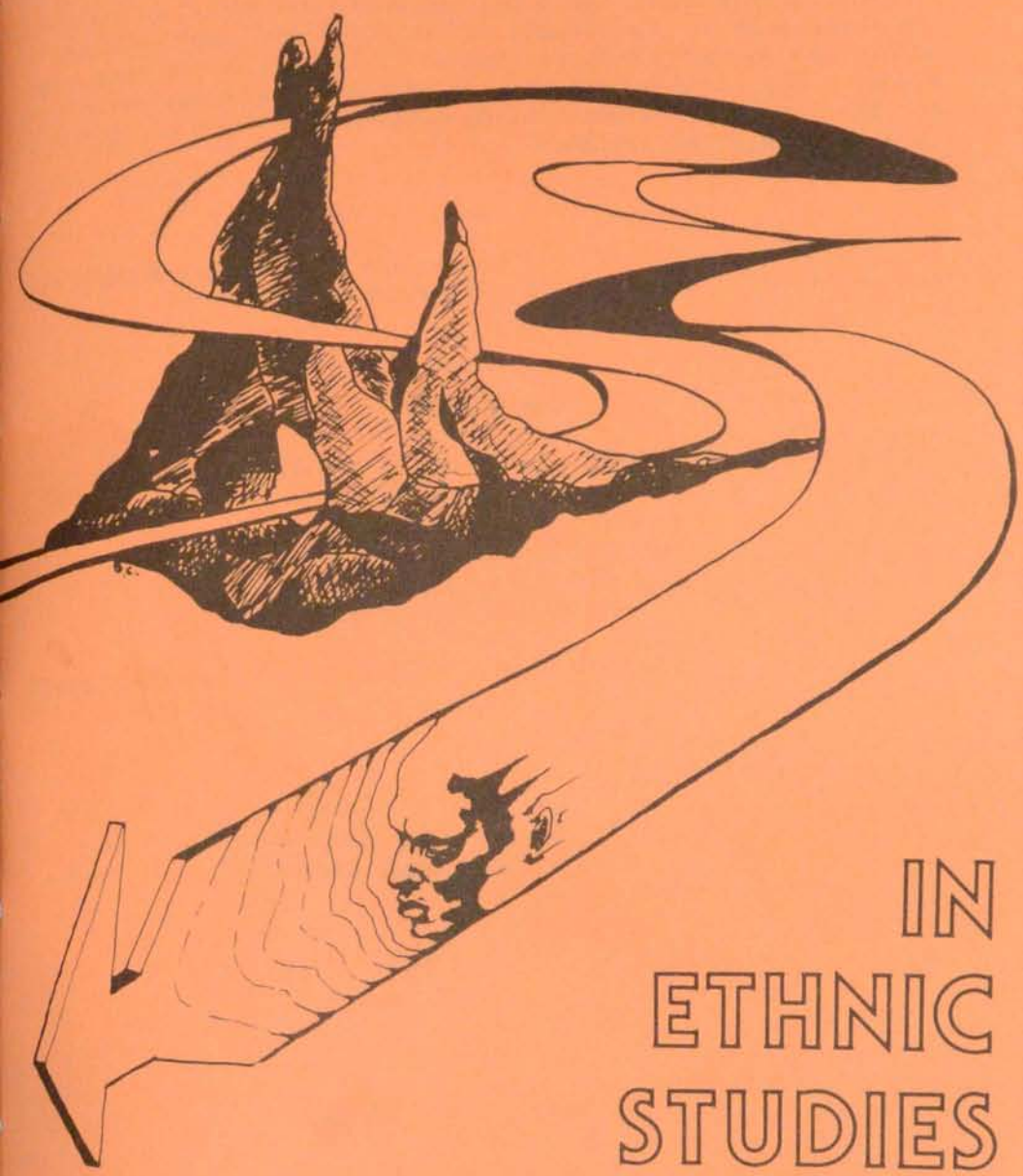
EXPLORATIONS



IN ETHNIC STUDIES

VOL. 3, NO. 2 JULY, 1980

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

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

CORRESPONDENCE

Correspondence and articles should be sent to:
Charles Irby, Editor
Explorations in Ethnic Studies
California State Polytechnic University
3801 West Temple Avenue
Pomona, CA 91768

Articles appearing in this journal are annotated and indexed in *Historical Abstracts and America: Life and History.*

The subscription list for this journal may on accasion be released to responsible scholarly and academic organizations. If any person does not want his/her name released, he/she should notify the Editor.

RATES

One-Year Individual	$ 5.00
One-Year Library	$15.00
One-Year Institutional Sponsor, Patron, Donor	$25.00
Single Issue	$ 5.00

Cover by: William Coleman, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

Vol. 3, No. 2 July 1980

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL OF THE

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF

INTERDISCIPLINARY ETHNIC STUDIES

Published by NAIES
101 Main Hall
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
La Crosse, WI 54601

EDITORIAL BOARDS

GENERAL

Dennis Banks. . . . . .*D-Q University, Davis, CA*
Frank J. Cavaioli . . . . . .*SUNY, Farmingdale, NY*
Rudolfo Cortina . . . . . *UW-Milwaukee*
Vine Deloria. . . . . .*University of Arizona, Tuscon*
Victor Greene . . . . . *UW-Milwaukee*
Glenderlyn Johnson. . . . . *Schomburg Center, NY*
Nicolas Kanellos. . . . . .*University of Houston, Central Campus*
Bea Medicine. . . . . .*Madison, WI*
Don Nakanishi . . . . . .*Los Angeles, CA*
Joe M. Richardson . . . . . .*Florida State University, Tallahassee*
C. Peter Ripley . . . . . .*Florida State University, Tallahassee*
Richard St. Germaine. . . . . *Lac Courte Oreilles, Hayward, WI*
James L. Sherohman. . . . . *St. Cloud State University, MN*
Darwin T. Turner. . . . . .*University of Iowa, Iowa City*
Ricardo A. Valdes . . . . . .*University of Michigan, Ann Arbor*

LOCAL

Burton Altman . . . . . *Elementary Education, UW-L*
Sister Thea Bowman. . . . . .*English, Viterbo College, La Crosse*
George Gilkey . . . . . .*History, UW-L*
Gary Kuhn . . . . . .*History, UW-L*
James Lafky . . . . . .*English, UW-L*
Vivian Munson . . . . . .*History/Women's Studies, UW-L*
Stanley Rolnick . . . . . .*History, UW-L*
Robert C. Voight. . *Dean, College of Arts, Letters & Science, UW-L*
Edna Whalen . . . . . *Foreign Language, UW-L*
Martin Zanger . . . . . .*History, UW-L*

EDITORIAL STAFF

George E. Carter. . . . . *Editor*
Sara Bentley. . . . . *Associate Editor*
Lynn Gest . . . . . *Assistant Editor*

- CONTENTS -

GUEST EDITORIAL

ERWIN A. SALK

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

As a guest editor, it seems most proper to give attention and thoughts to the National Association for Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies (NAIES), which by its very nature is a unique and singular organization. We have little in common with the larger professional academic entities. We are small in membership, but have the capacity to operate on the national level.

NAIES is special because we forge a link between academia and social involvement. Many members of our scholarly community are devoted to current causes and organizational activities. This health balance can propel the Association into new fields and directions and provide for its increased exposure.

We are an organization that has the potential to rise above the narrow parameters that have so often enclosed most professional organizations. Unfortunately, there persists in many circles of academia the concept that there is a peculiar "objectivity" described as "impartiality" which often conflicts with intellectual honesty and social justice. The solutions we seek must be for humans and not basically for writings in textbooks or professional journals or for "intellectual exchanges" at national meetings.

As an ethnic studies group there must be a primary concern for those people of the United States who are the most oppressed because of sexism and racism - primarily poeple of color - African Americans, Asian Americans, Chicanos, Native Americans, Puerto Ricans. We likewise realize that there are other groups who are oppressed, such as those in Appalachia. We live in a society which is thoroughly dominated by educational systems and a mass media, especially television and film, which perpetuate mythologies, stereotypes, distortions, ethnocentricism, Eurocenticism, racism, sexism and oppression. The work of the organization necessitates the study and action to combat these elements. Our goal is perhaps best summarized by the heading, "Commonality in the History of Social Struggle." NAIES must endeavor to develop themes based around this concept and disseminate information pertaining thereto. We must avoid what is often referred to as "esoteric" and attempt to deal with studies and analyses on day-to-day problems of our society.

A major goal is to involve people from the different communities, those who are most adversely affected by the social nature of our society. There is a serious gap in relationships between many of the oppressed groups, with a lack of appreciation of each others' rich history, not only of social struggle but for significant cultural heritages. These particular ethnic minorities have a common history of struggle against oppression which is often unrealized. These groups have a natural base for being allies; instead, our society has kept them apart with each having little appreciation for one another. This often results in their viewing each other as "the enemy" rather than natural allies. There are vast resources which are available, documenting these histories and cultures - films, video tapes, recordings, craftworks, posters, publications. Yet, these important materials remain in hallowed halls of libraries and academia. A basic challenge will be to get this information to where the people are.

One of our essential contributions can be through our outreach programs where information and ideas are brought to the communities. Major emphasis should be given to regional conferences throughout the country which will not only involve the educational institutions of the area, but draw heavily from community organizations, churches, local primary and secondary schools; others involved can be from academia, business and professions, with the programs generally open to the public.

We have a responsibility to compile a working bibliography of readily available paperback books, records, films, and slide programs which can be used by community organizations. We must encourage setting up displays on the use of such materials. Whether it is through co-sponsorship or under the auspices of NAIES, remember it is at the immediate community level through which we can strengthen our organization and fulfill our objectives, and bring these new unique approaches to the public.

ONE DECADE AND THE POLITICS OF ETHNIC STUDIES: FOCUS FOR THE FUTURE

CHARLES C. IRBY
CAL STATE POLY, POMONA

The first decade of coloured ethnic studies has passed *quietly*. This uncelebrated passing is probably more related to what *did not* occur in conceptual, methodological, and theoretical developments during the ten-year period than what *did*, in fact, happen. The decade can be characterized as one in which the ethnic studies movement suffered from intellectual dropsy. The politics of ethnic studies are all of those activities which have served to restrict its development.

One purpose of this paper is to examine the ramifications of ethnic politics, showing how the politics are responsible for the current status of ethnic studies. And this assessment is designed to look at how we arrived *here*, after a full decade, much more resigned than confused and further away from our goal of multicultural education in 1980 than we were in 1970. With reference to ethnic studies, too much politics and not enough intellectual creativity were the basic heritages of that decade.

This presentation, however, would be remiss and irrelevant if only the problems are focused for discussion. It is, however, necessary for us to look at where we have been as a method of spotlighting our paths for the future. Consequently, the primary purpose of this paper is to focus on "whither ethnic studies?" for dealing with the overriding issue of multicultural education as a reality.

Three Problems Which Developed from the Politics of Ethnic Studies

THE FIRST PROBLEM: Many coloured professors gained entry into traditionally white college and university teaching staffs as a result of the ethnic studies movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s. (Some have said that we pimped our way into "their closed shops.") We found ourselves in traditional academic departments according to the disciplines in which our academic training had occurred. Unfortunately, many of us were saddled with the responsibility of being experts in all matters pertaining to "our" ethnic group--a responsibility (and duty) we gladly accepted, even though we had neither training nor experience for these tasks. Too many of us were so happy at the academy's final recognition of us that we failed to recognize, or refused to acknowledge, that we had become *schlocks*.

We existed, as it were, in the nether regions of the academy. We were responsible for developing an area without prior models for direction. And it was this situation that established the basis for most problems in ethnic studies.

THE SECOND PROBLEM: Once we gained access to the academy, we attempted to do academic research with unacceptable variations on Euroamerican scholastic techniques. This contentious situation set the stage for a host of problems such as the lack of respect from the more "traditional" faculty colleagues, resulting in nonretention in many instances. Nonretention of "ethnic" faculty, in turn, diverted our energies to the discussion of racism and other issues confronting "those" individuals rather than to the development of ethnic studies as an area of academic enquiry. Too frequently, we followed the trail of "the racist nature of..." when we should have been about an agenda which moved us toward our ideal of a liberating education for persons in a multicultural society.

Perhaps the most significant issue in the retarded development of ethnic studies during the decade had to do with our being sidetracked by "institutional" money. A Ford Foundation Report on Ethnic Studies, *Widening the Mainstream of American Culture,* provides the best example at hand: Between 1970 and 1973, the Ford Foundation sponsored "three hundred and thirty-eight fellowships in ethnic studies for Ph.D. candidates from universities throughout the country."[1] In addition, it provided grants for "ethnic studies" totaling eleven million, two hundred fifty-four thousand, five hundred and eighty-three dollars ($11,254,583.00) between 1969 and 1976.[2]

It is clear from *Widening the Mainstream of American Culture* that somewhere along the way persons who might have been committed to the goal of multicultural education were "bought" before they had an opportunity to make a contribution to the development of ethnic studies. The result is that corporate institutions of higher education and in general developed *coloured Euroamericanists* to stand as spokespersons for ethnic studies.

The 1970s began with a generalized goal of multicultural education, which has yet to be accepted as a prerequisite for liberation. Neither multicultural education nor liberation were truly overriding issues during the first decade of ethnic studies. By the end of the decade we were going in multiple directions without cross-fertilizations. If we had been what we said we were, then we would not have entered the 1980s with the notion of pluralism dripping from the tips of our monocultural tongues.

THE THIRD PROBLEM: We neglected ethnic studies as an area of academic enquiry--an area of scholarship that could become "legitimat only through constant debates, explorations, and discoveries. With our intellectual canons, we fixed on Asianamericans (Chinese and Japanese, usually) overthrowing the stereotype of the "myth of the model minority"; blacks in history and their contributions to nation-building; Chicanos in history and literature; and the *nishnawbek,* who, because they are indigenous peoples, were primarily viewed through filters which focused on all the wrongs that have been perpetrated against them by whites. In other words, we developed

ourselves as stereotypes rather than being creative in our endeavors. And "we" were much more effective in the *stereotypical developments of ourselves* than "they" were. J. Lawrence McConville's haunting words capture the essence and spirit of the "popular" pursuits in the 1970s. He notes that

> Ethnic studies may. . .be criticized for tending to construct new and more sophisticated stereotypes than those circulated by the conventional wisdom, yet we have little reason to expect these more exalted notions will be any more humane. There is a surprising tendency to gloss over the amount of variability of personal or regional culture within an ethnic group and to oversimplify the nature of inter-ethnic contacts as well. Undocumented assertions of psychic unity and careless remarks about the "needs" of collectives have left many otherwise sympathetic colleagues understandably disillusioned.[3]

We were less than seriously involved in worthy pursuits.

Some of us decided that the Marxian approach provided us with the proper analytical tool for ethnic studies. Others decided that our literary geniuses provided us with the proper ethnic orientations. Some of us thought that creating heroes "who looked like us" and did the same kinds of things "them" whites did would give glory to our movement. Still others thought that political science or sociology would provide us with the expertise for gaining "our piece of the pie." There is every likelihood that these positions were supported by "institutional" money as fitting and proper orientations for academic scholarship, and some of us became established members of traditional departments. We entered these departments as "ethnic" specialists, and this situation essentially brought closure to the activist ethnic studies movement.

We became political factions. Each coloured person became expert in matters pertaining to her or his own group. This kind of politics left us stagnating in prairie-like sloughs--sloughs, as isolates, which have not altered the consciousness of the "Anglo-conformist" mainstream, regardless of our ethnicity. Indeed, we find, in what appears to be a contradiction, that there are many more ethnic concerns in the academic literature in 1980 than there were in 1970. But this circumstance is counterproductive, because, as Brom Weber suggests, the "...so-called ethnic texts (continue to) reflect the dominant Anglo-conformist culture preeminent in English departments and American society as a whole."[4] As such, these "ethnic texts" support the notion that "white is right" even in a coloured face.

There was little debate on the issue of retooling--a necessary retooling to capture the complexity of the issues involved in developing an ethnic studies to truly further our aims for multicultural education. And while there is some evidence which demonstrates that retooling was occurring, there is none which suggests that this circumstance was supported by "institutional" monies.

Summary and Conclusions to the Problems

The first decade of ethnic studies can be characterized as one in which our attention was scattered rather than concentrated. Our attention was focused on "them" looking at "us." To put it simply: Ethnic studies, as an area of academic enquiry, was retarded because those of us who accepted the mantle of responsibility were unwilling to fulfill our charge or were incapable of fulfilling it. There were some strides made in "fresh-water" but disconnected "puddles." These are important as we connect the past with the future. These "puddles" are viewed as critical springboards for our collective present and future directions.

Whither Ethnic Studies?: Toward Solutions

The purpose of ethnic studies is to develop multicultural education as a liberating experience for people. We begin with the assumption that "monocultural (educational) preparation for life in a multicultural society is inherently deficient."[5] We understand that "education is not neutral, it is for the liberation or for the domestication of people, for their humanization or their dehumanization, no matter whether the educators are conscious of this or not."[6] We further propose that

> Quality education is a process which...provides maximum opportunity for each (person) to locate and utilize culturally enhancing knowledge and skills alignments which (are congruent with their) needs and abilities. (It) must stand above popular assumptions and provide the flexibility which recognizes individuality as an important attribute...in a free society.[7]

Consequently, our focal area must be viewed as dynamic processes where multiculturalisms, liberation, and education are in most instances synonymous. This is the legacy left by the freshwater "puddles" of the 1970s.

THE PATH: The persons in the freshwater but disconnected "puddles" focused their attention on Euroamericanist forces without *linkages* from which to draw nutrients. They survived. But Robert Yoshioka suggests that for ethnic studies to *thrive* and not merely survive, it is important for linkages to be an active ingredie

Some of us learned in the 1970s that an identification of useful learned opinion, from whatever quarter, is necessary to properly construct and link our paths for liberation (see Diagram 1, for example). Our focus on liberation, in the development of our pathways, stems from what Louis Sarabia views as

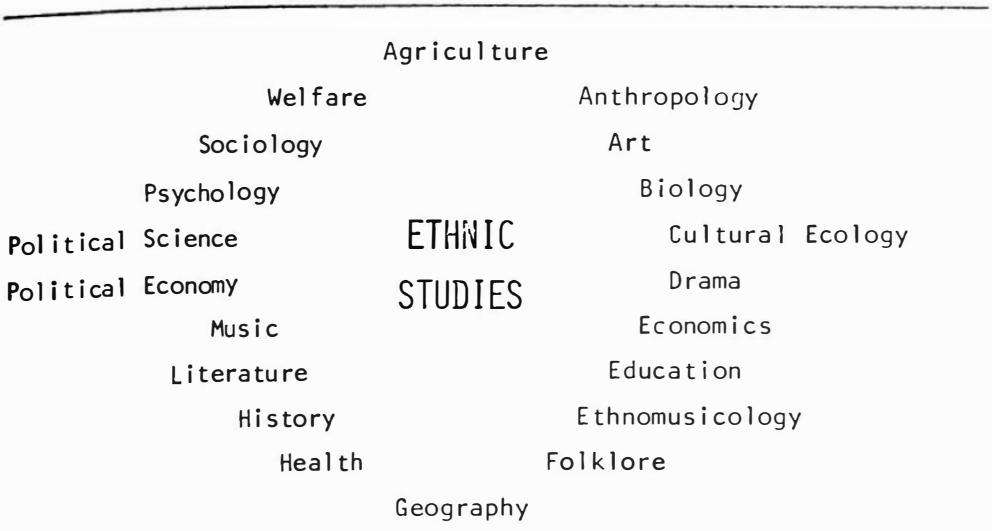
> a mission to spread the faith, that faith being reduced to its simplest common denominator in the phrase "human understanding." (Because) we have seen too many communities torn apart and weakened (as) one group failed to understand or even care about another segment of its population. And we (are) compelled to do something about it. We are idealists in an unideal world.[9]

It was in the act of proselytizing that we discovered the bases for our data. We discovered that there is no fixed methodology for the processes of liberation through ethnic studies. Indeed, the essence of our learning revealed that we must view our *work* as the *vehicle* by which the principles of democracy are given expression.

It is important for us to agree to aver consistently that ethnic studies is not a discipline. Nor should it be. We must view our focal area as an art form, because our goals are better served by focusing on real issues of liberation which confront us on a daily basis. At our very best we are addressing questions of human values whereby individuals (who sometimes stand as captains of institutions) are capable of understanding "self" and allowing "others" to enhance themselves. Helen MacLam puts it thus:

> Ultimately, the purpose of ethnic studies...(is) to invest people with power to act and change; power to assume direction for their own lives and to alter the prevailing societal structure so we may all share in what is justly ours.[10]

Diagram I



Because we are essentially artisans who develop new meaning from existing resources, much of our work necessarily relates to interpreting the pursuits of disciplinarians in the academy. We give a different perspective for *linking* elements from the various disciplines as shown in Diagram I. In the process of our reinterpretations, we must continually influence these disciplines to view existing realities for what they are. Those of us who are, or would be ethnic studies practitioners must understand our tasks as creations in addition to reinterpretations. That is, we must develop a "sacred space" which disciplinarians will not attempt, but tempt those disciplinarians into invading, nonetheless. We must be capable

of forging the creative connections between the nodes of facts to ensure that we are about an agenda which demonstrates that liberation is inextricably linked to all questions of human rights and social justice.

As an artistic endeavor, ethnic studies must continue to develop the talent of people from all backgrounds who are interested in multiculturalisms. Merely focusing on academic scholarship, though important, is not enough. Our methodologies must be active. We must continually include community folk, disciplinarians, students, and ethnicians in the processes and procedures of our focal area.

As ethnic studies practitioners, we encompass these directions: questioning "societal priests," including ourselves, restructuring institutions (and disciplines) to reflect multiculturalisms; involving persons in the processes of liberation through dynamic consciousness; and a continuing willingness to accept and project the goals and promises of ethnic studies to hesitant audiences.

THE PROCESS: Because we are continually confronted with an unarticulated monocultural bias in schools and ourselves, we need to avoid being parochial in the pursuit of our goal for liberation through multicultural education. And while we must make use of conventional wisdom, we need to go beyond that in our creations--creations which can result in a truly democratic republic. Indeed, the "thrill of discovery" is an outstanding feature for the ethnic studies process. A necessary dimension for ethnic studies practitioners is change. We need to change ourselves spatially; we need to change our perspectives. These changes provide the kind of linkages we need to develop fully.

Further, we need to change ourselves spatially (geographically) in order for us to better understand differential perceptions. Spatial changes provide us with the opportunity to participate at a level other than that of our usual "safe" base of operation. We need to build into our processes methods by which visiting arrangements are inherent in our movement. Persons and programs need to be continually scrutinized by critical outsiders, and the outsider needs the experience of being a foreigner.

We also need to change our institutionalized perspectives. We can involve ourselves in this process by changing institutions, such as leaving the academy for the world of business/politics, or leaving the university to teach in a secondary school. Some information that we might gain from these forays might well provide us with the insights we need to understand the nature of ethnicity and the means for propagating multiculturalisms. As we learn from our movements and changing perspectives, we are better able to communicate to others how to infuse institutions to the degree that they reflect the multi-cultures we are as a nation. In this process we develop linkages in, and for, ethnic studies.

TO CONCLUDE: Ethnic studies has a mission in the academy and in broader institutional and cultural contexts. That mission is to bring multiculturalism/liberation to fruition for all citizens. We must persist in our pursuits in spite of naysayers. We must be committed to the challenge of democracy. Meanwhile, we must understand that it will not be faculty, students, academic programs, cultural centers, or communities on which ethnic studies will grow and develop its potential for liberation into the next century: *It will be the fusion of them all that will bring fruition to our endeavors.* This dynamic fusion is how *intent* gets translated into *action.*

Notes

[1]Jack Bass. Widening the Mainstream of American Culture. New York: The Ford Foundation (1978) 34.

It is interesting to take note of this full title and ponder its implications. One such implication is that prior to the Ford Foundation's grant monies to coloured "ethnics," the stream flowed without us. Too many of us have accepted that notion, alas.

[2]Ibid., 34-36.

[3]J. Lawrence McConville. "Ethnic Studies Curricula and Related Institutional Entities at Southwestern Colleges and Universities," Bulletin of the Cross-Cultural Southwest Ethnic Study Center. El Paso: University of Texas (1975) 21-22.

[4]Brom Weber. "Our Multi-Ethnic Heritage and American Literary Studies, "MELUS *Newsletter.* Vol. 2, No. 1 (1975), 11-12.

[5]Cliff Hooper. "Interaction Education Model," unpublished Mss., Bellevue, WA: Bellevue Community College (1979) 2.

[6]Pualo Freire. "Showing a Man How to Name the World," quoted from *The Ethnic Studies Departmental Working Paper XIX.* Pomona: Cal Poly University (1978) 19.

[7]Hooper, Op. cit., 3-4.

[8]Robert Yoshioka. "Guest Editorial," *Explorations in Ethnic Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 2 (1978) 1.

[9]Louis Sarabia. "Guest Editorial," *Explorations in Ethnic Studies,* Vol. 2, No. 1 (1979) 1.

[10]Helen MacLam. "Power to the People: Ethnic Studies as an Enabling Force," NAIES *Newsletter,* Vol. 4, No. 2 (1979) 26.

