

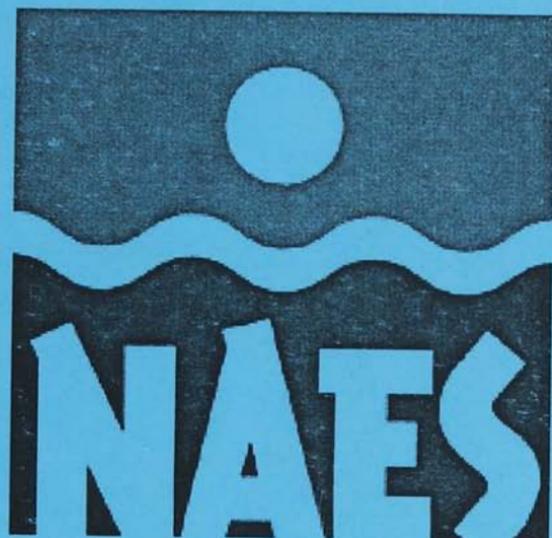
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ETHNIC STUDIES REVIEW

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Serials



Analytical Traditions

2001
Volume 24
Issues 1, 2 & 3

The National Association for Ethnic Studies

Ethnic Studies Review (ESR) is the journal of the National Association for Ethnic Studies (NAES). ESR is a multi-disciplinary international journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups and their cultures, and intergroup relations. NAES has as its basic purpose the promotion of activities and scholarship in the fields of Ethnic Studies. The Association is open to any person or institution and serves as a forum for its members in promoting research, study, and curriculum as well as producing publications of interest to the field. NAES sponsors an annual Spring conference.

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Editor's Note

Serials

The articles in this volume represent the interpretative and analytical traditions in ethnic studies scholarship. The first three contributions draw attention to how the tools of literary analysis and inquiry add new perspectives to our understanding of the social realities framing the lives of people of color. The remaining articles using both quantitative and qualitative research methods similarly inform the complex life experiences of people of color. In common these seemingly disparate sets of articles provide sharp and in a couple of instances challenging commentaries on life and living on the margin and the wider social spaces that are circumscribed by color lines.

The first article, "From Chinatown to Gunga Din Highway," by E. San Juan, Jr., urges a careful reading of Frank Chin's latest novel. Its messages, according to San Juan, add insight to the role of literary texts in providing both a description of the challenges facing Chinese Americans and the prescriptions for addressing these within the context of a the U.S. racial polity. Fatima Mujcinovic's article "In Search of Bernabe: Politicized Womanhood," discusses the dehumanizing effects that war and its associated violence have on the body, mind, and spirit. The piece also points out how new forms of resistance and efforts to reestablish one's humanity can result from personal trials and tribulations.

Gerald Gem's "The Athlete as Trickster" brings our attention to how the trickster trope can be used as an analytical tool for understanding how athletes, especially people of color, have responded to the challenges of the color line.

"Becoming an American," Kou Yang's article, chronicles the

social and cultural experiences of Hmong refugees coming to the United States the last twenty-five years. Yang identifies and analyzes the uniqueness of the Hmong refugee experience when compared to the immigrant experiences of other Asian groups coming to the United States.

Edward Codina, Zenong Yin, et al, in their article, "Ethnic Identity, Risk, and Protective Factors Related to Substance Use and Academic Achievement Among Mexican American Students," inform us through the use of quantitative research methods of the relationships between ethnic identity, risk, and protective factors and academic achievement. Cynthia Willis Esqueda and Rosemary Esseks explore the extent to which visual stimuli, e.g., race and occupation, are used by European American college students to assign ingroup and outgroup membership based on race of a fictional character. Their contribution, "Saliency of Category Information in Person Perception for Ingroup and Outgroup Members," is a research report of their findings. Ashton Welch in the article, "Ethnicity and the Jury System," examines how aspects of the jury selection system disadvantage ethnic and linguistic groups and the prospects for judicial relief.

In the final article in this volume, "Using African American Perspectives to Promote a More Inclusive Understanding of Human Communication Theory," Jim Schnell, relates how he has expanded the content of his courses in communications studies to include works by and about African Americans. Schnell argues that this inclusive approach benefits the student and the instructor and has implications for the inclusion of content addressing the cultural experiences of other groups.

We hope you will find this volume in the best traditions of serious scholarly commentary: provocative, stimulating, and informative.

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From Chinatown to Gunga Din Highway: Notes on Frank Chin's Writing Strategy

E. San Juan, Jr.

Exploring Frank Chin's work, particularly in his latest novel *Gunga Din Highway*, the essay endeavors to re-situate ethnic writing in the historical specificity of its inscription in the United States as a racial polity. This cognitive remapping of the literary field as reconfigured by multiculturalist liberalism may be accomplished by examining Chin's cultural politics. Chin's mode of strategic writing interrogates the model-minority myth and the premises of cultural nationalism. While it rejects the pluralist resolution of the traditional conflicts in the Chinese diaspora, Chin's satiric impulse proposes a defamiliarization of Asian American "common sense" adequate to provoke a reevaluation of the presumed conjunction of ethnicities, cultures, and nationalities in the current counter-terrorist milieu.

The "myth of Asia" and its ramification in what Edward Said calls the discourse of "Orientalism" (1978), once a serious obstacle to rigorous scientific analysis of disparate societies, no longer dominates with its obscurantist mystique. The comparatist scholar John Steadman exposed some time ago the

duplicitous equivocality of notions about Asia, or Eastern cultures, as a symptom of Western/European anxieties and malaise (1969). But a more recalcitrant and perhaps more insidious pathology has taken its place: reification of cultures. Arif Dirlik (2001) recently called attention to the way in which the assimilationist category of "Asian America" (which homogenizes the heterogeneous ethnicities subsumed within it: Filipino, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, and so on) erased crucial geographical, historical and social differences. As a reaction the privatized and particularistic separatism of identity politics dissolved the historical specificity of cultural practices, leading to the fabrication of abstract essentializing identities like "Chineseness"—a return of Orientalism in an age of multiculturalism and the cult of ethnic differences. How do we move beyond such paralyzing binarisms and metaphysical dualisms? As a heuristic exploration, I attempt to sketch here one way of moving beyond the perils of racializing culturalism by examining the fraught interface between imagination and society in the cultural politics of one controversial Chinese American artist, Frank Chin.

Caught in the unflagging "culture wars" of the last three decades, any inquiry into the status of a region of creative expression as Asian American, more specifically here Chinese American, writing is fraught with all the old issues over the relation of art to the political and social formation which it inhabits. We need to situate the aesthetic or literary object in what Pierre Bourdieu calls "the field of power" (1995). For the dominant liberal consensus, literature occupies a transcendent space free from prior moral or ideological commitments, hence readers can enjoy Amy Tan and Maxine Hong Kingston on the same level as they would Gertrude Stein or Katherine Anne Porter. Since the sixties, however, the consensus has allowed for the reconfiguration of "minority" or ethnic writing in the new category of multicultural literature of the United States, according them "equal and separate" position.

This gesture of tolerance is both compromising and complicitous. It patronizes the exoticized cultural product even while it claims to judge it in terms of universalistic criteria. One may ask: Is Amy Tan's *The Joy Luck Club*, inserted into the diversity curriculum, now to be celebrated as an integral part of

American literature? That question is more contentious if trivial than the one of whether Maxine Hong Kingston, now canonized as a major American writer, is perfectly assimilated so as to erase the ethnic patina and render her safe for general, not just elite, consumption. Has the original “Chinese” aura produced by reviews and public opinion of her novels been subsumed into the pluralist hegemony of multicultural America to make her representative? Clearly the question of nationality, of identifying with a nation or citizenship granted by the nation-state, becomes crucial when we (I from the Philippine perspective; my colleagues from Hong Kong, Taiwan, and elsewhere, from another) view a concrete literary formation in the context of specific times, places, and interrelations among them. Clearly neoliberal multiculturalism is neither neutral and impartial nor disinterested in the Kantian sense.

Before I shift the focus from the general to the particular, I want to underscore the fact that the antagonism between the aestheticist and the socially committed stance persists among the *litterateurs* of Asian America. It functions as a microcosm of the stratified and hierarchized field of power. Consider, for example, the opinions expressed by Garrett Hongo on Cynthia Kadohata and Pulitzer-winner Robert Butler. Hongo chides Asian Americans for being “immature” because they are “so unused to seeing cultural representations of itself” so that they criticize Kadohata for not mentioning the internment camps in her novel *The Floating World*. Hongo praises Butler for creating “commonality” in his stories of Vietnamese refugees, for his “humanistic politics” and “powerful artistry.” Hongo then blames the confusion of

general thought in American culture (as enacted by media and the ephemeral communal mind) [which] tends to oversimplify complex social and artistic issues, with the habitual comminglings and false oppositions of matters of art with matters of social justice. The problem, ultimately, has to do with confusing and, finally, conflating the two realms (1998, 55).

Although Hongo evinces awareness of the dangers of “minstrelsy by the white culture ventriloquizing the ethnic experience and colonizing the mind of the Other for the purpose of reinforcing cultural dominance” (1998, 53-54), he is curiously

naive in accepting the contrived separation between art and society, humanism and racism, that generated in the first place the confusions he himself suffers from. The symptoms of extreme alienation, instanced for example by the fragmentation of human activity and schizoid behavior found in late capitalist society cannot be diagnosed without grasping the larger history of the socio-political formation of the United States as a complex overdetermined totality of social relations. Racism, the underlying cause of the "culture wars" between a white supremacist order and the subordinated peoples of color, cannot be grasped fully and resolved without the transforming the material historical conditions that make it possible. What is imperative is a critical review of the racial/class hierarchy that constitutes the social order of the United States, its historical construction as a hegemonic articulation of classes, races, nationalities, sexualities, together with the manifold contradictions that define the parameters for change.

We need to confront the historical reality of the United States as a "racial polity" founded on conquest, slavery, and genocide (Mills 1997). On the specific question of where Chinese Americans are positioned in the historical development of this racial polity and where its cultural modalities can be inscribed, a preliminary response can be sampled in a study by Ling Chi Wang that raises more questions than it answers. Wang is critical of two paradigms: the assimilationist one based on the melting-pot myth which subsists on the ideology of white supremacy and the loyalty paradigm. The latter involves the emphasis on preserving a Chinese cultural identity which entails some kind of political/ economic loyalty of "overseas Chinese," the "sole obsession" of both government policies and scholarly inquiries by both governments in Taiwan and mainland China.

Wang rightly criticizes both paradigms deployed in scholarly studies of Chinese in the United States as simplistic, biased, and totally inadequate. Aside from assuming Chinese America to be homogeneous and monolithic, the two frameworks "exclude the perspectives, interests, rights, and well being of the Chinese American community." Abstracting from the empirical record, Wang points to three crucial factors that define the Chinese diaspora in the U.S.: 1) the resistance

against racial oppression and extraterritorial domination; (2) the impact of U.S.-China relations on the formation and development of Chinese America; and (3) the segmentation and conflict within the community by class, gender, and nativity over time and the sentiment, perspective, and voice of each segment (1995, 158).

By a simple inversion, Wang proposes an alternative paradigm that would reconceptualize assimilation and loyalty, substituting for assimilation the concept of racial exclusion or oppression, and for loyalty to the homeland the notion of extraterritorial domination. These two trends—racial exclusion and extraterritorial domination—then “converge and interact in the Chinese American community, establishing a permanent structure of dual domination and creating its own internal dynamics and unique institutions” (1995, 159).

From an evolutionary perspective the opposites need to be reconciled. After reviewing the historical vicissitudes of these two trends, Wang concludes that

liberation from the structure of dual domination is therefore the goal for the emergence of a new Chinese America in the multiracial democracy of the U.S. envisioned by the Chinese Americans involved in the civil rights movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s (1995, 165).

How that emancipatory goal is to be achieved remains unclear.

