop. Through examples of how this approach would be implemented in the classroom, the potential benefits to school children become clear. Further discussion of the appropriateness of the trainer’s goal can build the underlying rationale for this workshop and, consequently, the workshop becomes much more meaningful for its participants. For example, if teachers formerly brought artifacts or foods into the classroom, particularly on ethnic holidays, then these teachers will understand why a trainer proposing the SR approach might encourage them to rethink and reconsider the classroom implications of such ‘ethnic cuisine days.’

IV. Realization of Personal Life Experiences and/or School-related Factors that Might Have Influenced the Development of Philosophies of Multicultural Education

Even if the participants learn about different philosophies of multicultural education, and even if they would like to move their own philosophies towards, for example, a more activist approach to multicultural education, educators still do not know which factors influence the development of their personal philosophies. As mentioned above, workshops often fail to alter multicultural education approaches. Consequently, the trainer in a workshop should indicate to the participants which personal life experiences and school-related factors are associated with the development of a multicultural education philosophy. The above-mentioned research study revealed four factors.

1. School Community Support for Multicultural Education: Schools need to be aware of the support a teacher needs from parents, principals, and fellow teachers. A principal’s support alone is not sufficient in the teacher’s multicultural education efforts. A teacher also needs to encourage parents and fellow
teachers to be supportive of multicultural education efforts. This is probably easier said than done. Consequently, workshops in multicultural education should address how educators can effectively get this much-needed support by, for example, effectively communicating the importance of multicultural education to the community and its benefits for the community.

2. Social Activism: To engage in social activism is a decision every individual needs to make by himself or herself. Workshops could provide information on social activist movements and encourage faculty and administration to be proactive. The workshop could include participation in volunteer activities throughout the community which might lead to an extension of this volunteer work in teachers’ own time. Last but not least, workshops offer a great opportunity to recognize and honor a teacher’s engagement in social activism.

3. Classroom Work: This factor includes constraints due to the large number of students in classrooms, the time teachers can spend with these students, and the strict requirements of the curriculum. Since these constraints are often state-mandated, the school administration rarely has opportunities to limit them. Although the time and the number of students teachers have is regulated, workshops could encourage creativity and express appreciation for extra efforts made by the teachers. Furthermore, during parts of a workshop the facilitator should teach participants how to either rewrite their own lesson plans from a multicultural perspective and/or how to use existing resources within the school or outside resources like the internet. When planning a workshop in multicultural education there should be a set aside time for teachers to redesign lessons they are actually using in their classrooms.

4. Exposure to Diversity: It is hard for a school to regulate its teachers’ exposure to diversity. Educators have had their experiences in schools, colleges, and in the neighborhoods they lived in as children. These experiences have long lasting effects that are often difficult to alter. Moreover, it cannot be expected that educators would move into more diverse neighborhoods in order to foster their own development in multicultural education. However, in practical terms, networking among educators from different ethnic backgrounds could be encouraged to volunteer to teach in a community different from
their own.

Summary and Conclusion

Multicultural education means different things to different people. Probably the only common meaning is that multicultural education is supposed to benefit people of color. If multicultural education aims at respecting diversity, then it seems more than natural that multicultural education workshops should be conducted under the premise of respecting the diverse philosophies of the participants. This would make these workshops more attractive to educators and, consequently, may be more successful.

Future research should focus on determining the following:
(a) which philosophy of multicultural education has the highest impact on altering students' respect for diversity. Currently, trainers tend to promote a certain philosophy of multicultural education based on their personal beliefs or based on the school's philosophy;
(b) which theoretical framework would be best used as the premise for a workshop. Certain workshops, for example, those that relate to mainly practical applications in the classroom, might benefit more from the framework developed by James Banks that determines different approaches to multicultural curriculum reform.\textsuperscript{ix}
(c) how the participants' attitudes changed during a workshop in multicultural education. Currently, the success of workshops in multicultural education is measured by the perceptions of participants themselves, and the impact of this training over time is rarely assessed at all.

NOTES

\textsuperscript{i} A version of this article was presented at the annual conference of the National Association of Ethnic Studies in 1996.
\textsuperscript{ii} M. Williams, "Multicultural/Pluralistic Education: Public Education in America 'the way it's 'spoze to be';" The Clearinghouse 56(1982): 131-5.


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**Appendix**

**Assessment of Multicultural Education Philosophy**

The following paragraphs are descriptions of five distinct approaches to multicultural education. Please circle the ONE number 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 that best represents your thinking. *Read each statement carefully!*

1. This approach assists students in acquiring the knowl-
edge, skills, and attitudes allowing them to participate successfully in the public culture of the dominant group. Even if students are encouraged to maintain their own cultural identity, teachers see the goal of multicultural education as providing transitional bridges for their students of color to raise their achievement, such as relating the curriculum to the experiences and interests of students of color.

2. This approach focuses on cooperation and communication between people of different backgrounds. It attempts to foster good relationships among students of diverse heritage so that they get along with each other and that they are able to work together. Acceptance and care replaces tension and hostility. Misunderstandings are counteracted through lessons about stereotyping as well as individual differences and similarities.

3. This approach fosters cultural pluralism in recognizing all cultural groups as equal and in honoring the intrinsic worth of all human beings. It implies a transmission of the traditions of all cultures equally and respectfully so that students not only cherish their own ways of life but also respect those of others. To counterbalance the prevailing study of the mainstream culture, this approach provides information on the heritage and contributions of distinct ethnic groups.

4. This approach promotes cultural pluralism and social equality by appreciating, protecting, and enhancing diverse cultures. It promotes strength and value of cultural diversity, develops a sense for human rights and respect for cultural diversity, changes discrimination in society, develops acceptance for social justice and equal opportunity for all people, and develops a sense for equal distribution of power among all individuals and groups.

5. This approach promotes cultural pluralism and social equality through encouraging a common responsibility to work actively towards social structural equality and equal opportunity in schools. Teachers prepare students to
develop the knowledge, skills, and values needed to question the status quo, to challenge the existing structural inequalities, and to reconstruct society to better serve the interests of all groups.

Thank you for your interest. All information will be kept confidential.
Book Reviews


In putting together *Island Sounds in the Global City: Caribbean Popular Music and Identity in New York,* editors Ray Allen and Lois Wilcken were undaunted by the enormity of their tasks of contextualizing and capsulizing the breadth of Latin American and Caribbean popular music, and exploring the complex nexus between these musics and ethnic identity in New York City. By eliding these tasks the editors facilitated their work.

Allen and Wilcken provide an interesting overview of the creative interplay between various genres, identity with its changing sameness, and location. Their examination of the influence of location, Caribbean homeland vis a vis North American mainland, presents salient issues faced by immigrant artists such as the advantages of recording on the North American mainland, economic and audience constraints, the need for commercial presence in the world market, and the challenges of class and race. Further, they indicate the accommodation and negotiation of cross ethnic cultural influences. The editors examined historical periods, the evolution of community institutions, case studies of folkloric and professional groups, and the impact of new instruments such as the steel pan and the creation of new musical forms. For example we
see the early development of popular music within the New York's Puerto Rican community, and the link between this music and the growth of new forms such as contemporary Latin rap music.

The essayists demonstrate that roughly a century ago New York began to emerge as the center of Latin American and Caribbean music, and the most populous pan-Caribbean community in North America. The articles are alive with images of hopeful artists struggling to find artistic acceptance and commercial success in New York. Through the inclusion of song lyrics, we here the voices of these cultural workers and feel their experiences which vividly tell stories of people not so much letting go of their Caribbean homes but of wanderers and pioneers finding new and challenging locations to call home. These communities, their sense of self, and the music created were constantly being revitalized by new arrivals and by those artists who traveled between their two homes. From this Allen and Wilcken clearly demonstrate that these musics, the island sounds, define the immigrant group's uniqueness, create an exponential growth in the Caribbean/Latin/African based aesthetic, and at the same time have established a broader based cross ethnic cultural community working to realize goals.

The nine essays provide absorbing materials for those interested in ethnic identity, but their greatest appeal is to those interested in the coming of Latin America and Caribbean music to New York. As with any study of this scope, choices were made to delimit the subject. What is disappointing in the book is the glaring omission of a description of the establishment of New York's Jamaican community, and the musics of Jamaica — reggae and others that have crossed over to the larger community with clear and important influences. Omitted also are insights into the lives and challenges faced by female cultural workers from the region; and speculative insights into new directions in the music that come out of African based spiritual practices with the innovative experiments to update and popularize these by mixing them with rap and other contemporary influences. The exclusion of these and similar themes is understandable, for they are among many subjects each of which could present several volumes in themselves.

In essence Island Sounds in the Global City speaks
directly and quite rhythmically about ethnicity and creative musical expressions, community institutions, and cultural influences of Puerto Rican, Dominican, Trinidadian, and Haitian immigrant communities. The editors cannot be faulted for their selection of materials, and point to a myriad of topics for further research on African disaporic communities and the music they create.

Kenneth Dossar
Temple University


The metaphor conveyed in the title, The Shape of the River: Long-Term Consequences of Considering Race in College and University Admissions, captures the undercurrents, uncharted obstructions, and twists and turns as they unfold through the experiences and research of two captains who have navigated the mysteries of their journey through Affirmative Action in higher education.

Bowen and Bok's study of the long-term consequences of considering race in college and university admissions is drawn from a college and beyond database built by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundations consisting of more than 45,000 students. It is the most comprehensive statistically significant study of Affirmative Action to date.

The research focus is an analysis of data from 28 select colleges and universities. The cohort sets consisted of data collected the Fall of 1951, Fall 1976 and Fall of 1989. The database from the 1976 and 1989 cohorts recorded demographic information on race, sex, SAT scores, rank in high school class, college majors, grades, and extra-curricular activities. Later surveys were conducted to ascertain advanced degrees earned, employment sector occupation, income, marital status, number of children, civic activities, and attitudes about their college experiences. In addition, surveys of the
1989 matriculants included data on interaction with other races during and after college, political views, and geographic residency. The sample response rates were exceeding 80% for the 1976 matriculants and 84% for the 1989 matriculants.

The college and beyond cohorts included liberal arts and research institutions from across the United States. The institutions were divided into three groups based on selectivity of admissions according to the mean combined SAT scores of the freshman cohorts, SEL1: SAT 1250 or higher, SEL2: 1125-1249 and SEL3: SAT below 1150.