THE DOUKHOBORS IN CANADA
CONFLICT AND SOCIAL CHANGE, 1900-1976

K. J. BRADLEY
J. S. FRIDERES
THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

The present study will document the number of acts of violence carried out by the Doukhobors in Canada during the period 1900-1976 as well as assess the influence of two potentially important causal factors: (i) leadership style and (ii) stress and strain on the incidence of violence. While a great deal has been written on the Doukhobors, much of the material is of a "sensational" variety and lacks any serious analytical framework. Few researchers have tried to systematically document the actual number of conflicts engaged in by Doukhobors or relate these periodic episodes of conflict to potential causes.

The Doukhobors

When the Doukhobors first entered Canada in 1898-99, the federal government provided them with land grants in Saskatchewan so as to achieve orderly settlement. Approximately 7,500 eventually settled in Saskatchewan during this initial migration period. However, after the turn of the century (1908-12) about five thousand Doukhobors moved out of Saskatchewan to British Columbia where new property was purchased. It should be noted that many of the immigrant Doukhobors, like other recent immigrants, lacked financial resources to develop their land and as a result men worked on the railroad or as farm hands for more established and prosperous farmers. However, there were some wealthy Doukhobors and this has led to a class division within the overall Doukhobor community. For example, the colony at Prince Albert was extremely successful economically while the more northernly colonies were quite poor.[1]

Currently, it is estimated that there are about 20,000 Doukhobors in Canada. The majority (7,000) reside in the Kootenay district (south-central) of British Columbia, with another 3,000 dispersed throughout other areas of B.C. The Doukhobors in British Columbia are predominately Orthodox and Sons of Freedom. Palmer (1972) estimates that an additional 2,000 reside in Alberta -- mostly Orthodox and Independents and 3,000 in Saskatchewan, most of whom are Independents. The remaining Doukhobors seem to be evenly distributed among the other provinces. With regard to the ideological perspectives held by Doukhobors, it has been estimated that 50 percent are Independents, 37 percent Orthodox and the remainder Sons of Freedom (Svobodniki).

Stress and Strain:

Early studies of conflict utilized a modified structuralist approach in attempting to explain its emergence and decline. This approach argues that when people interact with each other and their environment, they develop explanations and solutions to problems that arise and must be handled. These solutions create explanations for the failures in terms of elaborate ritual and ideologies and by developing rules which reinforce the traditional way of doing things. Their way of perceiving the world and their subsequent explanations through the years constitute the cultural tradition of the group. However, because no cultural tradition is a true representation of reality and some of the solutions developed for solving problems are not completely satisfactory, these inconsistencies create tensions (strain) within the community which must be alleviated. Thus, each cultural system has strains inherent within it. These strains can be considered "fault lines" in the system. Beals and Siegel (1966) define strain as a potential conflict within the organization. It grows out of the inevitably imperfect solutions to problems encountered in life. Strain consists of those recurrent situations in which culturally endorsed predictions fail, in situations in which a person sees his expectations defeated and in situations of ambiguity where there is a lack of clarity with regard to appropriate behavior.[2]

However, as long as these points of potential conflict can be controlled by traditional means, the system remains fairly well integrated. But, when outside pressures (stress) impinge upon the group in such a way that the discrepencies in the system are highlighted and the traditional "safety valves" become inoperative, factions and/or splits will occur and conflicts will result.

Beals and Siegel (1966) define stress as any change or alteration in external contacts or environment that a group experiences. Events which contradict or render useless traditional social controls may highlight inconsistencies in the group or demonstrate that the ideal is not being achieved.

While the early structuralist approaches studying this phenomenon placed a great emphasis on strain, external stress impinging upon an organization plays an equally important role in the development of conflict. When there is a high degree of strain in the system, little stress will be needed to generate conflict.

Leadership:

The relationship between stress and strain and the engagement of conflict is not, however, completely unaffected by other factors. The nature of group leadership, with which this study will also be concerned in unravelling the causes of conflict, will also be assessed.

Three types of leadership have been identified: (i) charismatic-authority residing in the person of the leader, (ii) traditional-authority gaining its legitimacy from custom and, (iii) rational-authority based on a legally established bureaucratic order. This

typology originated with Max Weber but has been utilized by a number of researchers since then with some modification (Turner and Killian, 1956; Nyomarkay, 1967; Johnson, 1964).

Since the present research focus (Doukhobors) does not include the third type of leadership (rational), we will focus on the impact of changes in leadership from a charismatic to traditional with regard to the emergence of conflict. This position is similar to that taken by Lang and Lang, 1961; Talmon, 1965; Nelson, 1969; and Nyomarkay, 1967.

METHODOLOGY

As the present research is a diacronic study, tracing through time the conflict in which Doukhobors have engaged, an historical perspective is utilized. Over the years, a great deal of writing has been devoted to the Doukhobors. However, as of late they have become one of the more "unfashionable" ethnic groups studied by social scientists. The Government of Canada was (for the first half century), of necessity, very interested in understanding the Doukhobors and, in many cases, changing certain aspects of their behavior. Numerous publications are available concerning government investigations into the adjustment of Doukhobors to Canadian life and recommendations for settling the conflict between Doukhobors and Canadian authorities. These articles span the years from the turn of the century to the mid-60's.

That the disputes were of vital concern to the authorities is advantageous for the researcher who wishes to know precisely what events were occurring at a given time. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Provincial Police of British Columbia and the Reports of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) list such matters as school attendance, depredations by the Sons of Freedom, and policies instituted by the authorities. Activities of the Doukhobors were rather startling to other Canadians and thus made good news copy. As such, there is extensive periodical literature pertaining to the Doukhobors and the majority of this material is concerned with the sensationalist aspect of the group rather than their more mundane and quiet affairs. Being a "colorful" group brought them to the attention of historians and number of substantial works exist in this area.

As so much writing by outsiders was taking place, the Doukhobors eventually began to contribute their own versions. Hence, there are brochures, pamphlets and, more recently, books and journals (MIR) about Doukhobors authored by Doukhobors. Most of the data for the present research was obtained from the Special Collections Department at the University of British Columbia although additional information was collected from the MIR Publication Society bookshop in Grand Forks, B.C. and the Glenbow Archives in Calgary. The archival data was supplemented with unstructured interviews with Doukhobors in both Vancouver and Grand Forks.

As the purpose of this investigation was to discern the factors or conditions which stimulate or hinder conflict, a trend analysis was utilized: the following of a small number of variables through time in an effort to interpret their relationship (Lazarsfeld, 1955). Concern with the interaction over time of two sets of variables, external stresses and internal group strains, necessitated the use of historical data.

In order to interpret this historical material, we employed a modified version of content analysis which is defined by Costner (1965) as "a quantitative process in which the frequency of occurrence of a specified characteristic or unit enables the investigator to describe or make inferences about the subject being studied" (p.1).

This study, however, also utilized qualitative, non-frequency analyses (George, 1959) which rely on the presence or absence of certain content characteristics for purposes of inference.

Events both internal and external to the group as well as ideology and the nature of group leadership were the units of analysis in this study. The collective behavior exhibited by Doukhobors (depredations and protests) were tabulated on a yearly basis.

The indicators of the independent variables in this study were chosen to correspond with the previously cited theoretical definitions. The indicators of stress and strain are based to some extent on similar indicators utilized by Beals and Siegel (1960, 1966) and outlined by Levine and Campbell (1972).[3] The measurement of ideological and charismatic authority evolved from Wilson (1973) and Nyomarkay's (1967) work.

RESULTS

Leadership:

In Nyomarkay's view (1967), the reign of a charismatic leader should be less fraught with conflict (both internal and external) than that of a traditional leader. When authority resides in a charismatic leader, presumably there should be fewer disputes than would be so under traditional authority. The reasoning for this position stems from the fact that the charismatic type leader becomes the source of group cohesion or authority. The charismatic leader embodies goals in his person. As Nyomarkay (1967) points out, "A charismatic leader attracts adherents to the extent that he succeeds in incorporating the utopian goal in his person" (p.21). Three leadership eras have been identified: Verigin I (1900-1924), Verigin II (1924-1939) and the era of disputed leadership (1940-present).

FIGURE 1

LEADERSHIP ERAS (1900-1976) AND NUMBER OF CONFLICTUAL EPISODES

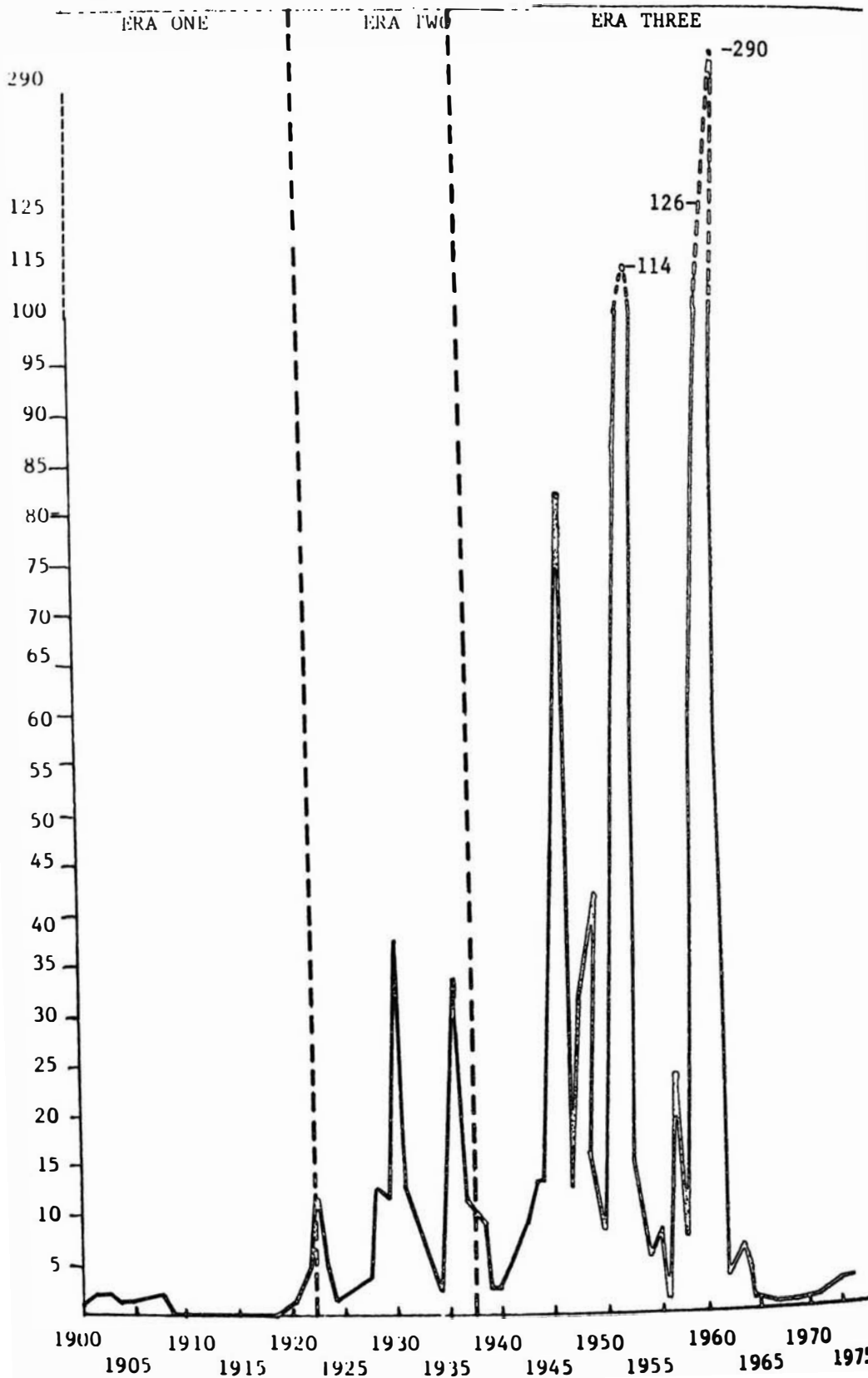


Figure 1 reveals the extent of conflict (as measured by the number of events taking place for that year) exhibited by Doukhobors during the three leadership eras delineated above. The data indicates that conflict which emerged shortly after 1900 quickly receded until 1923. At this time conflict was once again in evidence and continued until 1940. From 1945 until 1962 the amount of conflict accelerated and continued (peaking in 1961-62) at a rate unprecedented in Canadian history. During these seventeen years Doukhobors engaged in nearly a thousand acts of violence.

The more militant actions taken by Doukhobors during that time period have diminished during the past decade. Only a few sensational acts of arson have been perpetrated in the past ten years. For example, in 1970 John J. Verigin's house was burned as well as the destruction of the Krestova Community Hall. In later 1978 several Sons of Freedom Doukhobors were charged with conspiracy to commit arson or attempted arson. As of today, eight were found guilty although a similar number were found not guilty. Other less spectacular acts such as demonstrations, temporary withdrawal of children from school, exhibitions of nudity and hunger strikes have occurred but on a much smaller scale (Woodcock and Avakumovic, 1977).

Because the first two eras are considered to be dominated by charismatic leaders (while the latter era dominated by traditional leaders), our hypothesis is partially supported. However, it does not show a total absence of conflict during Era II dominated by a charismatic leader. One possible explanation may be that while Verigin II did have some charismatic aspects, a great deal of his control over Doukhobors was limited to the fact that he was Verigin's son and thus people were responding to that symbolic aspect rather than he as a person having charismatic qualities.

The difference between Era I (Verigin I) and Era II (Verigin II) in terms of leadership style is very evident. Verigin I combined in varying degress coercive, referent and legitimate powers and judiciously exercised these powers. For example, in 1917 he relinquished direct control of the community's finances and democratized the system. The result was that one section of the Doukhobors was thus incorporated as the Christian Community of Universal Brotherhood Limited. Other actions taken by Verigin I also demonstrate his ability to understand changing social conditions and thus alter his leadership style. However, not all changes were as structurally important as the previous example, but through the use of symbolic changes (abolishing the custom of bowing to the ground before him) and the delegation of responsibilities, he was able to gain greater credibility. The result was that he was able to control the strains and stresses impinging upon the community.

Verigin II, on the other hand, did not acquit himself creditably in the eyes of the community. His sole reliance upon coercive power brought the use of legitimate power into question and as a result, his referent power decreased considerably. In addition, his stance on the unity of the Doukhobors, the opposition to his father's philosophy and the seemingly nonrational bases of his decision

making left both the Independents and the Sons of Freedom bewildered. In short, his leadership style did not allow him to adequately control the strains and stresses facing the community.

Stress and Strain:

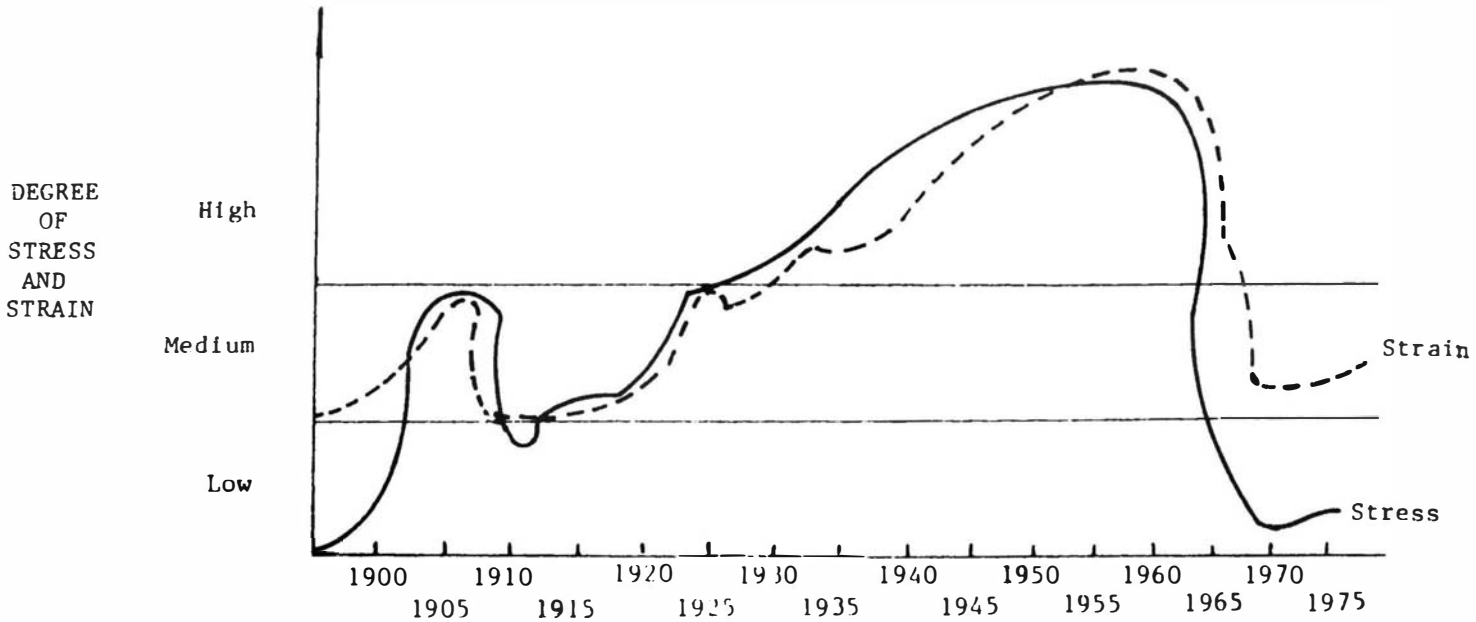
Strain has previously been defined as internal inconsistencies in the organization. Inherent within the Doukhobor system are inconsistencies which are of this nature. Frantz (1958, 1961) notes that because the Doukhobor system legitimized both horizontal (egalitarian) and vertical (authoritarian) conceptions of authority, confusion existed over the locus of authority -- whether it was centered in the hereditary leader or the village assembly. Social controls or sanctions are usually weak when the source of authority is unclear. If both horizontal and vertical conceptions of authority are legitimized, the resulting social controls may vacillate between one form and the other. Sanctions, whether positive or negative, which do not serve their purpose or are inoperative make integration of the group less likely. Although the authoritarian norms granted the leader more sanctioning power, the egalitarian emphasis in the ideology favored individual interpretation. Because the Doukhobor ideology granted equality to all, each person presumably had similar access to the gift of grace or charisma. Hawthorn (1955) and Newell and Popoff (1971) agree that it is this free-flowing or diffused charisma and an individual's access to it which contributed to the rise of conflict within the group. Newell and Popoff (1971:45) argue that if some kind of balance between the authority of the individual and the authority of the collectivity is not met, conflict will result. The original leader and his successors, however, were believed to possess more of this holiness or charisma than others. Frantz (1958), in keeping with Nyomarkay's view, argues that:

> ...as long as there was a strong charismatic leader the discrepancies within the system would remain in balance. Where no such leader was available the egalitarian principle would lead to many who could justifiably claim direction from the higher source, resulting in multiple interpretations of the ideology and disputes with others who did not share the same interpretation (p. 63).

That conflict did occur during Verigin II's reign indicates that charismatic leader cannot totally eradicate conflict. The inconsistency between the egalitarian and authoritarian norms created a strain on the system which undermined the effectiveness of the leader's control. The times when his stabilizing influence was low would be those times when external stresses bombarded the system and highlighted the various internal inconsistencies.

FIGURE 2

INTENSITY OF STRESS AND STRAIN FOR THE TIME PERIOD 1900-1976



Aside from the distinction that has been made between the patterns of leadership between Era I, II and III, there are also certain differences to be noted in the degree of stress and strain between the three eras. The measure for stress and strain revealed that over the time period studied fluctuations did occur. Figure 2 illustrates these fluctuations. Because of the qualitative nature of the data, it was impossible to assign precise numerical values to each dimension of the measurement instrument. However, we have assigned values of low, medium, and high in an attempt to illustrate the various levels of stress and strain. It should be noted that there is always a low degree of strain within a group but this is normally kept in bounds by efficient leadership and its attendant social controls. Theoretically, if strains cannot be controlled, mainly as a result of stresses impinging upon the system, conflict will result.

In Era I there was a medium amount of strain during the early years, 1900 to 1908, stemming from frustrated expectations, discrepancies in wealth which were not in keeping with the belief in equality, and ambiguity regarding the appropriate behavior required of the members. This strain was effected by the stress of migration and later by pressures from the external society. The leader, being absent during part of the time, was not able to exert a stabilizing influence. Between 1908 and 1923, stress was low and the controlling efficiency of the leader high so that endemic strains were not activated. For example, one of the mechanisms of maintaining control is the threat of expulsion from the group. This punishment or the threat of such was most effective during the early years because the Doukhobors did not speak English and were also not familiar with the particular culture of the dominant society; therefore, expulsion was an ominous and foreboding threat to most of the members. As these members were for the most part uneducated in Western ways and economically dependent upon the others in the group, the thought of functioning in the outside society without the moral and economic support of other Doukhobors was probably a sufficient deterrent to most would-be protestors. During the war years, 1914-1918, Verigin's hold on the people was further enhanced by his threats of conscription for any who would leave the Community (Tarasoff, 1963). Hawthorn (1955) notes that some Independents returned to the Community because of the fear of conscription. Added to this was the successful operation of the Doukhobor community in British Columbia. By 1920, however, the stresses were increasing (the education issue was becoming a major concern of the provincial government) and there was also a rise in the degree of strain, especially that stemming from economic instability. Not only could the ideology not account for the bad times (the members had been living as they believed they should), but the leader did not seem to be able to divert the wrath of the external authorities. Woodcock and Avakamovic (1968) point out that the members began to focus their discontent upon Verigin, for while they did not have enough food they believed that Verigin was living in comfort.

In Era II the strains were higher than previously due to the inconsistent policies of Verigin II who succeeded in raising the level of ambiguity experienced by the members. Pressures from the outside society were increasing while the efficiency of social

controls was decreasing. Expulsion was not as formidable a threat because those ostracized could find sympathetic Independents who would take them in and, being more familiar with the external society, they could also adjust more easily to it. By referring to the "upside down philosophy" originally perfected by Kolesnikov,[4] those ostracized could believe that this measure was only a ploy on the part of Verigin II to fool the authorities, especially so since Verigin praised them one minute and denounced them in the next. The solidification of the Sons of Freedom into a distinct sub-grouping, hastened by their shared experiences in jail and outside, lessened peer group control as well. When segments feel that others are not living in the proper way, there is less reason to take their admonitions to heart.

Era III begins after Verigin II's death in 1939. By this time the strains had reached a high level due to the problems related to the succession of leadership. As Verigin III was still in Russia and could not be contacted, John J. Verigin (grandson of Verigin II) was chosen as their leader. The legitimate successor (Verigin III) died in 1942 although it was not until Verigin III's sister arrived in 1969 that the death was formally recognized. Besides Verigin III, three other individuals were competing for leadership of the Doukhobor community: John Lebedoff, Michael the Archangel and Stefan Sorokin. Later, other individuals such as Florence Storgeoff (Big Fanny) became interim leaders of one factor or another. For the above reason there were also few controls (high strain) operative while the degree of stress in this period ranged from medium to high.

The stress factor can be illustrated by the fact that in 1950 the Attorney General was forced to ask for research on how to handle the Doukhobor "problem". A specific example would be the attempted settlement of a group of Sons of Freedom in the remote Adams Lake area in British Columbia. The proposal became an election issue and eventually was dropped. In 1953 (after the provincial election) the Social Credit became an absolute majority and began to discuss various programs directed toward Doukhobors which were defined by many as anti-Doukhobor. One final illustration of the high stress would be the refusal of the Soviet government (in 1958) to allow Canadian Doukhobors to emigrate into the Soviet Union after they had made plans to do so.

Table 1 shows the relationship of stress and strain to the number of overt conflictual acts from 1900 to 1976. The above analysis would seem to support the relationship between stress and strain and the emergence of conflict. When the controlling influence of a leader was high, as in Era I, the tendency for conflict was lessened but when leadership did not pose such effective restraints, the internal strains were subject to disruption by external stresses and conflict accelerated.

TABLE 1

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN STRESS/STRAIN AND INCIDENCE OF VIOLENCE BY DOUKHOBORS (1900-1976)

	Level of Stress/Strain[a]					
	Low		Medium		High	
	Stress	Strain	Stress	Strain	Stress	Strain
Average Number of Incidents per Year	.60	N/A	2.1	1.3	29	27

a. Years identified by level of stress and strain. For stress, low (1900-1903, 1911-1914, 1966-1975); medium (1904-1910, 1915-1929, 1964-1965); high (1929-1963). For strain the corresponding years were: low (N/A); medium (1900-1929, 1968-1975); high (1929-1967).

Since the mid 1960's, stresses and strains have decreased. Prejudice towards Doukhobors has decreased and barriers preventing them from participating in the Canadian way of life have decreased. The outsiders have ceased to be defined as a threat and thus the stresses have also declines, e.g., the British Columbia Provincial Government has created a special procedure for the registration of Doukhobor marriages.

In addition, the acculturative processes have continued to take place. Doukhobors have moved into urban areas, married non-Doukhobors and accepted English as the language as well as accepted Canadian education. The result has been a steady erosion of the traditional Doukhonor's way of life and the institutional completeness that characterized their way of life only a decade ago has diminished.

In 1963, the federal government appointed a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. It was charged with inquiring into and reporting on bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada. It was to recommend what steps should be taken to maintain a nation state with two official languages but many different cultures. Then, in 1971 the government proclaimed a national multiculturalism policy. This policy outlines activities that the Multiculturalism Directorate will pursue with the aim of directly assisting many cultural groups and communities in their effort to maintain and develop their culture in the Canadian context. During this time, Russia also declined as the main threat to the Western Democracies. The 1950's fear of the "reds" was replaced with a somewhat friendlier political relationship between the USA, Canada and Russia. The late 1960's also brought with it a reaction against the Vietnam War, the prevalence of draft dodgers to Canada, student demonstrations and a new-found interest in the nonviolent resistance expounded by Gandhi. The rise of "Hippie" philosophy with its emphasis on pacificism, communal living, and Eastern mysticism also occurred during this time. The general atmosphere of this period can be seen to be more congenial to the views held by the Doukhobors. For example, in 1967 the Doukhobor choir took part in the celebrations at Expo in Montreal. For the Orthodox and Independent Doukhobors this was a turning point in their relations with the Canadian society. The time was opportune for building a more positive image of themselves in terms of the larger society.