The invocation of a “multiracial democracy” without altering property/power relations is highly suspect. Notwithstanding this reservation, I think Wang has insightfully summarized the political genealogy of Chinese America—the ideological foundation of exclusion in contract labor, the presumed non-assimilability of the Chinese, the conservative and reactionary local institutions and practices that permitted the intervention from the governments in Taiwan and mainland China, and lately the transnational movements of information, capital, and people in global capitalism. What is starkly missing is any analysis of how precisely the ideological and cultural apparatuses of the hegemonic order—no radical change is suggested for this—continue to reproduce the assimilationist paradigm as well as reinforce the loyalty compulsion. In fact Wang notes the influence of the cultures and lifestyles of China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong

on the already segmented Chinese American community. More important, the underlying schema for change is not the racial polity but a self-equilibrating liberal market-centered system.

Unravelling Apartheid?

No doubt times have changed. Chinese Americans are praised by arch-conservative Linda Chavez as superperformers in climbing the ladder of social and economic mobility, serving as protowhites placed between African Americans and the EuroAmerican majority. Peter Gran describes the “buffer race” strategy for preserving the status quo:

The state through its immigration policy inserted one or more groups, the buffers, into society between black and whites to conflict with the interests of both, thereby deflecting the focus on race off the black-white issue, diffusing it into what is now called multiculturalism (1996, 347).

This ineluctably complicates the race/class/gender dialectic. The mutations in social relations of reproduction that accompany the change from finance capitalism at the turn of the century to the Depression, the Cold War, and the new globalization schemes of the industrialized states are elided by a narrow focus on bureaucratic, regulatory adjustments. The absence of a dialectical construal between the logic of capital and the hegemonic process vitiates the critique of assimilationism and intervention from outside through local agencies. Taking account of transnationality or transmigrancy will not challenge capital’s corporate monopoly of power over the processes of immigration, job discrimination, residential segregation, and other institutional mechanisms of the regulatory, monopolistic state.

Empiricism vitiates any simple tabulation of factors surrounding racism and extraterritorial intervention. Starkly absent from Wang’s historical summary is the evolution of the older stereotype of Fu Manchu or “heathen Chinese” as evil incarnate to the model minority exemplar in tandem with the rise of neo-conservative Asian American “middlemen” as key players in the political scene. Connie Chung and Wen Ho Lee cannot so easily be yoked together without ideological violence. Neil Gotanda takes note of this dramatic transformation of the

Asian American “yellow horde” into overachievers, an intermediate racial category or “racial buffer” between whites and a burgeoning “underclass.” Add to this the phenomenon of what Peter Kwong calls the “new Chinatown” whose underground economy of “internal colonialism” outside the mainstream U.S. economy and labor market escapes Wang’s dual paradigm and its alternative.

We should factor in the conjuncture of the *fin de siècle* pettybourgeois anarchism and the neoliberal agenda for universalizing “free trade” and privatization everywhere. In the wake of the 1992 Los Angeles uprising, Glenn Omatsu (1994) describes the emergence of Asian neoconservatives in California, exploding the panethnic racialization of the sixties with the resurgent class antagonisms of a declining industrial economy. After September 11, 2001, the war against terrorism may have disrupted the academic syndrome of reducing “race” to ethnicity. By virulent racial profiling the coercive agencies of the state have counter-fetishized the physiognomy of the Arab, resulting in the systematic surveillance, harassment, and even murder of Arab Americans, citizens of Middle Eastern origin, South Asians and other dark-skinned immigrants.

Let us assume, however, the persistence of a gradualist trend. In retrospect, it is perfectly conceivable to posit that freedom from the dual tyranny of racial exclusion and extraterritorial domination can take the form of a pluralist/multicultural ethos and an ethnocentric politics of identity. Despite its challenge to orthodoxy, both Tan’s oeuvre (from *The Joy Luck Club* to *The Thousand Secret Senses*) as well as the more sophisticated inventions of David Hwang, Fae Mae Ng, Shawn Wong, Wing Tek Lum, Marilyn Chin, and others, can and have been appropriated for disempowering their agents and entrenching a “separate but equal” prophylactic compromise. Chang-rae Lee’s *Native Speaker* signals a self-reflexive turn that disturbs the lift-one’s-bootstraps complacency.

Kingston herself is now a sacred icon of pluralist feminism—a success story for nativist as well as overseas, diasporic Chinese. Civil rights demands for some pettybourgeois elements have been fulfilled by the fetishism of hybridity and heterogeneity, making the hyphen the erotic marker of a privileged difference. If the margin has moved to the center

or has been accommodated to the core by a strategy of cooptation and displacement, the racial polity is preserved and strengthened in its political-economic functionality and ideological effects. Postmodernist discourse and criticism, eulogizing boutique multiculturalism above the political economy of maintaining consensus, runs rampant in the service of a pluralist metaphysics of the free market and individual freedom via consumerism (San Juan 1998, 1999). Institutional racism thrives on individualist honors.

One way of exploring how to seize the “weak link” in the U.S. sociopolitical formation is to pursue a historical-materialist critique of the contradictions that underlie the structures of the racial order. I want to use Frank Chin’s writings as allegories of Chinese American historical specificity. In “Revisiting an ‘Internal Colony’: U.S. Asian Cultural Formations and the Metamorphosis of Ethnic Discourse,” a chapter in my book *Beyond Postcolonial Theory*, I alluded to Chin’s attempt to dismantle the bipolarizing logic of the hyphenated sensibility found in Jade Snow Wong and other pre-World War II writers and to project instead a heroic myth of the Chinese workers who built the railroads, excavated tunnels, cleared the wilderness of Hawaii, and made enormous sacrifices to lay the infrastructure for industrial capitalist America. I alluded to how Chin has been able to neutralize the humanist, neoliberal reconstitution of the self with a “postmodern pastiche that may be an astute maneuver to undermine commodity fetishism” (1998, 189). “Commodity fetishism” is my shorthand term for the whole regime of alienation, more exactly reification (as defined by Lukacs [1971] and Goldmann [1975]), that distinguishes everyday life in a society centered on exchange-value, on the operations of the market.

Reification in a racial polity manifests itself as racial inferiorization, exclusion, marginalization, and subordination of peoples marked as Others/aliens as a mode of constituting a majoritarian identity, articulated with class, sexuality, gender, and nationality. Reification in the cultural field today expresses itself as the valorization of difference to compensate for the damages inflicted by a homogenizing Eurocentric pseudo-universalism. What David Harvey calls the “Leibnizian conceit” (69), in which a monadic subjectivity internalizes the world and

its totality of relations, was displayed earlier in Hongo's bifurcation of aesthetics and politics as two separate realms. This conceit also legitimizes the idea of the artist as demiurgic force so prevalent in postmodernist apologetics. Deploying satiric humor, parody, and carnivalesque tropes, Chin succeeds in destroying the Leibnizian conceit. By emphasizing historical specificity and the sociopolitical constitution of the mode of literary production Chin subverts commodity aestheticism. Deploying a distancing slyness reminiscent of Brecht (see Jameson 1998), Chin refunctions his own life-history as a means of carrying out a painstaking demystification of the paradigm of assimilation.

Articulating Class, Race, and Nationality

Racial dynamics cannot be divorced from how categories of class and nationality operate in U.S. society. In a contribution to Studs Terkel's volume, *Race* (1992), Chin explores the embeddedness of the Chinese *habitus* in American life and its indivisibility from the class/race/nationality parameters of subordination. He states that from his childhood he has been "trying to find out exactly what" he is, "an American of Chinese descent." This formulation is multiaccented, contingent on historical conjuncture and context. I should like to emphasize that Chin's writing strategy is not a quest for an essential quality or attribute of "Chineseness" but a cognitive and pragmatic mapping of the terrain of a racialized formation. Sucheng Chan (1991), King-kok Cheung (1990), and others condemn Chin's "machismo" and his alleged claim to be the only "authentic" Asian American writer. There is some basis for this, but it does not appreciate the larger project of a disarticulation of the hegemonic order and re-interpellation of the racialized, subjugated subject.

Unlike Asian postmodernists, Chin strives for a synthesizing appraisal of the social totality. Chin's mode of calculating how the "ethnic" negotiates the American scene implies a critique of liberal pluralism as well as the essentialist assumptions of civic republicanism:

Oakland is the Tower of Babel. All these languages.
And nobody even speaks English like everybody else.
I've come to believe that monotheism encourages

racism, whoever practices it. There is only one God and everyone else is an infidel, a pagan, or a goy. The Chinese look on all behavior as tactics and strategy. It's like war. You have to know the terrain. You don't destroy the terrain, you deal with it. We get along, not because we share a belief in God or Original Sin or a social contract, but because we make little deals and alliances with each other (Terkel 1992, 310).

Chin points out that because he was raised by white folks during World War II, he was saved from ideas of Chinese inferiority, of parents having proprietary rights over children, from the seductions of yellow minstrelsy. The powerful influence of the black radical movement in the sixties—dramatized in satiric and elegiac ways in *The Chickencoop Chinaman* and *The Year of the Dragon*—is mediated in the typifying gestus of the Chinatown Red Guards who violently command Chin to “Identify with China!”—the California Maoists beat him up and accuse him of being a “cultural nationalist.” David Palumbo-Liu comments that Chin and the Red Guards fail to see that both terms in “Asian America” signify “a psychic rationalization, and that the problem of cultural nationalism involves “the historical materiality of a culture produced in a psychic space wherein a particular and contingent formation of the nation appears *in relation* to multiple identifications which are themselves driven by specific contingencies” (1999, 308).

Chin's “America,” is, however, less a cover for cultural nationalism than a ruse for exposing hegemonic truisms. As a teacher Chin was attacking racism in its overt forms, a racial ostracism that reduced Chinese Americans to “an enclave, like Americans working for Aramco in Saudi Arabia. Chinatown may be a stronghold of Chinese culture, but we're Chinese Americans” (312). He denounces the practices that have converted the Chinese Americans into “a race of Helen Kellers, mute, blind and deaf,” the perfect minority worshipping Pearl Buck and embracing Charlie Chan, “an image of racist love,” as “a strategy for white acceptance” (313). Chin takes account of how social peace via individual/group competition is preserved by the inculcation of prejudice throughout the population. He recalls how David Hilliard of the Black Panthers got up in Portsmouth Square and said: “You Chinese are the Uncle

Toms of the colored poples” (Terkel 1992, 314). Chin finds this apt, but Chinese youth imitating black populism is not the solution. Nor is the temporary strategic ruse of using English “as a matter of necessity” in a white man’s world, which he observes among the Indochinese immigrants whom he describes as “the unredeemed Chinese Chinese.”

A kind of peasant cunning using the “weapons of the weak” characterizes Chin’s bravado, his predilection for exhibitionist belligerence. This has earned him sharp rebuke from self-avowed gatekeepers of Asian American culture and assorted orthodox moralists. Chin’s method is not a matter of reversing discourse but a retrieval of a submerged tradition: the practical materialism of the Chinese plebeian grassroots, the proletariat in city and countryside (Needham 1975). To interrogate self-contempt as a tactic of survival and legitimize a Chinese American sensibility in his works, Chin is often quoted as adopting a heroic martial posture and outlook based on his application of Sun Tzu’s *Art of War* and the Chinese cultural tradition embodied in the classic texts of *Three Kingdoms*, *The War Margin*, and *Monkey’s Journey to the West*. Some commentators also impute to Chin the role of reconstructing the Chinese tradition in the way of Caliban and Kwan Kung (Leiwei Li 1991). But Chin, I think, is not interested in postcolonial mimicry or a recovery of a putative Chinese American tradition. In his essay, “Our Life is War,” Chin argues that “What is of supreme importance in war is to attack the enemy’s strategy” (1983, 28), hence the importance of surveying the terrain or context of the struggle, analyzing the contradictory trends immanent in the forces engaged, and seizing the “weak link” to resolve the contradictions by stages and enable a release of human potential for future projects of liberation.