The book focuses on highly selective schools primarily because race-sensitive admissions are only an issue at institutions that must choose applicants from large numbers of well-qualified applicants. Twenty to thirty percent of higher education institutions in the nation receive more applications than there are seats, therefore the authors contend that "race" is used as an admission criteria most often at these institutions. Although the major concentration of this work is on African Americans, The Shape of the River does include some data about Hispanics and Native and Asian Americans because these groups are also affected by race-sensitive admissions. As a result, the authors are able to provide some significant discussion of the quality of interactions among students across racial, ethnic, and social class lines as well as political persuasions and region of residence.

The authors found that "minority" students performed well academically at institutions where the combined average SAT scores were 1250 or higher and graduated at a higher rate than Whites and Blacks at other Division 1 universities. SAT scores were found not to be accurate predictors of success for black students in attaining advanced degrees. Family background, i.e. education/socio-economic level, was found to be a better predictor of success than SAT scores.

Bowen and Bok further found that socio-economic origins and the selectivity of schools that a student attends are more strongly associated with future earnings than SAT scores. In addition, SAT scores had no power to predict future civic leadership or satisfaction with college experience or life in general.

The research design fails to explain why black stu-
udents with the same SAT scores, educational background, and other qualifications as white students under-perform as a group as measured by the college grades received. However, the authors theorize that poor high school education, poor study techniques, and continuing stereotyping of Blacks in college may explain the difference. It is important to note that the academic records don’t reflect and the research design has no way of measuring professor bias toward African American students.

*The Shape of the River* is the most comprehensive and thorough research accomplished to date on the subject of the long-term consequences of considering race in college admissions. The research design is creative and scientific. Although there remain some lingering questions on why African Americans with similar backgrounds under-perform when compared to white Americans, this is a book that should be read by all scholars of Affirmative Action. It could be profitably used as additional reading for classes in the area of Civil Rights.

Robert L. Perry
Eastern Michigan University


In her “Preface” to this study, Lean’tin Bracks describes her purpose as being “to describe a model which may provide for today’s black woman a means to take control of her destiny by retrieving her Afrocentric legacy from the obscured past” (xi). This model, which she applies through discussions of *The History of Mary Prince, a West Indian Slave, Related by Herself* (1831), Toni Morrison’s *Beloved* (1988), Alice Walker’s *The Color Purple* (1982, and Paule Marshall’s *Praisesong for the Widow* (1984), is tripartite: “historical awareness, attention to linguistic pattern, and sensitivity to stereotypes in the dominant culture” (xi).
As the series title perhaps suggests, the most valuable part of Bracks's model is her focus on contextual African American and Afro-Caribbean history, which takes up nearly half of each chapter except that on *Praisesong*. Bracks offers useful insights on topics ranging from African cultural retentions in the Caribbean under slavery to the social ascendancy of the mulatto in the United States in the early twentieth century, with some particularly informative and sensitive discussion of the incidence and motivation of infanticide among slave mothers. Bracks's bibliography also lists a number of important historical and sociological texts and resources.

When it comes to the literary analysis of Bracks's four chosen narratives, however, the study can best be described as unexceptionable. While there is little with which readers familiar with these texts are likely to take issue (although Bracks's reading of the character of Beloved is perhaps questionable), there is also little new or original analysis—perhaps not surprisingly, since *Beloved*, *The Color Purple*, and *Praisesong* have already been (so it seems, at least) almost exhaustively studied, but more focus on the "attention to linguistic pattern" aspect of Bracks's model, which in fact little-addressed, would have provided an opportunity for fresher insights. The chapter on the less-familiar and accordingly less-analyzed *Mary Prince* is thus likely to be of most interest to readers whose concerns are primarily literary. It might also have been useful if an additional non-African-American text had been included, in order to make the study's scope more truly diasporic.

Bracks's stated goal for this study is ambitious, and only the individual reader—specifically, the individual black woman reader—can judge if she has attained it. Most readers are likely to find her approach interesting, if not especially innovative, and there is much here to value, perhaps to find inspirational. The book is well-written and well-researched (although the notes placed at the end of chapters make for awkward reading, and in many cases should have been incorporated into the text itself), and, despite some shortcomings, it deserves an audience.

Helen Lock
Northeast Louisiana University

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This well-researched book presents an excellent anthropological discussion of the “ritual” aspects of the “sweat lodge” as practiced among some Lakota, while posing some very thorny problems in terms of treatment of religion, knowledge and spirituality among Native American people (Deloria, 1995).

Professor Bucko describes the ritual of the sweat lodge ceremony with great accuracy as an anthropologist, as a social-science researcher, and as a participant-observer, by studying the past and present as a “dialectic” involving social change and “tradition” reinvented for current uses. This presents its own problematic discussion in that it is not just “anthropology” but a philosophy of life that has survived: the ritual is not really observant of spirituality or of holistic social life, which is why many Lakota insist on not calling it religious much less religion (Young Bear, 1996). There is “openness” rather than “desire” to present Lakota culture. This is where the dialectic lies – observed on an Internet site maintained by the author, containing a “Declaration of War Against Exploiters of Lakota Spirituality” and in the book’s discussion (242-50, 254-55)

A remarkable observation is clarification of “inipi” (36) toward understanding the cleansing of one’s spirit rather than a simple “sweat.” However, this indicates a greater tension that the author discusses but never resolves: in what ways are the “ritual” aspects not very meaningful in respect to the spirituality of Lakota practitioners, who tend to reject ritualization as meaning? Early on, this can be observed when the author mistakenly glosses Ni-Tunkashila as Grandmother Earth, rather than unci, in the four directions entering song (6). For many Lakota, this would only cause mild speculation as to why it happened or whether it was a mistake and understandable. Similar to questions such as why I might place a pipe during a SunDance with the stem pointed eastward, there is real desire to discover causat

Bucko sees the sweat lodge as part of a “larger ritual system” that includes other ceremonies that have at times
been outlawed or banned. Here is where Professor Bucko's analysis would benefit from incorporating cultural domination theory and discussion of secreted ceremonies as forms of resistance. These processes, occurring over the last century, also contributed to countervailing and contemporary understandings of "tradition" as well as what could or should be shared with non-Indian outsiders. Jesuit priests represent these "dialectical" processes well, being among the best early ethnographers, especially with language and custom, while also acting as the vanguard of religious oppression and socio-political conquest.

Professor Raymond Bucko has made a valuable contribution toward understanding sweat lodges and their place in a larger social system greatly influenced by adaptations and assimilation toward mainstream American life. Ethnic Studies needs to take this to the next level, and view changes occurring in the re-appearance of Lakota ceremonial life as indicative of less repressive American social systems and re-appropriation in addition to survival of religious ritual and deep spirituality.

James V. Fenelon
California State University, San Bernardino


In *Alien Bodies*, Burt uses interdisciplinary methods to consider the issues of modernity and modernism in relation to the work of several makers of early modern dance. In nine chapters, he carefully examines the social constructions of nation, race, class, and gender as they were inscribed upon the dancing body. The Atlantic is the space and the period between the two great wars the time of this book's focus.

Overall, Burt makes many cogent and important points, not the least of which are his reflections on the figure of Josephine Baker, his analysis of the mass dance movement in Leni Riefenstahl's film *Olympia*, and his chapter comparing the
use or misuse of indigenous peoples' intellectual/religious material in specific works of Katherine Dunham, Mary Wigman, and Martha Graham. However, it is within these very pieces that he often makes statements which lessen the power of his argument.

In Savage Dancer: Tout Paris Goes To See Josephine Baker, Burt's lucid comments on the problem of essentializing the black female body are very helpful. This chapter's power comes from the tension created through the author's juxtapositioning of the thinking of those who were contemporaneous, be they critics or producers, and Baker's own critical reflections on her star persona and her art. Burt cautions us against seeing Baker's art as genius, because it lifts her out and above the ranks of other black women and makes her a token white. In the midst of his very careful language, he seems to equate genius with whiteness.

Burt's movement analysis of sequence from the film Olympia argues against "the generic fascist body" of Nazi Germany put forth by Susan Sontag in the chapter, "Totalitarianism and the Mass Ornament." His use of Michel Foucault as a source to think about power as desire in the construction of docile disciplined bodies within the fascist ideology is strong, as is his use of Siegfried Kracauer's conception of the mass ornament which underpins both this chapter and the previous one. One of his points is that Sontag's critique of Leni Riefenstahl's film is informed by Judaeo-Christian dualistic notions of the body. Which part of the Judaeo-Christian lineage is he talking about? Even the Bible has the Song of Songs, that richly erotic paean to embodiment.

Burt is not a theologian nor a scholar of religious studies; however, more precision would strengthen this line of thinking. Ramsay Burt is working diligently at the intersection of performance, race, class, and gender. For this reason, Alien Bodies is most useful for students of Dance and Performance Studies, Women's Studies, and Ethnic Studies.

JoAnne F. Henry

The Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, CA.

Collins' *Fighting Words* builds on her previous work, *Black Feminist Thought*, as she explores standpoint theory and "the outsider within" position and their usefulness for Black feminist thought. She structures her analysis by critiquing its effectiveness as critical social theory. For Collins, "Critical social theory constitutes theorizing about the social in defense of economic and social justice." Because African American women and other oppressed groups seek economic and social justice, she posits that their social theories may generate new perspectives on injustice.

Using and problematizing Black feminist thought as a critical social theory, she explores three main questions: (1) "what issues does Black feminist thought confront as critical social theory?"; (2) "what issues does Black feminist thought raise for critical social theory?"; (3) "what contributions can Black feminist thought make to critical social theory?" Her aim is to use Black feminist thought to develop epistemological criteria for critical social theory.

Collins uses theoretical and methodological tools from various disciplines to provide a coherent analysis of Black feminist thought as critical social theory. While concerned about the efficacy of various social theories as theories, Collins is particularly concerned that social theory move beyond the abstract and make a difference in the pursuit of justice. Her analysis of social theory is embedded in social, political, and economic contexts. Her insistence on a situated analysis is related to her desire to make social theory accessible to a larger audience. She strives to write in a manner that is validated by the academy, while also making her work accessible to oppressed groups, who can make use of her research. Despite the difficulty of juggling these very different audiences, Collins manages to write a very readable and even enjoyable analysis of Black feminist thought.