Between 1970 and 1972 the Sons of Freedom moved back to Kretova from the shanty town built near the prison of Agassiz. They were once again in closer proximity to the other Doukhobors than they had been since the mass arrests and pilgrimage of 1962. The closer in distance people are to each other, the greater is the chance of renewing past dissension and differences. As well, Sorokin visited the Kootenays in the summer of 1973 and 1974 and presumably was in contact with some of his still faithful followers. This contact may have renewed old alliances and increased the remembrance of past conflicts with other Doukhobors. From the early 1970's to the present there have been only a few sporadic acts by the Sons of Freedom and these have been mainly confined to displays against the Orthodox Doukhobors. The protestors in the recent displays have

mainly been under thirty.[5] They are not the protestors who were released from Agassiz in the early 1970's, but presumable are younger relations or acquaintances of these people. Their displays do not meet with the same consternation and reprisals as did those of the 1950's. The society, now used to such events as the streaking fad of the early 1970's, looks on with indifference. But the idea of protest is very much alive in the external environment. Other groups are banding together to make demands on the larger society, for example, the Native Indian Movement, and this activity may well have struck a responsive chord among the younger members of the Sons of Freedom.

FOOTNOTES

*I would like to thank the reviewers for providing us with a careful reading of the manuscript and providing information which helped us considerably in the revision. We are very appreciative of that effort and expertise.

[1]For more detailed discussion as to settlement patterns of Doukhobors (both in Russia and Canada) see D. Gale and P. Koroscil "Doukhobor Settlements: Experiments in Idealism."

[2]Beals and Siegel develop a typology of strain that is three types: (i) Technological - occuring in relationships between organizations and their external conditions, (ii) Social - occuring from inadequacies in the specification of rights and duties and control of members and, (iii) Ideological - occurring from inconsistent beliefs.

[3]Stress is measured by the following indicators:

a) migration to different areas and subsequent adaptations to these areas (e.g., new means of livelihood, introduction of alien values and goals, etc.).
b) impersonal events in the larger society (e.g., World War I, World War II, the Depression, etc.).
c) events peculiar to Canada (e.g., change of Ministers of Interior, Oliver replacing Sifton, with resulting policy change toward immigrant groups; the shift from Anglo-Conformity to a more pluralistic approach by early 1960's, etc.).
d) events impinging directly on the group (e.g., government policy toward Doukhobors; pressure to conform to the larger society; punitive sanctions against the group; introduction of laws inconsistent with laws of the group; death of leader in train explosion of 1924, etc.).
e) times of economic instability (rising or falling economic situations; crop failures; inadequacy of resources to support group; expanding economy; early years in British Columbia, etc.).

Strain is measured by the following indicators:

a) inconsistencies in beliefs which make different interpretations possible.
b) inconsistencies between beliefs and practices; actual behavior does not meet the expected ideal.
c) ambiguity in obligations, obedience lines and duties; "proper" standards of behavior become difficult to assess and hence to achieve.
d) uneven distribution of rewards; economic disparities between succession.

[4]Kolesnikov is thought to have introduced the tactic of the "soft answer" or survival by evasion. His philosophy was that it was permissible to outwardly conform and out of necessity profess any religion as only a person's inner beliefs were of importance. As long as one remained true within him/herself to these beliefs and led a good life he/she would be following the Doukhobor way.

[5]Traditionally, protestors have mainly been female and individuals over fifty years of age.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Beals, A. and B. Siegel, "Conflict and Factionalist Dispute," The Journal of the Royal Anthropoligical Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, 1960, 90:107-117.

_____, Divisiveness and Social Conflict, California University Press, 1966.

Costner, H., Varieties of Content Analysis, Seattle: Institute for Sociological Research, University of Washington, 1965.

Doukhobor Youth Executive Council, Doukhobor Participation Survey, Castelgar, B.C., 1972.

Frantz, C., "The Doukhobor Political System: Social Structure and Social Organization in the Sectarian Society," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1958.

"Historical Continuities in an Immigrant Russian Sect: Doukhobor Ideology and Political Organization," Canadian Slavonic Papers, 1961, 5:31-53.

Gale, D. and P. Koroscil, "Doukhobors' Settlements: Experiments in Idealism," Canadian Ethnic Studies, Vol. 9, #2, 1977, 53-71.

George, A., "Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches to Content Analysis," in Ithiel do Sola Pool (Ed.), Trends in Content Analysis, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1959, pp. 7-32.

Hawthorn, H. B. (Ed.), The Doukhobors of British Columbia, Toronto: J. M. Dent and Son (Canada) Ltd., 1955.

Johnson, C., Revolution and the Social System, California: Stanford University, The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace, 1964.

Lang, K. and G. E. Lang, Collective Dynamics, New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1961.

Lazarsfeld, P. F. and M. Rosenberg, The Language of Social Research, New York: The Free Press, 1955.

LeVine, R. and D. Campbell, Ethnocentrism, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1972.

Nelson, G. K., Spiritualism and Society, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1969.

Newell, C. and T. Popoff, "A Structural Analysis of Sobranija: Doukhobor and Russian Orthodox," unpublished Master's Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1971.

Nyomarkay, J., Charisma and Factionalism in the Nazi Party, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1967.

Palmer, H., Land of the Second Chance, Lethbridge, Alberta: The Lethbridge Herald, 1972.

Talmon, Y., "Pursuit of the Millenium: The Relations Between Religious and Social Change," in W. W. Lessa and E. Z. Vogt (Eds.), Reader in Comparative Religion, 2nd Edition, New York: Harper & Row, 1965, 522-537.

Tarasoff, K. J., In Search of Brotherhood: A History of the Doukhobors, Vols. 1, 2, 3, 1963, Vancouver: Univ. of British Columbia.

Turner, R. and L. Killian, Collective Behavior, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957.

Wilson, J., An Introduction to Social Movements, New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Woodcock, G. and I. Avakumovic, The Doukhobors, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968. Reprinted by McClelland and Stewart Ltd., Toronto, 1977.

CULTURAL COMMUNITY, COHESION AND CONSTRAINT: DYNAMICS OF LIFE SATISFACTION AMONG AGED FILIPINO MEN OF HAWAII

WAYNE S. WOODEN, PH.D.
CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, LONG BEACH;

AND

J. H. MONANE, PH.D.
UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII, HILO

In contrast to other elderly Asian-Americans (notably Japanese Americans and Chinese Americans), relatively little is known about aged Filipino Americans (Kalish & Yuen, 1971). This may be partly a function of their population size, as the Filipino aged in America are considerably less numerous than the elderly Japanese and Chinese Americans; the 1970 U.S. Censes of the Population finds only 21,249 Filipinos aged 65 and over in the U.S., 82% of them men. In addition, low economic and political status, recency of arrival and relative lack of militancy may contribute to this inattention. Kalish and Moriwaki (1973), focusing on elderly Chinese and Japanese Americans, explained their emphasis on the former and apologized for ignoring the Filipino American aged, noting that they understood much less about them.

Most of what is known about the Filipino aged of America concerns those living on the U.S. mainland, particularly on the West coast. Kalish and Yuen (1971) have noted that language was a serious problem for these Filipino elderly, most of whom were born and raised in the Phillipines and were fluent only in Illocano, Tagolog or Spanish. Burma (1954) found that many of them sought American educations in their youth but that few succeeded as students; he described their educational level in consequence as generally low. Kalish and Yuen (1971) have noted also that the California Department of Mental Hygiene reported a disproportionately large number of Filipino men in state psychiatric hospitals. These authors suggested that this may be a reflection of the stress experienced (in California, at least) by this overwhelmingly male, unmarried ethnic group, whose social environment has been consistently non-supportive.

FOCUS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study concerns elderly, unmarried Filipino men on the island of Hawaii. The 1970 U.S. Census of Population found that 11,882 Filipinos aged 60 and over lived in the Hawaiian Islands. The vast majority were male and unmarried, which stemmed from their recuritment as plantation laborers. The focus of the present study was on these Filipino elderly, particularly the elderly unmarried Filipino males living on the Big Island of Hawaii and residing in or near the city of Hilo. A basis for comparison with the conditions noted above for the Filipino aged on the U.S. mainland was thus provided.

Of interest, among other things, was whether the same degree of stress reported for elderly Filipino males on the U.S. mainland characterized them in Hawaii as well. If not, what factors might have mitigated this stress? What possible coping strategies might this particular ethnic group have developed within the Hawaii locale?

These questions are relevant because elderly Filipino males of Hawaii have experienced not only the kinds of stress putatively associated with being unmarried and aged. In Hawaii, as on the mainland U.S., they have encountered a shortage of Filipino women as potential mates, low economic and political status, meager education, handicaps in the use of spoken and written English, ignorance of the larger cultural milieu and a certain degree of racial/ethnic discrimination. This discrimination has been associated with their high social visibility, cultural distinctiveness, deviant values (for example, chicken-fighting and gambling) and a unique life-style that sets them apart from other ethnic groups of Hawaii.

Background of Sample

The elderly Filipino men of the present study came to Hawaii during the main wave of Filipino migration to the U.S., 1907-1931. Largely in their twenties and unmarried (those few of the sample who had married in the Philippines had left their wives and families behind, and lived in Hawaii as unmarried men), they were recruited to work as cane-cutters and fieldhands on the sugar plantations of the Big Island.

Hard-working and tractable, they labored without complaint for long hours and little pay. As the last major wave of Asian plantation labor to Hawaii (earlier workers came largely from China and Japan), they rarely reached positions of management or of economic power and political clout.

However, the plantation camps they were assigned to live and work in were ethnically homogeneous. In Hawaii they maintained an almost intact ethnic culture of the Philippines, engaged in their favored pastimes of gardening and gambling and chicken-fighting, and served as *compadre* (godfather) to the children of families in Hawaii which they had come to know. All of these provided a closely supportive network of social relationships which gave them personal warmth, comfort and emotional security.

More so than for those Filipino men in Hawaii who married local women, these unmarried Filipino men were able to maintain the integrity of their ethnic culture. They were relatively free from the socialization impact of local wives and locally-born-and-reared children, and also from the forces of parental compromise and intergenerational conflict which could diffuse their Filipino identity and culture by exposure to the more dominant cultures of Hawaii. In this sense, these Filipino men represent a uniquely "pure" sample of an ethnic people growing old in a strange land--yet, as described in this paper, a land fundamentally functional for their ethnic continuity.

Questions to be Raised

Importantly, the elderly Filipino men of the present study do not all share the same residential locale nor type of housing. Hence the basic question of the present research: What impact might the ecology of their varying residential settings--and the varying constraints upon life-style associated with each--have upon the extensiveness of (1) their activity and (2) social interaction, (3) their attachment to the Filipino ethnic community, (4) their degree of satisfaction with their living arrangements and (5) their general life satisfaction?

Lawton and Cohen (1974) have maintained that the environments of the aged, varying in the constraints which they impose, carry strong potential for influencing the life satisfaction of the elderly, who, more than the general population, are likely to be susceptible to environmental impact. The locales and living arrangements of the aged, major ecological features of their environments, have for some time been seen as meaningful for their life satisfaction. In this regard Bultena and Wood (1969) examined the relationship between life satisfaction and type of community, while Wolk and Telleen (1976) found the components of life satisfaction strongly affected by living arrangements; predictors of life satisfaction such as health, education and activity level, when taken in combination, varied in their importance in different residential settings.

Smith and Lipman (1972) found the unconstrained elderly of their study likely to be more satisfied than those constrained. Similarly, Wolk and Telleen (1976) found greatest life satisfaction among the elderly in a low-constraining environmental setting. Atchley (1972) indicated that older people's resistance to entering institutions for the aged was often due to their fear of a loss of independence.

Focusing on level of activity, Toseland and Sykes (1977) found it to be the single most important predictor of life satisfaction. This matched the conclusions of other studies (Adams, 1971; Graney, 1975; Bley, Goodman, Dye, and Hare, 1972; Lemon, Bengston and Peterson, 1972; and Tobin and Neugarten, 1961). The degree of social interaction experienced by the aged similarly, was found to affect their life satisfaction in a number of studies (Adams, 1971; Maddox, 1968; Palmore, 1967).

In accordance with the literature reviewed above, the following hypotheses were drawn:

Life satisfaction among the elderly Filipino men of the study would be highest for those living in ecological milieux which: (1) allowed them the greatest autonomy and freedom from constraint, (2) conduced toward the broadest range of activity, and (3) offered them the greatest opportunity for social interaction.

The present study added a fourth hypothesis, generally unexplored in the literature. In view of the continued vitality of the Filipino ethnic community on the Big Island of Hawaii (reinforced further by recent immigration from the Philippines), it was hypothesized that (4) those among the elderly Filipino men studied whose contacts with the Filipino ethnic community were strongest, providing them thereby with a closely supportive base of personal and emotional security, would show the highest level of life satisfaction.

Characteristics of Sample

Certain unique characteristics of the sample have been noted. It has been mentioned that it is elderly, unmarried, Filipino and male (Specific data in Table 1). But in addition, the elderly Filipino men studied were (a) more or less comparable in economic level, (b) non-institutionalized, (c) in reasonably good health, (d) about the same age and (e) lived in a nonfamilial setting. Thus, there is a degree of standardization (inadvertent in most cases) for the factors of financial status, absence of institutionalization, health, age and residential separateness which the gerontological literature has found relevant for life satisfaction and other adjustments of the aged.

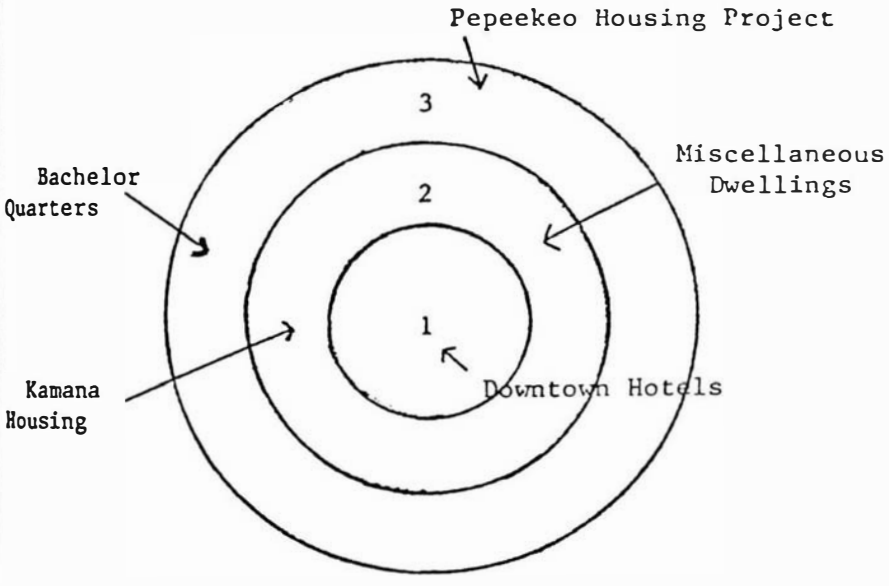
Most of these elderly Filipino men came from rural villages of the Philippines and are largely Illocano, with a few Visayan and Tagalog (Table 1); this distribution is generally representative for the Hawaiian Islands as a whole (Asunction, 1977).

In the sampling, cases were selected by usual procedures of randomization; it should be emphasized, however, that the number of cases in each residential setting was small. The attempt was made to study the universe of known cases in all residential settings, except Downtown Hotels. In two residential settings (Table 1) the N's are in fact the total universe of known cases. Findings of this study, in any case, must necessarily be construed as tentative and suggestive.

Characteristics of the Residential Locales

Five distinct ecological settings were utilized. Two of them (Pepeekeo Housing Project and Bachelor Quarters) are rural, two are urban-frings (Kamana Housing and Miscellaneous Dwellings), and one (Downtown Hotels) is centrally located within Hilo's Inner city. Figure 1 portrays their ecological distribution.

Figure 1



Zone 1 - Downtown, inner city

Zone 2 - Urban fringe

Zone 3 - Rural

Their relevant features may be summarized as follows:

(1) Pepeekeo Housing Project

This group of modern, medium-size, low-rise apartment buildings is located approximately nine miles from Hilo near the small community of Pepeekeo. A major sugar company of Hawaii built this project during 1975. It was designed to house the elderly and other residents of nearby plantation camps which are now being phased out as a result of economic/technological factors affecting the sugar industry. Many of these plantation residents were relocated at Pepeekeo Housing Project.

(2) Bachelor Quarters

These are old, frame buildings on the Papaikou sugar plantation, and were built by the sugar company during the large influx of Filipino plantation labor to house unmarried male Filipino migrants recruited to work on the plantation. They contain a large number of single rooms; most of these are now empty because the residents have died or moved away.

(3) Kamana Housing

These modern, well-equipped small buildings, located within the urban fringe of Hilo, contain two apartments each. They were built by the Hawaii Housing Authority during 1975-1976 to offer reasonably-priced housing for the aged of all ethnic groups. They are ethnically mixed, with a fair representation of Filipino men but a larger majority of widowed Japanese women.

(4) Miscellaneous Dwellings

A variety of housing (single dwellings and apartments) is represented here. Several of the aged studied here live in these dwellings, distributed widely through the urban fringes. Only these elderly male Filipino residents of these Miscellaneous Dwellings who were socially and physically active (to the extent that they regularly used the Nutrition Center within the inner city) were included in the present study.

(5) Downtown Hotels

These are old, often run-down, inner-city hotels. In addition to elderly Filipinos, they are occupied by a variety of other ethnic groups of adult to old age. Their residents are predominantly male. Despite the fact that many of these hotels are run-down and poorly appurtenanced, all of them provide porches and/or cooking areas which are centers of social activity and interaction.

Techniques of Investigation

The elderly Filipino men studied were interviewed individually by the same two male interviewers, one of Illocano and one of haole (Caucasian) background. Only those men 65 and over, born in the

Philippines and living all their lives in Hawaii as unmarried, were interviewed here. The interviews, structured but open-ended, were generally conducted in "Hawaiian pidgin English," but in a few cases the services of an interpreter were utilized. Each interview lasted approximately one-half hour and was tape-recorded with the consent of the respondent. All interviews occurred at the residence of the respondents with the exception of those elderly Filipinos living in Miscellaneous Dwellings within the urban fringe, who were interviewed at the Nutrition Center to which they regularly came for a meal and recreation in the form of card-playing and dancing.

FINDINGS

Table 1 presents an overview of the relevant data; Table 2 provides an analysis of it, directed specifically to the variables (1) extensiveness of activity, (2) extensiveness of social interaction, (3) degree of satisfaction with residential setting and (5) degree of life satisfaction.

Extensiveness of Activity

A distinct variation in extensiveness of activity appears in the elderly Filipino males who lived in the five ecological settings (Table 2). Specifically, residents of the three urban locales (Downtown Hotels, Miscellaneous Dwellings, and Kamana Housing) engaged in a range of activity far more extensive than those who lived in the two rural settings (Pepeekeo Housing Project and Bachelor Quarters).

Extensiveness of Social Interaction

Although less pronounced than for extensiveness of activity, a definite variation in extensiveness of social interaction appeared for the elderly Filipino men who lived within the five ecological milieux (Table 2). Those whose residence was urban (Downtown Hotels, Miscellaneous Dwellings and Kamana Housing) engaged in a broader range of interaction than those whose residence was rural (Pepeekeo Housing Project and Bachelor Quarters). The restricted range of social interaction experienced by residents of Bachelor Quarters was particularly noticeable (Table 2).**

---

*The index of breadth of activity which appears in Table 2 was achieved by dividing the range of activities (with the exception of daytime sleep) engaged in, as listed in Table 1) by the N of interviewed residents in each ecological milieu.

**The index of breadth of social interaction which appears in Table 2 was achieved by dividing the range of specifically social activities engaged in -- job, walking (they walk essentially to visit), Senior Center, talk story, "holo holo" (going out and around for a pleasurable purpose such as visiting) and cards, as listed in Table 1 -- by the N of interviewed residents in each ecological setting.

TABLE I OVERVIEW OF THE RELEVANT DATA

	Residential Setting					
	Pepeekeo Housing	Bach. Qtr.	Kamana Hsng.	Misc. Dwel.	Dntn Htls.	Tot.
Universe N in Each Locale	5	5	6	7	25	48
N interviewed in Each Locale	3	4	6	7	8	28
Av. Age of Respondents	69.3	75.7	76.2	71.9	72.3	71.9
Native Language						
Ilocano	3	4	5	5	7	24
Visayan	0	0	1	1	1	2
Tagalog	0	0	0	1	0	1
Av. Length of Stay in Present Residential Setting (in years)	2	18	.85	12.6	7.6	8.3
Last Employment						
Plantation	3	4	4	4	2	17
Other	0	0	2	3	6	11
Daily Activities						
Job	0	0	1	1	2	4
Walk	2	0	0	2	5	9
Senior Center	0	0	3	5	1	9
Talk Story	1	0	5	1	4	11
Holo Holo (going out&around)	1	1	2	2	4	10
Cards	0	0	0	1	2	3
Gardening	0	2	5	4	0	11
Sleep (daytime)	1	4	5	6	3	19
Care of animals (chickens and pigs)	0	3	0	1	0	4
Other	0	0	0	4	7	11
Close to a Family	1	1	4	3	5	14
Liking Arrangements:						
Like to Stay	0	4	6	6	6	22
Like to Move	3	0	0	1	2	6
Reasons for Staying:						
Low rent	0	0	0	2	3	5
Established	0	4	0	0	0	4
Garden	0	0	1	1	0	2
Convenience	0	0	5	7	6	18
Friends	0	0	0	1	4	5
Reason Wish to Move:						
High Rent	3	0	0	1	0	4
No Friends	2	0	0	0	0	2
Life Satisfaction (Respondent Rating)						
Generally Happy	0	3	4	7	7	21
Sometimes Happy	3	1	1	0	1	6
Not Happy	0	0	1	0	0	1
Average Life Satisfaction (Interviewer rating; 5-point scale)	2.6	3.8	4	4.1	4.7	4.0

Degree of Satisfaction with Residential Setting

Table 2 shows a pattern of satisfaction with residential setting that related less meaningfully to urban/rural distinctions than was the case for extensiveness of activity and extensiveness of social interaction. With the exception of residents of the Pepeekeo Housing Project, the elderly Filipino men of each ecological milieu reported a fairly high degree of satisfaction with their living arrangements.*

Degree of Life Satisfaction

As with degree of satisfaction with residential setting, Table 2 reflects a pattern of life satisfaction that related less meaningfully to urban/rural distinctions than was the case for extensiveness of activity and extensiveness of social interaction. With the exception of those residents within the Pepeekeo Housing Project, again, variations in life satisfaction among the elderly Filipino men of each locale appeared to be slight.**

Table 2

Analysis of Data

	Residential Setting				
	Rural		Urban		
	Pepeekeo Housing Project	Bachelor Quarters	Kamana Housing	Misc. Dwel.	Downtown Hotels
Extensiveness of Activity (daytime sleeping omitted)	1.3	1.5	2.7	3.0	3.1
Extensiveness of Social Interaction	1.3	.25	1.8	1.7	2.3
Degree of Satisfaction w/Residential Setting	0	1.00	1.00	.87	.75
Degree of Life Satisfaction	0	.75	.66	1.00	.88

*The index of satisfaction with residential setting which appears in Table 2 was achieved by dividing the total frequencies for the category "Living Arrangements: Like to Stay" in Table 1 by the N of interviewed residents in each ecological milieu.

**The index of life satisfaction which appears in Table 2 was achieved by dividing the total frequencies for the category "Generally Happy" in Table 1 by the N of interviewed residents in each residential setting. Significantly, the perceptions of respondents' life satisfaction made by the interviewers (Table 1) followed closely the levels of life satisfaction reported by the respondents themselves.

WHAT THE DATA MEAN

The findings above are highly meaningful both theoretically and in their implications for practical programs for the aged. Standing out strongly in the above data is the deeply ecological nature of life satisfaction: the close relationship that appears between satisfaction with residential setting and general life satisfaction. Contrary to the findings of studies reviewed above, neither extensiveness of activity nor extensiveness of social interaction, in themselves, relate this closely to general life satisfaction in an across-the-board way.

Most striking among the data, perhaps, is the extremely narrow range of social interaction displayed by the residents of Bachelor Quarters--yet at the same time, their relatively high degree of satisfaction with their residential setting and their relatively high degree of general life satisfaction, generally concurred with by the interviewers' perceptions as well (Table 1).

Deeply significant, then, for the general life satisfaction of the elderly Filipino male appears to be his personal satisfaction with his living arrangements as such. It might be well for planners and program builders to keep this in mind in respect to the aged in general, as well as for this group of elderly Filipino males. It is possible that residential satisfaction, relating closely to general life satisfaction in the present study, may sometimes find itself relatively ignored as a result of the attention given to the primacy of activity and social interaction in an American culture which emphasizes keeping busy and socially interactive.