As a propaedeutic guide, I would like to delineate Chin’s dialectical mode of problematizing with reference to his latest work, *Gunga Din Highway*. The novel is an elaborate neopicaresque staging of a pretext for an understated satire of American highbrow and mass culture, rehearsing the familiar repertoire of racist clichés, stereotypes, icons, and folkloric doxa of mainstream culture. It is organized around the conflict of generations, specifically between Longman Kwan, the father of Ulysses, who aspires to be the first Chinese to play Charlie

Chan after having had a career of playing Chan's Number Four Son and as "the Chinaman who dies." Ulysses, the third son of a father produced by incest, revolts against the patriarch who urges him to take on "the image of the perfect Chinese American to lead the yellows to build the road to acceptance towards assimilation" (1994, 13). Which road will the prodigal son take?

The conventional parodic form modernized by Chin leads to an inversion if not abortion of a young artist's development found in the traditional education novel. Ulysses and his friends, Diego Chang and Benedict Han, are instructed by their Chinese schoolteacher to "master all the knowledge of heaven and earth...so as to see the difference between the real and the fake." They outwit their teacher. They anticipate the precept that good judgment springs from a hermeneutics of suspicion. The last chapter of the novel renders the success of Ulysses in refusing the legacy/inheritance of Charlie Chan, a synecdoche for the systematic Americanization of the Chinese, even though at the end he accepts being a figurehead for the extended family. The father's prestige is vindicated as he is described in a fictional movie, *Anna May Wong*, an airplane movie with an all-Chinese bomber crew, in which the father departs from the Chan syndrome/Gunga Din Road and enjoys a symbolic resurrection and rehabilitation. The lesson seems to be that the past is always redeemed in moments of danger, of crisis, when we seize opportunities for transformative action. "Life is war.... Let the good times roll!" Diego Chang intones. If life is war and revolution, then Ulysses wins it when he refuses all the normative expectations of the dominant society. Contrary to modernist decorum, the section "Anna May Wong" and its take-off sequence splice the father's death with the joyous drive toward birth, a delivery and deliverance at the same time. The trope of flight, passage, transition, etc. unfixes the dual reflex of assimilation/loyalty discussed earlier.

Consanguinity or blood lineage counterpoints breaks by migration, alienation, and betrayal. The public sphere cannot be separated from the private realm. Still, we cannot evade the thematic burden of identity, whether filial, collective, private, decentered or intertextual. What are the conditions of its possibility? And is this task of identification meaningful for a novel

that with its critical and deconstructive thrust undermines the quest for origins, essences, authenticity, destinies, transcendent and/or primordial forms? Chin pokes fun at the notion of a singular isolated tradition: “If Charlie Chan uses first-person pronouns, does not walk in the fetal position, is not played by a white man, and looks and acts like a real Chinese, he’s not Charlie Chan anymore” (1994, 355). This suggests that identification is always dialogic in Bakhtin’s (1981) sense, or better yet, heteroglossic and intertextual in that the critique of hegemony always takes mass prejudices as the point of departure for their subversion.

The form of *Gunga Din Highway*, at first glance, seeks to reconcile the disintegration of the traditional world with the artist’s desire for wholeness of understanding. As we shall see, the attempt executed partly through an attempted mimesis of Joyce and Homer only heightens the contradictions and, at best, instigates us to react to the crisis of the old order. Broadly surveyed, the four parts of the novel unfold the history of the Chinese in the United States in the adventures of Ulysses Kwan, the descendant of the god of fighters and writers, and variants of his character. Before “Home” can be reached, the protagonists have to experience a protracted *agon* from “Creation” to “The World” and “the Underworld.”

One can discern a chronological progression from the Mother Lode country of California in World War II to San Francisco coffeeshops in the fifties, passing through a Seattle rock-flamenco-blues festival and the activities of radical groups in the sixties to off-Broadway and the orientalist version of Pandora’s box in the seventies, to middle-age capers in the eighties, and finally to the disclosure of family secrets in the nineties. In Chins genealogy, the hero is basically the anti-hero, a subversion of identity politics by a cosmic metanarrative and a carnivalesque collage of episodes without much logical causality. The rationale is provided by his reading of Chinese mythology:

The world, the giant, and the Mother of Humanity create a world where every hero is an orphan, a failed scholar, an outlaw, an outcast, an exile on the road of life through danger, ignorance, deception, and enlightenment” (1994, vii).

The education of Ulysses attains a climactic point in his encounter with the Horse, their Chinese teacher, at a historic juncture when the United States is fighting a war in Korea while the French just have suffered defeat at Dien Bien Phu in colonial IndoChina. The Horse's teaching sketches the secular, open-ended triangulation of Ulysses' emergent identity:

'I can teach you to read and write Chinese,' the Horse said, 'but you will never be Chinese. And by now you should all know no matter how well you speak English and how many of the great books of western civilization you memorize, you will never be *bokgwai*, white European Americans. The Chinese kick you around for not being Chinese. And the whites kick you around for not being American. Obviously you are neither white nor Chinese, but you tell me what does that mean? What is it? You are the stone monkey come to life. To learn the difference between stone idea and living flesh and blood, you must learn everything Chinese and American there is to know, you must master all the knowledge of heaven and earth, become The Sage equal to The Emperor of Heaven so as to see the difference between the real and the fake, the knowledge of what being neither Chinese nor *bokgwai* means.' (1994, 93)

In Chin's aesthetics a strong modernist conception of the artist's singularity coexists with a profound sense of art's ethical responsibility. This is translated in the novel when Ulysses and his friends respond:

The Horse made us feel special. Unlike anyone else in the world, we were neither Chinese nor American. All things were possible. No guilt. We were pure self-invention, something like Milton's Satan in *Paradise Lost*: 'self-begat.' (1994, 95).

Lest this theory of self-invention, eloquently invoked also at the beginning of *The Chickencoop Chinaman*, induce us to ascribe to Chin an ethnic refurbishing of neoPlatonic individualism with a touch of Emersonian pragmatism, I want to stress the circumstantial density that limits the affirmation of freedom or independent agency that Chin's characters embody in their comic resilience and vitality. I don't see any warrant here for

egotism or a metaphysics of the Flaubertian artist-deity. The discourse of *Gunga Din Highway* can only lend itself to a full-blown nihilistic interpretation if the weight of history and the sociopolitical determinants that afford “objective correlatives” or, in Raymond Williams’ (1977) term, “structures of feeling,” are wilfully ignored.

Discourse of Displacements

Judging from the meager reviews of *Gunga Din Highway*, this historicising aspect of Chin’s fiction has been neglected in favor of its colorful rhetoric and somewhat exhibitionist idiosyncracies. For example the *New York Times* reviewer focuses on Chin’s fascination with Hollywood stereotypes and the penchant of superimposing on life a cinematic pattern that makes “The Movie About Me” the foil to the real world. The “Me,” however, is a defensive mimicry of the prevailing individualist liberal ethos. Public anxiety with Chin’s alleged humorous if “deadly cynicism” and canny ironic tone that distance the characters from the reader may indicate a certain resistance to the critique of media and mass culture in the novel, a critique that the publishing industry would be loathe to endorse. Another reviewer calls attention to the

frenetic, irreverent and episodic father-and-son saga that encompasses some five decades of American cliches, moviemaking and image bashing.... Chin sets Ulysses’ serendipitous adventures within a comic book-style cultural survey that mocks everything American, from movies to music, drugs, politics, the media, pornography, and racism” (Seaman 1994, 111).

One reviewer, Robert Murray Davis, speculates that the reader is expected to have seen every movie from *M* to *Wild in the Streets* and *Night of the Living Dead*, as well as some invented ones like *Charlie Chan in Winnemucca* and *Ana May Wong* to get a full appreciation of Chin’s demystification of their aura. But the reference to these numerous artifacts of mass culture need not detract from the writer’s purpose of carrying out a general demystification of appearances, especially when such appearances provide pleasure and catharsis that prevent the acquisition of knowledge required for unmasking the rationality

of what is considered normal, natural, and reasonable.

Chin's cognitive mapping of the racial polity has often been downplayed if not ignored. His programmatic satire aims to interrogate the ideology of reification, in particular the reification of ethnicized gender and sexual practices. In the third section, "The Underworld," Chin recounts an incident he reported in the aforementioned interview with Studs Terkel. This deals with the time when he was challenged by the Chinatown Red Guards as he led his students reciting "Ching Chong Chinaman...." Ulysses explains the rationale: "Satire is where you make fun of how *they* think and what *they* say in order to make *them* look stupid" (1994, 257). This satiric motivation acquires a Rabelaisian accent in the summary of Benedict Mo's *Fu Manchu Plays Flamenco*; the play, according to Ulysses, aims to create not a hybrid artifact symbolically overcoming exclusion and antimiscegenation laws, but "a Chinese-American culture that kicks white racism in the balls with a shit-eating grin" (1994, 261). The play functions as the antithesis to the Charlie Chan archetype. But what is the play really about? Here is a partial summary. Fu Manchu tells the white captive to give up the secret to Kool-Aid or he will let his beautiful nympho daughter give him the dreaded torture of a thousand excruciating fucks and exotic sucks. But the white man defends the secret to Kool-Aid, and Fu's luscious daughter wheels the captive off to her silk-sheeted torture chamber. When the director sees Ulysses offstage watching, still in character, he tries putting Fu Manchu back onstage, reciting the classical Japanese haikus of Issa and Basho, breathlessly watching his daughter torture the white man by seduction. Then Ulysses gets the idea to have Fu play the guitar in rhythm to his daughter's hips while badmouthing the white captive's sexual organs, skills, and style in Spanish, English, and three dialects of Chinese:

So who knows and who cares whose idea it is for Fu Manchu to end his flamenco in the torture chamber by ripping open his robe and showing his body in a bra, panties, garter belt, and black net stockings, licking his lips as he makes a move on the white man, while Fu's daughter straps on an eight-inch dildo? The captive American screams the secret formula, not only for Kool-Aid but for Bisquick and Crisco, too (1994, 258).

Commodity-fetishism linked to racialized sexuality is thematized here. The critic Sau-Ling Wong has commented on the preoccupation of American-born Chinese writers with the effects of the gendering of ethnicity—the reflex of effeminizing the Asian men and ultrafeminizing Asian women—while recent immigrant writers are more concerned with the ethnicizing of gender. The quotation above shows Chin’s hyperbolic displacement of the stereotypes by the manipulation of a sign system immanent in commodity aesthetics (Haug 1986).

Chin’s strategy of deploying various perspectives—not only Ulysses but also his sworn blood brothers Diego Chang and Benedict Mo—is designed to counter any single narrative authority, even though his voice with its mocking insinuations and insouciance seems to predominate. Ego-building is not the agenda but the collective response to white racist practices. It may be noted here also that Chin’s carnivalesque repertoire of deflation linked to the revolutionary social impulse of comedy effectively counters any psychologizing of racism and liberal ideology. The satiric and comic framework neutralizes the psychoanalytic obsession over the enigma formulated by Suzanne Yang (1998): “What is the opposite of an Asian woman?”

We confront again the problematic of Orientalism signaled at the outset—the objectification of the exoticized Other—that inheres in the valorization of difference as such. Yang analyzes the enigma of racist love as the “scopic constitution of racial identity mediated through an imaginary representation of the desire of the Other” (1998, 140). This Lacanian formula of ethnicity as a syndrome of ignorance, love, and hatred coalesced together, leads to an answer to the question of representation: the remainder (of what?) imagined as lost in the Other produces an aporia, which is the terrain of curiosity, desire, racism. It is this aporia that *Gunga Din Highway* exposes as an illusion generated by the contradictions in real life. Racial categorizing, the chief symptom of lived contradictions, results from the spontaneous reproduction of bourgeois social relations mediated by money, commercial transactions, and the pervasiveness of commodity fetishism in media and all cultural practices. In the everyday interaction of stratified groups in a racialized milieu, the legitimacy of the system can thrive on the continued reproduction of differences normalized in a system of depend-

ency: the Other lacks what I (the white master) as owner of the means of production/reproduction have. And, what is more decisive, I know it. In short, the role of the actor Charlie Chan, born from this system of dependency and representation, can never be played by a Chinese, nor by any non-Western performer. The code of Othering prevails.