While I am quite impressed by her well researched text, at times I desired a bit more from Collins. For example, her discussion of womanism and Black feminism was insightful and
intriguing, but I wondered why she did not address Clenora Hudson-Weems Africana Womanism, as many find this to be significantly different from Alice Walker's womanism. While I appreciated the inter-disciplinarity of *Fighting Words*, I wanted greater explanation of her decision to focus Part II on sociology, postmodernism, and Afrocentrism. Considering her many references to African American literature and the importance of avoiding ahistorical analyses, I hoped she would provide similarly detailed critiques of literary theory and history's roles in creating social theory.

Of course, I realize that one book cannot address everything, and ultimately, I find the text quite satisfying and thought-provoking.

Although Collins' primary focus is African American women, her work also contributes to thinking about other historically oppressed groups and the pursuit of social justice. *Fighting Words* should be considered for Women's Studies and African American Studies courses. The index, detailed notes, and well referenced bibliography makes it a very useful text.

Venetria K. Patton
University of Nebraska-Lincoln


This volume functions both in illuminating minority perspectives in print culture and describing and furthering the field of “print culture studies.” The introduction then both discusses the structure and purpose of the field and argues that the book's contents challenge it in a variety of ways. Three thematic sections follow which cover, respectively, “lost” serials, the publishing industry, and written reconstructions of historical events.

The introduction provides a very complex and interesting view of this emerging field and its position in the academy. The editors suggest that scholarship in this area should focus on lit-
eracy, reader-response theory, reading and readership, and “print culture history.” They then discuss the major works in the field, the development and reliance on common theoretical frameworks, and even the historical similarities and distinctions of studies by European and American scholars including Wolfgang Iser, Hans Robert Juass, Stanley Fish, Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin. Finally they introduce the current status of this work by describing recent endowments awarded, projects completed, and university degrees developed that further this area.

They ground the creation of this book in this context. However, the questions that arise from this survey, the latter which also frames the book’s implied focus, is how can the field be so European and American centered and how do diverse views affect its representations and conclusions.

Though the introduction does nicely outline these topics, unfortunately it does not address the deeper issues that are necessary to answer the questions it begs. It does not provide a coherent analysis of how the various works in the collection illuminate a kind of minority discourse or construction of the medium by which to undermine the ideology and conclusions of the hegemony of the field. To meaningfully provide a corrective to previously limited studies of American print culture (those dominated by early Americans of the North East), I suggest it needs to do more than “address [the] gap” and include African Americans, Asian Americans and some gender and class issues. While I do think the editors could have interestingly challenged the field of Ethnic Studies by analyzing and articulating the import of their collection of “diverse” subjects, this question is left untouched. Therefore, while I do think that the volume might potentially encourage others to make the “diversity” here more meaningful rather than statistical, the volume succeeds more to highlight the problem than to provide any substantive framework.

However, individual essays do provide these necessary frameworks and points of departure. Both Yumei Sun’s “San Francisco’s Chung Sai Uat Po and the Transformation of Chinese Consciousness, 1900-1920” and Elizabeth McHenry’s “Forgotten Readers: African-American Literary Societies and the American Scene” stand out within this volume as essays
that both provide a historical context to specific communities and publications, and also more importantly, analyze specifically how and why these readers and writers affected American print culture and their own minority cultures through their behaviors. For those interested in studying ethnicity these essays provide a context by which to explore minority discourse, self construction and identity formation, power and representation, minority histories, access to alternative sites of resistance, and media and ethnicity, to name a few.

Ellen M. Gil-Gomez
Ohio State University


David Delaney's work is informative and contributes to an understanding of race relations and the legal system. The central finding is that race relations exist in different spatial contexts at the same time. The author begins with the case Commonwealth v. Aves, 18 Pick. 193 (1836) which focuses on a young slave girl, "Med" and her freedom. The cause of action involved the movement of the servant girl to Massachusetts by her Louisiana master. The master was visiting relatives. Under Louisiana law Med was a slave, but Massachusetts law did not permit slavery.

Delaney takes the reader through each counsel's arguments before the Massachusetts Supreme Court and discusses the Court's unanimous decision to free Med. This is the approach used through much of the book.

Early in the book Delaney explains the plantation system and its relationship to control: control of master over slave, control by planters as a group, and control of whites over blacks following the Civil War. Moreover, the author also includes an interesting discussion of African-American mobility from rural areas to urban centers during the Reconstruction period and the subsequent development of Jim Crow laws.

Delaney does a superb job discussing Buchanan v.
Extensive background is provided about those advocating racial segregation in housing, as well as those opposed to the ordinance. Included in his discussion are counsels’ arguments, an explanation of similar cases in the South, along with judicial rationales for the decisions.

The book has several weaknesses. The author focuses on *de jure* segregation in housing arrangements in the South, but fails to explore *de facto* segregation in the North. This omission is glaring given the author’s focus on uncovering race relationships in different spatial environments. In addition, the review of legal actions shortly before and after the Civil War—e.g., *The Slaughterhouse Cases*, 16 Wall. 36 (1873)—would be enhanced with a discussion of the Taney Court and its conservative leanings. And finally, perhaps one of the most interesting pre-Civil War cases, *The Amistad*, 40 U.S. 518 (1841), is absent from the discussion of international law. The book is written in the first person, beginning with “I” in the first chapter and concluding with “we” in the final chapter. The writing style is awkward and ponderous. The book would be enhanced with a table of cases. Aside from these deficiencies, the work is very well documented and reflects considerable legal research. This alone makes the book a valuable addition to the scholarly literature on race relations.

David L. Hood
Montana State University-Billings


This historically important document is a translation of a humorous comic book published in 1931 based on the experiences of the author, Henry (Yoshitaka) Kiyama, as he immigrated to the United States. Kiyama crossed the ocean from Japan to study art in San Francisco in 1904, at the age of nineteen. Upon his arrival he worked as a house servant during the
day and went to school at night. It is not well known here, but until the Second World War a large number of Japanese immigrants came to mainland America with student visas rather than work permits; many of these students became “school-boys” (that is, household help) and did not really go to school (though Kiyama did actually attend art college). Even eighty years later some of these assumptions are still prevalent, at least in Japan; when I was about to leave Japan to attend graduate school in America my father was worried that I would become a servant and never be able to actually go to school. Kiyama met many of these young Japanese students who had no real intention to study, who simply wandered around the city from house to house doing odd jobs. He also met farm immigrants—characterized as Japanese-Hawaiians in this book, who had been laborers on the islands' sugar plantations. Kiyama successfully presents his readers with the different experiences and inner thoughts of young adventurous Japanese men in America. He creates four different character types, based on his friends, to be the heroes of his stories. First, there is Charlie, who symbolizes the majority of school-boys, who drifts around with his dreams of becoming rich without any hard work. Frank, another type of schoolboy, desires some day to become a successful merchant. Fred, a farm immigrant, eventually becomes rich during the booming days of early California agriculture. Then there is Henry, who is Kiyama himself, who is in America to study art and saves his money to study in France until he loses it all in 1909 when the Japanese-immigrant owned banks failed. Henry's passion for studying is seen as fanatical by the other Japanese students. Frederik L. Schodt, the translator and annotator, is a well known researcher on Japanese popular culture and comics, and is the author of Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics and Dreamland Japan: Writings on Modern Manga. He found this rare first-hand document in the library of the University of California and translated it with great expertise and sensitivity. He includes a detailed introduction explaining the life history of Kiyama (as told by his seventy-three year-old daughter in 1997). He also provides a good background on the social and historical situation of America early in the twentieth century. He also includes an afterward and important footnotes.
Book Reviews

on the language used among the Japanese immigrants in the United States at this time.

This book explores many important cross cultural issues faced by both the Japanese newcomers and all foreign immigrants coming to America. Moreover, intermixed in the story are episodes of well known historical events like the Great San Francisco Earthquake of 1906, World War I, the 1917 influenza epidemic, the beginning of Prohibition, and the Alien Land Act in California (which forbade land-owning rights to Japanese nationals).

This is an extraordinary and unique document that many people—including historians, anthropologists, ethnic studies specialists, as well as scholars of popular cultural—will find of incredible value. It is also a funny and heartwarming tale that even the most cynical of students might appreciate. It could be just the hook to use in a class on American immigration or minority relations. The untraditional story-telling technique of using a comic strip captures magnificently the feelings of ordinary Japanese immigrants, and in a very visible way. It is quite rare to find a book on the firsthand daily experiences of early immigrants which is not overly emotional or only limited to the authors’ personal life experiences. Simply put, on many levels this book is a must read, and you will probably have too much fun to stop once you start.

Reviewed by Nobuko Adachi
Illinois State University


This valuable collection of readings edited by leading scholars in the field enriches the social science and educational literature for several reasons. First, the book provides a wealth of information for both undergraduate and graduate students. The readings are multidisciplinary, and contain scholarly articles, journalistic selections, documents, oral history and testimony, songs and poetry, maps and charts. The readings
encompass a global approach with their foci on Indian peoples of the United States, as well as a few selections of indigenous groups in Canada and Latin America. The book is arranged into nine interrelated parts with discussion questions, key terms, and suggested readings at the end of each part. In short, the articles succeed in bringing to students important materials representing the rich diversity of Native Peoples.

Second, the anthology is grounded on Native voices and Native self-interpretation. Until recently, the literature has lacked firsthand perspectives. *Native American Voices* brings together a selection of evocative accounts written by men and women of varied tribal affiliations and captures the inner mechanisms of native societies. Narrative and authentic materials on Native Americans effectively represent the indigenous experience that interpretative material, no matter how well informed, can seldom accomplish.

Third, the articles in this reader serve as a counterbalance to the legacy of stereotyping and inaccurate/biased information about Native Americans that has been generated over the years. Misperceptions about Native Americans are damaging to Native Americans. Stereotypes and biased information form a basis for stereotyping, racism, and cultural repression. This reader contributes significantly to the growing body of literature portraying Native Americans accurately and sensitively, despite the staggering legacy of misinformation. Part Four; “The Only Good Indian...Racism, Stereotypes, and Discrimination,” is especially illuminating in this respect.