At the same time, importantly, Table 2 indicates that for one ecological setting (the Pepeekeo Housing Project) not only was there a close association of low residential satisfaction with low life satisfaction, but there also existed an equally close association of low life satisfaction, narrow range of activity and narrow range of social interaction. Similarly, there existed for two urban ecological settings (Downtown Hotels and Miscellaneous Dwellings) a comparably close association of high life satisfaction, extensive social activity and extensive social interaction.

Ecological and Social Factors

What ecological and social factors might help to explain these relationships? Looking first at the Pepeekeo Housing Project (Table 1), one notes that the interviewed residents were there a relatively short time, so that few deep bonds of association and interaction may have developed. Its residents, few of whom are Filipino, were relocated there from phased-out plantation camps and are of greatly varying age, ethnicity and previous plantation settlement. No continuity of Filipino ethnic culture has been maintained. Noisy with the sounds of children playing, its buildings (as a result of their design) offer few structural opportunities to its elderly Filipino residents for easy social interaction and common activity. Structurally, too, they make difficult such things as gardening and the keeping of fighting chickens.

Most of all, its distance from the city of Hilo (which houses within its inner city today the core of the older Filipino ethnic culture) and the absence of ready transportation to it (making this distance ecologically significant) means that its elderly Filipino residents are limited still further in their activity and social interaction. They are deprived thereby of direct, frequent association with the Filipino ethnic community of Hilo. They cannot easily utilize the inner city's Nutrition Center with its food and recreational opportunities, its pool halls and saloons, its "action." Residents of the Pepeekeo Housing Project reflect this deprivation, citing "no friends" and "loneliness" as basic complaints symptomatic of their isolation, estrangement and alienation. They find themselves deeply constrained through this combination of ecological and social barriers. And as Smith and Lipman (1972) and Wolk and Telleen (1976) have found, such constraints bode ill for life satisfaction among the elderly.

Data from the Downtown Hotels and Miscellaneous Dwellings indicate a thoroughly more sanguine picture. Ecologically and socially, these residential settings appear conducive to a breadth of activity and social interaction (Table 2), and thus to the high levels of life satisfaction which the residents of these settings display. Several of the studies previously cited concur directly with this finding.

How, then, do these urban ecological settings conceivable achieve this for the elderly Filipino? First, quite distinct from the situation in the Pepeekeo Housing Project, the old Filipino men in urban locales are generally unconstrained ecologically and socially. Their specific ecological niche allows them to come and go rather easily, gives them fairly ready access to the outside things they like to do--the pool halls and saloons, the Nutrition Center with its opportunities for food, cards, and dancing, the bandstand park with its chance to "talk story." (Reminiscence is a major part of "talking story." McMahon and Rhudick (1964) have found the opportunity to reminisce to be an important component of life satisfaction.)

The Downtown Hotels, most of all, provided structural opportunity through porches and common cooking rooms to gather regularly with their elderly friends who lived there. ("Friends" as well as "Convenience" was cited often by them as a reason for staying there.) The elderly Filipino residents of such hotels partook in a particularly comprehensive way in the action of the Filipino ethnic culture, and found comfort in its activities, values and norms which they were able to share directly with others. The general respect and affection for the aged in Filipino culture helped to bolster their morale; their identity as old Filipino men (*manong*) was a comfortable one there. Their close association with the Filipino ethnic community, moreover, heightened their chances to be close to a family (table 1) and to serve as *compadre* to its children. Rosow (1967) has found family ties to be a major source of life satisfaction among the aged.

Importantly, too, their inner-city milieu served to augment their job opportunities and activity both before and after retirement (Table 1, "Last Employment" and "Daily Activities"); for example, several of them are still gainfully employed. As Rosow (1967) found, work figures strongly as a source of life satisfaction for the elderly.

Absence of Urban Renewal

Significant in this continued vitality of the Filipino ethnic culture within Hilo's inner city has been (a) the absence of urban "renewal" (the fear of possible tidal waves has been a factor impeding it) with its frequent destruction of inner-city culture and (b) the absence of ecological invasion by a new ethnic group. The ecological dynamics of the inner city of Hilo, conceivably in part related to Hilo's being a middle-sized city (with a population of approximately 37,000 at the present writing) rather than a metropolis, have been benign ones for elderly Filipino men of urban locale; it has functioned as a "good" ghetto, in this sense. This contrasts favorably with the situation reported for Los Angeles by Morales (1974), where an urban renewal project (Bunker Hill) destroyed the central community and meeting place of the Filipino elderly. In addition, quite distinct from the situation in Hilo, Los Angeles has experienced a disruption of its Filipino ethnic community through subcultural infighting and disunity (Cordova, 1973).

The Phenomenon of Aging Itself

But, not least of all, is the possibility that the broadened range of activity and social interaction, which ecological placement in Downtown Hotels of the inner city makes particularly possible, is enhanced in its positive impact upon life satisfaction by the phenomenon of aging itself. With the "coming of age," certain socially divisive features of *machismo* (for example, *amor proprio* with its sensitivity to insult and affront), a personality legacy from Spain, may begin to drop out of Filipino male consciousness and the genuinely smooth interpersonal relationships strongly valued in Filipino culture (Lynch, 1964) may reach their ultimate fruition--so that these *hinggud* ("ripe") years of old age become particularly enjoyable in an interpersonal male-bonding sense.

What is suggested here is that these Filipino elderly are to a great extent freed by old age from the interpersonally disruptive consequences of a sex drive not easily accommodated by the male/female numerical disproportion which has been their lot. Prostitution, family quarrels and rape in Filipino plantation camps have been attributed to this imbalance in sex ratio (Benjamin Manor in Asunction, 1977). One may speculate that the oft-cited attachment to chicken fighting and the fighting cocks themselves may function for these old Filipino men as surrogates of their former sexual competitiveness, now safely displaced through the mechanism of what might be called (with a nod to Max Weber) the *routinization of machismo*. In this regard, "no more trouble" was often reported by these elderly Filipino men as a fundamental base of their positive life satisfaction.

SUMMARY

The present study investigated the impact of ecological factors associated with residential setting upon: (1) extensiveness of activity and (2) social interaction, (3) freedom from constraint, (4) attachment to ethnic community and (5) life satisfaction among elderly, unmarried Filipino men on the island of Hawaii.

The hypotheses of close association of life satisfaction with activity and with social interaction were found to be partly substantiated and partly unsubstantiated; contrary to expectation engendered by certain studies in the gerontological literature, neither extensiveness of activity nor extensiveness of social interaction in themselves related closely to life satisfaction in an across-the-board way.

The hypotheses of close association of life satisfaction with freedom from environmental constraint and with strength of attachment to ethnic community, on the other hand, were found to be strongly substantiated. Standing out clearly in the data is the deeply ecological nature of life satisfaction, and its clear-cut relation to personal satisfaction with the elderly's living arrangements as such.

The reader is reminded that the number of cases in each residential setting was small. Findings of the study must be regarded, accordingly, as tentative and suggestive. To the question raised early in the paper as to whether the stress putatively experienced by elderly Filipino men on the U.S. mainland is duplicated in Hawaii, the answer must be a qualified no. The ecological and social conditions noted for them on the island of Hawaii, particularly in their urban milieux, have made their adjustment a generally positive one.

References

Adams, D., "Correlates of Satisfaction Among the Elderly," Gerontologist, 1971, 11, 64-69.

Asunction, L. M., "An Overview of the Filipino Elderly in Hawaii," unpublished paper, School of Public Health, University of Hawaii, Manoa, 1977.

Atchley, R. C., The Social Forces in Later Life: An Introduction to Social Gerontology. Wadsworth, Belmont, Calif., 1972.

Biey, N. B., M. Goodman, D. Dye, and B. Harle, "Characteristics of Aged Participants in Age-Segregated Leisure Program," Gerontologist, 1972, 12, 368-370.

Bultena, G., and V. Wood, "The American Retirement Community: Bane or Blessing?" Journal of Gerontology, 1969, 24, 1401-1403.

Burma, J. H., Spanish-Speaking Groups in the United States. Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 1954.

Cordova, F., "The Filipino-American: There's Always an Identity Crises," in Stanley Sue and Nathaniel Wagner (Eds.), Asian-Americans: Psychological Perspectives. Science & Behavior Books, Ben Lomond, Calif., 1973, (136-139).

Graney, M., "Happiness and Social Participation in Aging," Journal of Gerontology, 1975, 30, 701-707.

Kalish, R. A., and S. Moriwaki, "The World of the Elderly Asian American," Journal of Social Forces, 1973, 29, 187-209.

Kalish, R. A., and S. Yuen, "Americans of East Asian Ancestry: Aging and the Aged," Gerontologist, 1971, 11, (Spring), 36-47.

Lawton, M. P., and J. Cohen, "The Generality of Housing Impact on the Well-Being of Older People," Journal of Gerontology, 1974, 29, 194-201.

Lemon, B. W., V. L. Bengston, and J. A. Peterson, "An Exploration of the Activity Theory of Aging: Activity Types and Life Satisfaction Among Inmovers to a Retirement Community," Journal of Gerontology, 1972, 27, 511-523.

Lynch, F., "Social Acceptance," in Frank Lynch (Ed.), Four Readings on Philippine Values, Ateneo do Maila, University Press, Quezon City, Philippines, 1964.

Maddox, G., "Persistence of Life Style Among the Elderly: A Longitudinal Study of Patterns of Social Activity in Relation to Life Satisfaction," in B. L. Neugarten (Ed.), Middle Age and Aging, Univ. Chicago Press, Chicago, 1968.

McMahon, A., *Rhudick P., "Reminiscing: Adaptional Significance in the Aged," Archives of General Psychiatry, 10 (3): 292-298, March, 1964.

Morales, R. R., Makibaka: The Filipino American Struggle, Mountain view Publishers, Los Angeles, 1974.

Palmore, E., "Effects of Aging on Activities and Attitudes," in E. Palmore (Ed.), Normal Aging. Duke Univ. Press, Durham, 1970.

Rosow, I., Social Integration of the Aged, Free Press, New York, 1967.

Smith, J. J., and A. Lipman, "Constraint and Life Satisfaction," Journal of Gerontology, 1972, 27, 77-82.

Tobin, S. S. and B. L. Neugarten, "Life Satisfaction and Social Interaction in the Aging," Journal of Gerontology, 1961, 16, 344-346.

Toseland, R., and J. Sykes, "Senior Citizens Center Participation and Other Correlates of Life Satisfaction," Gerontologist, 1977. 17, 235-241.

Wolk, S, and S. Telleen, "Psychological and Social Correlates of Life Satisfaction as a Function of Residential Constraint," Journal of Gerontology, 1976, 31, 89-98.

POETRY CORNER

---

featuring

OLD WISE ONE
for Wallack Pyawasit
INDIAN POWER DRUM
HOLY PLACES
INFRA RED RIFLES
COMPLEX EDUCATION

by

SILVESTER J. BRITO

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MILWAUKEE

OLD WISE ONE

for Wallace Pyawasit

Old Wise One
Chief they would call you
in the days of coup
and all medicines were active.

We have sat by
fires of life
and through your voice
I learned. Spirit magic.

Old wise one
in your face appears
moons of medicine ways
and the bodies it worked upon.

In fields we have prayed
to forces of life
and they responded
in the peoples' power.

Old wise one
I fear losing you soon,
with a voice of spirits
and eyes that grow mellow.

INDIAN POWER DRUM*

Power drum,
your colors tell
man is a thought
from the creator's magic.
Your medicine reminds us
miracles are devine.
Your signs advise
in power forms to call upon.
Mystic drum,
we know your spirit
to bring out good, or
invent the bad.

*This is a drum which I have known, and used in current Menomine traditional rituals.

--S. J. Brito

HOLY PLACES

Faces I have seen
in the waves
of grandmother fire.

Blessed I have felt
in the cedar
of sacred places.

Spirits I have sensed
in the breath
of holy pipes.

Voices I have heard
in the streams
of the rainbow trail.

INFRA RED RIFLES

The time must have been
seven past the death hour
inbetween the barbwire eyes
and Nixson's war carriers.

A bullet flaired
seeking out a fleating feather
but infra red rifles
could not see
blood they were draining.

Food was cut off
to savage warriors
who dared declare
a state of life crises.

Impounded today
are religious leaders
to be spanked
by federal fear.

COMPLEX EDUCATION

In a complex education
they washed our hair
with Kerosene, and
I learned degradation.

I tried out for
the leading role
and they awarded me
the drugstore Indian.

The coach played
with my emotions
to teach us
fair sportsmanship.

The theory professor
stressed the purity
of Western composition
and the trite forms
of our tradition.

And finally,
L & S praised
our acculturation
in war bonnets
of black tassel.

BOOK REVIEWS

GEORGE HENDERSON (ED.). *UNDERSTANDING AND COUNSELING ETHNIC MINORITIES.* Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, 1979. 333 pp. $24.00

In this collection of articles drawn from several disciplines - history, sociology, psychology, education and social work - George Henderson has contributed a welcomed addition to the growing field of literature that focuses on the various issues of working with individuals from diverse cultural or ethnic backgrounds.

Unlike other works that deal exclusively with American Blacks or Chicanos, Henderson has included sections on the history and present life-styles of American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Japanese and Chinese Americans.

While the work, as Henderson notes in the preface, is written for counselors, school psychologists, teachers and other professionals, students seeking a good introductory text in this field will find the book invaluable and a handy resource guide for those who wish to delve more deeply into a particular area of interest. A major part of Henderson's premise is to understand how the various historical, sociological and psychological forces have all contributed in developing a unique "ethnic minority personality." A "personality", as Henderson describes, that ". . .refers to the relatively constant behavior patterns adopted by minority group members through the process of living as second-class citizens." According to Henderson, the development of this "ethnic minority personality" is the unfortunate outcome when the basic needs of a majority group are not met or inhibited by the forces of a majority group. To many ethnic minorities, who are also victims of poverty, unemployment and institutionalized racism, even the basic survival needs of food and shelter are not met and the mention of "higher needs" - that of self-esteem or affection - are often seen as unattainable goals.

The problem is further complicated when the minority-group client seeks professional help. Unfortunately, many professionals - including counselors and psychologists - have not had the adequate training or the experience to deal successfully with the complex problems that a minority-group client may bring to the counseling relationship. In most instances, the counselor is caucasian and middle-class and while proficient in counseling skills may sadly lack the sensitivity or awareness in counseling members of a minority group. Moreover, being a minority counselor is no guarantee of a successful counseling relationship since, for the most part, the counselor has received similar training much like his non-minority counterparts.

In short, *Understanding and Counseling Ethnic Minorities* will be of interest to anyone who works or plans to work with members of a minority group. For professionals who want a systematic approach to understanding the various problems of counseling ethnic minorities, this book will prove invaluable. My only criticism of Henderson's work is that it was not published earlier.

--Robert T. Sato
Sacramento Area Economic Opportunity Council

RAYMOND L. HALL (ED.). *ETHNIC AUTONOMY -- COMPARATIVE DYNAMICS: THE AMERICAS, EUROPE AND THE DEVELOPING WORLD.* Pergamon Press: New York, 1979. $32.50 hardcover; $9.95 softcover.

Hall has done us a service in putting together this wide-ranging collection of essays on ethnic separatist movements. The volume is particularly timely because of the twentieth century paradoxes of the drive for global unity and nationalism, and nationalism and a blossoming of ethnic separatist movements. (The book is not unique. See, e.g. Chester L. Hunt and Lewis Walker, *Ethnic Dynamics: Patterns of Intergroup Relations in Various Societies*, Learning Publications, Inc., 1979.)

The impetus for this comparative study of ethnic movements came from the editor's long interest in social change resulting from large-scale ethnic movements, (see, e.g. Hall's *Black Separatism and Social Reality: Rhetoric and Reason*, Pergamon Press, 1977) and from his realization that a satisfactory analytical model of ethnic autonomy could not be derived from the United States experience alone but required a comparative international perspective.

Hall accordingly defined his subject, ethnic social movements for self-determination, under the general heading of "ethnic autonomy" which included nationalism, secessionism, irredentism, schism, and separation, and proceeded to invite specialists to write on selected case studies illustrative of the theme. At a symposium held to discuss the contributions, the authors agreed that the collection could not claim coherence or comprehensiveness, but "the ultimate purpose of this volume should be to provide extensive information about the important and complex topic of ethnicity and ethnic movements, as well as to facilitate more rigorous thought, analysis, and research regarding them."(xii)

The book is organized into five parts. Part I, entitled "Conceptual Overviews of Ethnicity and Ethnic Dynamics," is intended to serve as a conceptual base for the case studies which follow and is a general discussion of some dimensions of ethnic identity with a focus on language and its role in ethnic autonomy. Part II contains case studies of racial and ethnic autonomy in North America (Native American, Black, Chicano and Quebec), Part III, case studies of autonomy and ethnicity in Europe (Northern Ireland,

Scotland, Spanish Basques, France, and Soviet Central Asia), and Part IV, case studies of ethnicity and ethnic autonomy in the developing world (Uganda, Ethiopia, West Africa, Peru, and India). Part V, entitled "Autonomy in Perspective," seeks to identify and synthesize the common elements of the case studies and place these into perspective.

Despite the editor's laudable intent, like most collections, the volume suffers from unevenness and an overall lack of integration and adequate conceptual overview. While it is clear that ethnic identify is a precondition for interethnic conflict and ethnic autonomy, it is also evident that a definition of identity does not of itself explain social change resulting from the quest for ethnic self-determination. Further, although five separate essays seek to explore the nature of ethnic identity, the subject is addressed in most general and limited terms (Segal, Cook, Dorris, and Kleitz) and the debate on its origins is left unresolved (Alverson). Without doubt, the most substantive analysis of ethnicity and ethnic identity in the volume is the chapter by Sagarin and Moneymaker on language and nationalist, separatist, and secessionist movements.

This latter essay also raises another conceptual deficiency of the volume--the place of power and the relationship of peoples in that struggle for power. Hall, in his preface, delineates some of the variables which might serve as "explainers" or "causers" including culture, economics, ethnicity, geography, history, language, patterns of domination, and religion. Further he observes: "Ethnic diversity means ethnic differences, and these differences too often contain a potential for intergroup conflict." (xvii) Although interethnic conflict is clearly only possible where at least two ethnically identifiable groups exist, it does not follow that there necessarily must be a causal relationship between ethnic diversity and inter-ethnic conflict. Hall recognizes this yet his reliance upon a definition of ethnicity as a conceptual introduction to explain ethnic autonomy without an examination of causal factors is patently inadequate. Surely the unequal power relationship, whether real or imagined, of two ethnic groups in a majority-minority relationship is a most basic precondition to aspirations for ethnic autonomy. And as pointed out by Sagarin and Moneymaker, language (along with the other variables or "explainers" identified by Hall above) is not a causal explanation for interethnic conflict but rather is a source of identity and rally symbol in the struggle for power. "It is not so much that the struggles for power will result in the revival, strengthening, and continuity of the language," wrote Sagarin and Moneymaker, "but rather that the presence of language, whether in current usage or as an historical symbol, strengthens a people in power struggles."(35)

Comparatively minor irritants include typographical errors like "economic" for "economy" (431:1) and "content" for "contend" (433:2), and incorrect terminology, "Union of South Africa" for "Republic of South Africa." (257:3) More serious defects include the editor's ethnocentrism despite his caution against the narrow use of culture-bound constructs to arrive at a universal understanding of ethnic autonomy. (xiii) For example, in his preface

to the section on the developing world, Hall writes: "Before colonialism, potential or actual ethnic adversaries had attempted to work out generally-satisfactory ecological arrangements; they usually respected each others' physical and psychological boundaries, either because there was little or no choice in the matter, or because no one group had sufficient power to overwhelm the others." (emphasis mine) (255) That ethnocentrism closely parallels his assumption that ethnic diversity contains the potential for intergroup conflict and conversely homogeneity implies less potential for intergroup conflict (xvii-xix), and his conclusion that since ethnic heterogeneity and hence ethnic conflict are products of colonialism (the modern nation state), a resolution of that has been patterned after strategies of the developed world. On the contrary, African states and chiefdoms, for example, have dealt with ethnic diversity and conflict long before European colonizers arrived on the continent.

It is perhaps regrettable that the last two essays by Sterling and McCord and McCord were not placed at the beginning of the book because these set forth the theoretical thread which might have served to integrate the individual case studies. Sterling, for example, defines ethnic separatism as "a political movement whose purpose is the parting of peoples" (emphasis mine) (413), and discusses nationalism and democracy, the role of the masses, majority-minority relations, political strategies and alliances, power, and the redistribution of wealth. McCord and McCord summarize for us some generalizations which might apply to all separatist movements but we are cautioned that because of the uniqueness of each movement these must be at an "extremely high level of abstraction and, therefore, must be conditionally specified." (433) Factors include differential access to power, uneven economic development, partial assimilation and cultural revivalism, leadership, a tradition of division and hatreds, and incomplete or ineffectual oppression.

It is significant that both concluding essays point to the need for in-depth studies which trace the historical rise of the idea of ethnic autonomy and its changes over time perhaps reflecting its age, and more case studies which could provide the bases for a truly rigorous comparative international perspective. This is especially important since as noted by McCord and McCord, "separatist movements are unique, and that any explanation of them must rely upon information of the specific historical circumstances which precede them." (433) In addition, as pointed out by Deutsch, Weiner, and others, ethnic separatist movements oftentimes transcend national boundaries and thus analyses of ethnic autonomy must move beyond the confines of the state. (Karl W. Deutsch, "External Influences on the Internal Behavior of States," in R. B. Farrell (ed.), *Approaches to Comparative and International Politics*, Northwestern University Press, 1966, 5-26; and Myron Weiner, "The Macedonian Syndrome: An Historical Model of International Relations and Political Development," *World Politics* 23:1971, 655-83.) The present collection of essays, therefore, represents a timely but modest beginning.

--Gary Y. Okihiro
Ethnic Studies Program
Humboldt State University

CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES--SPECIAL ISSUE: ETHNIC RADICALS, X,2, 1978, "published semi-annually by the Research Centre for Canadian Ethnic Studies at the University of Calgary for the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association."

This familiar and useful journal for those interested in cross-national comparative ethnic studies between Canada and the United States provides in this special issue six essays on seven important but hitherto overlooked ethnic minority leaders. Predictably, two of the figures are British (Arthur Putee and Sam Scarlett) and none are native, Métis, French or female; the other five being Finn (Matti Kurikka and A. B. Mäkelä), Norwegian (Ole Hjelt), Ukranian (Pavlo Krat) and Croatian (Tomo Čačić). Each essay is in English with convenient bilingual headnote synopses. The essays are well researched, amply footnoted and tolerably readable for specialist literature. Each employs life-and-times biography of an ethnic radical as entry to analysis of both ethnicity and radicalism in Europe and Canada. Each essay creates a striking vignette informed by both traditional and recent Canadian and European scholarship and impressive work in manuscripts and official records in North America and abroad.

The six essays are followed by source reading selections intended "to acquaint the reader with the personality, style, and characteristic response of the individual radical spokesmen, and to recapture something of the spirit of the times when uninhibited forms of protest were voiced against the conventional institutions of Canadian society." The excerpts are disappointingly but necessarily brief, nevertheless accomplishing the purposes for which they were included.

For those previously unacquainted with this remarkable journal, this number carries forth the practice of including items on the interfacing of ethnic studies scholarship and current social concerns endemic to a nation whose official policy is "multi-culturalism within a bilingual framework." In fact, one article in the "Current Opinion" section surveys the status and implications of that policy! The journal includes reviews of conferences as well as of both print and film media. NAIES members interested in this or other numbers of *Canadian Ethnic Studies* should write CES at University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada T2N 1N4 or, for microfilm back issues, Micromedia Limited, Box 502, Station S, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5M 4L8.

--John W. Larner, Jr.
Editor, The Papers of Carlos Montezuma, Klein, Texas

JOHN COOKE (ED.). *PERSPECTIVES ON ETHNICITY IN NEW ORLEANS.* A publication of the Committee on Ethnicity in New Orleans, 1979. 55 pp.

In *Perspectives on Ethnicity in New Orleans*, editor John Cooke has organized nine essays that respond to the meaning of and the durability of ethnicity. A practical and analytical work, the collection focuses on the community, the people and the culture of New Orleans.

John Logsdon's essay, "The Surprise of the Melting Pot: We Can All Become New Orleanians," examines the process of assimilation, argues there is a melting pot but asserts "some persons have tried to recapture their ethnic identities" in trying to fill the "void in their lives." The uniqueness of New Orleans is a "new ethnicity from old world and new world ingredients." It is a public culture created by ordinary people. As stated elsewhere, "creolization" results, creating an emerging culture of diverse blends.

Joseph V. Guillotte, III, summarizes arguments for and against ethnicity in his essay, "Ethnicity and New-Ethnicity." His findings reveal that ethnicity is not a new or recent development and it has served human needs over time. Even the nation-state and the United Nations have not been able to supplant ethnic groups.

Ethelyn Orso traces the rise of ethnic awareness movements since World War II in "The Hellenic Nativistic Revitalization Movement in New Orleans." The resurgence of Greek culture is demonstrated in the promotion of Greek customs, food, dress, dance, etc., through the examples of the festival, a Greek Night and the Hellenic Cultural Center. At the same time the Greeks have exhibited strong ethnocentric behavioral patterns.

Andrew Horton presents the experiences of the more than 20,000 sailors who annually stop off at the port of New Orleans and their ritual of frequenting the high-priced Greek clubs on Decatur Street in "Odysseus in Louisiana: Greek Sailors in New Orleans." But he asserts that these clubs did not service all the sailors' needs. Thus the St. Nicholas Maritime Center was initiated by Father William G. Gaines, a Greek Orthodox priest. The Center serves as a meeting place for Greek sailors that is not a bar or disco. Despite the support of the Greek government, Horton wonders if the Greek community will support the Center.