The conclusion of the novel returns us to George Stevens' film *Gunga Din*, after whom this highway of re-negotiation of "subject-positions," as the fashionable idiom has it, is named. Ulysses confidently asserts that "this is not The Movie About Me," his father is patently absent in it. It is "nothing but the real old movie." Aside from indexing the circumstantial conjunctures of the individual episodes, variants of a talk-story addressed to a select audience (mainly *aficionados* of Asian American literature), the Hollywood productions referenced throughout exemplify the ideological apparatus of racialization which, once internalized, produce symptoms of the Gunga Din complex. But what I want to call attention to is not this accumulation of period references and artifacts that gives us a sense of how the racial subordination of the Chinese and other Asians has been maintained. Rather I want to stress that it is from the subtle undercutting of the postmodernist styles of pastiche, collage, discordant rhetorical registers, and so on, counterpointed to a narrative scaffolding derived from Chinese and Western mythology and modernist artistic practices, that Chin fabricates this peculiar form of literary "installation" meant to dereify the alienation of social relations in the racial polity. Heterogeneity of novelistic form is thus meant to lay bare, expose, or defamiliarize the real contradictions taken for granted in the bureaucratic routine of everyday life (Lefebvre 1971).

For Chin, the project of dereification began in the sixties, notably with the plays *The Chickencoop Chinaman* and *The Year of the Dragon*: clichés, stereotypes, and the doxa of white supremacy were dismantled by techniques of allegory, reverse ventriloquism, theatrical distancing, and so on. From the somewhat mannerist, self-conscious Faulknerian rhetoric of "The Chinatown Kid" and other stories in his collection *The Chinaman Pacific* and *Frisco R.R. Co.*, Chin switches to the flat reportorial idiom of *Donald Duk* in which the whole saga of thousands of Chinese workers building the transPacific railroad

is refunctioned to serve as an organon for sustaining a communal ethos in Chinatown (indigenized ghetto/reservation and locus of pacification) through the shared dreams of parents and children. Chin repeats his injunction via the Father's declaration to his son: "History is war, not sport!... You gotta keep the history yourself or lose it forever, boy. That's the mandate of heaven." A sense of long duration in historiography is evoked at the end of *Donald Duk* as the 108 toy airplanes explode in flight:

...and Donald Duk remembers dreams, the 108 horsemen galloping across the cloud over the ten miles of track just layed by the 1,200 Chinese and eight Irishmen. And very quickly they are all gone. Not a sound. Not a flash. All 108 stick-and-paper model airplanes gone. "Anybody hungry?" Dad asks.... Like everything else, it begins and ends with *Kingdoms rise and fall. Nations come and go, and food.* (1991, 173)

Food of course functions here as a marker of an oppositional cultural politics, as in much Asian American fiction (Waller), but surely this whole culinary knowledge/praxis cannot be dissociated from the nexus of gender, sexuality, class, and other patterns of socialization. The transitory, cyclical, and the permanent coexist in the mythmaking impulse of the novelist, but what endures is the totality of history in which the Chinese in America, stratified by class, gender, and sexuality, continue as a racialized collectivity participating in a struggle for hegemony and social transformation. Binationality, or the dilemma sketched by Wang that I outlined earlier, cannot predetermine the limits of this community's power to intervene in the ongoing process of class/race antagonism.

Ultimately, Chin's strategy of calculating social relations harbors a profound utopian motivation. His vision of the place of the Chinese in a foreshadowed egalitarian American society inheres in transfiguring the idea of process—in this case, the *topos* of the road/physical route institutionalized by Jack Kerouac, Robert Frost, Robert Penn Warren, Paul Bowles, and others—into a matter of geopolitical strategizing (life/history is articulated as the perpetual antagonism of forces). What is at stake is not a heroic masculinist dispensation but the recogni-

tion of Chinese creativity and the communal virtues of discipline and cooperation. In the essay "Rashomon Road: On the Tao to San Diego" (circa 1995), Chin continues his attack on Betty Lee Sung and others who preach from "the pulpit of acceptance, absorption, and assimilation," who persist in "ornamenting white fantasy" and denying the place of the Chinese as producers and contributors to an evolving American civilization. In a gesture of "militant particularism" (Harvey 1996), Chin inscribes Chinese American history in the recursive texts/memory of concrete locales and sites, hyphenating ethnicities in the geopolitical arena:

The history of the Chinese in California is written in miles of old mining roads, and the railroad.... The road was going to be an adventure with father and son discovering the deserts, valleys, mountains, volcanoes, birds, cities, friends.... Asian American writers born and raised in America without feeling split between two incompatible cultures... the Asian American identity crisis didn't exist for us. We knew Chinese or Japanese culture and knew white American culture, and knew we were not both, nor were we the best of the East and the best of the West. We knew we were neither. Being neither did not mean we contemptuously ridiculed and stereotyped every culture we were not.... For us, the adventure in Asian American writing was not just in the writing but in the study, the discovery, the history... (1997, 290).

The artist then is not only an individual pioneer charting new territory but also, to paraphrase James Joyce (1964), the artificer forging in his imagination the "uncreated conscience" of his "race."

Untimely Intervention

In an ongoing research project, I inquire into Chin's allegorical-didactic remapping of the U.S. racial formation, its uneven-and-combined development, to ascertain the "weak link" where popular-democratic forces can attack. For the moment, I want to conclude by commenting on Chin's intervention in an event that reveals an anarcho-libertarian impulse underlying his populist posture. In October, 2000, Prof. Murray

Davis, president of the Western Literature Association, recommended to his organization that Chin be given the Distinguished Lifetime Achievement Award for its annual 2000 meeting. Davis' colleagues objected on various grounds: Chin was abrasive, a misogynist and also a homophobe: in short he was unacceptable. Davis threatened to resign; eventually, a compromise was reached and Chin was invited to speak/read at the 2000 WLA Conference.

Chin demurred. Informed about the entire situation, Chin wrote Russell Leong, editor of *Amerasia Journal*, and dismissed the event as a "kangaroo court." Chin compared the proceeding to the way the Asian American Studies Association treated Lois Ann Yamanaka when the Filipinos objected to her receiving a prize from the Association. Chin concluded that without considering the literary merits of Yamanaka's novel, "Yamanaka became the asteroid that killed the dinosaurs." Filipinos as dinosaurs? A Hawaaiian Japanese as an asteroid? Having warmed up by denouncing the Filipino Caucus as a bunch of ignoramuses, Chin launched into a tirade against specific and vaguely generalized enemies, the specific ones being those "feminists" on the executive board of the Association who "had heard about my rotten personality, not anything of mine they'd read...." He went on with righteous indignation:

I wonder how many Asian American writers have heard of the Western Literature Association? I wonder how many will mount up their mighty superior minds and demand they give me the association lifetime achievement award? No, I don't. And there's no need to wonder at how many Asian American writers will write the association saying, they have no business telling the Association what to do with its lifetime achievement award, except never to stick them with it. There's only one like that. And I'm it. And they're not giving me their award. They're giving me a kangaroo court instead. And the incoming president of the association is mad. The association magazine won't publish his account and protest of what happened in Sacramento. Perhaps you will (Leong 2000).

The artist's autonomy becomes an emblematic stand-in for the right of a nationality to self-determination, except that in con-

flating the Filipino protest against Yamanaka's aestheticist insensitivity and the prejudices of the Western Literature Association's officers, Chin succumbs to the artisanal code of ethics reminiscent of the feudal warriors in his beloved canonical Chinese texts. This is where Chin's sensibility becomes a counter-productive instrument in the field of commodifying knowledge/power.

Mediations

Writing and living, for Chin, are matters of strategy concerned with relations, transitions, and passages from one position to another. Strategy is involved with establishing connections, linkages, and modalities of change from one situation to another. Structured between cultures/histories—China/America, the Chinese American artist confronts the additional predicament of mediating differences brought about by the whole racialized history of the United States: conquest and genocide of the American Indians, slavery and segregation of African Americans, colonization of Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Filipinos, Hawaiians, and now the wholesale stigmatization of citizens of Arab or Middle Eastern descent. Asians as a “buffer race,” the “model minority” disengaged from the State apparatus of institutional racism—this condition is one way in which subaltern alterity or the in-between predicament I sketched at the beginning is resolved. Ironically this reformist turn reproduces the lower classes of the group as inassimilable or permanent aliens (San Juan 1999).

Modalities of resistance cannot substitute for the ultimate overthrow of the racial system. In “Back Talk” Chin urged that the strategy of resistance must replace the psychology of laying low, the habitual exercise of “forestalling the Great Deportation” for those who have accepted the status of sojourners (557). Lacking “an articulated, organic sense of our identity” and plagued by a suicidal “dual personality” produced by America's racist love, Asians need to reflect on their history, on their shifting geopolitical positions and locations in the American landscape. Although Chin insists that Asian culture is martial and migratory, not migrant, he is unable to escape the nexus of America as the road, depot, marketplace, and its tropological construction as a moving arena of class conflict for

immigrants. By indigenizing this trope, Chin safeguards himself from being instrumentalized by a conservative cultural nationalism such as that of Singapore, for example, which recuperated David Henry Hwang's *M. Butterfly* to serve reactionary authoritarian-capitalist ends (Lye 1995).

What about the formula of postcolonial hybridity, syncretism, and opportunistic ambiguity? Given this materialization of U.S. history for Chin, American culture is not a fixed but a pidgin or bastard culture; like the language it is "a pidgin marketplace culture" (1997, 295). Anything has value so long as it can be exchanged (the sensuous particulars reduced to quantitative abstraction), so long as it enters into market circulation. If this is so, then what awaits the new immigrants from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and China who conceive of the United States not as a temporary place to work but as a new home with flexible economic opportunities (Takaki 1989)? Why are these new immigrants still perceived as the perpetual foreigners, countless potential Vincent Chins indistinguishable from the aggressive "oriental" competitor, the Japanese (Chasin 1998)? In fact, we now have a situation where the new rich Chinese immigrants from Hong Kong, whom Aihwa Ong calls "transnational cosmopolitans," have rearticulated the resonance of extraterritorial domination with their familial biopolitics and parachute kids, a force strong enough to supposedly challenge the "American class ethos of moral liberalism" (1999, 284). In this context, Gordon Chang (1999) has suggested that the transnational approach exemplified by the scholarship of Ong, Dirlik and others may break away from the old method of "a nationally based historicism" which circumscribed the diaspora and social-history approaches. But I think this needs to be qualified, given the tendency of transnationalism as well as postcolonialist discourse to erase the stark unequal power-relations among nation-states, nationalities, regions and therefore legitimize the oppressive, iniquitous status quo (San Juan 2002).

We can rehearse the questions that Chin has tried to narrativize with more theoretical engagement. Is racist love now eliminated by this new phenomenon of performative, not normative or even "accidental" Asians: "cultural citizenship as subjectification and cultural performance" (Ong 286)? Or are those now gifted with exorbitant symbolic capital still compelled to

traverse Gunga Din Highway filled with supermalls, reproducing an exchangeable use-value (a quintessential Chineseness, whatever that is) in the service of global capitalism on the warpath against terrorist Others? These are questions that Chin has attempted to answer and that Chinese as well as other Asian writers will have to respond to in the next millenium for the sake of much more worthy ideals.

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In Search of Bernabé: Politicized Motherhood

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Connecting its storyline to the historical context of the civil war in El Salvador, this US Latina text dramatizes dehumanizing effects of political violence on individual and collective being. With an emphasis on the dialectical connection between the personal and the social, the novel focuses on individual strategies of survival and resistance in conditions of authoritarianism in order to suggest new forms of political opposition and liberation. Its narrative reveals subversive and empowering aspects of the intimate, as the discourse of motherhood and religiosity reclaims its place in the public sphere and takes a direct stance against violence and oppression.