Fourth, the nine parts cover a comprehensive array of historical and contemporary topics. This wide range of topics is important because, as pointed out in the “Foreword” by Jose Barreiro, many non-Indians are under the illusion that Native Americans belong in the history books, and are not part of the present or future. The various sections include perspectives on history and heritage, racism and stereotypes, family and education, spirituality, the economy, the environment, community well-being, and forms of resistance and revitalization. These interrelated themes narrated by Natives themselves, exemplify the “strength and resilience” of Native Americans, yesterday, today, and tomorrow. They are far from being relics of the past.
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Finally, *Native American Voices* relates to the ethnic experience because of the above stated reason, as well as the insightful and often moving experiences portrayed by the various authors. For example, in “Civilize Them With a Stick,” Mary Crow Dog shares her poignant and painful experience as a Native American student in an educational system that was cruel and unbending. She compares the old Indian boarding schools to Nazi concentration camps. This is not a story you will ever read about in school textbooks, because it is such a shameful part of our history. As I read her story I was able to envision the dark side of the boarding schools and the legacy they left for contemporary Native Americans.

*Native American Voices* is thought-provoking and suitable for a wide range of academic disciplines. The diverse viewpoints make the readings interesting and informative. Additionally, the last part of the book dealing with resistance and revitalization leaves the reader with a sense of hope and promise for the Native American community.

Elsa O. Valdez
California State University, San Bernardino


Elizabeth Martinez, well known San Franciscan activist, author and journalist, in her most recent work endeavors to connect the movements of the 90s with the crucible of the 60s. Her narrative of the course of contemporary activism and insurrection in the United States gives the reader an introspective look into the underbelly of Chicano/Chicana activism in the 60s and the resultant conflicts which ensued from not initially addressing issues of sexism, classism and machismo within the Movimiento. She provocatively talks about the utilization of “chingon politics” and the suppression of the Chicana feminist voice which has ultimately led to attempts to redefine and reconstitute the Movimiento.

In a panethnic comparative and reflective manner
Martinez explores the evolution of the Chicana/o Movimiento in light of other geopolitical and domestic struggles. She assaults the structure and order of neoliberal capitalism which still confines Cuba, subjugates indigenous peoples in Chiapas, exploits workers across international boundaries, and feeds off the defining American character born of racism and Manifest Destiny.

Her chapter “Reinventing America” critiques the national character and the “origin myth” that has been used traditionally to discredit and to subordinate the contributions of people of color. Instead she advocates the establishment of a new origin mythology, in contrast to a “Dick and Jane” prototype, inclusive of America’s collective voices and bound together in a transformative version of American culture and society.

Martinez speaks to the need of coalition building amongst Asian Americans, Latinas/os, Native Americans, African Americans and American Gay, Lesbian and white working classes. Ultimately she looks forward to the third millennial struggle for social justice and all levels waged in collaborative fashion. As part of this struggle she warns the reader of the pitfalls of “Oppression Olympics” and the futility of attempting to construct a hierarchy of suffering while at the same time extolling united resistance to a complex system of domination, which links together racism, patriarchy, homophobia and global capitalist exploitation.

In the case of the Chicano/a Movimiento she speaks vehemently to the need for the creation of a new “Chicano left” that speaks less about dogmatic purity and more about workers’ and immigrants’ rights and social equity. As many Chicano/a youth receive inspiration from the recognition of their own “indigenismo” Martinez would have all Chicanos/as use indigenismo as a cultural, social template for unity which naturally transcends all political boundaries and borders.

Martinez’s personalized account of history, politics and contemporary social movements gives the reader an intimate and unique insight into the struggles inherent within the struggle itself. Her critical assessment and analysis of the early days of the Chicano/a Movimiento give way to a visionary and
dynamic prescription of what the Movimiento could be if expanded to include all marginalized voices within its fronteras.

Larry J. Estrada
Western Washington University


As a white scholar of American Indian autobiographies, I approached this collection of essays edited by Devon A. Mihesuah, Associate Professor of History at Northern Arizona University, with both anticipation and trepidation. Conversations about the place of white scholars in all areas of ethnic studies has crested again recently and is appearing in many academic journals. In the May 1998, \textit{PMLA} (113.3), the Guest Column by Nellie Y. McKay, Professor of American and African American Literature at University of Wisconsin, Madison, states that too many qualified white scholars are not being asked to fill positions, which results in African American Literature either not being taught at all or by being taught but by unqualified professors already on staff. McKay is concerned about this situation, stating that there is “nothing mystical about African American literature that makes it the sole property of those of African descent” (366). Similarly, Louis Owens tells John Purdy in an interview published in the Summer 1998 \textit{Studies in American Indian Literatures} (10.2): “I don’t have any patience at all with the essentialist attitudes that say non-Indians shouldn’t read things [written] by Indians or talk about Indian literature or whatever” (16).

Two individual scholars writing in disparate journals do not carry as much impact as an entire collection of essays specifically addressing the researching, writing, and teaching about American Indians. Mihesuah has edited an impressive collection of essays by American Indian scholars including Angela Cavender Wilson, Paula Gunn Allen, Vine Deloria, Jr., Donald L. Fixico, Susan A. Miller, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, Laurie

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Anne Whitt, Theodore S. Jojola, Duane Champagne, and Karen Gayton Swisher. Mihesuah states in the “Preface” that “One reason for the anthology was to remind scholars that many Indians are not satisfied with the manner in which they have been researched or with how they and their ancestors have been depicted in scholarly writings” (x). Thus, this collection offers “suggestions scholars might use to produce more critical, creative, and well-rounded interpretations of Indian histories and cultures” (xi). The main point made by all the contributors to the anthology is that the Indian perspective must be included in any research. The purpose of the essays, then, is to provide some direction and possible parameters for scholars.

Some of the essays are general in their scope, while others refer to specific works. Paula Gunn Allen discusses issues involved in teaching Ceremony by Leslie Marmon Silko, especially regarding “sacred” issues. This essay is extremely informative and eye-opening, for it shows a Puebloan professor attempting to deal with her role as a teacher and her role as an Indian who must respect her tribal traditions and rituals. Vine Deloria Jr. also discusses one specific work: The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies, a collection of essays edited by James Clifton. Deloria finds fault with the collection, but his critique is beneficial in that he explains in detail what the problems with the essays are and how they could have been better handled. It is an essay all scholars of American Indian studies should read.

While I found these and other essays extremely helpful, some point out problems but do not provide definitive suggestions for correcting the problems or changing scholarship. Angela Cavender Wilson’s suggestion that scholars “slowly” develop “acquaintances with Indian people” and give “people from the community they are studying the opportunity to comment on their work” (25) is valid advice, but she does not explain how one would go about behaving in such a manner. And, what does she mean by “slowly?” Further, when giving people from the community an opportunity to study the research, does she mean official tribal council approval, or does she mean getting verbal approval of a few folks one has met during one’s research? The latter has proven to be prob-
lematic for some scholars in the past. Elizabeth Cook-Lynn's essay is interesting in that it points out how our view of Indians has been shaped by the writings of non-Indians, and she provides a mini-historical overview of American Indian Literature. However, while she praises Indian writers she admires and takes to task non-Indian scholars and mixed blood writers/scholars, she does not provide any suggestions for fulfilling her demand that "We must work toward a new set of principles that recognizes the tribally specific literary traditions by which we have always judged the imagination" (137). While the information contained in both these articles should be added to the knowledge of all scholars of American Indian History and Literature, neither provides kind of direction I had hoped to receive from this collection.

The essay I admire most in the collection is Duane Champagne's "American Indian Studies Is for Everyone." Early in the essay he states: "In my view, there is room for both Indian and non-Indian scholars within American Indian studies..." (181) and that "One does not have to be a member of a culture to understand what culture means or to interpret a culture in a meaningful way" (182). Champagne provides concrete suggestions for regulating the field of Indian studies by describing how the program at UCLA is run. He also seriously discusses the issue of a national regulatory board for scholarly review, although in the end he decides it would probably be unsuccessful.

In summary, it is the humble opinion of this non-Indian scholar that this collection of essays should be read by all scholars of American Indians but particularly by non-Indian scholars. It has definitely made me consciously sensitive to issues of which I had heretofore been only unconsciously aware.

Susan L. Rockwell
Arizona State University
The very title of Tracy Mishkin’s *The Harlem and Irish Renaissances: Language, Identity, and Representation* would fill any scholar of either movement with skepticism. To draw parallels among turn of the century Anglo-Irish writers’ efforts to represent and revitalize the identity and language of Irish culture (which must take into account the often divergent political and social interests of myriad groups: Gaelic nationalists and Catholic-Irish peasantry, just to name two) with early twentieth-century African American and black immigrant intellectuals’ self-conscious construction of a race capital and cultural movement in the midst of Jim Crow legislation and renewed vehemence of nativist groups — and all of this in 130 pages — seems overly ambitious at best. Mishkin works to preempt this reaction in the introduction when she asserts, “Despite the problematic aspects of these comparisons, it is good, in this age of self-segregation, to see marginalized groups reaching out to each other” (20). Without weighing in on the relative moral value of her project, I question the extent to and the means through which Mishkin herself can “see” these two so-called marginalized groups “reaching out” to each other.

Her introductory chapter, “How Black Sees Green and Red: Renaissance Eclecticism,” is the most complex and interesting section of her project. Here, she suggests several different models for recognizing “outreach” primarily in a subsection entitled “The Jews: A Model for Black-Irish Comparisons.” Mishkin briefly examines the mutually influential work of African American and Jewish American writers and the actual collaborations among African American writers and Jewish philanthropists during the twentieth century as useful, albeit complicated, catalysts for cultural production and, indeed, social change. Her introduction of Irish writers and their uses of Jewish figures in their own work, however preview the problems inherent in the rest of the book. Because she does not develop the intricate differences between the ways in which black writers and Irish writers use Jewish figures (or stand in relation to American and Irish Jewish communities), and because she gathers, in
her term, such an “eclectic” (and anachronistic) smattering of examples in her attempts to draw trans-Atlantic relationships, she leads her readers to the brink of tautology. Finally, what Harlem and Irish renaissance artists and intellectuals seem to have in common was their ability “to fruitfully compare themselves to other peoples who faced discrimination” (9).