The remaining essays deal with topics as varied as ethnicity itself. Marina E. Espina fills a void with the study of "Seven Generations of a New Orleans Filipino Family." Martha C. Ward and Zachary Gussow examine the most recent immigrant group, "The Vietnamese in New Orleans; A Preliminary Report." A thorough linguistic comparison is made in "Isleño and Cuban Spanish," by Beatriz Varela, who optimistically concludes that both dialects will survive. Varela also advocates competent bilingual programs. Andrew J. Kaslow creates a model for cross-cultural fertilization to achieve inter-ethnic understanding in the diverse celebrations of St. Joseph's Day as presented in "The Afro-American Celebration of St. Joseph's Day."

Finally, Margery Freeman, in "The St. Mark's Ethnic Heritage Project: A Model for Ethnic Studies," describes the oral history project and videotape documentary funded by the U.S. Ethnic Heritage Studies Program, which recorded the experiences of the residents in the Treme/Seventh Ward. Freeman asserts such programs "will expand in New Orleans because more and more citizens are learning to value and preserve those traditions and customs which have previously been taken for granted." If such a prediction materializes then the revitalization of ethnicity in contemporary America will re-affirm the distinctive nature of cultural diversity. In this respect, the successful public program, "Italians in Chicago," directed by Dominic Candeloro and funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities for 1979-1981, reflects a significant development in social history, along with the systematic teaching and research at the university level. The remarkable work of the Institute for Minority Studies at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, the Center for Migration Studies in New York, the Immigration History Research Center at the University of Minnesota, the Balch Institute in Philadelphia, to name a few, have contributed to the understanding of ethnicity.

Perspectives on Ethnicity in New Orleans represents history from the bottom up, of community studies, of family history, and of history of "ordinary" people. This collection of insightful essays will benefit the student of ethnic studies and the general public.

--Frank J. Cavaioli
State University of New York at Farmingdale

---EDITOR'S NOTE---A limited number of copies of *Perspectives on Ethnicity in New Orleans* is available free of charge. Write John Cooke, Dept. of English, University of New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70122.

FRANCESCO CORDASCO AND GEORGE BERNSTEIN, *BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN AMERICAN SCHOOLS: A GUIDE TO INFORMATION SOURCES.* Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1979, 307 pp. $24.00.

This resource book is as valuable for non-specialists as it is for "old hands" in the area of bilingualism who want to have in one volume a guide to resources on Bilingual Education and related areas as they pertain to America.

The text is divided into nine chapters that cover the following topics: Historical and Sociocultural Perspectives; Curriculum, Programs, Guidance and Counseling; English as a Second Language; Teacher Education, Staff Training and Administration; Legislation; Federal and State Roles; Linguistics, Language, and Multilingualism; Tests, Measurements, and Evaluation. The first chapter includes Bibliographies and General References. Chapter Two, which is the longest (52 pages), lists numerous entries which were placed under

the heading of General and Miscellaneous; yet a close look at this list shows that most references could have been catalogued quite appropriately under one or another of the chapters cited above, thus facilitating the reader's task when looking for specific topics.

Three separate indexes are provided--by title, by subject, and by author. Some errors were noted in these indexes. For example, while the work of Dr. Mari Luci Jaramillo is correctly inserted in the main text of the book, when listed by author in the index her name appears as Caramillo, an unfortunate mistake that will tend to confuse the reader. Also, orthography for the many Hispanic names listed is not systematically followed so that at times accent marks and tildes are correctly placed and at others totally omitted. An additional inconsistency of format was discovered when multiple authors or editors are entered in the indexes. While G. Keller, R. Teschner, and S. Viera are all given credit for editing *Bilingualism in the Bicentennial and Beyond*, the names of G. Bills and J. Craddock were omitted and only R. Teschner's name was entered as editor of *Spanish and English for United States Hispanos*. Similarly, A. Beltramo does not appear alongside Hernandez-Chavez's name as co-editor of *El Lenguaje de los Chicanos*. No explanation is given for this inconsistency.

This guide includes 1472 entries, many of which are annotated. Appendix I covers the functions of the National Network of Centers for Bilingual Education and provides the addresses of the various centers located throughout the United States according to the three major components of the network: Dissemination and Assessment, Materials Development, and Training Resources. Some of this information is not accurate to date, since several of the centers listed are no longer in existence or have changed their location. Appendix II describes the services and products of the National Clearing House for Bilingual Education.

The writers did a very comprehensive job in some areas such as master's theses and doctoral dissertations written on subjects that relate to bilingual education. On the other hand, there were some topics closely tied to bilingualism such as code-switching for which not a single entry was found. Similarly, several of the works of writers who have done extensive work in bilingualism such as Ervin-Tripp, Macnamara, Gumperz and others were omitted; as an example, J. Fishman's article entitled "Will Foreign Languages Still be Taught in the Year 2000?" which has appeared in various books and journals is not listed anywhere in this book. Also missing are such classics as J. Rubin's work on bilingualism in Paraguay. Yet other entries were made relating to foreign languages and to bilingualism in other parts of America and Canada and Mexico.

In conclusion, while *Bilingual Education in American Schools* does have its flaws, it is nevertheless a book that should become a part of the library of anyone interested and involved in the subject of bilingualism. The information that Cordasco and Bernstein have compiled is unquestionably valuable.

--Rosa Fernandez
University of New Mexico, Albuquerq

JOHN DYLONG, *LIVING HISTORY 1925-1950: FAMILY EXPERIENCES OF TIMES REMEMBERED*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1979. pp. 139. $4.95 paper; $6.50 teacher's guide; $7.95 trade edition.

Beginning with the premise that "the family is our richest historical resource" because "they have been through it all" and "their memories are not dry, dusty facts," John Dylong sets out to document one family's (his) growth. He does this with snapshots from family albums, brief narratives and newspaper and magazine clippings on facing pages.

Imploring the reader to "get into a nostalgia trip," Dylong also includes at the end of each of his four chapters a series of questions intended to prompt students (what level is not clear) to explore their own family histories. A bibliography is appended for the same reason.

Dylong' chapters are: 1925-1929 The Wild Years, 1930-1939 The Decade of Depression, 1940-1945 A World Gone Mad and 1945-1950 Home to Stay.

While utilizing family memorabilia and popular journalism to study the past is valuable, Dylong's approach is of limited value. By using only sketchy identifications with his photographs e.g. "Grandmother and Grandfather Pazik forcing a smile" he takes them from the realm of "everyperson" and yet leaves the reader wondering: Who is this? What are the circumstances of these people's lives? And while the news stories, cartoons and advertisements do illustrate the chapter subsections (Aviation in America, Religion in the Hard Times, Fun for Nothing, etc.), the reader cannot help asking: Why did he choose these?

One presumes (the reader never is told) that the Dylong family emigrated to America (from where apparently does not matter); first photos and clippings are of "A New Beginning." Apparently the book is meant to be the story of an immigrant family. But the picture of that family that emerges is unrealistic, a Pollyanna version of immigrant life during that time period. The words ("The severe economy of the early 1930's affected clothing styles as it did everything else") and photographs ("John off to work as a waiter," "Harry practicing his golf swing," "Friend Lee in his Sunday best") don't seem to jibe. This is a book of smiles. Where are the tears?

Readers (be they students or not) with access to older family members, personal photo albums and "dry, dusty" copies of old hometown newspapers, Life magazines and the like do not need Dylong's book. Others might find it interesting.

--Barbara R. Luebke
Department of Journalism
UW-Eau Claire

BERNTH LINDFORS, *BLACK AFRICAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH: A GUIDE TO INFORMATION SOURCES.* (American Literature, English Literature, and World Literatures in English Information Guide Series, v. 23). Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1979. pp. 482. $24.00.

Although there is no single Black or African world view, Black African creative writing offers us alternative perspectives to the Western European/American value system characterizing the literature most familiar to us.

Bernth Lindfors, professor of English and African literature, University of Texas, Austin, has compiled an outstanding tool for a systematic approach to the study of Black African authors who write in English. It is probably the most comprehensive collection of information sources presently available on this material up to the end of 1976.

It is important to emphasize that the *Guide* contains commentary only on Black Africans writing in English, although the articles cited may be written by non-Africans in languages other than English. Users should also be aware that lists of creative works are themselves generally excluded.

Lindfors has done his homework, having examined most of the items himself and indicating with an asterisk those he has not been able to obtain. The *Guide* is divided into two major parts. The first, Genre and Topical Studies and Reference Sources, is subdivided into specific sections, including such topics as interviews, censorship, festivals, etc. Many entries have brief explanatory annotations.

The second part of the *Guide* is an alphabetical listing of individual authors. Lindfors states the primary criterion for inclusion is a page or more of commentary in a secondary source. Under each author entry the sources are separated into four categories: bibliography; biography and autobiography; interviews; and criticism. There are abundant cross references to citations appearing elsewhere in the *Guide*. Sources for this compilation are more than 500 periodicals in languages ranging from English to Russian and published in Africa, Europe, and the North American continent.

One of the greatest delights for users of this book is its excellent indexing. There are four indexes: author, title, subject, and geographical. For any scholar in the field or library supporting an African literature collection this work is a necessary acquisition.

--Helen MacLam
Dartmouth College Library

ANNA LEE STENSLAND, *LITERATURE BY AND ABOUT THE AMERICAN INDIAN*. Second Edition. Urbana, Illinois: National Council of Teachers of English, 1979, 382 pp. $6.75 paper ($6.00 NCTE Members).

This annotated bibliography, an expanded version of Stensland's 1973 publication of the same title, broadens the scope of works included considerably. The earlier edition was intended as a guide for teachers of secondary students; the present edition also includes annotations by Aune Fadum of some 200 books for pupils in the elementary grades. Some of the 1973 annotations of important secondary level books have been retained, but the emphasis is on books published since that date. Books about Indians from Mexico and Canada are included. All together nearly 800 titles are mentioned.

The introduction discusses what Stensland calls "important themes in Indian literature"; by "Indian literature" Stensland means both books by and about Indians, and she discusses themes such as betrayal by whites, spirituality of life, loyalty to tribe, bravery of women, sacredness of nature, search for self-identity, and the white child in captivity. Obviously these are not really parallel "themes," since some of them refer to Indian values and others to plot type. What Stensland does is to give an overview and mention briefly books which deal with these "themes."

The introduction also includes a valuable discussion of Indian stereotypes: the noble red man, the heathen savage, the murderous thief, the idler/drunkard, the beautiful Indian maiden, the vanishing race, and the faithful friend/servant. It is somewhat misleading to categorize "the vanishing race" as a stereotype. What it is really is a misconception about Indian population. The "sentimentalized picture" of the Indian that Stensland discusses in this category is in actuality part of the noble red man stereotype. To confuse matters further, Stensland also discusses here the "silent, humorless, granite-faced cigar store Indian," which is a totally different stereotype. Since stereotyping seriously affects both the literary value of a book and the work's potential as an instrument for promoting cultural understanding, what Stensland says about stereotypes is vitally important; she just doesn't go quite far enough. A systematic study of Indian stereotypes reveals several other images that should have been exposed. For example, another aspect of the heathen savage, the "child of the devil" stereotype, is that the Indian is endowed with fearful supernatural powers, a concept that is still with us, as evidenced by a 1970's missionary newsletter, which refers to a Hopi village "steeped in witchcraft," at whose dances "you can feel the very presence of evil forces as they actually worship the devil."[1] Another stereotype is the personality-less, beast-of-burden-like squaw, the dreary drudge or animalistic prostitute. Still another stereotype, much more recent in origin but probably more influential on the Indian himself, sees the Indian as a sociological victim, put upon by society, powerless to do anything on his own behalf, utterly dependent and passive.

The final section of the introduction prudently focuses on Indian literature of the mid-seventies and mentions some poor books that attempt to capitalize on the current interest in Indians. Unfortunately, Stensland seems reluctant to be very specific about these; she makes statements such as "Because they may perpetuate the misconceptions of their time or because they may be lacking in value, some of these earlier writings probably should have remained unpublished," without making clear which specific books she means. Stensland's apparent desire to avoid most negative criticism or to soften it causes her here as well as throughout the book to make ambiguous statements about the worth of certain books.

The useful second chapter, "Aids for the Teacher," lists guides to curriculum planning, suggested basic libraries of Indian literature for various grade levels, and sources of additional materials.

The third chapter, "Biographies of Selected American Indian Authors," has paragraph-long entries on over fifty authors, many contemporary. While the list is by no means exhaustive, it is helpful to have this much hard-to-come-by information in capsulated form. It would also have been helpful to have either a separate index to works written by Indian authors or to have asterisks or some distinguishing mark beside the names of Indian authors in the mixed index that Stensland does provide.

A second section of the book contains the annotated bibliography itself, divided into the following categories: Myth, Legend, Oratory, and Poetry; Fiction; Biography and Autobiography; History; Traditional Life and Culture (non-fiction works); Modern Life and Problems (non-fiction works); and Music, Arts, and Crafts. Within each category, the entries are divided into those suitable for elementary pupils, (further notated as grades 1-3 and grades 4-6) junior high pupils, and senior high pupils and adults. These grade levels can be taken only as "guides," Stensland writes, since reading levels are hard to assess; it should be added that suitability of subject matter is also difficult to assess, but occasionally Stensland's guides seem misleading. For example, while it is true that Jaime De Angulo's *Indian Tales* almost certainly will be enjoyed by adults and maybe by junior high students (she lists the book in the latter category), the book may well appeal to elementary students more than to junior high students, who often think they are too sophisticated for animals-as-humans stories. On the other hand, Susan Feldmann's *The Storytelling Stone: Myths and Tales of the American Indians*, which is also listed for junior high students, is clearly suitable for older students and adults. The vocabulary and the concepts of the introduction are very sophisticated, and the tales themselves frequently deal with violence, bodily functions, and sexual acts in such a way that junior high youngsters might, through lack of understanding and maturity, form negative impressions of Indians. Moreover, in many school districts, teachers using the book with junior high schoolers could well find themselves in hot water. Since community judgments about what constitutes "obscenity" vary widely, teachers should be forewarned that Stensland's annotations rarely take this matter into account except, perhaps, by an indirect comment that a particular book is best suited for "mature" students. On the whole, however, Stensland's categorization seems judicious.

In the introduction to the bibliography, Stensland briefly discusses her criteria for selection and suggests that she has used "all of the criteria that apply to any good literature," such as interest of plot, complexity of character, and sensitivity of style. But above all, she writes, "the important question is whether the story is true to the Indian way," and in determining this she has rightly relied, wherever possible, on reviews done by Indians. Not every book included is "necessarily recommended as a fine example of Indian life and culture" because Stensland thought, and wisely so, that including some not wholly desirable books that teachers ask about and mentioning their weakness would be more helpful than ignoring the books. The problem is that when negative evaluations ought to be made in terms of literary quality or in terms of accurate presentation of Indians both Stensland and Aune seldom point out the deficiencies (unless they quote another source for the negative judgment), or they are not sufficiently direct and specific about what is objectionable. For the most part, their annotations are plot summaries or non-evaluative descriptions of the books. Consequently, teachers and librarians depending upon Stensland's and Aune's annotations may sometimes recommend to unsuspecting readers books that are of questionable quality in one way or another.

For example, there is no mention of stereotyping in such books as Glenn Balch's *Indian Paint*, wherein both Little Falcon and his father, Chief War Cloud, are typecast Noble Red Men or in Wayne Dyre Doughty's *Crimson Moccasins*, wherein there are several stereotypical characters both in the white and in the Indian worlds that Quick Eagle tries unsuccessfully to live in. Often non-Indian reviewers (and sometimes Indian commentators as well) think that so long as the Indians are not portrayed as negative stereotypes, the characterization is acceptable, but as Rupert Costo has pointed out, the noble red man approach is "just as bad as the degradation published by others" because it makes no distinction from one Indian group to another, and it does not make clear that Indians "are human--with human faults and difficulties."[2] Moreover, the noble red man or Indian-as-helpless-victim stereotype detracts from literary quality as much as any other stereotype because such a character is a pre-conceived type, one-dimensional and unrealistic.

The annotation of *Pocahontas* by Grace Steele Woodward refers to it as a "scholarly work" but makes no mention of its racial slurs and emphases that are conducive to the formation, or continuation, of stereotypes and bias. For example, the early pages treat the hostility of the Powhatan Indians toward the Jamestown settlers as if it were entirely unprovoked, but state that Pocahontas rose "above the ignorance and savagery of her people . . . a culture of dark superstitions and devil worship . . . of easy cruelty and primitive social accomplishments, . . . the most revealing of whose celebrations was the ritualistic torture of captives" (pp. 6-15).

Stensland's annotations fail to take into account some of the more subtle kinds of prejudice against Indians conveyed in a book like Evelyn S. Lampman's *The Year of Small Shadow*. Lampman reveals the

"bad" white bigots for what they are but seems to accept the value system of the "good" whites who treat Small Shadow well. Mrs. Hicks, for example, judges the boy's worth by his table manners and cleanliness. Daniel Foster, out-standingly wise and humane, is kindly toward Indians and accepts some of their practices and values, but he is exceedingly paternalistic and treats all Indians as children. Stensland seldom warns the reader about books that are well-intentioned but subtly biased.

On the other hand, Stensland's comments about *Son of Old Man Hat*, by Left Handed as told to Walter Dyk, give no hint as to its richness not just as anthropological autobiography but as literature. Though it comes through an interpreter and an editor, Left Handed's strength of personality and engaging attitude toward life structure and unify the book; it is written artlessly but with gusto and perceptivity. It not only allays forever, as Dyk hoped it would, "that strange and monstrous apparition, the 'Primitive Mind,'"[3] it also utterly destroys, not by didacticism but by personalized realism, stereotype after stereotype, such as Navajos' improvidence, their total generosity with one another, their impassivity in the face of grief, their never telling a lie, their irresponsibility, their humorlessness. Left Handed's story will convince any reader that Indians differ a great deal from one individual to another, as well as from one culture group to another.

Although Stensland lists sensitivity of style as one of her evaluative criteria, she rarely criticizes a book on that score. She mentions, for example, that Lela and Rufus Waltrip's *Indian Women* includes "some fictionalized detail and conversation," but she doesn't say that the Waltrips combine third person omniscient narrative and research-oriented exposition and citation of sources in such a way that the two modes simply never fuse; the result is a style that is unlikely to hold the interest of young readers despite the importance of the subject. One wishes that Stensland had relied more heavily upon her own literary training and less upon the judgment of the Canadian university students who annotated books for *About Indians*, which Stensland frequently cites. *About Indians* often, as it does in this instance, says something is "well written" when more sophisticated judgment would wish to argue, and younger readers would probably just lay the book aside.

In terms of completeness, the list of books for elementary students is weakest. There are, for example, only four biographies/autobiographies annotated for the primary grades though dozens exist. And while recognizing that lines had to be drawn somewhere, one wishes that some of the earlier but excellent and still widely accessible books had been included. Finally, the bibliography makes no mention whatever of books intended specifically for use with Indian children, such as those produced by the Northern Cheyenne particularly for use in Montana schools and those by the Navajo Curriculum Center. There is a sore need both for these kinds of books and for recognition of those that do exist.

But to give examples of what Stensland's annotations fail to do or fail to include is not to suggest that *Literature By and About the American Indian* is not a highly commendable work. It is certainly meritorious and deserving of high praise, for it goes further toward filling a desperate need than any other book of its kind. Within the limitations imposed by the form of an annotated bibliography, Stensland has accomplished a huge task. The bibliography cannot be exhaustive, and Stensland's decisions about what to include are generally sound. Moreover, the attenuated form of the annotations precludes in-depth analysis and documentation of weaknesses of the books annotated. At best, only brief evaluations can be made, and it is understandable that Stensland would err on the side of generosity toward the books in the absence of space to defend negative comments. What this review is really lamenting is the scarcity of books for young people that are both accurate in their presentation of Indians and excellent as literature and/or the lack of a book of critical criteria that could be applied by teachers, librarians, parents, or anyone interested in making evaluating text books, but there is, to this writer's knowledge, nothing comparable for use in evaluating literature. This need notwithstanding, one should not expect Stensland's bibliography to do a job that is outside its scope; one should be grateful for the enormous job it does. Young people's reading should be the richer for it.

Endnotes

[1]Richard Erdoes, *The Rain Dance People*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976, p. 269.

[2]Rupert Costo, "Books," *The Indian Historian*, 3, No. 1, Winter 1970, 60.

[3]Walter Dyk, *Son of Old Man Hat*, New York: Harcourt, 1938, p. xiv.

--Dona Hoilman
Ball State University

TATO LAVIERA, *LA CARRETA MADE A U-TURN*. PHOTOS BY DOMINIQUE. Gary, Indiana: Arte Publico Press, 1979, 74 pp. $5.00 paper.

The title of this new book of poetry from New York's Latino Lower East Side refers to a drama, *La Carreta*, by one of Puerto Rico's most prestigious authors, René Marqués (1919-1979).[1] It is generally considered one of the supreme artistic expressions of the collective Puerto Rican experience. At the end of the play the emigrants decide to leave New York City in an attempt to maintain their integrity and identity, to till the earth in the hills of Puerto Rico.

Laviera's book may be viewed as both a social and a poetic document of a young Puerto Rican who was raised in New York, who

is staying on and has no intention to be crushed between two cultures. He is a regular and impressive recitator and musician in Miguel Algarín's "Nuyorican Poets' Cafe" and must be seen in the context of a largely orally based tradition. It is not by accident that a tribute to his spiritual father, the ghetto bard Jorge Brandon, concludes the book.

La Carreta Made a U-Turn consists of 42 poems and is divided into three sections: "Metropolis Dreams," "Loisaida Streets: Latinas Sing," and "El Arrabal: Nuevo Rumbón." About half of the poems use Spanish, ranging from street talk and Spanglish to traditional proverbial phrases and formal poetic speech; nine poems are written exclusively in Spanish.

Laviera is a sensitive and clear-sighted commentator on ghetto suffering, alienation and oppression without, for the most part, falling into the trap of sentimentalizing human tragedies. By avoiding an overtly narrow autobiographical stance in most of his poems, his work appears not, as the writings of some of his colleagues in the New York scene do, as a dead end (repeated over and over again) but as a very promising beginning.

He is aware of the dangers of drifting into a cultural no-man's land ("my graduation speech," 7) into self-abandonment, and into drug addiction ("even then he knew," 4, "angelito's eulogy in anger," 8-11). Another theme pervading the volume is a very conscious rejection of (white) Christianity ("excommunication gossip," 13-15, which is reminiscent of Miguel Piñero's style) and an embracing of the syncretistic Caribbean spiritualism/santería tradition, a fact which also becomes quite evident in his and M. Algarín's dance-drama "Olú Clemente" (*Revista Chicano-Riqueña*, VII, 1, invierno 1979, 151-72). Here we find it in a sprinkling of Yóruba/santería deities (Yemayá, Oba, Otún) through many poems, in the ambiguous "tumbao" (48-50), in "orchard beach y la virgen del carmen" (55-56), in the rather melodramatic "coreografía" (63-68), and above all in his "santa bárbara" (61-62), a powerful, high-pitched account of a "despojo" and the miraculous certitude of being touched by Santa Bárbara/Changó.

Laviera, who affirms his Afro-Caribbean identity with pride, sees in musical forms, instruments, sound and rhythms his strongest allies. The highly commercialized contemporary salsa music is put next to the genuine, old-style Puerto Rican plena and bomba, to bolero and cha-cha-cha. Music and dance, also both important elements in santería, become liberating, cleansing, cathartic forces in "palm tree in spanglish figurines" (35), in "the congas mujer" (36) and in "the new rumbón" (39-40): "congas congas / tecata's milk gets warmed / broken veins leave misery / hypedermic needles melt / from the voodoo curse / of the conga madness / the congas clean the gasses / in the air, the congas burn out / everything not natural to our people" (39).

The author is familiar with Puerto Rico's greatest Afro-Carribean poet Luis Palés Matos, author of *Tutún de paso y grifería*,

and shows close parallels to some of that writer's well-known workings in "savorings from piñones to loiza" (45) and "moreno puertorriqueño (a three-way warning poem)" (46).

Numerous examples of social criticism and some brief but quite to the point political statements add to the complex texture of the collection. Unfortunately, the beauty of his central idea in "the last song of neruda," (19) is marred by its uneven, verbose handling. In "against muñoz pamphleteering," he writes "inside my ghetto i learned to understand / your short range visions of where you led us, / across the oceans where i talk about myself / in foreign languages... / your sense of / stars landed me in a / north temperate uprooted zone" (18).

The young Nuyorican's distance towards the island is evident in this book. He in no way figures Puerto Rico as a utopian tropical island paradise; and no escapist view of a Puerto Rican wholeness is found elsewhere. Instead, Laviera stays as a rule in his "territory," the Lower East Side (Loisaida) and less frequently Piñones, Puerto Rico, and preserves from the island culture those facets which he needs and can relate to. An excellent example of a contemporary use of folk traditions is found in his "canción para un parrandero" (52), his own version of a Christmas song, which along with a treacherous naiveté, reveals a powerful subversive undercurrent. The reader is spared a clean-cut ideological vision of the future.

In *La Carreta Made a U-Turn* there is a clear and refreshing note of affirmation, humaneness, joy and vigor in the face of poverty, alienation and oppression. Tato Laviera has produced a remarkably varied first book of poems and should be encouraged to go on.