From the signifier of passivity and peace, mother became a signifier of resistance.

Jean Franco¹

Dramatizing dehumanizing effects of political brutality on individual and collective being, *In Search of Bernabé* (1993) by Graciela Limón connects its storyline to the historical context of the civil war in El Salvador (1980-1992). The narrative depicts struggles of a Salvadoran mother who loses two sons in personal and collective tribulations. While she searches for her son Bernabé, crossing multiple borders on her way to the U.S.,

the mother witnesses the collective suffering of her nation and a continuous legal and human discrimination against refugees. Seeing that her story “is not too different from that of many others” (60), Luz Delcano realizes that she is not alone in her pain and suffering. As the novel progresses, the woman’s personal condition and plight extend into a collective state of being, reflecting horrors of the Salvadoran turmoil and pleading for help and solidarity.

Ellen McCracken defines this U.S. Latina novel as a “modified testimonial narrative” that bears witness to specific historical events and engages readers in new interpretive practices.² As in *testimonio* literature, the personal story of the novel’s main protagonist functions as an account of communal experience of sociopolitical oppression and marginalization as well as a testimony to abuse of human rights. While it brings to attention the suffering and struggles of the “foreign other,” this type of narration provides an articulation of subaltern voices and a reconstruction of history from below. Employing what Linda Hutcheon calls “historiographic metafiction,”³ Limón’s text fuses history and fiction to present “counter-narratives to the official, master-text”⁴ and thus reveal ideological constructions of dominant social narratives. In addition the protagonist’s personal story integrates a call for social justice and liberation, inviting the reader to empathize with the oppressed and oppose their disenfranchisement.⁵ In this way the individual is politicized in order to provide social criticism and initiate social transformation, while the power of its “authentic” experience is employed as a means of granting legitimacy to the project of social revolution and liberation.

The Intimate as a Political Investment

Emphasizing the connection between the individual and the communal, Limón’s text also focuses on individual strategies of survival and resistance in conditions of oppression in order to suggest new forms of political opposition and liberation. As Jean Franco and Amy Kaminsky have shown in their studies of Latin American feminist praxis,⁶ roles practiced in the traditionally private sphere can be redefined in the public sphere to counter authoritarian practices of the military state. In this novel, privatized concepts, such as motherhood and reli-

gious faith, are demonstrated as modes of social agency and oppositional populist movement. When mobilized in the public space, their domestic and private designation, imposed by the division between the private and the social, is re-signified and transfigured into an active social commitment. The novel reveals subversive and empowering aspects of the intimate as the discourse of motherhood and religiosity reclaims its place in the public sphere and takes a direct stance against violence, oppression, and subjugation.

In addition the universality of these concepts reaches the common space of experience, affinity, and understanding and thus points at a possibility of new coalitions. Employing an internationalist perspective, Limón's text aims at cross-national solidarity and identification, and the discourse of motherhood and religion serves as a powerful method of translation between different epistemologies of experience. As it mediates otherness, abstraction, and division, this familiar discourse provides a common point of understanding and coming together, making the testimonial dimension more powerful and effective.

Approaching the romanticized and traditionally conformist concepts in a differential mode, the narrative portrays motherly love and religious commitment leading to oppositional consciousness that initiates resistance to the dominant center of power—the repressive state authority. The author underscores that these concepts themselves convert into modes of power when they become mobilized as oppositional forms of social action and mechanisms of survival under conditions of state violence and oppression.

Confronting Political Patriarchy

By building a parallel between the disintegration of the Delcano family and the violent destruction of their country, the author calls attention to the inevitable connection between the private and the public realm. In a testimonial and a post-colonial manner Limón uses voices of the subaltern to re-narrativize the dominant socio-political narrative as well as to foreground the urgency of global solidarity and liberation. She develops the theme of 'a mother searching for her lost son' in order to integrate the victim's perspective and evince the

destructive effects of political violence and totalitarian authority. As she emphasizes the connection between familial and national structures, Limón points at the continuum between the abusive patriarchal domination over women and the totalitarian state control over citizen-subjects.

The novel opens up with a Biblical excerpt on incestual rape, setting the tone for the prologue and its theme of patriarchal abuse. The main protagonist, Luz Delcano, is raped by her wealthy grandfather and after his death thrown out of the house by the indifferent family. After this account, the first part of the book is introduced by an excerpt from *Time Magazine* reporting the 1980 massacre at Archbishop Romero's funeral in San Salvador. Having established a link between the fictional and the factual, the narration in "Part One" takes over the sparse and formal journalistic style of the excerpt and imaginatively recreates the moments of the massacre, providing thus a more immediate and concrete representation. The character of Luz Delcano is again in focus, and this time she is thrown in the midst of political terror and violence. As she is following her son Bernabé in the funeral procession, uniformed soldiers suddenly appear and start shooting at the panic-stricken crowd of people: "Mothers crouched wherever they could in an attempt to protect their babies. Men and women pressed against the cathedral walls hoping to find cover behind a corner or a sharp angle" (23).

The sequence of these episodes points at the connection between the forceful exercise of patriarchal power in the domestic sphere and the authority of a repressive state: the totalitarianism of state power is constituted as an extension of patriarchal domination and its mechanisms of hierarchy, oppression, and violence. This continuum also builds an allegorical meaning for the sociopolitical context: the Salvadoran civil war is translated into an intense physical abuse, or rape, of the civilians, who are in the end outcast by the military social system, having been stripped of humanity and identity. In her own discussion of the novel, Graciela Limón affirms that the rape scene in the book's prologue functions as a metaphor for the Salvadoran civil war.⁷ Corresponding to the logic of the violent act of rape, the political violence, too, may be interpreted as "the final act which obliterates the victims" from the social

system and transforms them into “silent, invisible, non-existent entities.”⁸ I make this statement referring to María Herrera-Sobek’s argument on the politics of rape in order to reaffirm that state authority and regulation are a continuation of the patriarchal exercise of power. I emphasize that in conditions of authoritarianism and militarism both genders become victimized since a totalitarian social system maintains its power through the subjugation and exclusion of women and disenfranchised men, who occupy subordinate positions in a hierarchical social structure. Any act against such social organization results in silencing and obliteration not only in the social but also in the private space, where the authoritarian system asserts its command over the individual.

Throughout the novel, the author foregrounds the invasiveness of the authoritarian state in an attempt to bring to attention the victimization of innocent civilians. At the same time, as she depicts the horrific conditions of individual and social being under the military regime, Limón shows the emergence of populist resistance, the citizens’ refusal to be completely silenced. The novel portrays the Salvadorans being forced into a state of internal exile, since the state has denied them safety in both the domestic and the public space. However the citizens creatively and fearlessly confront the confinement by forming a new public space that allows resistance and oppositional movement. The procession that forms for the funeral of Oscar Romero, described at the beginning of the book, can be interpreted as a direct challenge to the dominant center of state power: disobeying the rule of restricted movement and gathering, the oppressed Salvadorans defiantly assert in public their own presence and the presence of Archbishop Romero. The scene establishes this act as a powerful social protest against the military oppression and a call for liberation and social justice articulated in the discourse of liberation theology. By retaking the public space, the Salvadoran civilians not only acknowledge the reality of oppressive conditions but they also refuse to be imprisoned by its annihilating weight and mechanisms of control. The subversiveness of this agency is manifested in the counter-action of the government that utilizes its military apparatus to sabotage the funeral. Although a peaceful and silent gathering, the outdoor burial

ceremony becomes “transformed into a tableau of horror: exploding hand bombs, wild gunfire, terrified crowds stampeding in panic” (19), reports the *Time Magazine* excerpt in Limón’s book.

As the novel illustrates, the sanctioned public space instigated by the totalitarian state does not allow oppositional social movements, and any presence of resistance and subversion is punished and erased by force. However, by reincorporating and reaccentuating the issue of liberation (theology) into the public, the oppositional social movement of the oppressed Salvadorans enters the sanctioned public space and transforms it into a place of resistance and survival. By doing this, the oppressed gain politicized identities that contest the authoritarian system of power and its forms of subjugation. They challenge their muted, objectified positions and re-signify them into sites of social resistance and expression. In her critical study, *Talking Back* (1992), Debra Castillo explains the resemanticization of silence in the context of patriarchal authority as a form of speech, i.e. an expression of female rebellion and independence. I trace the same process of resemanticization in the silent protests against military regimes in Latin America: the exposure of silence in the public sphere signifies a non-violent stance against state regulations and authority and, at the same time, testifies to the dehumanization and annihilation of the civilian population. Therefore, the objectified others turn into agents of social change and their own emancipation by using the very semantics of oppression and authoritarianism. Embodying the censored speech and silencing, they create a new space of collective expression and visibility that contests the repressive space instituted by the military state.

Limón’s book shows that the will for survival and freedom arises as a powerful force of action even in the conditions of complete helplessness and despair. While in the beginning Luz Delcano enters the public space unwillingly and by force (she is thrown out of the Delcanos’ house), later on she defiantly remains in it, determined to find her son Bernabé. Not complying with the rule of restricted movement and refusing to stay confined in her house, she embarks on a risky and dangerous search, first on the streets of San Salvador and then across the borders of Guatemala, Mexico, and the U.S. The narrative

traces her multiple border-crossing as an oppositional movement, this time against the regulative protocols of nation-states. At the border between Guatemala and Mexico Luz stands up to immigration officers who harass a young Salvadoran man. While his nationality, gender, and age mark him as an offender for the immigration officials—“What have we here? A deserter! That’s what you are, aren’t you?” (58)—the Salvadoran refugee comes to embody the lost son for Luz. Seeing a gun pointed at the man’s head, she launches herself at the agent. Witnessing the threat of physical violence, Luz relives the moment of separation from Bernabé, and as she realizes that “Arturo could have been Bernabé” (58) she panics at the possibility of a repeated loss. The “return of the repressed”⁹ transitions her into a defensive mode and gives her strength to overpower the immigration officer. Her biological role of motherhood takes on an oppositional and resistant signification, transforming into a social undertaking.

Dramatizing an encounter between a mother who searches for a disappeared son and the immigration authorities who exercise the power of nation-states, the novel emphasizes the entry of women into the public space as a resistant movement against global patriarchy. The subversive power of the “feminine” emerges in resistance against the patriarchal abuse and authority exercised beyond the boundaries of a single nation. In this instance, the maternal asserts itself against international protocols of the cross-border movement and in defiance of regulation and authority. The mother in the story directly challenges the order of the regulated global space, which is institutionalized in an attempt to protect power structures of nation-states. She realizes that her personal tragedy derives from such order and is manipulated for political interests of the dominant power structures.

Latin American feminist praxis has shown that while women’s entrance into the public space poses a serious threat to women’s lives it also grants them a subversive and non-violent political power that counters state authoritarianism and military dictatorship. With the advance of oppressive governments, the women’s movements in Latin America entered the public space and forced the issues of political violence out in the public.¹⁰ They organized around private and communal

issues, protesting non-violently against the military surveillance and terror, and by extension against the patriarchal dominance and abuse. During the military regime in the 1970s and 1980s, Argentine mothers organized silent demonstrations, demanding information about their abducted sons in spite of state regulations against large public gatherings.¹¹ They seized the public space in order to politicize the personal issues and expose the connection between the private and the public. As Jean Franco argues, by focusing the issue of the disappeared into the public, the Argentine mothers redefined the public domain and their own roles as mothers and women in the social sphere ("Beyond Ethnocentrism" 503). They represented the image of "private life" publicly, Franco argues, as a contrast to the present reality that destroyed the very family life that the military state had professed to protect (*Critical Passions* 50). In this Latin American political practice, women emerged as social agents, resisting passivity, erasure, and marginalization. As they refused to forget and be silent, they challenged the system of oppressive state power and its aims of social paralysis, alienation, and erasure necessary for the maintenance of authoritarian state supremacy.