Consequently, the rest of the project abandons the effort to locate actual alliances or collaborations and devotes itself to constructing parallels between the two renaissancing groups. (We never, by the way, find out if “renaissance” means the same thing to both groups.) Caught between the English who wanted to disidentify culturally with colonial subjects and native-born Irish Catholics who were suspicious of their Protestant English roots, Anglo-Irish writers and intellectuals, Mishkin wants to claim, were marginalized in ways that resemble the situation of African American intellectuals who fell under the suspicion of both white intellectuals and working class blacks. The parallel that Mishkin serves up here could work as a very useful problem to raise in a course on race, ethnicity, and nationality, but she does not take us through the necessary process of perpetually interrogating and exposing the ways in which historical and geographical context inflects these terms differently. To assume equivalencies among nationality and race, religion and class is not to combat tendencies toward “self-segregation” but to elide important historical, cultural, and structural differences simply for the sake of a common metaphor: renaissance.

Jennifer Schulz
University of Washington, Bothell


Japanese language schools in California are chronicled from the early twentieth century until the eve of World War II
based mainly on the UCLA Japanese American Research Project Collections, Japanese language newspapers, and literatures by Issei (first generation Japanese immigrant) educators. Chapters two through five which follow a brief overview of the ethnic language schools of various immigrant groups illustrate Japanese immigrants' effort in transmitting their linguistic and cultural heritage to Nisei (American-born) children by supplementing their public school education with a Japanese language school curriculum in a hostile socio-political climate. The thematic coherence of the book is disrupted unfortunately by a sudden change of topic in Chapter Six which deals with Japanese language school situations in Hawaii and Brazil. A subsequent and final chapter entitled "Language and Heritage Maintenance Efforts During and After World War II" is mis-named. Barely two pages are given to the wartime Japanese language and cultural studies, and the scene moves to post-war California in the remainder of the chapter, rendering this chapter a disparate appendage to the rest of the book. More importantly a decline of Japanese language schools from the war period onward cannot be perceived without taking Japanese American internment experience into consideration. Wartime detention of west coast Japanese in communal and egalitarian internment colonies virtually destroyed the Japanese American ethnic community together with the tradition of Japanese language schools which was a symbol of identity and personal pride to the Issei. The revived post-war Japanese language schools are hardly a match for better equipped, more efficient public and private school classes of Japanese as a foreign language. Lacking explicit educational policy, adequate facilities, and motivated students, their function is becoming merely symbolic.

In addition to the organizational weakness, what is critically missing in this book is the Nisei perspective on Japanese language school education. Except for some Kibei youths (returnee Nisei from Japan) who became intensely loyal to Japan during the war, most Nisei were getting disenfranchised from their Japanese heritage from the late 1930s onward through their internment experience. Already weary of being identified with their parents' homeland, post-war Nisei who are fully integrated into larger American society seem to find little
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incentive for transmitting the Japanese language or Japanese cultural heritage to their offsprings. The legacy of Japanese language schools in terms of the impact on former *Nisei* students cannot be learned from this book.

There are also a number of unreferenced phrases and one uncited quote. Contextually loaded terms such as "loyalty oath" and "no-no boys" are introduced without benefit of background information for general readers who have insufficient knowledge of Japanese American history. Finally, the author quotes without source of reference a comment on the Japanese language by a famous Japanese writer, Naoya Shiga, to the effect that the Japanese language was the cause of World War II and Japan might as well adopt French as Japan's official language. Is it a coincidence that the same quote from the journal *Kaizo* is found on page 19 in Haruhiko Kindaichi's 'The Japanese Language'?

Kumiko Takahara
University of Colorado at Boulder


One of the most important institutions established in African American communities has been the "Black Press." It is also an institution that has not received much of the attention it deserves. The Black Press today still consists of approximately 100 newspapers carrying on the tradition of the first Black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal* (1827). After recently compiling a bibliography on Blacks in the U.S. West, it became obvious that whenever and wherever a Black community became established, Black newspapers immediately emerged. For example, Colorado had over one hundred, California more than twice that number, and Iowa over forty. States such as
Wyoming or North Dakota that had no Black newspapers received some coverage from out-of-state Black papers. Further, some out-of-state Black newspapers also received distribution in those states with few or no Black newspapers, providing much-needed information and resources.

One of the reasons for the start of the Black Press is relevant today—invisibility. Many black people believe, as the film clearly indicates, that they still are invisible in much of the white press unless they commit a crime. A second continuing reason for the need of the Black Press is that the white press then and today is not seen as objective in reporting on the Black community. A third theme the film examines is advocacy. The Black Press continues to provide a voice to the Black community relating its own accomplishments and presenting relevant topics and ideas. Further, that institution advocated civil rights/human rights from its creation. The Black Press documents how Black newspapers stood up against lynchings, provided a “life line” into the segregated South, and were responsible for the great Northern migration of Blacks from the South during and following WWI. The newspapers even printed train schedules. The Black Press also developed Black women editors such as Charlotta Bass and Ida B. Wells, as well as training hundreds of reporters and photographers.

Black newspapers ran cartoons that celebrated Blacks and their culture, spurning the “mushmouth” characters seen in white newspapers. Those newspapers—dailies, weeklies, bi-weeklies, and monthlies—carried news of Black struggles, both national and international, to their communities. A couple, such as the Pittsburgh Courier, received national distribution. The Black Press also recounts the time when J. Edgar Hoover of the FBI attempted to indict Black newspapers for sedition, how a “Letter to the Editor” kicked off the “Double V” campaign of WWII (Victory against Fascism Abroad and Discrimination at Home) and the reason for the decline of Black newspapers. The Black Press is an excellent work that places Black newspapers in their important historical and cultural contexts. The inclusion in film of several people who worked for that institution adds a powerful touch to the documentary. The Black Press is a first-rate film that should be a part of any college
journalism and Black/African American history program.

George Junne
University of Northern Colorado


This scholarly study is a welcome effort to broaden the horizon of what many Americans have come to believe are the true westering experiences. It began with the early western images created in dime store novels and brought to life on the movie screen. The featured settlers, cowboys, outlaws, and other heroes were generally white. In this scenario, the frontier was tamed by strong willed white men while the role of African Americans in the “western United States and Canada and Alaska” was largely ignored (xv).

In Black Pioneers, Professor Ravage challenges any notion of a “white west” scenario and uses “approximately two hundred pictorials” and “other graphic images” to establish the historical presence of African Americans in the West. Between 1870 and 1880, for example, there were at least 150,000 Blacks living west of the Mississippi River; of which, 15-20,000 represented “a broad range of laborers, professionals, builders, gamblers, roughnecks, politicians, leaders, followers, good men and women” as well as the bad (xiv). They joined forced with other ethnic groups, when allowed, to engage “in various endeavors in small and large communities” to challenge an unforgiving frontier with courage and daring (xix).

This forging experience extended the general description of the American frontier. In true diasporic terms, the author has expanded the realm of the traditional west. For him the frontier or the American West (Oklahoma, Kansas, Nebraska, Arizona, Nevada, etc., and the Pacific Northwest) has been re-defined to include Alaska and Hawaii. And, indeed, Canada becomes part of the African American’s frontier experience. This is done despite being overlooked or excluded from the fabric of the
North American conquest saga. Thus this book not only estab­
ishes the African American pioneers’ “physical presence” but
shows these pioneers as active players in the saga and as
contributors to the cultural, social, and political development of
the North American Frontier.

The author’s admission that the text would not stress
“historical analysis” of the evidence does not excuse some
questionable statements in the narrative. This aside, the pho­
tographic evidence is truly a remarkable showcase of the var­
ied existence for blacks on the frontier. This is a very readable
book that I highly recommend to academics and general read­
ers. It is a welcome addition in the mode of William L. Katz’s
pioneering pictorial work on African Americans’ westering
experiences.

Nudie Eugene Williams
University of Arkansas

Peter C. Rollins and John E. O’Connor, eds. Hollywood’s
Indians: The Portrayal of the Native American in Film.
(Lexington: Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1998). 226 pp.,
$15.00 paper.

Hollywood inherited conflicting myths of Native
Americans: barbaric savages or “Noble Savage.” Influenced
by the latter romantic view, James Fenimore Cooper in print
and George Catlin and Edward Curtis in art conveyed to an
American public a portrait of a noble but vanishing race of
America’s first people. The dime store novels and Wild West
shows of the late 1800s played with the dueling idea of a noble
yet menacing Red Man, and Hollywood picked up this created
myth of American Indians which, while ostensibly sympathetic,
actually perpetuated stereotypes of a depraved and primitive
race. Hollywood then packaged these images, made them her
own, and secured for generations of people the predominant
image today held of Native Americans. Since, as Hannu Salmi
theorizes, movies are the myth by which Americans under­
stand Western history, this is an alarming state of affairs.

Rollins and Collins, two scholars well steeped in film his-
tory, have assembled and edited an impressive group of fourteen essays which help explain why, even to this day with the Red Power Movement and the raising of a social consciousness about ethnic stereotyping, Hollywood remains married to its created myth of Native Americans. This collection of essays convincingly outlines the degree to which the myth of Indians that Hollywood inherited and constructed has been and continues to be an affront to Native Americans. The book's notable features include an excellent introduction by the editors, Ted Jojola's (Isleta Pueblo) five page annotated filmography, and Steven Mintz's bibliography of Western Films, the main context for Hollywood's Indians.

The first three essays establish the history of Native Americans in film and catalogue the degree to which Hollywood creates and perpetuates its own version of Indians. This background information also appears in many of the following essays and, although often repetitious, explicates the many problems with Hollywood's Indian: non-Indians playing Indians, like Sal Mineo whose picture on the book's cover assails readers; tribal differences being erased; Indians speaking English sounding like idiotic robots; and always the Native Americans as the foil to pioneering Americans seeking to fulfill their Manifest Destiny.

The majority of the essays discuss movies which have significantly contributed to Hollywood's Indian. Ever since John Ford set the standard for Westerns and depictions of Indians, Hollywood has faithfully followed his template, which Ken Nolley discusses in his informative article. Even those producers and directors who professed sympathy for Indians, like Ford, did little to revise Hollywood's image.