Footnote

[1]There exists an English translation by Charles Pilditch: *The Oxcart.* New York: Charles Scribner, 1969, 155 pp.

--Wolfgang Binder
Institut fur Anglistik und Amerikanistik
Universitat Erlangen-Nurnberg
Erlangen, West Germany

THOMAS A. CLARK, *BLACKS IN SUBURBS: A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE.* New Brunswick, N.J.; Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University, 1979. 126 pp., $7.50 paper.

Blacks in Suburbs examines the process of black suburbanization on a national level. Although a book this short (111 pp., plus bibliography and index) necessarily provides a superficial treatment, it does explore some of the complexities of the suburbanization process among blacks. It not only looks at migration patterns of

blacks to and from suburbs, but also at how factors such as region, income, education, and occupational and housing markets affect the process of suburbanization.

Blacks in Suburbs is the first in a series of books on black migration to be published by the Center for Urban Policy Research at Rutgers University. The purpose of this volume, according to the Preface by George Sternlieb, is to provide a firm statistical foundation on black suburbanization. It is the failure of *Blacks in Suburbs* to provide a "firm statistical foundation" which leads this writer to conclude that the book does not provide an important contribution, despite the fact that it deals with an important topic and contains reasonably up-to-date information.

Most of the statistics cited in the book come from previously published sources. The most commonly cited source is *Current Population Reports*, which reports findings of surveys conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. The other major source of information is the Annual Housing Survey conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. From this survey, Clark draws upon both previously published data (from *Current Housing Reports*) and unpublished data (from the 1975 National Public Use Tape).

Clark does a service for the reader by pulling together recent information of various kinds that have a bearing on black suburbanization. As Clark would acknowledge, however, the data do have inherent limitations which sometimes make interpretation difficult. For example, it is difficult to assess the significance of the author's conclusion that the rate of black suburbanization is increasing, because the data used to support this conclusion do not take into account the racial composition of suburban neighborhoods. Consequently, it is impossible to determine from these data the extent to which the increasing rate of black suburbanization reflects the racial integration of the suburbs rather than the expansion of predominately black central city neighborhoods into the suburbs.

Inherent limitations of the data are not a major problem, however. This book could still be very useful were it not for the careless construction of tables by the author, which turns up all to often and makes interpretation for the author, let alone the reader, very difficult. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the table presented in "Exhibit 11" (pp. 64-65). I will discuss this table at some length in order to illustrate the sorts of problems that plague the book. The reader should keep in mind, however, that this is the most extreme example of poor table construction in the book.

Exhibit 11 presents the mean incomes of black families and unrelated individuals by geographic mobility status (nonmovers and movers living in or moving to central cities, suburbs, etc.) for the time periods 1970-74 and 1975-77. In addition to presenting incomes, it provides the number of people who fall into each cell of the table. One problem with Exhibit 11 is that the statistics

presented for families and unrelated individuals are based upon the time periods 1970-74 and 1975-77, while the statistics presented in the "total" column of the table are for the years 1970-75 and 1975-77, despite the fact that the totals for the 1970-74 period are available in Clark's original source. A much more disturbing error is that, while the number of nonmovers is presented in thousands, the unit used for movers, although never stated in the table, is apparently millions of persons. Figures for movers are rounded to the nearest tenth of a million, but many of them are rounded improperly. In addition, the population figures for movers are obviously wrong. In every case the sum of people living in families and as unrelated individuals far exceeds (usually by several times) the number of individuals in the "total" column. Finally, in numerous instances, data are not reported (blank cells in the table) or are reported as "not available" when, in fact, the data are available in the source from which Clark obtained the other information presented in Exhibit 11. All in all, Exhibit 11 is likely to leave the reader very confused.

Unfortunately, this is not the only example of shoddy table construction and data analysis. In a number of cases, mistakes were made in recording data from the original source, or errors were made in computations. An example is Exhibit 8, which is particularly important because it presents the most important data bearing on what is probably the most central conclusion of the book -- that the rate of black suburbanization is increasing.

Exhibit 8 examines migration rates for blacks among central cities, suburbs, and nonmetropolitan areas for the periods 1970-75 and 1975-78 for the United States as a whole and by region. Clark concludes that the rate of suburbanization is higher in the latter period for the nation as a whole. However, correcting a subtraction error in the 1970-75 data makes the annual rate of suburbanization the same in the two time periods. Fortunately for Clark, there is a second error in the opposite direction that more than compensates for the first. While Clark's source of information for Exhibit 8 *(Current Population Reports)* provides information on migration from abroad to central cities, suburbs and nonmetropolitan areas for the 1975-78 period, it does not provide this information for 1970-75. In its place, Clark usus figures for the earlier period which combine migrants from abroad with persons whose migration status is unknown, thus vastly overstating the rate of migration from abroad during this period. Correcting for this error would show that the rate of black suburbanization is indeed increasing, as Clark concludes.

While this overall evaluation of *Blacks in Suburbs* is negative, some of the chapters do provide useful information. The first three chapters do a good job of introducing the topic of black suburbanization. Chapter 4 provides an overview of regional differences, showing that blacks in the West are the most suburban and that the rate of increase in the suburban population is greatest in the South and least in the Northeast.

Chapters 5 and 6 are the weakest in the book. Chapter 5 examines suburbanization in 12 metropolitan areas. Substantial differences are shown to exist among metropolitan areas, but Clark's attempts to explain these differences are both ineffective and inconclusive. Chapter 6 takes a detailed look at migration of blacks to and from suburbs, regional and temporal variations in migration patterns, and the relationship between income and migration. Potentially, this could have been a very valuable chapter, but flaws in the presentation and analysis of data detract greatly from its value. (Exhibits 8 and 11, discussed earlier, both appear in this chapter.)

Chapter 7 is probably the strongest in the book. It examines the relationships between black suburbanization and poverty, education, occupation, and commuting distance to work. These data show an increasing gap between suburban and central city blacks along economic, educational, and occupational lines, but they also show that racial differences are greater than city/suburban differences for each of these variables. Clark concludes that limited occupational opportunities for lower-skilled black workers in the suburbs will probably further decrease the rate of migration of low-income blacks to the suburbs in the future.

Although Clark states that the main objective of Chapter 8 is to examine "the interaction between the markets for housing and labor within the joint search for space of the individual household," (p. 4) the data presented in Chapter 8 focus almost exclusively on the housing market. Comparisons are made between central city and suburban housing for blacks in terms of characteristics of dwelling units, rate of ownership, length of residence, property value, and subjective ratings of housing and neighborhood quality.

The discerning reader may find some useful information in *Blacks in Suburbs*. However, the serious problems in the presentation of data lead me to conclude that the scholar in search of factual information on black suburbanization would be better off consulting the sources of published information upon which *Blacks in Suburbs* is largely based.

I look forward to reading the forthcoming books in the series on black migration patterns to be published by the Center for Urban Policy Research. I hope that the standard of quality will be higher than that exhibited in this first volume.

--James Sherohman
Department of Sociology
St. Cloud State University

RONALD H. BAYOR, *NEIGHBORS IN CONFLICT: THE IRISH, GERMANS, JEWS AND ITALIANS OF NEW YORK CITY, 1929-1941*. Baltimore, MD, John Hopkins University Press, July 20, 1978. 232 pp. $14.00.

In this study of a seldom-considered period of ethnic interaction, Bayor has provided a well-written and solidly researched appraisal of group conflict in New York City from 1929 to 1941. He has attempted to discover the reasons why conflict erupted between certain groups while others remained quiescent or were resolved. If we can learn from history, this investigation could serve as an important text.

The opening chapter summarizing the situation in 1929 discusses the areas of strength and weakness for each of the four groups under consideration: the German Americans held a generally secure status in the community, but were still smarting from discrimination during World War I; the Irish-Americans, united by a conservative Catholic tradition, dominated the political scene through their control of the Democratic Party, but resented their failure to achieve higher economic positions; the Italian-Americans, lagging behind the others, were seeking improvement in both economic and social conditions, but had maintained a working relationship with other groups; and the Jews who were rising rapidly into the higher paying positions and professions, felt stymied by their lack of political power.

The main focus of the study is the consideration of how local and international events exacerbated some of the potential conflicts between these groups and isolates factors that brought resolution to some and friction to others. Local issues which caused increased friction were the uneven distribution of political and economic power. The dissatisfaction of the Jews and Italians with Irish political dominance was used by Fiorello LaGuardia in his campaigns for Mayor and they gave him the support he needed for his election. As a result, increased numbers of Jews and Italians received political and party positions in the Republican Party, and, in reaction, in the Democratic Party as well. Economic competition, heightened by the Depression, increased the resentment of Irish and Italian groups toward Jews. Of the international events, the rise of Hitler created a potentially serious conflict between the German-American population and the Jews. Love of their native land motivated many Germans to support the Bund during its early years. A similar source of conflict existed between Italians and Jews as anti-Semiticism escalated under Mussolini. Fear of Communism led many Irish Americans to support Franco during the Spanish Civil War while Jews were often prominent supporters of the Loyalists.

Given these and other sources of conflict, Bayor analyzes the reasons why conflicts occured between some groups and not others. The calming of the potentially explosive German-Jewish friction was achieved, he feels, by the leaders of the German-American community who were appalled by the excesses of the Hitler regime and publically withdrew their support of the Bund and other related pro-Nazi groups. Italian Jewish conflict was avoided

because Mussolini's anti-Semitism was not as integral to Fascism as it was to Nazism and because Jews and Italians in New York had maintained a cordial relationship. With the Irish, however, the factors which might have minimized the friction were missing. The strong anti-Communist stance of the Church led many of their leaders to distrust the liberal tendencies of the Jews, thus preventing any outright condemnation of such inflammatory spokesmen as Father Coughlin. As World War II loomed, the anti-British resentment of the Irish ran counter to the anti-German sentiment of the Jews. Not until the war actually broke out did the leadership of the Church take any action to quiet racial tensions.

The political campaigns of the period which began as vehicles for harnessing ethnic ties to gain power ended by becoming polarizing agents themselves. LaGuardia's earliest campaigns encouraged Italians to support their countrymen, and his wooing of the Jews included efforts to denounce anti-Semitism. But with each succeeding campaign his tactics aroused resentments, particularly with the Germans and the Irish that overrode mere political issues. What had started as enlightened self-interest on LaGuardia's part became a potentially serious source of new conflict. Only the war effort kept these factors from surfacing, but racial conflict did explode in a few areas, two of which Bayor spotlights -- in Washington Heights and the South Bronx, both of which involved Jewish-Irish friction.

In his conclusion, Bayor isolates the factors that produce conflict -- a sense of threat plus an explosive issue. Conflict could be avoided if there were any moderating influences. He has presented the situation for the four groups involved and has explained why German and Italian conflicts were more muted than Irish.

In assessing his study, the reviewer faces a peculiar task. Usually the focus should be exclusively on the writer's intentions and how well these are developed. But in this case, there is a nagging question that goes beyond Bayor's stated intention and threatens to overwhelm the validity of the study as it is defined by the author. Is it really possible to discuss ethnic conflict in New York City without any mention of the Black community? The existence of this substantial, clearly suppressed minority against whom all white established structures were in substantial agreement must have had some effect. To write about ethnic conflict in New York without such consideration seems to leave a serious gap. Despite the fine, scholarly work that Bayor has done, this unanswered question limits its usefulness.

--Carol Schoen
Herbert H. Lehman College, CUNY

LINDA PEGMAN DOEZEMA (ED.), *DUTCH AMERICANS: A GUIDE TO INFORMATION SOURCES*. Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1979, 314 pp., $18.00.

Ethnic-immigration history was once primarily the domain of ethnic-immigration historians. Over the past fifteen years, however, the development of the new social history has shown that studies of ethnicity, class, cities, families, and workers are interdependent. Josef Barton's study of urban mobility, John Cumbler's analysis of workers' militancy, and Laurence Glasco's examination of life cycles all demonstrate this point. This expanding interest by social analysts increases the need for comprehensive bibliographic studies in ethnicity. Linda Doezema's recent monograph helps fill the void for one frequently neglected group -- the Dutch.

Doezema's study, *Dutch Americans: A Guide to Information Sources*, is Volume 3 in Gale's Ethnic Studies Information Guide Series. The success of the first two volumes, Arnulfo D. Trejo and Francesco Cordasco's respective bibliographies on Chicanos and Italians, generates high expectations for this latest addition. For the most part, expectations are met.

Information retrieval from the over 800 annotated entries, both in English and Dutch, is simplified thanks to Doezema's chronological and subject organization. There are four chapters: 1) Reference Works; 2) General Works: Dutch in America; 3) The Colonial Period; and 4) The New Immigration (1846 to Present). Each chapter is divided into: the Humanities; Social Sciences; and History. Three appendices: Archives and Libraries; Newspapers and Periodicals; and Audiovisual Materials and Curriculum Aids follow indices to author, title, and subject listings.

Compilation resulted from examining books and articles, conducting a computer search with the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), using the American Culture Series and Wright American Fiction microfilm collections, and enlisting the aid of Dutch American scholars. Collection of these secondary sources appears quite thorough.

Dutch Americans is less successful, however, in its amassment of primary sources. Doezema's culling of archives is inadequate and her acknowledged omission of particular sources is regrettable. Both errors mar this study's usefulness.

The importance of archives is obvious. Although Doezema lists archival repositories within the United States, she neglects important national, regional, and city archives located in the Netherlands -- most notably Algemeen Rijksarchief, Rijksarchief In Drenthe, and Rijksarchief in Friesland -- each containing vast amounts of information related to Dutch-American immigration. Doezema's handling of American archives is also disappointing. Granted, it is impractical, as Doezema suggests, to include listings of individual records; but greater specificity could be employed in describing the types of materials available. One example is her failure to

note the Immigration Sources Project (undertaken by the Bentley Historical Library at the time of Doezema's research) as having a rich collection of Dutch-American correspondence. Since there is such a heavy reliance on secondary sources, Doezema's shortcomings in this area are not crucial. However, this point should be kept in mind by those pursuing original research.

Doezema's explicit omission of particular sources is more disconcerting. Jubilee books of various churches are the prime example. Fairly accessible, through a variety of libraries, jubilee books help provide a truly intimate picture of ethnic communities. Many bibliographers, including Joseph Zurawski and Stanley Kimball, have included such works in their studies. Doezema would have been well-advised to do likewise.

On another topic, Doezema includes dissertations throughout her work. However, a separate listing of them would have been especially useful. The ebb and flow of academic interest in a subject is one indicator of the shape of research to come.

These problems aside, Doezema has provided an important bibliographic study on Dutch-Americans. Her annotations are impressively thorough and complete. The wealth of information Doezema provides should be another step to advancing current Dutch-American studies.

--Lois J. Kalloway
University of Pittsburgh

KHALIL NAKHLEH AND ELIA ZUREIK (EDS.), *THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE PALESTINIANS*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980, 238 pp., $23.50

This book is a collection of seven different studies on the social aspects of Palestinian people. The editors are North American academicians of Palestinian origin. Other contributors to the volume include a lone UN official, and college professors from the USA, Canada and Bir Zeit University in Palestine.

The individual studies included herein vary in their theoretical orientations, methodology and social concerns. Dr. George Kossaifi's essay titled "Demographic Characteristics of Arab Palestinians" points out the problem of large gaps in the basic data relating to the demographic profile of Palestinians due to their naturalizations in other states and geographical dispersal. The need to conduct comprehensive census of the Palestinian people under the auspices of the UN is emphasized.

Professor Elia Zureik of the Queen's University Canada has contributed a chapter dealing with the development of 20th Century Palestinian Class Structure and refers to the system of

patronage and co-optation utilized by the Israeli regime as a factor in social stratification. The social mobility of Palestinian Arabs was based upon loyalty to an alien political institution. According to the author, this policy has inhibited the development of an industrial bourgeoisie among these people and increased militancy among the Palestinian people.

Professor Naseer Aruri (Southeastern Massachusetts University) and Samih Farsoun (American University) have included a study dealing with the Palestinian Communities and their relations with the Arab host countries (Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, etc.). The varied orientations of the host government has facilitated the reinforcement of their identity as Palestinians and their participation in independent liberation movement for a homeland.

Professor Khalil Nakhleh's chapter deals with the Palestinian intellectuals and suggests that the desired role of such intellectuals is "not merely the production of radical consciousness, but the tactical translation of that consciousness, through institutional and individual means, to the mass level of the struggle." (p. 197)

Professor Yvonne Haddad of Colgate University analyzes the patterns of legitimation and domination among Palestinian women. The new supportive role of the Palestinian women in relation to the liberation movement is identified.

The book also includes an appendix titled "Palestinian Human Rights" and a short bibliography of studies about Palestinians published in diverse sources including public documents, doctoral dissertations, scholarly journals and newspapers.

An evaluation of this work as a contribution to literature on ethnic studies is possible. Much of the data utilized in the individual chapters of the book are collected from secondary sources. All the contributors to this volume seem too much involved with the militant Palestinian sub-culture to be rigorously objective in their assessment of the social and political realities of Palestinian society. Nevertheless, they do provide an insight into certain aspects of Palestinian people that is hard for non-Palestinian scholars to perceive. In this sense, it is a significant contribution to the growing body of knowledge dealing with comparative ethnic studies.

--Manindra Kumar Mohapatra
Old Dominion University

MYRTLE S. LANGLEY, *THE NANDI OF KENYA: Life Crisis Rituals in a Period of Change.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979, 154 pp., $22.50.

Dr. Langley, who states that this book is an abridgement of her doctoral dissertation, lectures in "missiology" at Trinity College, Bristol. This is a serious, sober, astonishing, and disappointing work.

It is astonishing because one wonders how a well-meaning individual could live among a group of people for years and understand them so little. It is disappointing for many reasons, not the least of which is that it suffers in comparison with books on the same subject written by native Kenyan authors. One specific example is James Ngugi's *The River Between* (1965) which treats in fiction one of Langley's subjects: female circumcision.

Langley also combines with dubious success anthropology and moral judgement:

> ...although to the first missionaries and travellers the Nandi may have appeared promiscuous they in fact possessed a well-ordered, even if somewhat unfamiliar, system of kinship and marriage. (p.68)

Yet

> ...the comments made by schoolboys in a questionnaire which I administered in 1973 left me in no doubt as to the promiscuity of their behavior. (p.83)

Copious references of predominately European authorship span the period 1906-1973. It is often difficult to determine whether certain rituals took place in 1906 or 1973. But there is no question about the date of the following:

> Daughters of Christian parents become pregnant before marriage. Why? Elders of the church take second wives. Why? Christian men and women attend beer-drinks and circumcision parties. Why?.... Missionaries, teachers, and politicians vie with each other for the allegiance of Nandi youth. Confusion reigns. (p.127)

For someone not familiar with Black Africa -- East and West -- such customs as bride price (the exact opposite of dowry) or praise singers may appear to be a local Nandi ritual. Not so. But an interesting question does arise. Is it possible that here in the Kenyan highlands and valleys a custom such as praise singing has an unbroken continuity from the time of Saul and David? Bible readers will recall praise singers who aroused the ire of King Saul by their perception. Is it possible that such a custom goes back to the ancient kingdom of Kush (Cush? Sudan?) predating the time of Saul and David?

There is merit in *The Nandi of Kenya*. Dr. Langley tiptoes around certain practices and avoids stating outright that there are initiation rites that are hardly less than female mutilation. But still readers deserve better because there are better books in print. Anyone interested in finding out what life is like in Kenya and what it feels like to be a Kenyan would be well served by selecting Ngugi over Langley.

--Jean Bright
Rutherfordton, NC

ANDREW STRATHERN, *ONGKA: A SELF ACCOUNT BY A NEW GUINEA BIG MAN*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979, 162 pp., $19.95.

Ongka, A Self Account by a New Guinea Big Man is an oral narrative of the history and culture of a New Guinea big man named Ongka. A big man is a political leader within the Melpan culture of New Guinea. Ongka has served as a local government counsellor and is an outstanding political figure in his homeland. He presented his narrative to Andrew Strathern in the Melpan language via cassette recorder and Strathern translated his words into English.

Ongka's story takes place in the highland region of Papua, New Guinea. His home area is Mount Hagen. The staple crop is the sweet potato, and pigs are a main source of revenue. The Hagen people are from a polygynous culture and live in clans. The clan members link their origin to a single ancestral founder, territory and sacred oath substance.

Ongka is in his sixties at the time of this narrative when he sensitively describes the clan lifestyle from childhood to adulthood. He elaborates on the relationships of the men to their women and children. He includes a delightful discussion of their courting, marriage and divorce procedures. Ongka has five wives, thirteen children and seven grandchildren. He is considered to be successful in his homeland and periodically increases his family thusly, "women would come to me and say, you're a big man, let me marry you." Ongka agreed and married them. But later if he saw them running around with other men he told them, "to be off" and if there were any children, he kept them saying to the women, "you didn't bring these children with you when you came as a girl to me" and sent the women off to marry someone else if they liked.

Ongka also recounts significant events in his life such as his birth, birthplace, naming, his youth, his wives, family and work. He describes cultural traditions such as the ceremonies at his mother's death, his father, Kaepa's role as leader and warrior for the Kawaelka people, the usage of stone axe and

wooden tools prior to the arrival of the first Europeans in the 1930's, warfare and Moka.

Moka is an important concept of the Hagen people. Strathern devotes an entire chapter to Ongka's discussion of the Big Moka of 1974 which eventually became the basis of the British film based on Ongka's recollections and Strathern's research entitled, "Ongka and the Big Moka." I was fortunate to have seen this film which in combination with this book gave me a clearer perception of Ongka, his culture and The Big Moka. Moka is a form of exchange or what early anthropoligists called Total Prestation, by which individuals or groups are bound together and compete for prestige and influence. The rule is that to make Moka one must be generous. One must give away a great deal of wealth. However, this is considered an investment because the recipient must reciprocate with even more generosity in order to maintain prestige in their society. Pigs, shells and money are some of the primary items of exchange. The big Moka event occurred as Ongka was in charge of returning a Moka. His people had been given 400 pigs by a neighboring group thus it was time to return the Moka. Ongka and his people maintained their prestige by giving among other things, 700 pigs, ten thousand dollars, and a motor bike to the neighboring group.

Andrew Strathern punctuates this narrative with a detailed introduction that provides needed background information about Ongka and the Melpan society, maps that identify unfamiliar locations mentioned in the narration and photographs of Ongka, in various cultural dress, his family and clansmen. He also has many explanatory footnotes. These footnotes are necessary in order to understand the linguistic and socio-historical features that are unfamiliar to the reader.

Strathern has structured the discussed chapters of this book by subjects rather than in a chronological sequence of events. It appears that he did not edit Ongka's words very much, and, consequently, some chapters have repetitive information, confusing organization and segments of dual narration. However, this narrative is generally interesting, informative and well worth reading. It provides the reader with a glimpse into the life and culture of the Mount Hagen people of New Guinea as visualized through the eyes of Ongka, a New Guinea big man.

--Virginia Stamper
Afro-American Studies
UW-Milwaukee

NELL IRVIN PAINTER, *EXODUSTERS: BLACK MIGRATION TO KANSAS AFTER RECONSTRUCTION.* New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1976, 288 pp.
and
ROBERT G. ATHEARN, *IN SEARCH OF CANAAN: BLACK MIGRATION TO KANSAS, 1879-80.* Lawrence, Kansas: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1978, xii, 338 pp.

In 1909 Walter L. Fleming published an article on "'Pap' Singleton, the Moses of the Colored Exodus," in the *American Journal of Sociology.* Some forty years later, Herbert Aptheker in his *Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States,* responded to it somewhat disparagingly. The Black Exodus was not a "spontaneous movement inspired by a Moses in the guise of the aged Benjamin Singleton." It was "the culmination of a steady process of migration and came in response to years of preparation." In this process "the somewhat eccentric Singleton" was only of secondary significance. It was Henry Adams, a grass roots organizer, disassociated from the millenarian strain, represented by Singleton, whom Aptheker hailed as "the single most important person behind the 1879 exodus."

In her study of Exodusters, a name that the migrants applied to themselves, Nell Irvin Painter investigates the question at the core of Aptheker's objection--Was the Exodus a spontaneous movement with millenarian overtones? Was it a practical response to a specific political crisis? Was it the result of years of careful preparation? Painter discovers that the Exodus was all of these things. She begins by describing the systematic repression of black political rights during counter-reconstruction. She shows how leaders like Henry Adams did, as Aptheker has insisted, attempt to formulate a rational political response to the steadily worsening conditions. But, observes Painter, "as Southern life grew progressively more feudal, men such as Adams, who worked squarely within the American tradition of representative democracy, became anachronisms." There was a resuscitation of black nationalism and emigration movements as noted by George B. Tindall in his article on "The Liberian Exodus of 1878," in *South Carolina Historical* Magazine (July, 1952). When the back to Africa movement floundered due to the economic helplessness of its supporters, Henry Adams and other grass roots political leaders began to investigate the political condition of Blacks in the South and to explore possibilities for resettling them elsewhere.

Prior to 1878, black migration to Kansas was orderly, and relatively sparse. But, as Painter demonstrates, the "unadulterated violence" accompanying the campaign of 1878 in Louisiana, "alerted Blacks that bulldozing would accompany politics as long as they pretended to any political autonomy." (p. 174) This "bulldozing" as its name implied, consisted of a heavy-handed program of intimidation, assassination, and a ruthless smashing of political rights. In the wake of this repression, the

"Kansas Fever Exodus of 1879," which had an unquestionably millenarian dimension, sprang up. This Exodus received "tremendous publicity," on the lecture rostrum and in the press, and "spurred nonmillenarian Blacks to consider seriously migrating to Kansas to better their condition."