In Limón's novel, *In Search of Bernabé*, the maternal unmask authority as both gendered and sociopolitical, demonstrating the necessity of a simultaneous liberation of the individual and the national. In addition this "politicized motherhood"¹² also points out that oppression in conditions of authoritarianism is not limited to only one gender—Luz protects Arturo against the patriarchal abuse and authoritarianism, understanding his own objectified and victimized position. Arturo's escape from the Salvadoran military regime also subverts the authoritarian definition of males as natural agents and guardians of patriarchal power. His defection signifies his refusal to hold up the authority and at the same time reveals the impossibility of his oppositional existence within the system.

Configuring the individual as a site of sociopolitical meaning, Limón's novel problematizes the traditional distinction between the personal and the political. At the same time it demonstrates that the division between the personal and the public collapses in the context where the private is expected to

be a site of safety and resistance. Although the dichotomy between two spheres is induced by patriarchal forces from outside and within the private realm in order to maintain male dominance, the division also allows home to be a space of resistance to state regulations and violence. When the public space becomes repressive and destructive, the private space may offer some relief and protection by providing nurturing and affirmation to the self endangered by annihilation. As Jean Franco posits, in the conditions of state repression, home becomes a refuge and a site of resistance, retaining the traditional meaning of familial unity and power (*Critical Passions* 11). However, the boundary between the two spaces is easily violated, as illustrated by Limón's narrative. State violence invades the safety and privacy of home, asserting the link between two spheres and the destructive effects that the repressive social realm has on an individual. Jean Franco sees it as an assault on the formerly "immune" and "sacred" territories—such as the family, church, and university—which become appropriated and controlled by the state as a dominant institution of power (9). *In Search of Bernabé* illustrates that even the most intimate and sacred concepts of motherhood and religious faith are not spared before political violence. The paradox of this situation is that the invasiveness of the nation-state attacks the very institutions designed as conduits for state power. While the state upholds familial and religious structures as the foundations of its patriarchal order and proponents of authoritarianism, it also brutally destroys these private spheres when they challenge the dominant authority and its patriarchal rules.

The moment of rupture and destruction of the private realm, however, sets into motion the maternal and the religious experience as modes of individual and collective resistance. The culturally encoded concept of motherly commitment to the family—*Marianismo* as a cult to *La Virgen María*—is transformed from its underlying notion of female passivity, submissiveness, and selfless sacrifice into a powerful mode of resistance to the patriarchal/state authority. Rather than a strictly domestic role, the motherhood is presented as a social liberation process, committed to social justice and solidarity with the poor and oppressed. In Limón's novel Luz's devotedness to her son, like

the devotedness of all mothers of the disappeared children, becomes a potent political force and investment, or, as Franco describes it a “signifier of resistance” (15). By refusing to give up her sons, taken by the patrio-military order, Luz defies the system that imposed on her the very expectation of sacrificial devotion to the family in its effort to prescribe female marginalization, silencing, and confinement to the domestic realm. She uses the agency of maternal caring, nurturing, and protection in the exclusive sphere of the socio-political to challenge the mechanisms of obliteration and regulation. Her desperate effort to locate her sons drives her to confront violence in a fearless and persistent way while giving her strength to survive its dehumanizing effects. In addition Luz practices the principles of motherhood in the communal space, transforming her biological role into communal solidarity and commitment. Experiencing all disappeared Salvadorans as her own children, she shares her pain with other mothers in the refugee shelter in Los Angeles and helps them in their efforts to locate their disappeared sons. She embraces Arturo as her own child, and at the site of his murder she performs the absent communal vigil by singing “a mournful cradle song for a dead son” (85). To the U.S. police she identifies herself as his mother and mourns the repeated loss: “One after another, each of her sons had been taken from her...” (89). The juxtaposition of the maternal nurturing—“a cradle song”—and the violent destruction in this scene intensifies the criticism of violent state repression and emphasizes its link to the patriarchal order of the domestic space.

Positioning the maternal in a communal context, Graciela Limón portrays motherhood as a subversive, oppositional force against the patriarchal regulation of the domestic and public spaces. In this novel, the role of motherhood transcends the domestic space and its essentialist attributes by entering the exclusive public space as a social engagement. The idea that motherly “devotedness to children” can be translated into a genuine “commitment to others” dismantles the patriarchal structure based on exclusion, subjugation, and alienation. It emphasizes communal connectedness where one is always positioned in relation to others through common experience and solidarity. As it underscores the concept of humanity in inter-relations among individuals and groups, this politicized

type of motherhood fights against authoritarian projects of divisiveness, dehumanization, and obliteration while re-accentuating the importance of a simultaneous liberation of the individual and the communal. Reaching to the community and pointing at the urgency of social transformation, motherhood in this novel becomes a philosophy of compassion, alliance, and liberation.

The emphasis on the communal is also conveyed through the concept of politicized religion. Highlighting the importance of liberation theology in the resistance movement in Central America, Graciela Limón foregrounds new forms of socio-political agency and solidarity based on political activism of the church. The story exposes the dominant social view of the church as a tool of authoritarian social regulation: the religious ethic is relegated to the realm of the private/individual and not to be connected to political activism, since its advocacy of communal support and peace undermines the power structure of the patrio-military social order. The novel's narration captures typical comments of the government officials on the activism of Salvadoran priests. "Priests had best stay out of politics and confine themselves to Mass and to forgiving" (23) Religious teachings are allowed to enter the public space as long as they serve to maintain the existing social structure—by focusing on endurance, patience, obedience, and individual sinfulness, they sustain the status quo and exclude any possibility of social transformation. The politicized progressive religion, as the story illustrates, becomes threatening to authoritarian power structures because it exposes and condemns systemic subjugation and exploitation of the "subordinate" groups. With its discourse of equality and non-violence, it directly challenges the dominant social structure based on patriarchal discrimination and militarism. The liberation theology, specifically, counters the dominant power structure with its assistance to the poor and its promotion of liberation and empowerment of the oppressed. In its effort to contemporize the Biblical teachings on equality and freedom,¹³ it brings to light the present conditions of hegemony, oppression, and injustice while pointing at the urgency of national liberation that would grant freedom and agency to the disenfranchised.

The presence of the discourse of liberation theology is

immediately marked at the beginning of the book—the first massacre scene is set at the funeral of Archbishop Oscar Romero, a follower of liberation theology murdered for his oppositional teachings and activism.¹⁴ “‘It was a pity’, those faces said to Bernabé, ‘that the Archbishop had not heeded his finer instincts, his better judgments’” (23). The Archbishop’s role in raising awareness about poverty and his effort to change power relations are presented as a direct challenge to the expectations of his complicity with the system of control, discipline, and hierarchy. The narrative conveys that the presence of his differential movement in the public sphere is seen as a serious threat to the military state, a threat that must be eliminated via his own physical annihilation. His dismissal of patriarchal conduct is regarded by the military order as a lack of masculine qualities—“finer instincts, better judgment”—and this emasculation is used to rationalize the act of exclusion and obliteration. The juxtaposition of religion and militarism in this scene, and throughout the book, intensifies the representation of the military social system as dehumanizing and destructive. Also, while it dramatizes the conditions of living under a military dictatorship, this opposition foregrounds the urgency of communal resistance and empowerment.

The story of seminarian Bernabé carries through the idea of communal liberation as Bernabé is shown engaging in guerrilla fighting to protect the lives of his people. In order to reflect the invasiveness of the oppressive socio-political sphere and the intensification of violence instituted by the authoritarian state, the narrative captures the seminarian’s inner struggle to negotiate his personal belief in non-violence with his need to actively confront the enclosing destruction. Bernabé himself becomes a victim as the authoritarian state attacks his non-violent positioning, first through his feminization—“Better pick up your skirt and find a church to hide with other women,” (25) an armed soldier warns him—and then by his physical erasure described at the end of the novel. Other liberation activists, both domestic and foreign, working in El Salvador meet a similar end—the narration includes reports of their murder or arrest by the Salvadoran government. The violent counter-action against the liberation theology and peace activism described throughout the novel discloses the full intensity and scope of

authoritarian state repression. At the same time it also reveals the political significance of progressive religious teaching which is employed to form solidarity and alliances in a joined struggle against oppression.

Demystifying Civil War

Addressing the U.S. public, for whom the violent conflict in El Salvador was mostly a removed, simulacrumized experience, Limón's book uses personal and universal concepts of motherhood, love, religiosity, and human suffering to humanize distant and unfathomable civil war. Its narrative concretizes the abstracted, depersonalized level of history and politics by effecting affinity through humanity and identification. When guerrilla fighter Nestor tells his life story to Bernabé, the pacifist seminarian feels pain although he himself did not experience Nestor's tragedy. By extension the removed or the pacifist reader, too, feels sympathy for the man who watched the paramilitary rape his sisters and kill his father. In a similar fashion Luz's pain and anguish at the moment of finding the mutilated body of her son reaches all mothers and moves all readers, while the horror of civilian massacres transcends the textual boundaries as an unnerving and alarming experience. This actuality of human suffering breaks through the abstraction of war, asserting that everybody is related on the premise of common humanity. This is why Graciela Limón employs the motif of fratricide, borrowed from the Bible,¹⁵ and insists on international geopolitical connections. As she unmasks the complicity of the U.S. government in the Salvadoran conflict, she also exposes the necessity of a cross-national connection in the process of mourning and healing. The narrative attempts to communicate that the suffering and tragedy of Salvadoran civilians need to be redeemed with an understanding and emotional identification from the U.S. American side. This act of bringing together hopes to generate not only a greater sympathy but also a progressive social action—solidarity and alliance with the oppressed nations and a movement to end both local and global oppression.

The personalized narrative of the civil war in El Salvador expands the boundaries of understanding even further by reaching to the side of the oppressor. Besides the voices of the

oppressed Salvadorans—represented by Luz, Bernabé, and Arturo—the narration legitimizes voices of the perpetrators, too, in order to create an account that includes both sides and thus provides a more complete rendering of sociohistorical events. In this way the novel reconfigures the traditional *testimonio* approach—where the voice of a victimized informant provides an account of oppression—in order to demystify and deconstruct the logic of violent national conflicts. In a psychoanalytical manner Colonel Delcano's drive to control and abuse others is traced back to his childhood, to the traumatic moment of the enforced separation from his mother and the resulting feelings of abandonment and betrayal. His obsessive desire to know and control is linked to his "child's terror" and "chronic insomnia" (46), and as he is building dossiers on his mother and brother he is also persecuting his countrymen. This connection of one's formative life experiences to the social formation provides an alternative to the official interpretations of wars as "habits of less civilized nations," interpretations predominantly used to cover up one's complicity with violence or one's lack of humanitarian concern. The psychoanalytical explanation asserts again the interlocking of the micro and macro spheres, where an individual is always enmeshed in the oppressive system of the social order governed by patriarchal forces. With Colonel Delcano's trauma connected to his mother's annihilation by patriarchy, his exercise of military state power is presented as a direct outcome of the patriarchal oppression. This relation confirms patriarchal power as the driving force of authoritarianism and emphasizes the vicious cycle of abuse, where individual victimhood and communal oppression foster each other.

Approaching the connection between the personal and the public from multiple and diverse perspectives, *In Search of Bernabé* exposes both the destructiveness and the political potential of the dialectical conditioning between the social and the subjective. Its personal testimonial narration directly engages with sociopolitical reality to unmask the process of communal victimization and, at the same time, reveal strategies of liberation. Using the concepts of motherly and religious love, the novel shows that in conditions of authoritarianism the intimate, private sphere may engender a powerful sociopolitical

movement of opposition and resistance.

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Endnotes

¹ Jean Franco, *Critical Passions* 15.

² See McCracken's analysis of Limón's novel in *New Latina Narrative*, 61.