Yet, there is reason to hope that Hollywood's Indian is changing and that the more socially conscious films of the 80s and 90s can revise the stereotypes of ethnic people which demean them, rob them of a tribal identity, flatten out their character, and relegate them to conquered relics of America's past. The essays on *Tell Them Willie Boy is Here* (1969), *Little Big Man* (1970), and *Powwow Highway* (1989) convince the reader that Hollywood's invented myth of Native Americans is being challenged. John Sandos urges Anglo Hollywood to revise the story of the American West, like Indian filmmakers
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Greg Sarris (Miwok), Sherman Alexie (Spokane/Coeur d'Alene) and others are doing who bring “Native American voices, stories, and viewpoints to the media mainstream from which they have been historically excluded” (Kasdan and Tavernetti 134). These films are long overdue.

Connie Jacobs
Fort Lewis College


Is Crime a problem or color or race? What about the question of disproportionality: Do blacks commit more crimes in proportion to their percentage of the total population? Does disproportionality, as one measure of crime statistics, tell the whole story? What is black protectionism? Probably the most critical question Russell raises is does a racial bias exist in the reporting of crime statistics in the United States? This is not the first time such an issue has been raised. These are among the major questions dealt with in The Color of Crime.

In Russell’s view—and there is much evidence to support her—the answer to the last question is yes. She is highly critical of some of the criminal justice literature published as recently as the 1980s, and she discusses it in the section on “Discrimination or Disproportionate Offending.”

Although not all the research in the field is guilty of one sidedness, misreporting and faulty analysis is still a major problem in the field, as she correctly points out. Russell’s main criticism is that much of the criminal justice literature still focuses far too much attention on “black crime” in the United States. In so doing it lacks an historical basis and tends to ignore longstanding socio-political factors. Russell goes on to suggest that arrest rates reflect many different kinds of indicators of social marginality. Furthermore not all arrests or even convictions are necessarily absolute measures of criminal behavior.
unless we accept the notion that our criminal justice system is perfect, which it is not. Thus, as she points out, “The conventional measure of the disproportionality is only useful assuming all racial groups are on equal footing” (19). The factors that often point to social marginality such as high rates of unemployment and crime are often—although by no means always—correlated. Attempts to downplay their importance is a disservice to developing rational public policy alternatives.

Calvin E. Harris
Suffolk University


The women interviewed in _Double Burden_ share personal accounts of what it is like to be black and female in the contemporary United States. Drawing on over two hundred interviews with middle-class, well-educated black women, Yanick St. Jean and Joe R. Feagin present a collective memory of the misrepresentation of black women in our history, as well as individual experiences and triumphs. Through excerpts of personal narratives on topics including career, work, physical appearance, media representation, relationships with white women, and motherhood, the women recount experiences dealing with everyday racism, the denigrating social messages about their beauty, self-worth, sexuality, intelligence, and drive. While the general tone of the book may be considered negative by some, the stories of encounters with racist attitudes and prejudicial actions and opinions reveal methods adopted for overcoming barriers through a development of survival and countering strategies, the “oppositional culture” rooted in family structure and sustained through generations by a collective memory. The introduction of the book presents a brief overview of the stigmatized image of black women in American history, but the analysis of the text offers few new insights and some sections appear dated, e.g. doll colors, the white stereo-
type of beauty. The work does contribute narratively to the body of literature about the black female experience in America including such major works as *The Black Woman Cross-Culturally*, edited by Filomina Chioma Steady, and *Women of Color in U.S. Society*, edited by Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill.

Lisa Pillow
Ohio State University


This book is a testament to the maturity of ethnic studies curricula. They were developed by activist students, primarily of Asian, Native American, African, and Latino ancestry, and by faculty members who had no formal training in ethnic studies because the discipline did not exist. The faculty who participated in the creation of ethnic studies curricula were scholars with an interest in this emerging field or people who by dint of race were deemed to have interests in the field. By training they were primarily historians, English department faculty, sociologists, anthropologists, political scientists, and art and drama department faculty. There was no shared corpus of work, methodology, or background among them.

Professor Saito, whose PhD is in sociology, has been trained in a university system where fully articulated ethnic studies curricula are widespread. Over thirty years of scholarship, teaching, and conceptualization undergird his work, and it shows. This is a solid academic work, utilizing approaches, methods, perceptions, and information that were not available thirty years ago. As the discipline was designed to be, his work is thoroughly interdisciplinary. He draws broadly on women’s
studies, ethnic studies, sociology, history, political science, anthropology, and Latino studies, Asian American studies, Native American studies, and Black studies as well.

One product of the years of research the author is heir to which he masterfully articulates is a rich, complex, and dynamic conceptualization of ethnicity itself. He tells us, “Research on racial and ethnic formation recognizes that identities are fluid and highly contested rather than static and fixed…” (3). He examines concepts such as panethnicity, “…the ties and cooperation among groups of different national origins, such as Japanese and Chinese Americans, that lead to the formulation of more inclusive identities - in this case as Asian Americans” (2).

Panethnicity, he explains, “…demonstrates…individuals possess more than one identity, and multiple levels exist simultaneously” (5). His focus on ethnicity, aptly, is not only on people of color. One of his principal subjects is, “…the connection between whiteness and the construction of identities among racial minorities… “ (4). Defining and tracing whiteness, its material, ideological, social, and political roles, is one of the book’s major themes.

Professor Saito concentrates on organization building, coalitions, and alliances among Asian Americans, and among Asian Americans and Latinos in the San Gabriel Valley, east of Los Angeles. He also examines coalitions involving whites, but in most instances whites are oppositional to the coalitions he studies. The study scarcely touches people of African descent as they constitute only 1% of the Valley population. The study is, nevertheless, deeply informed by studies of the Black experience in the United States.

The setting is significant because the San Gabriel Valley contains the fastest growing Asian population in the country and has the highest proportion of Asians of any major metropolitan area in the United States. This concentration of Asians is embedded within a much larger Latino population. Saito gives the most attention to the years 1988–1992.

The author does an admirable job of describing, explaining, and providing specific examples of the complexity of each population of color he describes. He bases his work on an approach he labels, “critical ethnography.” Specifically, he
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emphasizes ethnographic and participant-observer research. In addition to examining effects of culture and structure on politics, this approach enables him to look at, "... the details of everyday life ..." (5). These, he says, "link the micro-level with the macro-level ..." (5-6).

Through the explication of his basic constructs, a number of historical and demographic discussions, and an interesting array of case studies, all enriched by personal observations, he makes a powerful case that race and ethnicity play a major role in Valley politics. He looks at community organizations and political campaigns. He examines specific decisions made by governments. He looks at how people interact in their daily lives as well as their collective memories. He makes intelligent use of exit polls. His analysis suggests that race is likely to play a significant role any place in the country where the population of color is large enough to contest white dominance.

As powerful and illuminating as his conceptualizations are, however, he is not clear about what he means by race or ethnicity. Indeed, he uses the terms interchangeably, making no distinction between them, and never discussing whether such a distinction might or might not be important. Also, while he does not assume a monolithic white culture, and gives some indications that it might not be, he takes his examination of white cultural diversity no further than such hints. As a result, white culture—aside from its privileged and dominant presence—remains insubstantial, contributing little to the richness of the analysis. Nor has he fully realized his use of personal observations. While they do provide touches of "everyperson" to the narrative, he has not worked out how to use them systematically enough or fully enough to overcome their anecdotal appearance.

These demerits, however, are trivial compared to the value of the work. The book makes an important contribution to our understanding of ethnic diversity in the U.S., to the role of race in politics, especially at the local level, and it offers a grounded vision of the possibilities for racial coalitions in politics, a template for action. This is good scholarship. It is also community-linked. This kind of scholarship couldn't have been produced thirty years ago. It is a new scholarship, a product of
a new discipline. It is a marker that ethnic studies has indeed come of age and that its future beckons brightly.

David Covin
California State University, Sacramento


This is an important book for many reasons. Much like Michael Omi and Howard Winants’ *Racial Formation in the United States* and San Juan’s previous book *Articulations of Power in Ethnic and Racial Studies in the US*, this latest enterprise captures much of the drama and trauma that inequality of power produces when race, ethnicity and class are knotted at its core.

This is not a simple book to read; however San Juan has very clearly defined his terms and explained his use of words in context. There is a succinct pattern of explanations and critiques that allows the versed (and not-so-versed) in post-modern jargon to get at the heart of the matter. San Juan begins by stating that “post colonial theory’s claim to institutional authority deserves careful scrutiny for the questions about the knowledge, power and value it rehearses.” He adds…”Of pivotal importance are the questions of identity, temporality and singularity articulated with-in” and goes on to address the importance of “agency and history.” He defines his use and understanding of the term “post colonial” so that by the end of the introduction, we are all on the same page with similar understandings.

Post colonial theory is to my mind, more than a cultural or literary phenomena limited to those who have undergone the colonial experience. That experience, a relation of conqueror and conquered, is, in fact universal... Like post-modernism, post-coloniality marks an epochal shift of sensibility, a mutation in the expectant structure of feeling among the inteligencia of the former colo-
nized world that reflects these vast changes, in particular, the failure of national liberation struggles to achieve a complete radical break with the past of silence and invisibility, a past that was to adopt Hobbes's terms "nasty and brutish" but not "short."

For those scholars workings on and in areas of these "colonialities" like Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Phillippines, Hawaii, and Dominican Republic, E. San Juan provides an interesting framework for analyzing the conqueror/conquered paradigm. This framework is a more viable one and opens up an arena for more intense and layered analytical design than the simplistic black/white dichotomy used in the traditional intellectual lexicon. This scholar places his critique in "a logic destined from its grounding in the unsynchronized interaction between the civilizations of the colonial powers and of the colonized subalterns." I often say to my students who are so determined to impress, to be careful of the postcolonial traps since places like Puerto Rico are still colonial and "post" anything just does not apply. In developing the interrogation of the "inequality of power and control over resources [that] are elided," San Juan implies the need for similar caution. Another important point the author makes should allow the reader to walk away understanding how the "industry" of post colonialism deprives the "subalterns of speech." In Chapter 3, "Unspeakable subalterns: Lessons from Gramsci, El Saadawi, Freire and Silko," we get a full understanding of the debates.