Robert G. Athearn's study focuses on the Kansas Fever Exodus of 1879-80. It is micro-history at its best, a lively, well-written, detailed, and painstaking study of the conditions that Exodusters met with on entering Kansas, and the responses of the white community to their influx. Unlike the Painter volume, it does not place the Exodus within the larger context of Black Reconstruction politics. Nor are the overtones of Black nationalism or millenarianism so painstakingly explored. To be sure, these themes are hardly neglected, but the primary objectives of Athearn are to describe the reactions of white Kansans, which ranged from ambivalence to open hostility. For Painter, the Kansas Exodus is essentially a problem in Afro-American history and it is discussed within the context of Black attempts to control their own destiny. For Athearn, "The exodus movement, which was born out of misapprehension as to the probable penalty for remaining in the South, was a phenomenon in the frontier movement." Painter demonstrates that the Exodus was politically effective in providing "proof that Afro-Americans did not quietly resign themselves to the political or economic order of the Redeemed South." It had the short term effect of "a reduction in rents and prices, bringing a real but fleeting amelioration in the economic lives of limited numbers of Blacks", who remained in the South. Athearn would seem to agree with the contrasting opinion he describes in saying, "Aside from the moral aspects of Southern mistreatment of former slaves and the righteousness of the Blacks' cause, almost everything else about the exodus was wrong, or at least unfortunate, from the Kansas viewpoint."

Athearn's treatment of the Exodus shows sensitivity to human suffering in what most scholars will agree was a dismal period in the history of Black Americans. Unfortunately, he falls into the pit that Aptheker warned against, in overstressing the irrational behavior and political naivete of the migrants. On the other hand, Painter responds well to Aptheker's challenge and is able to follow up on his suggestions as to the importance of Henry Adams' political movement, without neglecting the utopianism represented by Singleton and his followers. Athearn treats -- and rightly so -- on the tragic nature of the migration and the helplessness of the migrants, victimized by American racism. Painter, on the other hand, follows a recent trend in black history by placing greater emphasis on what Blacks have attempted for themselves, rather than lamenting the bitter trials that have been inflicted upon them. She does this without overstating her case, and she walks gracefully the narrow line between the appreciation of black accomplishments and the creation of a historical myth.

--Wilson J. Moses
Southern Methodist University

EDITH BLICKSILVER, *THE ETHNIC AMERICAN WOMAN; Problems, Protests, Lifestyle.* Iowa: Kendal-Hunt Publishing Co., 1978, 381 pp., $12.95

Edith Blicksilver has compiled an extensive and varied series of articles, poems and narratives of personal experiences of the different female authors, covering the life spectrum of the Ethnic American Woman. They are presented in a logical and organized fashion, which provides structure but allows for flexibility in the themes. This adds to the enjoyment of the book and facilitates its reading.

The book is divided into twelve units. Topics presented range from the reality and the concept of growing up ethnic to the critique of literary reviews. Titles of the sections are as follows: Growing Up Ethnic, The Family, The Classroom, Identity, Exploitation in Human Relationships, The Working Woman, Religion and Ritual, Ethnic Pride, the Immigrant Experience, Seeking a Better Tomorrow, and Literary Critiques.

The appendices include: a Table of Contents by Literary Form, (e.g. Non-fiction and Scholarly Critiques, Short Stories), and a Table of Contents by Ethnic Groups as represented by author's names.

Blicksilver also includes a chapter on Class Discussion and Written/Research Topics. This is, indeed, an outstanding contribution by the author. The questions are designed to stimulate retention by application and expansion of the concepts.

The Ethnic American Woman: Problems, Protests and Lifestyles will not be seen by many as a regular textbook. It can be read for the enjoyment of each individual selection but it is also possible to read it as a continuous body of information. However, it is likely that some people would miss the sociological and psychological implications of a particular section, or how it fits into the whole. The sixty-six essay questions, that are presented for Class Discussion, do a remarkable job of picking up theoretical concepts, analysis of imagery and meaning, and comparison of experiences, forcing the reader to reflect on the works and begin to relate and integrate them with his/her own experiences. Had these questions not been presented at the end, they could have served as a very thorough outline for the entire book.

In the Introduction, Blicksilver points out that women are now seeking an understanding of their present roles and lifestyles, with ethnicity playing a significant part in that process.

There are four major areas that are addressed throughout the book: (1) How ethnic women deal with the universal problems of God, life, love, fate, frustration and death; (2) Loneliness in the new world - female protest; (3) Conflicts between new

immigrants and more Americanized members of that ethnic group, and/or between two ethnic groups (value conflict between first and second generation); and (4) Dilemmas of Intergroup Relations.

The author feels that the study of literature of ethnic women is a major tool in understanding their reality. By looking at very distinctive groups, through the materials presented in this collection of women's works, it is possible to identify some of their unique qualities and also some of their similar problems. Since each essay is an entity within itself, it is left to the reader to assess any overall function of ethnicity, its benefits, pitfalls, etc. This is the process that is enhanced by the Essay Questions posed by Blicksilver at the end.

This book depicts the immigrant experience in all its facets: the planning and dreaming, what is left behind, the unknowns, the loneliness, the rejections, the ongoing learning of new patterns of behavior, the hopes for a better tomorrow. It puts people in touch with the hardships of leaving the country of origin and resettling in a new culture, but even beyond that, it makes the reader cognizant of the resilience and pride of the ethnic woman. Also, it sensitizes the public to the strains of the continuous self-evaluation and soul-searching that takes place when the individual tries to keep some equilibrium between the old and the new.

The book also acknowledges some of the factors which seem to inhibit the Ethnic American Woman from utilizing their full potential as individuals, and traces them back to the early stages of elementary school.

Edith Blicksilver brings closure to the book with a message for educators, pointing out how crucial it is to be aware of the special needs of ethnic children. They should be encouraged to write freely about how it feels to be a member of a distinct minority group and be provided with the opportunity to share their joys and vent their frustrations. Creative workshops, says Blicksilver, would be a helping tool "as they search for their unique identity and as they explore the world beyond classroom and community."

--Elvira Craig de Silva
Veterans Administration Center
Wood, Wisconsin

FILM REVIEW - - - GRETCHEN BATAILLE, *INSIDE THE CIGAR STORE: IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1979. 23 min. color. 139 frames.

Today the American Indian is still envisioned as a befeathered curiosity. Both children and adults have continued to perpetuate stereotypes and harbor misconceptions about the American Indian cultures. This has been detrimental to the advancement of Indian people today.

Gretchen Bataille's slide/tape provides the viewer with the historical development of the stereotypes -- through print and television media -- and contrasts it with the current status of various Indian tribes. Her association with the American Indian Studies Program at Iowa State University provides her with the background for the production of the slide/tape.

The production is lengthy and, by content, most appropriate for use with junior high--adult. It might also be useful as an in-service for teachers and librarians. The introduction is initially difficult to follow; the slides do not blend well with the music and narration. A more refined transition to the main body of the program is required. While the program is educational, its impact is weakened by the intermitten appearance of slides which lack visual clarity.

Two types of images -- stereotypic and contemporary -- are presented. More than 50% of the slides deal with the stereotypic image of the American Indian. Samples of the vehicles for perpetuating these stereotypes include paintings, statues, novels, advertisements, television, commercials, and comic books. Ways in which the author has attempted to present contemporary Indian people are through urban Indian programs, art, military service, educated Indians, and organizations to overcome stereotypes. Although the contemporary Indian is covered in the last portion, they are not as impressive as the stereotypic images; nor is there enough explanation of the current problems and successes of various Indian tribes. At the conclusion, Buffy St. Marie sings "Soldier Blue." One must listen very carefully to the words as the cavalcade of contemporary Indians flash by.

Along with the production is an excellent selected bibliography, a script, teachers guides, a map on Indian lands and communities, and a brochure on analyzing racism. Included in her bibliography are two publications -- *Wassaja* and *The Indian Historian* -- which have since combined, in magazine format, to become *Wassaja*.

As a whole, it is well-documented and Indian consultants are attributed credits for their expertise. It is difficult to refute the long-standing misconceived notions about the American Indian due to the absence of accurate print and audio-visual material on

the contemporary Indians. Nevertheless, the author has provided us with a foundation for discussion and, perhaps, an incentive for creating a more positive image of the American Indian people.

The author has done an excellent historical montage of Indian stereotypes; however, the brief coverage of contemporary issues and situations is evidence that there is still a need for a more accurate presentation of contemporary Indian Nations. In the future there will be productions which will be created by Indian people themselves. For too many years, the Indian has been discussed, researched, and interpreted according to non-Indian values. As stated by Gerald Vizenor, Ojibwa, "Being an Indian is a heavy burden...because white people know more about the Indian they invented than anyone."

--Janice Beaudin
Public Service Librarian
UW-Madison

- ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS PRESENTED -

at the

8th ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON ETHNIC AND MINORITY STUDIES

STATE CONFERENCE OF NAACP: AN EFFECTIVE VEHICLE OF CHANGE IN BLACK SOUTH CAROLINA'S FIGHT FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY UNDER THE LAW

Barbara W. Aba-Mecha
Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta

On November 10, 1939 at Benedict College, a black institution in Columbia, black South Carolinians met to organize a state unit of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored Poeple (NAACP). The main objective of the new organization, the South Carolina Conference of NAACP, was to create an effective instrument to be used for propaganda, fund-raising and litigation purposes, and to function as a united front in the struggle to reclaim the ballot. From the outset, the State Conference sought to create a mass-supported organization. Membership drives were initiated to enlarge the existing branches and to set up new branches. The organization also had an "unofficial' mouthpiece in a new black newspaper, The Lighthouse and Informer, founded in Columbia in 1941.

Taking direction from the National Office of NAACP, the first law suit filed, and later won, by the State Conference was the equalization of teachers' salaries. After this victory, the State Conference directed its attention to a project of dismantling South Carolina's Democratic white primary. It took two federal court cases, one in 1947, and another in 1948, to abolish the state's white primary.

Black leaders in the State Conference were as committed to improving the public school system for blacks as they were to obtaining voting rights, and in 1946, they sponsored John Wrighten in a law suit which resulted in South Carolina setting up a law school at the state's black public college, South Carolina State College. But the educational case of far-reaching significance originating in Clarendon County, South Carolina was Briggs v. Elliott, which became one of the five test cases in the landmark 1954 Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka decision of the Supreme Court. The South Carolina case, the only representative from the Deep South, provided the catalyst for the National Office of NAACP to revise its test cases from the separate-but-equal strategy to a challenge of segregation.

A MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF COLLEGE ATTENDANCE AMONG PILIPINO MALES AND PILIPINO FEMALES IN CALIFORNIA

Mary Ayupan and Gary Howells
University of the Pacific

From the conquest of Spain to the historical and racial occurences in the US, the Pilipino has encountered a sporadic experience with education. Although their numbers have increased to about 180,000 for those under the age of 18 since 1965, the number of Pilipinos in higher education, especially males, has not appreciably increased.

The initial analyses reveal that the full-time college attenders are different; however, the pattern of predictor variables were markedly different for each sex. Briefly, the college-attending female is single with higher ethnicity, less educated father, intact family, positive maternal influence, great age differences between parents and subject, greater flexibility, and higher measured intelligence. The college-attending male appears to be unmarried, with an educated father, higher income expectancy, less Pilipino grandmother, smaller age difference between parents, and less socialization.

Overall, the paper provides suggestions to motivate young Pilipinos to attend college, and thereby increase subsequent attendance of Pilipinos in higher education.

A MULTI-ETHNIC CURRICULUM MATERIALS PROJECT FOR NORTH CAROLINA

Rachel A. Bonney
The University of North Carolina at Charlotte

North Carolina, like the rest of the nation, is multi-ethnic in population composition and in culture. There is a need for an increased awareness and appreciation of this multi-ethnic heritage, and there is a related need for teaching the multi-ethnic heritage in the schools to develop a better understanding of the state, its people, and its history.

For these reasons, the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte developed a handbook and resources guide for teachers of the third, fourth, and fifth grades, through funding by a Title IX HEW Ethnic Heritage Studies grant. The general objectives of this handbook are to present a generally applicable framework for ethnic heritage studies which can be used for either mono-ethnic or multi-ethnic studies; to demonstrate the use of this general framework for ethnic studies with a North Carolina Indians curriculum unit; and to provide a guide and resource manual on other ethnic groups of North Carolina for teachers, based on the model and the general framework.

The approach for ethnic studies presented in this resource guide and handbook is based on anthropological concepts and on the development of an integrated ethnic studies curriculum. A model curriculum of a mono-ethnic studies unit on the Indians of North Carolina is presented as an example of an integrated unit at the third, fourth, and fifth grade level. Activities have been developed in all areas of the curriculum for this grade level: language arts, social studies, health, science, mathematics, art, music, and physical education, and are centered around a Resource Unit available for loan from the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. The Resource Unit includes teacher and student books, audio-visual materials, a diorama of a coastal Algonkian Indian village, two "suitcase display" units, artifacts, display materials, handbooks, and the learning activities. Additional materials on other ethnic groups are included in the manual: a cultural historical summary of the ethnic group, sample learning activities, resource materials and where they are available, and other resources, such as organizations, guest speakers, museums, field trips, and where to write for additional information. These materials can be presented as mono-ethnic studies units like the materials on the Indians of North Carolina, or as multi-ethnic studies units, using materials from each of the groups presented for comparison. Although these materials are geared to grades 3 through 5, they can be modified for use by younger and older students.

Time and space do not permit representation of all ethnic groups in North Carolina. Materials are presented on Asian-Americans, Hispano-Americans, Greek-Americans, Italian-Americans, Black-Americans, Anglo-Americans, German-Americans, Jewish-Americans, and East-Indian-Americans.

SYMBOLIC INTERACTION AND BLACK MENTAL HEALTH: Understanding Black Self-Conceptions

Shirley Vining Brown
University of Maryland at Baltimore

There may be as many views about how the self-concept is formed as there are about how it becomes disorganized. In this analysis, George H. Mead's argument that the self-concept is formed on the basis of definitions made by others is used to explain the formation of individual self-conceptions among Black Americans. Similarly, the collective self-concept of Black Americans is explained by invoking the multiple reference groups. It is argued that the American mainstream, White middle-class perspectives and other Black Americans serve as "the others" (reference groups) that Black Americans relate and respond to.

Moreover, the analysis focuses on the symbolic nature of overt (institutional and behavioral) and subtle expressions of

racism that adversely influence the self-concepts of some Black Americans. The insidious nature of subtle racism -- the noticeable but unnoticeable means by which a people are defined negatively -- is raised here to point out the ubiquitous nature of racism in American culture.

It is suggested that pervasive negative definitions of Black Americans and their culture may be related to their disproportionate representation among those diagnoses mentally disabled. Although the relationship is offered with the caveat that empirica research has not established precise causation between racism and the mental disorders of Blacks, their overrepresentation in mental health statistics suggests that socially induced behaviors under adverse conditions renders the relationship plausible, if not persuasive.

COUNSELING NATIVE AMERICAN HIGH SCHOOL AND COLLEGE STUDENTS

Charline L. Burton
University of Oklahoma

Because most traditional counseling methods do not consider the Native American world view or Native American values, many, if not most, Native American counselees do not identify with the counselor, nor do they experience insight and self-understanding as a result of the session. This results in a very low rate of return for further sessions.

The counselor's goal and the counselor's role will depend on the set of tools and the philosophy learned in school. These are played out in what the counselor picks up on from the counselee's talk. Once he picks up on a certain part of the counselee's talk, he will question, evaluate, or narrate, according to his goal, and his view of his role as a counselor. The most commonly used theories are Directive and Nondirective methods. The Directive, or "clinical counseling" places emphasis on a problem; what caused the problem and how it can be solved. The counselor interprets for the counselee the cause(s) and/or treatment(s). In the Nondirective, or "client-centered," the counselee plays the main role, with the counselor keeping quiet and observing.

Most counselors working in high schools and colleges use the Directive approach, while social workers and mental hygeinists favor the Nondirective. A spirit of compromise shows up in the Electric theory in which a counselor may switch from Directive to Nondirective to Role Playing depending on the counselee. However, most counselors usually select a theory of counseling they see as best suitable to their own personality and their own concept of counseling.

A counselor might do well using the Directive method on Native American counselees UNTIL the counselor begins to point

out suggested treatments, conclusions, or remedies for the problem. Not that the Native American does not want treatments, conclusions, or remedies, but he wants to be able to make his own choice from several alternatives. On the other hand, the Nondirective method would cause the counselee to decide the quiet, observing counselor knew nothing about the subject, and certainly would not be expected to return for further sessions.

This paper suggests that the counselor of Native Americans learn the art of "talking it over" with the counselee, after first becoming knowledgeable about Native American Communication. The commonly used Directive and Nondirective approaches for counseling may do well in the counseling of non Indian counselees, but apparently have been a dismal failure with Native Americans, as evidenced by the high non-return of Native American counselees to Non Indian counselors on both the high school and the college campuses.

ADAPTIVE STRATEGIES OF KOREAN IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN HAWAII

Alice Y. Chai
University of Hawaii

This study, through intensive interview and participant observation methods, was undertaken to provide much needed detailed research data on economic, domestic, social and psycho-cultural adaptive strategies of married Korean women immigrants who have come to Hawaii since the Immigration Act of 1965.

The majority of Korean immigrant women interviewed had the median age of 34 years and came to Hawaii within the last seven years with their husbands and pre-school or school aged children. They had been largely metropolitan urban residents and full-time homemakers in Korea. They primarily came to Hawaii to join their relatives and to seek better economic and educational opportunities for their children. However, upon their arrival, due to the underemployment or unemployment of their husbands and the high cost of living, they are forced to work in low status and low paying jobs. Many women indicated that they had developed psycho-physical symptoms since their arrival in Hawaii.

Despite these hardships, many women stated that their relationships with their husbands had improved in Hawaii because they engaged in more joint activities together and were freer from control of and social obligations to the husbands' superiors and family elders than in Korea.

ADDRESSING GAPS IN THE DELIVERY OF COMMUNITY SERVICES: THE CASE OF ONE INNER-CITY COMMUNITY

Cecilia E. Dawkins
University of Illinois Medical Center

This is a descriptive study of twenty-five community service providers who are working with residents in a community organization to deal with the problem of service gaps in their inner-city, Black community. A questionnaire was mailed to these community service providers to obtain data on 1) the demographic characteristics of the respondents; 2) the kinds of services provided to this community by the various agencies and organizations; and 3) perceptions that providers have of their low-income clients. This survey is a first step to gather useful baseline data so that this organization can effectively plan and evaluate its activities in the community.

The data indicate the twenty agencies and organizations the respondents represent primarily provide education, family and individual counselling, and health care services. A key finding is that twenty-eight percent of the respondents reported modification in the delivery of services based on knowledge gained through participation in this community organization. These changes were made to minimize gaps in services. A major implication of the study is that agencies, institutions and organizations can benefit from having a profile of people who are most effective in representing their institutions in community related activities.

POLITICAL ATTITUDES, PARTICIPATION AND ACTIVISM: A White Ethnic Case Study

Gladys David Howell
East Carolina University

The Middle Eastern ethnic community of Jacksonville, Florida, derives from three phases of immigration. During Phase I, 1890-1920, the first pioneers made an initial adaptation and began the formation of an ethnic community. During Phase II, 1920-1950, the group enlarged greatly through a trickle of new migrants as well as through natural increase. These two phases were characterized by great emphasis on acculturation and assimilation in all aspects, including patriotism and civic duty, though pluralism was also expressed through ethnic organizations. After 1950, following the establishment of the state of Israel, a new wave of immigrants from the town of Ramallah came into Jacksonville. These have been more separatist in outlook than the earlier migrants. They express greater commitment to the Arab cause in the Middle East through membership in organizations and through financial contributions. In terms of expressed sympathy for the Arab cause, however, the migrants of Phases I and II and their descendants are just as supportive as the more recent migrants of Phase III.

A STUDY IN SURVIVAL: THE SUCCESSFUL MINORITY-OWNED SMALL BUSINESS

Paul N. Keaton
University of Wisconsin - La Crosse

Financial problems, lack of experience, and lack of management skills are often identified as significant factors in the high mortality rate of small business enterprises. This study focuses on successful minority-owned small business and seeks to identify a profile of the enterpreneur responsible for that success.

A sample of 27 firms in a medium-sized urban industrial city was studied. Several interesting qualities of surviving small businesses became evident.

AN INVISIBLE MINORITY: AN EXAMINATION OF MIGRANT EDUCATION

Margaret A. Laughlin
University of Wisconsin - Green Bay

Children of migrant workers are among the most educationally disadvantaged group in the United States today. Usually the migrant children are members of ethnic/racial groups already suffering deprivation, isolation and discrimination. Mobility patterns do not allow the migrant family to utilize effectively basic social services, including educational opportunities. When enrolling in school, if at all, the migrant child typically is below achievement/grade level due to the existing cultural environment, has limited communication skills, possesses a poor self-image and is unreached by common teaching strategies.

Since 1966 state and local agencies have endeavored to assist migrant children in the educational process. Included among the varied efforts are establishment of day care centers, availability of summer and/or school year programs for children/adults, provision for medical/dental care, and meals in an attempt to eliminate or reduce the city of illiteracy and poverty. More of the same is unlikely to be successful. Selected recommendations would include a thorough review of all programs/services currently available, development of programs/services based on the real need of migrant children rather than needs assumed by the majority culture, development of program evaluation techniques which go beyond the measurement of student achievement and attitudes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONCERNS IN NUYORICAN LITERATURE

Marvin A. Lewis
University of Illinois

The present study examines several genres of Nuyorican literature in an effort to demonstrate how authors interpret the political and social contexts of their environment. Works analyzed are: *Short Eyes* (1974) and *The Sun Always Shines for the Cool* (1977), dramas by Miguel Pinero; *Noo Jork* (1972) and *The FM Safe* (1979), dramas by Jaime Carrero; *Nobody's Hero* (1976), an autobiography by Lefty Barretto; *In Nueva York* (1977), a novel by Nicholasa Mohr; and *La Carreta Made a U-Turn* (1979), poetry by Tato Laviera. These authors interpret the New York urban milieu in the five boroughs but with primary emphasis on *El Barrio*.

The political implications of Nuyorican literature are revealed not so much through an overt criticism of the political status of Nuyoricans but rather the manner in which the United States government creates situations which make people dependent, stifle growth, and aid in individual destruction through crime, poverty, drugs, and the lack of self-worth and morality. The political statement is therefore more implicit instead of being an outward manifestation of protest.

The major social themes discussed in this survey include, New York and its impact upon individuals; the *barrio* experience; and a critical attitude toward Anglo society. To a person, the writers express extreme displeasure with the society of which they form a part. They are unanimous in their portrayal of a human condition in desperate need of improvement.

FOUNDATIONS OF NATIVE AMERICAN POLITICS

Kenneth Maly
University of Wisconsin - La Crosse

Native American politics is essentially different from politics as practiced in the dominant European tradition. Whereas the non-Indian (white) form of politics focuses on political action in order to achieve change in the external socio-political world, Native American politics has an essentially spiritual character and centers on the soul within the human person. Native American spirituality -- and thus its politics -- does not lose sight of the oneness of all things and their being tied to the earth. And any political movement of American Indians in primarily spiritual.

This aboriginal sense of politics was also manifest early in the Western tradition. However, this aboriginal politics got covered over and lost. It is/was manifest in Plato's *Republic* -- more properly entitled *The Regime. (Politeia)* As *Regime*, the

work refers primarily to something like the "regime of the soul" and discloses the meaning of politics as fundamentally referring to the city *(polis) within* man himself. By founding a city within himself, man is engaged in spiritual development, the proper form of essential, aboriginal politics.

There are significant implications of such an unfolding of essential politics. Generally these implications are twofold: (1) that Native American Indians have a wisdom about the workings of the world and ought to be respected and (2) that the European tradition, ensnared within its own values and categories and not capable of aboriginal politics, insists on destroying the Native American way, from out of its own insecurity.

CHICANOS COUNSELING CHICANOS: IS IT NECESSARY?

Lupe M. Martinez
University of Colorado

From a review of current studies and literature, an analysis of the data by the author concludes that Chicanos are necessary to counsel and provide therapy for Chicanos(as). In addition, future trends for counseling members of an oppressed class in our society appears to be contingent upon more "minorities" earning advanced degress in counseling or a related field. The author further concludes that racism and sexism play a major role in the high drop-out rate of Chicanos(as) from institutions of higher learning.

THE HIERARCHY OF COLOR AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ADJUSTMENT IN AN INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT: FILIPINO IMMIGRANTS, THE PULLMAN COMPANY AND THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Barbara M. Posadas
Northern Illinois University

During the late 1920s and early 1930s, several hundred Filipino migrants to Chicago won employment as attendants, cooks, and bus boys on Pullman Company club and dining cars, where they joined black porters as foot soldiers in a hierarchy of color on the railroads. Schooled by their colonial teachers to believe mobility possible, and hoping that a temporary educational stay in the United States would lead to lucrative employment back home, the Filipinos instead found themselves marooned during the Depression in a society indifferent or hostile to them. On the job, the Filipino workers coped with grueling long-distance train routes, strict company time constraints, and discipline enforced by constant surveillance. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a black-dominated union, provided assistance to its

Filipino members after 1937, but even at work, the immigrants looked elsewhere for social solidarity. Off the job, the Filipinos forged ties based on nationality rather than class-consciousness, married white women and raised families, and gradually abandoned both their dreams of social mobility and of returning to the Philippines. Their story, derived from interviews with surviving attendants and from Pullman Company and union records, illuminated minority assimilation in a twentieth century industrial setting.