³ In her critical study *The Politics of Postmodernism* (London: Routledge, 1989), Linda Hutcheon defines "historiographic metafiction" as a paradoxical postmodern form that includes both history and fiction in its narrative representation having its "historical and socio-political grounding sit uneasily alongside its self-reflexivity" (15). The fusion of history and fiction is developed to recreate the past and reinterpret history in a more vivid, immediate, and powerful way. This is a postmodernist effort that answers to the impossibility of objective recording and the arbitrariness of historical meaning. It privileges the value of experience and representation over historical facts recognizing that historical accounts are always ideologically constructed.

⁴ In her reading of *In Search of Bernabé*, Ellen Mc Cracken states that Graciela Limón reconfigures a number of biblical motifs and thus presents "a counter-narrative to the master text of organized religion" (*New Latina Narrative* 61). I expand this to include a counter-narrativization of not only dominant religious discourses but also of dominant sociopolitical and historiographic texts.

⁵ In her analysis of the testimonio genre, *Latin American Women Writers: Class, Race, and Gender*, Myriam Yvonne Jehenson states that "the reader is asked to empathize with the marginality of the uneducated native informant" and "to join in the struggle to overcome an oppressive class of which he/she is a member" (140-41). I see this call in more communal terms and as more inclusive of other forms of oppression: in addition to class, I recognize racial, ethnic, linguistic, and gender oppression.

⁶ See Jean Franco's "Beyond Ethnocentrism" and *Critical Passions* and Amy Kaminsky's *Reading the Body Politic*.

Serials

⁷ From Limón's interview given to Ellen McCracken for the biographical entry in *Dictionary of Literary Biography: Chicano Writers*.

⁸ Herrera-Sobek, "The Politics of Rape" 249.

⁹ Freud defines "the return of the repressed" as an involuntary irruption into consciousness of an unacceptable impulse that has been repressed into unconsciousness in the process of psychological defense.

¹⁰ See, for example, studies on Latin American women's movements done by Sonia Alvarez, Marguerite Guzman Bouvard, Jean Franco, and Mary Beth Tierney-Tello.

¹¹ The Argentine mothers, known as Madres de la Plaza de Mayo, began their organized gatherings in the aftermath of the political coup in 1976 (which ushered the period of the "Dirty War" in Argentina). They first met in 1977 as a small group of women and soon their numbers grew to include hundreds of women who dared to demand information about their disappeared children. As Marguerite Guzman Bouvard states, they were the only group that dared to confront a repressive military government and gather in public before the presidential palace in the Plaza de Mayo to demonstrate against state violence. In 1977, they openly constituted themselves also as an organization that promoted democratic values, and by the time a constitutional government replaced the military junta in December, 1983, the mothers "transformed the Plaza de Mayo so that it not only reflected power and dissent but also celebrated their unique battle for human rights and their radicalized, collective version of maternity" (2). For a detailed analysis, see Bouvard's *Revolutionizing Motherhood: The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo*.

¹² Analyzing women's movements in Brazil, Sonia Alvarez describes the phenomenon of mothers' demonstrations as a "politicization of motherhood." For a detailed analysis, see Alvarez's *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics*.

¹³ One of the most significant practices of liberation theology was the reading and re-interpreting of the *Bible*, which was conducted by

parish priests who challenged the dominant interpretation of Biblical teachings. The Scripture discussions were adopted by “base communities” (*comunidades de base*), informal gatherings that practiced religious service and political forums. Specific passages were related to parishioners’ daily lives and interpreted in an emancipatory populist mode rather than in compliance with fatalism and submission to social inequality and hierarchy. For a detailed analysis of liberation theology, see James Schall’s *Liberation Theology in Latin America* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1982) and Phillip Berryman’s *Liberation Theology: Essential Facts about the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America and Beyond* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1987).

¹⁴ Oscar Amulfo Romero (1917-1980) was ordained to priesthood in 1942 and appointed archbishop of San Salvador in 1977. Although, in the beginning, he was quite conservative in doctrinal matters and very traditional regarding authority, he emerged as a populist leader who aligned himself with the poor and openly denounced state autocracy and violence. In his final pastoral letter, for example, he condemns the doctrine of national security which places “the individual at the total disposal of the state, denies him political rights and creates inequality in the fruits of development” (Keogh 78). It is believed that the murder of Rutilio Grande, Romero’s very close friend and one of the most respected pastors in El Salvador, forced the Archbishop to change his views on hierarchy and authority and become more open to progressive and liberationist ideas. Romero was shot to death on March 24, 1980, at the altar in the chapel of the Divine Providence Hospital, a cancer hospital in San Sebastian. For a detailed analysis of Romero’s life and work, see Dermot Keogh’s study *Romero: El Salvador’s Martyr*.

¹⁵ Archbishop Oscar Romero often used this motif in his explanations of the Salvadoran civil war. For example, when he appealed to the government soldiers to disobey the orders and stop the repression, he spoke: “Brothers, each one of you is one of us. We are the same people. The campesinos you kill are your own brothers and sisters” (Erdozaín 78).

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The Athlete as Trickster

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This study invokes hegemony theory to analyze the role and uses of sport as a means to resist dominant group pressures and the adaptation of sporting practices to subordinate groups' needs. The study draws upon literary and anthropological works that support the role of the trickster as a resistive, even manipulative figure, who fulfills both instructive and psychological needs for particular subordinate groups.

It pays particular attention to subtle, symbolic, and surreptitious interactions between subordinate group athletes and their dominant group opponents or audiences. The practices of three groups largely identified with cultural transmission via oral storytelling and the trickster figure (i.e. Native Americans, African Americans, and Irish Americans) are presented as evidence of fulfillment of the role of the trickster.

The trickster, a prominent character in literary folk tales and anthropological studies, often appeared as devious, comical, or foolish yet served a vital role by instructing others in the more subtle techniques of coping with a prescribed status.

Usually representative of a subordinate group, the trickster managed to reverse or manipulate the customary power relationships. The trickster subverted such roles by wit or deception sometimes mocking or foiling authority, even casting a superior as the butt of a joke or as a fool. In so doing the trickster provided a psychological escape from oppression.¹

Folk tales of tricksters, often transmitted orally by storytellers, not only entertained but enlightened listeners, providing them with one means to manage anger, frustration, and suppression. Among native Americans the coyote tales served such a purpose, while African-Americans learned from the exploits of Brer Rabbit.² One black song reflected the duality of African-American lives by stating:

“Got one mind for white folks to see,
 ‘Nother for what I know is me;
 he don’t know, he don’t know my mind.”³

One such storyteller, James Douglas Suggs, born in Mississippi in 1887, also played professional baseball throughout the South, and it is the intent of this study to examine the role of sport as a site for tricksters to ply their trade. Like literature and art but along with music, more accessible to and pervasive in popular culture, sport provided a means of resistance and rebellion that muted the effects of oppression and subordination.⁴

The lack of political or economic power among secondary groups necessitated the trickster. Lawrence Levine in *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* stated that “‘Beating the white man at his own game’ was often a powerful motivator for achievement among Negroes in the period between the first and second world wars.”⁵ Writers of the Harlem Renaissance extolled the trickster in both literature and music. Charles Keil, in his study of the urban blues, claimed that the art of the “put on” had already been highly developed in black culture by that time.⁶

Non-whites held no monopoly on tricksterism, for anyone who perceived themselves in an inferior role might invoke the ploy. Amos Alonzo Stagg, as coach of the upstart University of Chicago team, devised a host of trick plays for use against regional rivals and the eastern powers that dominated both football and culture before World War I. In the first Army-Navy

game of 1890 the former protested the latter's 24-0 victory because Army deemed Navy's use of fakes to be ungentlemanly and dishonorable.⁷

White pretensions to moral, physical, and intellectual superiority under the guise of Social Darwinism, only benefited the non-white trickster. The Carlisle Indians team outwitted their white opponents in a variety of ways. Considered unfit for citizenship until 1924, the Indian tricksters found the means to validate their own self-esteem. Although the United States government perceived the Carlisle football team as a showcase for its assimilation efforts, the Indians sometimes had ulterior motives. Carlisle nearly defeated mighty Harvard in 1903 by hiding the ball under a player's jersey. Two years later Carlisle flaunted their own superiority in response to whites' racism. When Dickinson's pre-game festivities included a cowboy scalping an Indian, Carlisle produced a Dickinson dummy and filled it with arrows after each of its scores in a 36-0 rout, thus defying whites' supposed superiority. In 1911 when Syracuse players broke the nose of a Carlisle guard they were amazed at his return. Under a mask of bandages the supposedly injured warrior inflicted a great measure of revenge throughout the remainder of the game. Only in the post-game locker room did the Syracuse captain spy Emil Hauser, Carlisle's assistant coach, under the tape. In another contest with Syracuse the Carlisle team sewed imitation leather footballs on their jerseys to confuse opposing tacklers.⁸

The native Americans took a particular pride in defeating the Army team, the symbol of white domination; and got great joy when they outsmarted elite, white institutions. They managed a 1907 win over the University of Chicago when Albert Exendine ran off the field, around the opponents' bench, and returned to catch a touchdown pass, technically circumventing the rule that disallowed a catch (but not a player) out of bounds. After a Carlisle win over Harvard the Indians mocked the bluebloods' Cambridge accents, "even those with very little English attempting the broad A." After a win over Penn, a Carlisle player surmised, "Maybe white men better with cannon and guns, but Indian just as good in brains to think with."⁹

The Indians continued to outwit white fans and at least one entrepreneur after their collegiate days. Walter Lingo, an Ohio

dog breeder, sponsored an all-Indian team in the National Football League in 1922. Representing twelve different tribes and led by Jim Thorpe, considered the world's greatest athlete after his Olympic victories and the professional circuit's premier player, the team toured the country at Lingo's expense. Fans flocked to see the novelty team, the great Thorpe, and the half-time exhibition of "Indian" activities, including bear wrestling. Leon Boutwell, one of the players, explained

White people had this misconception about Indians. They thought they were all wild men, even though almost all of us had been to college and were generally more civilized than they were. Well, it was a dandy excuse to raise hell and get away with it when the mood struck us. Since we were Indians we would get away with things the whites couldn't. Don't think we didn't take advantage of it.

Consequently, the Indians partied hard but expended little energy on the field. Thorpe played sparingly and the team won only four NFL contests in its two year existence, failing to score in most games, and often losing by astronomical scores. Lingo had been duped, the tricksters had won, and after the 1923 season they moved on, selling their skills to other teams.¹⁰

Black barnstormers, too, played the fool ostensibly to entertain largely white audiences but also taking their money in the process. By the 1920s black basketball teams had developed a fast, deceptive style of play that bewildered opponents and amazed spectators.¹¹ Perhaps the most well-known of such teams, the Harlem Globetrotters, actually started as a Chicago team. They ventured into Wisconsin in 1927, falsely advertising themselves as college stars. A coach masqueraded as Sol Butler, who had held the world record in the long jump, and the unwary Wisconsin burghers gladly offered their money to watch the impostors, whose play, at least, matched their guile.¹² Future Globetrotter teams expanded upon the fool's role, feigning the stereotypical clown but making whites pay for their laughs, usually at the expense of white opponents or authority figures in the form of referees.

Baseball features a multitude of tricksters but one in particular, Mike "King" Kelly, captured the hearts of fans during the 1880s. Teammate Fred Pfeffer claimed that Kelly "played

the umpire as intelligently as he did the opposing nine," befriending and endearing himself to the referee in order to win his favor.¹³ As a baserunner Kelly then took advantage of the distracted umpire, saving valuable steps by cutting the corners on his way around the bags. When catching he impeded opponents by throwing his mask in their path or simply grabbing their belt loops. On one occasion, too hungover to start the game, Kelly languished in the dugout until a pop fly was hit his way. Noticing that his teammates could not make the catch, he jumped up and announced himself as a substitute for the catcher, then made the putout. Another time he patrolled right field in the hazy dusk. When the batter hit a deep fly over his head Kelly ran back, leaped into the air, and out of the dim mist, threw the ball back as the umpire signaled an out. In the dugout his teammates congratulated him on his remarkable feat which he dismissed by admitting that the hit flew a mile over his head; but he had a spare ball in his pocket.¹⁴

Kelly's antics endeared him to fans and teammates but his drinking alarmed team owners, eventually causing his sale from Chicago to Boston whose fans embraced him with lavish gifts. Nevertheless Kelly enjoyed a superstar status and salary, proving that a working class Irish-American could beat the establishment on his own terms as a trickster. Such defiant figures served as role models and heroes to those who struggled with the throes of capitalist industrialization and nativist bigotry.