For novices, an histographical framework in the "Introduction" and within each chapter quickly and effectively brings them up to date, submerges them in the debate and provides a clear understanding of what is at stake. Three examples viewed through the prism of Fanon are used to move the debate out of the ethereal clouds of theory to raw dissolutions of reality. The testimonios of Rigoberta Menchu, C.L.R. James and Maria Lorena Barros are revisited, analyzed and critiqued as examples of the anti-colonial revolution. San Juan makes clear the "errors of post colonial theory" and their "flagrancy" through the interrogation of these three stories. San Juan is accusatory and at times polemical while laying out the dangers in the revival of the hegemonic project reconstituting a pluralist, multiracial nation that recuperates traditional ideas of indi-
viduals and "American exceptionalism."

The closing chapters of this book offer a Freirian hope for a useful understanding of our past, one that is based on historical reality. San Juan analyzes "popular anti-colonialism" premises based on "historical memory and symbols of belonging and solidarity" and the rejection of "post colonial anti foundationalism" while calling attention to the "invention of native traditions" as survival tools. Thus, he concludes with the significance of the struggles in Chiapas.

It is a fascinating book in that it is most understandable despite San Juan's predilection to word inventions and use of the very jargon he critiques. However, for those trying to theoretically and historically make sense of the creation and consequence of US power relationship over such areas as Puerto Rico, Cuba, Dominican Republic, etc., this book sounds bell after bell of clarity.

Professor San Juan has written an important book; one that can help to untangle the influence of race, ethnicity, and class in power relations and their consequences in America's subaltern societies.

Linda Delgado
Northeastern University


The author has written an excellent summary of the little known events in Filipino history in the Philippines and the history of the Filipino community in the U.S., a history of over four hundred years that covers the colonial oppression, and resistance first to Spain and then the United States. He attributes the fractured Filipino identity, one that is "fissured by ambivalence, opportunism, and schizoid loyalties," to the colonial experiences under these two western European powers. In his brilliant analysis of the literature he uses a historical materialist theoretical framework (22).

He has conducted a thorough review of the literature writ-
ten by Filipino and Filipino-American writers from various times periods, the literature written by European American authors on Filipino immigration to the U.S., and the Filipino community in the U.S. San Juan, Jr. has left little written about Filipinos in the United States uncriticized, from Carols Bulosans's *America in My Heart* (1946) to Yen Le Espiritu's "Colonial Oppression, Labour Importation and Group Formation: Filipinos in the United States" in the journal *Ethnic and Racial Studies* (1996).

One comes away feeling ambivalent about this book. On the one hand San Juan, Jr.'s heavy usage of linguistic jargon and other obscure verbiage and his *high literary theory on ethnic writing* makes this book difficult to read and understand. Unless one is an anthropological linguist, this book presents a formidable challenge to read without a dictionary close by. On the other hand, however, this does not detract from the fact that he has done an impressive analysis of the literature on the Filipino experience in the United States. His imagery is stimulating and his metaphors thought-provoking, but it is obvious that his book was not written for the average reader.

The literature San Juan, Jr. reviewed touches on some very complex issues that hinder the establishment of a monolithic Filipino identity. For example, his analysis of the literature alludes to the high degree of exogamy among Filipinos in the U.S. and the hybrid offspring from Filipino-European American unions. He speaks of the development of a Filipino identity, but one has to wonder how such an identity can develop in the United States when there is such a high degree of exogamy among Filipinos of both sexes? Correspondingly, how can the offspring of mixed Filipino/Euro-American marriages be included in a new Filipino identity? Like the character he mentions from Hagedorn's book, *The Gangster of Love*, Keiko: "One day she's Japanese and black, the next day she's Dutch and Hawaiian... (173)...She was reinventing herself moment to moment, day to day" (174). This appears to be the situation of most, to use San Juan, Jr.'s word, *miscegenated* types, since the mixture of Filipino/Euro-American genes produces children that are not easily identifiable. He provides an *antidote to the mystification of hybridity and in-betweenness* (187). That is, *we need to historicize, to come down to the ground of economic and political reality* (ibid). The problem is, as is the case
with most of his book, it is not altogether clear what he means by this.

M.L. (Tony) Miranda
University of Nevada, Las Vegas


In their introduction to this stimulating collection of Asian American voices, editors Lavina Dhingra Shankar and Rajini Srikanth describe “A Part Yet Apart: South Asians in Asian America,” as an “exploration” of the ways in which South Asian Americans from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bhutan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives, do or do not “fit” into the popular, academic, and activist consciousness associated with the Asian American Identity which has traditionally embraced immigrants from countries hugging the Pacific rim - China, Taiwan, the Koreas, Japan, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and Philippines. The essays in the book debate what constitutes the gap, who perceives the gap, and how the gap can be closed.

The gap is seen, as Rajiv Shankar puts it in his forward to the book, in the relative dominance of the East and South East Asians in the Asian American platform, in the non-Asian-American consciousness where Asian American is associated, primarily and often exclusively, with East and South East Asia, in the racialization of the Asian American identity as “oriental”—all of which marginalizes South Asians and makes them “feel as if they are merely a crypto group”.

The strength of the book primarily lies in what it considers to be legitimate, realistic, progressive, and proven strategies for bridging this gap. In moving away from advocating alliances based on ambiguous and ephemeral notions of self, identity, nationality, and race, many of the essays in the book provide sophisticated and dynamic options based on class and political activism. The most forceful and effective essays are
those which discuss the innate futility of haphazardly forming coalitions by consolidating a false sense of homogeneity. In Deepika Bahri's essay the limits and problems of the South Asian name and identity itself is impressively demonstrated, further strengthening the argument that when complex, multi-dimensional identities are simplified and homogenized for the sake of identitarian coalitions, the alliances thus forged are ultimately impotent and reactionary.

In bemoaning the loss of class politics in the zeal to advance identity politics, Vijay Prasad, in his essay, celebrates class as a welcoming and unifying force for all people. In recounting the story of Pakhar Singh, Min Song provides historical evidence of the role class played in how the events surrounding a murder trial played out in 1920s California. In Sumantra Tito Sinha's article political and electoral activism along with community outreach and advocacy surrounding the needs of South Asians and non-South Asians of the larger Asian American community of New York City becomes a heartening way of "drawing together the South Asian American and other Asian American communities," otherwise divided by regional, national, language and cultural differences.

The essays emphasize, however, that crafting solidarities around class and politics need not weaken other forms of "fellowship" based on religion, nationality, language, culture or sexual orientation, all of which enable "us to live complex and rich lives."

In assessing the evidence on the gap and chances of coalition building between the South Asian and the Asian American communities and also between the various constituents of the South Asian "family," the book displays a balance worth recognizing in both acknowledging the allure yet ultimate futility of identity-based politics and emphasizing the urgency of seeking more enduring grounds for forging effective partnerships.

Kasturi DasGupta
Georgian Court College

Professors and students of teacher education can always appreciate theoretical discussions of multicultural education in books and journal articles. Even more useful are concrete examples such as the multicultural lesson plans in Sleeter's Turning on Learning (1998) and the case studies in Nieto's Affirming Diversity (2000). Teacher-credential students find the lesson plans illustrative and relate to the students' stories in the case studies. Singelis' book Teaching about Culture, Ethnicity, and Diversity goes a step further in providing professors and students with experiences and hands-on activities that should help to enhance the sensitivity of teacher-credential students towards cross-cultural differences and help them to work towards equity and equality. Nevertheless, I think it would be beneficial to complement the text with the following:

1. An overview of various definitions of culture, ethnicity, and diversity, since these are often misunderstood terms.
2. Even though Chapter One talks about the significance of multicultural education, the book is missing a brief overview of what multicultural education is—or could be. In my opinion, the theoretical framework of Sleeter and Grant (1988) gives the most comprehensive overview of what multicultural education could mean. I would suggest a brief presentation of their five approaches to multicultural education in an effort to provide teacher credential students with a theoretical framework. In addition, I would include examples of how common certain approaches to multicultural education are (for example, Baltés, 1996).
3. Even though the book provides excellent activities to learn about culture, ethnicity, and diversity, it disregards the interconnectedness of culture, ethnicity, and diversity with social-class, exceptionality (except the wheelchair activity in Chapter Six), gender, race, and life-style. Especially in the first part, I was very concerned that students might develop stereotypes for certain groups through the activities recommended. For
example, the book makes reference to the existence of many liquor stores in African-American neighborhoods without considering the unemployment rate.

4. Since most of the exercises are excellent tools for university as well as online and K-12 classrooms, it would be invaluable if the book would offer suggestions on how to adapt the exercises for these various possibilities. For example, the authors of Chapter Eighteen suggest the “Label Game” developed by Ponterotto and Pederson (1993). To experience the pain of being stereotyped, students in an on-line classroom could be asked to visit an on-line chatroom under a different identity and students in the K-12 classroom could have the labels (even pictures) taped on party-hats rather than on the back of a person.

5. Since technology is here to stay, Chapter Three is indispensable in its discussion of the implementation of technology in the classroom. However, the chapter fails to address the proliferation of racist web-sites, such as those of the Ku Kux Klan or the Aryan Nations.

6. Since the book is a resource guide rather than cover-to-cover reading it would be helpful if each of the four parts had a title and even a brief synopses.

Beate Baltes
National University


Patsy West, long the archivist of photographs for the Seminole and Miccosukee Native nations of Florida, has written an exceptional book in her first full-length work, The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism. Although she has devoted a lifetime to researching, writing, and cataloging the photos which show the degree of cultural change of these two groups, this is her first book on the subject.
To scholars of the i:apanothli (Miccosukee speakers) and the ci:saponathli (Muscogee speakers), West's premise of Seminole/Miccosukee agency in their own 20th century cultural change is well-known. This work allows her to fully explore this idea, and she does so in a way which both satisfies the academic's desire for copious sources and the layperson's interest in anecdotal information.

Many familiar with the sad history of Native America since European contact simply assume that the story has been the same for virtually all tribes: Europeans/European Americans forced cultural change on the aboriginals, usually a destructive type of change, that the indigenous people could only endure if they wished to survive. *In The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism*, we are introduced to a people who accurately sized up their options and from the start of the 20th century have proactively embraced tourism, craft marketing, and most recently, gaming. In fact, the Seminole Tribe of Florida, Inc. started “Indian Bingo,” ushering in a new era in aboriginal economics throughout Indian Country. West chronicles how this came about, beginning with a discussion of the unique history and culture of the Seminole and Miccosukee, people whose very survival during the Removal Era (1818-1855) rested upon their ability to adapt their culture, jettison those traditional elements which made them vulnerable to European American intrusion, and accept those facets of non-Native culture which were likewise most functional.