THE IMAGE OF GAYS IN CHICANO PROSE FICTION

Karl J. Reinhardt
University of Houston

A number of pieces of prose fiction considered as standard reading in courses in Chicano literature, plus other randomly chosen works, were searched for references to gay people. Most made no reference of any kind. Of those which did, the following broad conclusions came forth:

When incidental gay characters are presented, they are identified by mannerisms rather than actual sexual activities. Outdated stereotypical explanations -- home environment, momism -- are sometimes proffered.

Gay characters whose presence is pertinent to the development of theme, whether they are parodied or not, inevitably suffer disgrace or destruction.

John Rechy, a gay activist who is Chicano, delves into the gay male reality, but scrupulously avoids Chicano gay characters in his writings, other than the central character, Rechy himself. His constantly evolving concern is with the destructive force and legacy of the straight world on the gay.

Until the clash between male and female Chicano intellectuals is resolved, it is unlikely that non-gay (or closeted gay) Chicano writers will treat gay persons as valid integral members of their community.

COMMUNITY, COLONY, AND NETWORK: SURVIVAL OF GRECO-AMERICAN CULTURE IN TARPON SPRINGS, FLORIDA

Sheldon Smith
University of Wisconsin - La Crosse

Despite the discovery of the continued importance of ethnicity in the United States (and by extension, ethnicity in other advanced industrial societies), there is still an unsatisfactory gap in the

explanations behind ethnic persistence. This paper offers the theory that the survival of an ethnic population depends on its original internal organization and relationship to the host society, the ethnic population's abilities to shift economic strategies as a result of existent key value orientations, the abilities of its members to play a multiplicity of different roles in different cultures, and, finally, the existence of multiple strategies of resource exploitation.

The first part of the paper touches on a few of the older theories predicting the demise of ethnicity, the subsequent discovery of ethnic continuity, and attempts to explain that continuity. The second part surveys the literature on ethnic survivals with special focus on Greek ethnicity. The final part of the paper examines the Greek colony of Tarpon Springs, Florida in light of the above theory. The Greeks of Tarpon Springs have managed to survive as an ethnic group for over 80 years due to their original organization as a colony with attendant church, language school, and voluntary associations. The colony has been able to change its internal social structure and yet maintain its unique identity due to the capacities of its members to operate with more than one culture at a time (American, Cracker, Greek) and because of the continued existence of a series of alternative adaptive strategies (sponging, shrimping, steelworking, etc.) which are supported by the maintenance of a Greek world view: *filotimo* (manliness) and intense individualism. As long as social organization, adaptive strategies, and ethos reinforce one another, the ethnic group will survive.

DUGU, FEAST FOR THE ANCESTORS: THE ROLE OF AN IDENTITY SYMBOL IN STATUS POLITICS

Marilyn McKillop Wells
Middle Tennessee State University

In spite of dislocation from their original homeland, residencies in several colonies and nations, and the debilitating effects of continued socio-economic discrimination, the Black Caribs of Belize have maintained an ethnic identity system which contributes to their adaptability in changing social environments.

This paper examines the Caribs' use of the dugu in an ongoing struggle to improve their individual and group status in Belize. The feast for the ancestors is a ceremony which is a key symbol of "Caribness" for both Creole and Carib. A summary of Carib history is followed by a brief description of the dugu and a discussion of its role as an identity symbol and its use in public politics.

The fluctuating visibility of this Carib ceremony is explained in terms of adaptive reactions in the oppositional process (Spicer 1971). An extension of the concept of status politics (Gusfield 1963) is applied to minority group leaders who are

experiencing disappointments resulting from unfulfilled political promises. Recent events have resulted in the dugu becoming an important element in the status politics of the Caribs. Increased dugu visibility represents a renewed effort to improve Carib social, political and economic status in Belize.

Gusfield, Joseph R., 1963 Symbolic Crusade: Status Politics and the American Temperance Movement. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Spicer, Edward H., 1971 Persistent Cultural Systems. Science 174:795-800.

PANEL ON LANGUAGE AND POLITICS

Co-Moderators:
Dona and Dennis Hoilman
Ball State University

Panel Members:
Jenefer Giannasi
Northern Illinois University

Ambrocio Lopez
Ball State University

Blackhorse Mitchell
Navaho Community College - Shiprock Branch

Willease Sanders
Benedict College

Frank Sciara
Ball State University

In 1974, the Conference on College Composition and Communication (CCCC) approved a document titled "The Students' Right to Their Own Language," which maintained that "The claim that any one dialect is unacceptable amounts to an attempt of one social group to exert its dominance over another. . . . Teachers must have the experiences and training that will enable them to respect diversity and uphold the right of students to their own language." The document further stated that Standard English is a myth and suggested that the Edited American English sometimes useful for those whose occupations involve formal writing need not be taught to other minority students. This controversial document made English teachers aware of the political implications of languages teaching. Moreover, the debates and legislation concerning bilingual programs and the recent court decisions involving Black English have, for better or worse, irretrievably thrown language teaching into political arenas. The "Language and Politics" panelists, who could speak to these issues both by reason of their professional background and their ethnic heritage, explored a wide variety of controversial questions posed by the moderators and found that their opinions differed considerably.

Dr. Giannasi, a rhetorician and one of the formulators of the CCCC statement, explained how the statement came into being in the context of the sociopolitical upheavals of the 1960s and the multicultural responses of the 1970s, and how it attempted to point to attitudes, teaching approaches, and reading/research which teachers of composition and communication must review in order to answer the crucial question: "Should the schools try to uphold language variety, or to modify it, or to eradicate it?" She focused on the ramifications and legitimacy of each of these approaches and pointed out some misinterpretations of the document.

Dr. Sanders, a linguist who did her dissertation on grammatical features of Black speech, discussed the politics of language and the job market. She explained that the most profitable position for employers and employees alike is to acknowledge the ligitimacy of whatever dialect an employee speaks but at the same time to appreciate the status of particular dialects in given situations. Just as the employee has a right to his own dialect, the employer has a right to determine whether Edited American English is important to the image of his company that he wishes projected. Since many students do not learn Standard English in school, employers are beginning to hire on the basis of other qualifications while providing in-house programs to help employees learn whatever dialect is preferred on the job. It is to any student's advantage to be versatile in more than one language or dialect. The Ann Arbor court decision does not mandate the teaching of Black English in the schools but the recognition that it is a language distinct from Standard English that should be treated knowledgeable and with respect.

Mr. Mitchell, whose book *Miracle Hill* is an example of vigorous, vivid prose that is not in Edited American English (since his teacher decided to have it published with its English-as-a-second-language "errors" left in rather than risk editing out its author's personality and fresh way of looking at things), verified that in the case of American Indians the teaching of English had been part of an attempt to eradicate the student's own language and culture. Moreover, although he recognized that his book probably would have found a wider audience if it had been in EAE, he thought that forcing a student to write EAE might stifle his creativity. Furthermore, students find that what teachers of creative writing think is desirable is sometimes not what teachers of expository writing expect. Conflicting methods and criteria do the student learning English as a second language a disservice, and the way in which a teacher makes "corrections" makes a real difference to the student's self-image.

Dr. Lopez, a first generation Mexican-American who was formerly the director of the Title VII Hobart Township Bilingual Program in Indiana, discussed the Lau vs Nichols court decision and the resulting bilingual programs. He explained why bilingual-cultural education is important to students whose English is limited and how it also aids the monolingual student. If the United States can produce generation after generation of bilingual-bicultural citizens, then perhaps multicultural education will be

enhanced, communication on a global scale will be facilitated, a reduction of racism will be realized, and examples of progress and contributions of all minority groups will be in evidence.

Finally, Dr. Sciara, in whose home Italian was spoken but who feels that the schools should teach Standard English to minority students, discussed charges against bilingual education. Critics have charged that its original goal -- to assist children whose primary language is other than English to function in English -- has been ignored. Instead, critics claim, bilingual programs encourage divisiveness, not pluralism, and they foster narrowly ethnic values. Some controversial research has found that ethnic children in bilingual programs performed no better in English than comparable children who were not in these programs. In California, the Alatorre bill, which granted more flexibility, included specific entry and exit criteria, and provided more parental consent and withdrawal rights, has been defeated, but the battle to revamp bilingual education and to redirect it towards increased teaching of English will continue.

A spirited question and answer session with the audience followed the panelists' presentations.

- OTHER PAPERS PRESENTED, ABSTRACTS NOT AVAILABLE -

ETHNIC STUDIES CURRICULUM AND TEXTBOOKS, Janet Cheatham Bell, *Ginn & Company, Educational Publishers, Lexington, MA*

THE PROCESS OF THE BILINGUAL SPANISH CLASSROOM, Margaret Buchmann, *Merced County Consortium for Bilingual Education, California*

THE MULTIRACIAL IMPULSE IN U.S. HISTORY; A QUERY IN U.S. POLITICS (1750-1980) -- AN OUTLINE FOR FUTURE RESEARCH, Finley Campbell, *University of Illinois, Chicago Circle Campus*

THE INTERSTITIAL SOCIAL CRITICISM OF ROLANDO HINOJOSA-SMITH, Luis Davila, *Indiana University*

POLITICAL THEMES IN PUERTO RICAN LITERATURE: ISLAND AND MAINLAND, LaVerne Gonzalez, *Purdue University*

ONE DECADE AND THE POLITICS OF ETHNIC STUDIES, Charles C. Irby, *California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, CA*

MEXICAN AMERICANS AND BLACK UNEMPLOYMENT -- BLAMING THE VICTIMS AND VICTIMIZING THE BLAMERS, Antonio Jimenez, *University of Chicago*

ETHICAL PROBLEMS IN EVALUATION RESEARCH, Elisabeth J. Johnson, *Boston University*

ETHNICITY, RHETORIC, AND POLITICS: UNDERSTANDING THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT, Randy Lake, *University of Wisconsin - Eau Claire*

DIFFERENTIAL ACCULTURATION AMONG INDOCHINESE REFUGEE ADOLESCENTS, Jon K. Matsuoka, *Asian Counseling and Referral Service, Seattle*

STRENGTHS DESPITE STRESS: PROFILE OF THE BLACK WOMAN IN AMERICA, Shirla R. McClain, *Kent State University*, and Norma L. Spencer, *University of Akron*

THE DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHINESE BILINGUAL PROCESSES, Ernie Pon, *Sacramento City Unified School District*

A PROPOSED MODEL OF ADVOCACY SERVICES FOR UNDOCUMENTED MEXICAN ALIENS WITH MENTAL HEALTH NEEDS, Ramon Salcido, *University of Southern California*

A CHINAMAN'S CHANCE IN CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATION: A CASE STUDY, Yawsoon Sim, *Grambling State University*

BLACK AMERICANS AND JEWISH AMERICANS -- SOLIDARITY AND STRAIN, Alan Spector, *Purdue University, Calumet Campus*

OBASAMA-NI-KAKU (WRITING FOR GRANDMA), Eugene Tashima, *University of California, Los Angeles*, and Niel Tashima, *Asian American Mental Health Research Project, San Francisco*

HISPANICS IN THE UNITED STATES AND THEIR MENTAL HEALTH, Caroline White, *The College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, MN*

ASSOCIATION NEWS AND BUSINESS

8TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON ETHNIC AND MINORITY STUDIES

"Ethnicity and Politics"

"The Invisible Ethnic and Mental Health"

April 23-26, 1980

- PROGRAM SUMMARY -

MAJOR SPEAKER

Rev. Ben Chavis, Director, Washington, D.C., Field Office, Commission for Racial Justice, United Church of Christ; and Wilmington 10 Defendant. April 25

SPECIAL EVENTS

Black Arts Ensemble, Illinois State University, Frank Suggs, Director. April 24

Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick, Folksinger and Civil Rights Activist. April 25

AUDIOVISUAL SESSIONS

Video-tape presentation: "Androgeny and the Black Woman," by Marva Styles, San Diego State University.

Slide-tape presentation: "Inside the Cigar Store: Images of the American Indian," by Gretchen Bataille, Iowa State University.

Slide-tape presentation: "Black Images on American Postcards: Racism Through the Mails," by David Mielke, Appalachian State University.

Slide show: "Iconography of America: The Imaginary Indian and Public Policy," by Orville V. Clark, University of Wisconsin-Green Bay.

CONFERENCE RELATED EVENTS

NAIES Executive Council Meeting, April 23.
Chairpersons & Discussants Session, April 23.
NAIES General Membership & Business Meeting, April 25.

PUBLISHERS' EXHIBIT

Thirty-five publishers and distributors displayed books and other items. As always, the exhibit was a popular attraction.

SESSION SUMMARY

Special Session: "Language and Politics," Co-Moderators: G. Dona Hoilman and Dennis R. Hoilman, Ball State University. Panelists: Jenefer Giannasi, Northern Illinois University; Ambrocio Lopez, Ball State University; Blackhorse Mitchell, Navaho Community College - Shiprock Branch; Willease Story Sanders, Benedict College; Frank Sciara, Ball State University.

Special Session: "The Immigrant Experience: A Minnesota History Resource Unit," multi-media and resource materials presentation, by Rhoda Gilman, Minnesota Historical Society.

Special Session: "Selecting and Evaluating Materials About Native Americans." by Janice Beaudin, Public Service Librarian, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

General Sessions: There were thirteen general sessions with thirteen Chairpersons, ten Discussants, and thirty-eight papers presented.

SUMMARY

There were 147 official registrations for the 1980 conference. Among the registrants were representatives of 24 states, Canada and England.

Sixty-three different institutions were represented at this year's conference. There were a total of 53 attendees from the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse campus.

The 1980 conference is the last one that will be hosted by the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. The 1981 conference will be held in New Mexico, and the Conference Director will be Louis Sarabia, New Mexico State University.

ASSOCIATION NEWS AND BUSINESS

ELECTION RESULTS

1980 EXECUTIVE COUNCIL - NAIES

President

Barbara Hiura
Sacramento, CA 94616

Vice-Presidents

David Mielke
Appalachian State Univ.
Boone, NC 28608

David Brown
Beverly Hills, CA

Helen MacLam
Dartmouth College Library
Hanover, NH 03755

Secretary-Treasurer

George E. Carter
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
La Crosse, WI 54601

Associate Councilors

Reba Matthews
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
La Crosse, WI 54601

Auntry Henderson
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
La Crosse, WI 54601

Felix Peña
California State Polytechnic Univ.
Pomona, CA 91768

Councilors

Minnie T. Bailey
Grambling State University
Grambling, LA 71245

Gretchen Bataille
Iowa State University
Ames, IA 50011

Sara Hutchison
Davis, CA 95616

Charles Irby
California State Polytechnic Univ.
Pomona, CA 91768

Nicolás Kanellos
Univ. of Houston, Central Campus
Houston, TX 77004

Shirla McClain
Kent State University
Kent, OH 44242

Gary Okihiro
Univ. of Santa Clara
Santa Clara, CA 95050

Louis Sarabia
New Mexico State University
Las Cruces, NM 88003

Parmatma Saran
Baruch College-CUNY
New York, NY 11010

Conference Announcements

October 10-11, 1980	SouthEastern Regional Conference, Boone, North Carolina. Contact: David Mielke, Dept. of Secondary Education, Appalachian State University, Boone, NC 28608.
November 14-15, 1980	Third Annual Pacific Southwest Regional Conference of the NAIES. Contact: James H. Williams, Ethnic Studies Dept., California State Polytechnic University, 3801 W. Temple Ave., Pomona, CA 91768.
December 5-6, 1980	Regional Conference at Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa. Contact: Gretchen Bataille, Department of English, Iowa State University, Ames, IA 50011.

EDITOR'S CORNER

GEORGE E. CARTER

Explorations in Ethnic Studies stands at another threshold. With the current issue, the present editor will hand over the editorial reins to Dr. Charles Irby. The present editor has brought *Explorations* through six issues and the foundation for the journal has been set. The criteria and standards have been hammered out. We now know that each article must explore new ground, set forth solutions to an ethnic issue, or structure a new model. It will not be easy to carry on the beginnings. Yet, if Ethnic Studies are to survive and flourish, the journal must go on and it must go on no matter who the editor.

There will be changes in *Explorations* as the new editor and editorial staff implement their plans. The insertion of new persons always means change. New ideas, new approaches, new formats, new editorial board members, should all bring new visions and new challenges and this is exactly what Ethnic Studies needs. The new editor and staff deserve full support and from those on the present, we send them best wishes. The rigors of getting out a quality journal are known to those who have done it and the joys are also known only to those who have experienced the task. The new staff will come to know these feelings by the end of January, 1981.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

SILVESTER JOHN BRITO (Hunting-bear) is a member of the English Department at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee.

K. J. BRADLEY and his co-author **J. S. FRIDERES** are members of the Sociology Dept. at the University of Calgary, Calgary, Canada.

CHARLES IRBY is Chairman of the Ethnic Studies Department at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, California.

ERWIN A. SALK is a mortgage banker with the firm of Salk, Ward, & Salk, Chicago, and Ethnic Studies faculty, Columbia College, Chicago, Illinois.

WAYNE S. WOODEN and his co-author **J. H. MONANE** were both members of the Sociology Department at University of Hawaii at Hilo while completing their article. Mr. Wooden is presently in the Sociology Department at California State University at Long Beach.

RESEARCH PROJECTS

SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF CONCENTRATION CAMPS AMONG JAPANESE AMERICANS: 40 years later

Persons interested in exploring the possible past, present, and future effects of the American concentration camp experience among Japanese Americans are invited to share in a support network. Later this year I plan to work on some proposals to organize panels and symposium for several psychology conferences scheduled for the Los Angeles area in 1981. Finally plans are being made to organize a small conference for the specific purpose of sharing and discussing some research, ideas, and experiences in this field. Other ideas are invited and persons interested are encouraged to contact: Masayuki Sato, 483 Calero Ave., San Jose, CA 95123.

PUBLICATIONS

THE NOVAK REPORT ON THE NEW ETHNICITY

The Novak Report on the New Ethnicity is published by Michael Novak, noted theologian, columnist and currently Resident Scholar at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, D.C. Novak reports ten times a year on what he terms the "unmeltable ethnics," those Americans who often felt unrepresented, but who are now making their voices heard. *The Novak Report* focus on federal programs and actions that affect ethnic groups at the local and national levels. Special surveys and in-depth research are featured each month, reflecting Novak's deep commitment to the descendants of the 30 million Poles, Italians, Slovaks and other European immigrants, as well as Blacks and Hispanics who arrived in this country after 1870.

A year's subscription is $24.00. To subscribe (or to get a sample copy and subscription information), write to: The Novak Report, 918 F Street, N.W., Suite 410, Washington, D.C. 20004.

JOURNAL OF AMERICAN ETHNIC HISTORY

The Immigration History Society announces a new publication, the *Journal of American Ethnic History*. The journal will focus on the immigrant and ethnic history of the North American people. Scholars are invited to submit manuscripts on the process of migration (including the old world experience as it relates to migration and group life), adjustment and assimilation, group relations, mobility, politics, culture, group identity, or other topics which illuminate the North American immigrant and ethnic experience. Comparative research, concentration on a single group in different times and places or on a number of groups within a particular setting, would be very suitable. Papers that are interdisciplinary but historical, and utilize social science theory, folklore, literature or other elements from various disciplines are welcome.

Manuscripts should be in triplicate with notes and tables on separate sheets and following *A Manual of Style* (University of Chicago Press).

Send inquires to: Ronald H. Bayor, Ed., Journal of American Ethnic History, Dept. Social Sciences, Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, GA 30332.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF INTERDISCIPLINARY ETHNIC STUDIES

- MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION -

I HEREBY APPLY FOR NAIES MEMBERSHIP AS FOLLOWS:

Associate Member (Student or Senior Citizen) . . . . . $2.50 ☐

Individual Member :

(Salary below $10,000) . . . . . $10.00 ☐

(Salary between $10-20,000) . . . . . $20.00 ☐

(Salary above $20,000) . . . . . Discretion of Member ☐

Library Member . . . . . $25.00 ☐

Institutional Sponsor, Patron, Donor . . . . . $50.00 ☐

Lifetime Member . . . . . $250.00 ☐

I/WE HEREWITH ENCLOSE THE APPROPRIATE DUES OF $_____.
(Make check payable to Secretary-Treasurer, NAIES.)

Name _____ (PLEASE PRINT)

Discipline or Special Interest _____

_____

Mailing Address:

Title/Department/Etc. _____

Institution _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ ZIP _____

Date _____ Signature _____

FORWARD TO: George E. Carter
Secretary-Treasurer, NAIES
101 Main Hall
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
La Crosse, WI 54601

PLEASE NOTIFY THE SECRETARY-TREASURER OF ANY FUTURE ADDRESS CHANGE.

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

- SUBSCRIPTION FORM -

I/WE HEREBY ENTER A SUBSCRIPTION TO *EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES FOR* _____ YEAR(S) AS FOLLOWS:

Individual . . . . . .$5.00/year ☐

Library . . . . . $15.00/year ☐

Institutional Sponsor, Patron, Donor . . . . . $25.00/year ☐

I/WE HEREWITH ENCLOSE THE APPROPRIATE AMOUNT OF $_____.
(Make check payable to Secretary-Treasurer, NAIES.)

Name _____(PLEASE PRINT)

Mailing Address:

Title/Department/Etc. _____

Institution _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip ____

Date _____ Signature _____

FORWARD TO: George E. Carter
Secretary-Treasurer, NAIES
101 Main Hall
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
La Crosse, WI 54601

PLEASE NOTIFY THE SECRETARY-TREASURER OF ANY FUTURE ADDRESS CHANGE.

NOTE: Do not enter a separate subscription to *Explorations* if you are already a member of NAIES, as a subscription to this journal is included with your membership.

NAIES

** NEW PUBLICATION! **

"HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT" WORKING PAPERS

VOLUMES 1 & 2

NAIES is publishing 2 Volumes of Working Papers from the Anti-Slavery Society For The Protection Of Human Rights based in London, England.

THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEVELOPMENT WORKING PAPERS deal with the origins, causes and remedies to human rights problems. Some of the Working Papers are final reports of research projects; others are preliminary discussion documents on interim reports on work in progress.

Volume 1: *MAKING AND BREAKING HUMAN RIGHTS The UN's Specialised Agencies And Implementation Of The International Covenant On Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. Philip Alston.*

Volume 2: *HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE BASIC NEEDS STRATEGY FOR DEVELOPMENT. Philip Alston.*

PRICE:
Volume 1: $2.50
Volume 2: $3.50
Both Volumes: $5.00

ADDRESS ORDERS TO:
Dr. George E. Carter
NAIES
University of WI-LaCrosse
LaCrosse, WI 54601

The Anti-Slavery Society is a registered charity in the United Kingdom with an international membership; it has consultative status at the UN Economic and Social Council, and reports regularly to the UN Commission On Human Rights. Aims are in accordance with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.

canadian ethnic studies

études ethniques au canada

ISSUES STILL AVAILABLE/NUMEROS EN VENTE:

1978, Vol. X, no. 1 — includes/comprend: Roundtable Discussion on "Ethnic Minorities and the New Quebec/Les Minorités ethniques du nouveau Québec.

Vol. X, no. 2 — Ethnic Radicals Special Issue

1979, Vol. XI, no. 1 — includes/comprend: Men Without Women: Italian Migrants in Canada, 1885-1930 by Robert F. Harney

Ethnicity, Food Preferences and Habits of Consumption as Factors in Social Interaction by Grace M. Anderson and J.M. Alleyne

South Asian Canadians and the Ethnic Mosaic: An Overview by Norman Buchignani

$7.00 for individual issue/pour un seul numero
Ethnic Radicals Issue — Special Offer $5.00
Numéro de la gauche ethnique — offre spécial $5.00

UPCOMING SPECIAL ISSUES/NUMEROS SPECIAL A PARAITRE:

* * * UKRAINIANS IN THE CITY * * *
WOMEN AND ETHNICITY
* * * ETHNIC LITERATURE * * *

Issues also include book and film reviews, opinion, immigrant memoirs, translation of primary sources, reports on national conferences, and bibliography.

Chaque numéro comprend des recensions de livres et de films, des opinions, des mémoires d'immigrants, des traductions de sources primaires, des rapports sur les conférences nationales, et des bibliographies.

Subscription rates/Frais d'Abbonement:	One year/Un an
( ) Individuals/Particuliers	$15.00
( ) Students/Etudiants	$10.00
( ) Institutions	$20.00

Above rates include a quarterly newsletter and membership in the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association / Les frais comprennent les bulletins trimestriels et la qualité de membre de la Société canadienne d'études ethniques.

Articles for publication, books for review and general correspondence should be addressed to **CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES,** The Research Centre for Canadian Ethnic Studies, c/o The University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, T2N 1N4. Single orders and back issues can be obtained from this address also.

SUBSCRIPTION ORDERS AND INQUIRIES should be addressed to **CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES,** c/o Department of Educational Foundations, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., V6T 1W5.

Tous les articles, les recensions, et la correspondance générale doivént être adresses aux **ETUDES ETHNIQUES AU CANADA,** Université de Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, T2N 1N4. Tout numéro courant et ancien de la revue peut être commandé a l'adresse ci-dessus.

Tous les abonnements et les informations pricie de vous adresses aux **ETUDES ETHNIQUES AU CANADA,** c/o Department of Educational Foundations, University of B.C., Vancouver, B.C., V6T 1W5.