In subsequent chapters (the text replete with photos, maps, and other illustrations), Patsy West details Native involvement in commercial “Indian camps” (they often sought out these camps, seeing themselves as professional actors, not display pieces), marketing of crafts as a way of preserving the artisans’ skills, and the most bold move of all... going to federal court to establish the fact that Native sovereignty meant reservations could host such enterprises as high-stakes gaming. To her credit West makes little mention of gaming in comparison to other Seminole/Miccosukee economic initiatives, steering away from America's fascination with Indian casinos.

No discussion of modern Seminole/Miccosukee-initiated cultural or economic change would be complete without some
detail about those tribal leaders whose efforts have transformed their tribes. West does give a good bit of detail to telling the tale of Seminole Tribal Chairman James Billie (currently serving his second decade in the capacity), a leader so bold that his name is usually prefaced “flamboyant.” However, she also notes the critical roles played by such individuals as Betty Mae Jumper (first woman Seminole Tribal Chairperson, among other influential positions) and Buffalo Tiger (Miccosukee Tribal Chairman at the time of federal recognition in 1962).

Overall, The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism is readable, interesting, and provides a wealth of information for scholars of Native America. Patsy West has done a commendable job in compiling this unique story of Native self-sufficiency.

Cynthia R. Kasee
University of South Florida


Students of race and ethnic relations have used two perspectives to explain the effects of industrialization on dominant and subordinate relations. One view holds that the process of industrialization results in individuals becoming detached from associations based in race and ethnicity as their life chances are determined by their participation and position in the economic order. A second perspective suggests that industrialization inevitably leads to tension and hostility between groups because they are forced to compete for scarce resources. The articles in Waterfront Workers: New Perspectives on Race and Class attempt to bridge the gap between these conflicting perspectives by suggesting that both may apply, as longshoremen who are racially and ethnically different attempt to adjust to social changes in their occupational setting. Before the 1960 Mechanization and Modernization Agreement, which allowed
for a reduced work force and containerization, the occupation of a dock worker was hard, crude, and varied little through the generations. The owners of shipping companies opposed trade union organization and fought against efforts to fix hours and wages to benefit longshoremen. From the shippers’ view, throughout the U.S. longshoreman were powerless, lower class, unskilled workers who could be easily replaced if they made trouble. This was an accurate portrayal given that longshoremen for the most part came from groups the nation regarded as inferior. Some were from ethnic groups from Southern, Central, and Eastern Europe which began to arrive in America around 1880, while others were African Americans who carried the stigma of slavery and faced segregation and discrimination. It was because of their lack of social power that all longshoremen were placed in an unbalanced and dependent relationship with the owners of shipping companies. Consequently, this book describes how throughout history longshoremen have tried to bring their employment relationships with owners into balance to reduce the psychic, social, economic and political costs with their inferior occupational status. The collections of articles in this work describe longshoremen doing this through the process of coalition formation in which workers, despite their racial and ethnic affiliation, banded together to solve their problems by unionizing. Indeed, a strength of this book is its descriptions of racial and ethnic unionization and solidarity among waterfront workers with an emphasis on political economy, characteristics of the labor market, and of specific forms of activism. In addition the articles in this volume provide important insight into how labor conflicts may have spilled over into other social networks that initially were not involved. For example groups such as strikebreakers, the media, politicians, and townspeople have traditionally played an important role in the resolution of social conflicts between longshoremen and company owners. The articles in this work consistently demonstrate, however, that unionization and social solidarity between longshoremen was primarily influenced by pragmatic considerations of acquiring power, better working conditions, equality, higher salary and stability, rather than by a principle of morality. Once these goals were at least partially achieved, unionization and social solidarity for-
merely established among various racial and ethnic groups disappeared. The authors' discussions of the treatment of the African-American longshoremen by their white ethnic counterparts clearly show how prejudice and discrimination may return among groups that formerly had high levels of social solidarity. White ethnic longshoremen needed and reluctantly sought out African-Americans during the initial stages of unionization. However, after a degree of success in achieving their collective goals against the owners of shipping companies, blacks were relegated to an inferior position and denied occupational positions involving power and control by their former white ethnic union brothers.

Arthur S. Evans, Jr.
Florida Atlantic University


As we come to the end of the millennium, contrary to the more democratic and progressive aspirations of earlier decades, ethnicity continues to define political and social alliances in the struggle for power and survival. Ethnic Diversity and Public Policy, edited by Crawford Young, is a timely collection of articles which address key policies growing out of the paramount need facing nations to deal with this primordial yet potent reality. The articles follow the basic premise underscored by Young—that ethnic crises reflect “profound failures of statecraft” and that “the state remains the ineluctable locus of policy response,” Accordingly, essays in the book, drawing from experiences of many nations, deal with policy prerogatives, which are meant to foster ethnic harmony.

Some common problems that repeatedly surface in the discussions and are responsible for frustrating and often derailing policy implementation relate to the incongruence that is perceived by many between policies that uphold group concerns and those that emphasize nationhood and cultural homo-
geneity, between conflicting notions of 'human rights'-the upholding individual rights as opposed to collective - communal rights emphasized by most indigenous communities, and between advocating preferential policies for marginalized groups in an environment of general economic and political inequity.

Yash Ghai examines constitutional options such as federalism which by providing for an element of power sharing among different ethnic groups can diffuse political conflict. His analysis of the federal experiments in three contexts— liberal, Marxist and third-world shows that most often the failure of federalism to ameliorate ethnic tensions arises from the unwillingness of governments to implement genuine federal principles. K.M. de Silva discusses the utility of electoral systems in mitigating tensions in ethnically divided societies, concluding that such a system continues to be elusive. In considering the importance of implementing educational policies which recognize a plurality of histories, languages, cultures, experiences and interests, Jagdish Gundera and Crispin Jones highlight the inevitable difficulties which policy makers encounter as they try to carry out an effective intercultural education policy. In his discussion on the recent emergence of identity politics among indigenous peoples and their demands for regional and cultural autonomy, Rudolfo Stavenhagen draws attention to the paradoxical relationship such developments can have with the state's larger concern with often tumultuous efforts at nation building and subsequent attempts at cultural homogenization. Yet, as he asserts, it is these zealous assimilationist policies which hasten the decline and disappearance of indigenous groups. According to Sarah Collinson, similar concerns with nationhood, national identity, and ideology are being raised by Western European nations as they explore policies and models to deal with the compelling reality of their diversity. Laura Jenkins underscores the dilemmas and controversies that surround preferential policies for disadvantaged ethnic groups. She emphasizes that preferential policies often spark more tension than they quell; that they can entirely bypass the neediest; and can be perceived as an unsatisfactory shortcut to programs calling for real and fundamental changes which involve greater commitment in terms of time, money, and political risk.
The essays in this ambitious volume point to the extreme difficulty of evolving and instituting policies for ethnic accommodation, especially when large segments of the general population are economically and politically disadvantaged. In those rare instances when these policies have succeeded they have been accompanied by economic development. In the end the reader is left with the conviction that policies of ethnic accommodation are inadequate on their own, unless they are linked with concrete economic measures and sincere efforts which guarantee representation in a truly democratic political arena.

Kasturi DasGupta
Georgian Court College


The editor of this text, Magdalene J. Zaborowska of Aarhus University, is a respected feminist specialist in ethnic American studies. In her introduction she provides readers with an admirably concise overview of the history of the multicultural movement and the current state of the recent multicultural wars over curriculum, literature, and the canon in the United States. Zaborowska chose the essays in this anthology because they focus on the multicultural reality that always has existed in the United States rather than on monolithic "essentialist representations of history and national identity" characteristic of previous American literary history. Given this focus, it is unfortunate that the displacing word "Other" appears twice in the title, thus reinforcing the traditionalist positioning of canonical white male American writers as central in the "curriculum, literature, and the canon" and that of all "Others" as peripheral.
Nevertheless Zaborowska herself has contributed a fine revisionist essay on James Baldwin’s multicultural perspective in “Mapping American Masculinities: James Baldwin’s Innocents Abroad or Giovanni’s Room Revisited.” Also typical of the anthology’s multicultural focus is David Cowart’s essay on Michael Dorris, a Native American, who emphasized the common problems that all Americans share, rather than the “Otherness” of Native Americans and other “Others.” Such diverse authors as Michael Wigglesworth, Herman Melville, Mary Antin, Anzia Yezierska, Frank O’Hara, Wanda Coleman, Maya Angelou, and Ismael Reed are also analyzed from this multicultural perspective. Bibliographical and informational notes follow each essay, and at the back of the book readers can find contributors’ biographies as well as abstracts of their essays.

A few quibbles: lb Johansen in “Ismael Reed, Multiculturalism, and the Collapse of Paternal Laws” does not seem to be aware that the character Papa LeBas is also the Voodoo lwa. Nor does Russell Duncan in “Dancing Along the Edge of the Roof: Complexions of Indian Identity in the (Auto)Biographies of Wilma Mankiller and Russel Means” seem to be aware that Moses is Hebrew, not Christian, and that Genesis is a Hebrew text, not a Christian one. In Scopic America: Casting a Colonial Eye Prem Poddar casts a contemporary eye on early English colonial maps and descriptions. He brilliantly exposes them as containing “sedimented racist attitudes” and contends that so deeply inscribed in their psyches were the colonizers’ “convictions of superiority that they “legitimated violence against the indigenous inhabitants.” Unfortunately Poddar also exposes his own blind spots, his own sedimented sexist attitudes and convictions of superiority toward feminist critics. When he remarks that he “would like both to recognize the problematisation of the hymeneal model, and to leave it,” Poddar trivializes and dismisses Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak’s and Teresa de Lauretis’ protests against Derrida’s “phallogocentric” appropriation of female metaphors in his (male) critique of humanism.

On the whole, however, this collection provides a rich and varied feast for any student in American literature,
American history, American ethnic studies courses, as well as in women's studies courses.

Phillipa Kafka
Kean University
ETHNIC STUDIES REVIEW

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