Unable to entice white umpires, black barnstormers developed more subtle tricks to defeat antagonists. Arthur Hardy, who pitched for both the Topeka and Chicago Giants between 1905-1912, indicated that the team worked Kansas towns in pre-game festivities, playing to stereotypes and avoiding racist backlash from whites. They kept games close and even lost on occasion in order to up the stakes for their return trip, and in subsequent matches or the post-game carnival activities the African-Americans got "all the whites' money."¹⁵

Rube Foster, Hardy's boss on the Chicago Giants, tricked opponents' batters by using cold balls and wetting down the infield to limit their productivity. Other pitchers, like the legendary Satchel Paige, had a repertoire of trick pitches to fool hitters. Upon his late arrival to the major leagues, Paige's mys-

terious “hesitation” pitch proved so effective that the commissioner banned it. Competing against Paige’s barnstorming all-star team, one Chicago semi-pro pitcher tried to thwart his opponents by cutting the ball. The result, usually achieved with a wedding ring or a hidden emery board, caused the pitch to travel in unknown and unexpected directions. The move backfired when Paige informed the Chicagoans that he had to use the same projectile and his overwhelming fast ball could literally prove deadly to any batter who attempted to dig in.¹⁶

Against white teams Paige’s eccentric pitches and clowning appeared to some as a “minstrel show on the mound” but he could assume the role of the defiant trickster when provoked.¹⁷ When Long John Tucker, a member of the House of David team, swore at and threatened Paige’s catcher, the next pitch resulted in two broken ribs. Willie Wells, shortstop for the Winnipeg Buffaloes, got his revenge by loading the fingertips of his glove with rocks and tagging opponents in the head as they slid into second base.¹⁸

Veteran black players used the game to enlighten younger African-Americans as well. Frazier Robinson reiterated an account of a barnstorming trip through Northeast Texas where a team of young blacks who considered themselves the regional champions issued a challenge. Despite the barnstormers’ victory the young upstarts insisted on a rematch with a wealthy white backer expecting windfall profits for the local team. Robinson’s team humiliated the Texans, 17-0, taking their money and their pride.¹⁹

Tricksters were not confined to subordinate ranks, however. Bill Veeck, the maverick owner of baseball teams and horseracing tracks, enjoyed wealth, fame, and the love of his fans if not his fellow owners who felt that his promotions made a farce of the game. As owner of the St. Louis Browns, Cleveland Indians, and Chicago White Sox Veeck turned fledgling franchises into winners and set attendance records along the way. He brought the aging Satchel Paige into the major leagues and once sent a midget, Eddie Gaedel, to bat. When Cleveland failed miserably he held a public funeral and buried the pennant in center field. Still, fans came to the park to enjoy the raffles and prizes offered. On one such occasion the winner gained a truckload of fertilizer; on another Veeck tricked the

recipient who received 500 white tuxedos, all rented for the same date. When the fan turned the table by inviting 499 friends to the ballgame on that particular day, all dressed in their finery, Veeck graciously bought beer for the entire group. Veeck's trickery, hucksterism, and showmanship offended baseball's elites but endeared him to the masses who appreciated his snubs to snobbishness.²⁰

The physicality and brutality of boxing left little room for snobs but provided a national showcase for defiant tricksters. Among the most notable, Jack Johnson engaged in fake fights to reach the top, ridiculed his white opponents, and scoffed at miscegenation laws. His attainment of the world championship overturned faulty perceptions of white superiority. Johnson's ostentatious display of wealth circumvented the established social order, and his evasion of federal authorities, for a time, mocked it. Like a true trickster, Johnson left some mystery about the fight that returned Jess Willard, the last of the Great White Hopes who challenged him, to the heavyweight throne.²¹

Johnson contended that he threw the fight for a large payoff, and while many analysts disagree, contemporary observers felt bewildered. Bat Masterson, who saw the bout, reported it as "a puzzle to fans" as Johnson looked strong for twenty rounds, then eyed his wife, the supposed recipient of the bribe money, after the twenty-third round, before suffering a knockout in the twenty-fifth. Another sportswriter claimed that the champion "punched and pounded Willard at will" for twenty rounds, then proved "unable or unwilling to go on." Both Johnson's sister and ballplayers who had visited him at his training camp maintained that the fight had been fixed.²² Even in defeat, or perhaps because of it, the proud trickster cast doubt. Like the defiant folk hero of the downtrodden, he had upset white notions of race and morality.

In the 1960s Muhammad Ali reincarnated the spirit of Jack Johnson as the defiant folk hero but elements of the trickster remained. Like Johnson he challenged the established order and avoided incarceration. He won with guile, speed, and deceptive footwork but the Ali shuffle no longer represented any sign of deference to whites. Conversely, Ali introduced the black oral culture that had sustained the trickster tales to white audiences. The ritual of insult, humor, and oratory assumed

the status of verbal combat directed at opponents and white society. To some he appeared blustery, boisterous, and often foolish; but like the trickster, he convinced Sonny Liston that he was crazy, enabling Ali to defeat the seemingly invincible champion. Years later, when his magnificent skills had waned, Ali tricked George Foreman with his rope-a-dope strategy to regain the heavyweight crown. Like Mike “King” Kelly, Ali forced the established authority to accept him on his own terms, using sport as contested political ground and proving that the trickster could be an active agent of change.²³

Athletes, as tricksters, thus served a vital function for subordinate groups. Sport provided not only a means for expression but tricksters represented a means of coping with repression and even, at times, a medium of retaliation, allowing the inversion of the traditional power relationships. In this sense, sport, like the folk tales of popular culture, not only entertained but enlightened succeeding generations.

Endnotes

¹ See Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey N. Smith, eds., *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), on power relationships; Catherine Peck, *A Treasury of North American Folk Tales* (New York: Book of the Month Club, 1998), 203-253; and Ann Fabian, *Card Sharps and Bucket Shops: Gambling in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 14-20, 68, 89, on the roles of tricksters.

² Peck, *A Treasury of North American Folk Tales*, 205-214; Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 83, 102-121, 125-131; John W. Roberts, *From Trickster to Badman: The Black Folk Hero in Slavery and Freedom* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 18-44.

³ Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness*, xiii.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 344, 376, 389.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 438.

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⁹ Steckbeck, *Fabulous Redmen*, 110; Glenn S. Warner, "Heap Big Run-Most-Fast," *Collier's*, Oct. 24, 1931, 19, 46 (quotes.)

¹⁰ *Bulldogs on Sunday*, 1922 (Pro Football Researchers Assoc.), 15-22, (quote, 20-21); Bob Braunwart, Bob Carroll, and Joe Horrigan, "Oorang Indians," *Coffin Corner*, 3:1 (Jan. 1981), 1-8.

¹¹ *Chicago Defender*, Feb. 18, 1922, 10; Mar. 17, 1922, pt. 2:10.

¹² *Chicago Defender*, Mar. 14, 1931, 10; Feb. 20, 1932, 8; Jan. 21, 1933, 9.

¹³ Jonathan Fraser Light, *The Cultural Encyclopedia of Baseball* (Jefferson, NC; McFarland & Co., 1997), 400.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 140, 707, 765; Benjamin G. Rader, *American Sports: From the Age of Folk Games to the Age of Spectators* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983), 120-121; Daniel Okrent and Steve Wulf, *Baseball Anecdotes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 16.

¹⁵ Mark Ribowsky, *A Complete History of the Negro Leagues, 1884 to 1955* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1955), 83-84; Donn Rogsin, *Invisible Men: Life in Baseball's Negro Leagues* (New York: Atheneum, 1983), 119 (quote.)

¹⁶ Frazier "Slow" Robinson with Paul Bauer, *Catching Dreams: My Life in the Negro Baseball Leagues* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 32, 43-45.

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¹⁹ *Ibid*, 177-178.

²⁰ Light, *The Cultural Encyclopedia of Baseball*, 593.

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Becoming American: The Hmong American Experience

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Hmong Americans, who came from a pre-literate society and rural background, went through many acculturation barriers and have had many successes between the time they first arrived in 1975 and the year 2000. Their first decade was preoccupied with their struggle to overcome cultural shock and acculturation difficulties. The second decade is their turning point to be new Americans, beginning to run for political office, establish business enterprises, achieve in education, and reduce their high rate of unemployment and welfare participation. Hmong Americans in 2000 appeared to have achieved much, yet have some serious challenges still ahead.

This paper details Hmong experience in America. It discusses their twenty-five challenging years of becoming Americans, and emphasizes Hmong Americans perspectives of their own American experience, including issues related to social, cultural, educational, economic, and political development.

Introduction

The year 2000 marks the twenty-fifth anniversary of Hmong history in America, and it is also twenty-five years after the end of the U.S. Secret War in Laos, which resulted in many Hmong of Laos coming to America. The year 2000 is also the end of the 20th century—an unprecedented century of changes and development for the Hmong. It probably brought more changes to the Hmong than any other century in their long history. The year 2000 is an opportune moment to take a look at the experience of the Hmong in America. Unlike European immigrants, post 1965 Asian immigrants, and other refugee groups from Indochina, the Hmong were culturally, educationally, and technologically unprepared to acculturate with America, the most developed country in the world. This juncture of the Hmong and American cultures has produced some significant strains in Hmong traditions. Nonetheless, Hmong have also produced some unusual success stories.¹ This paper is an attempt to explore the current experience of Hmong Americans, identify some of their successes as well as their current difficulties, and place the status of Hmong Americans into proper perspective. It emphasizes Hmong Americans' perspective of their history and other experience in America, including discrimination and issues related to social, cultural, and economic development.²

The term Hmong Americans in this paper refers to all descendants of Hmong ancestry who are now residents or citizens of the United States. The term Hmong³ refers to an ancient Asian ethnic group who call themselves "Hmong" but who are labeled by outsiders as "Miao" in China, and "Meo" in Thailand.

Background of the Hmong Americans

The Hmong are an ancient Asian ethnic group found in China, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Myanmar (Burma), and after 1975, in America, Australia, and Europe.⁴ They call themselves "Hmong" not Miao or Meo, the name given to them by non-Hmong, and they prefer to be called by the name "Hmong".⁵ They are believed to have lived along the Yellow River area of China around 3000 B.C.⁶ If this account is accurate, then the

Hmong have a known history of at least 5000 years in China. Many scholars have gone further by suggesting that the Hmong were the aborigines of central China,⁷ and that the Hmong were the first settlers of the basin of the Yellow River.⁸ Another school of thought suggests that “of their pre-history only one thing is certain, that is the Miao [Hmong] were in China, before the [Han] Chinese, for it is the latter who indicate the presence of the Miao in the land”.⁹

During their long history, the Hmong went through many developments and struggles and through many periods of war and peace.¹⁰ They have been pushed and pulled from north to south, from east to west, and from the fertile lowlands of China to the desolate mountainous highlands.¹¹ The inhospitable eco-geographical mountain environment might be one of the many main factors that trapped the Hmong into poverty and their many distinctive technological and socio-political conditions.¹²

The Hmong in Southeast Asia came from China. They began their southward migration to Southeast Asia during the 19th century when troubles plagued China. The decline of the Qing dynasty, the Opium War, the Taiping Rebellion, and foreign aggression occurred during this century.¹³ The results—war indemnity, heavy taxation, poverty, and other conditions—were the push-factors for many southern Chinese to migrate to Hawaii and to San Francisco in the mid-19th century.¹⁴ The Hmong might have been pushed out by these same factors along with the possibility that the Qing and other ruling majorities oppressed the Hmong.¹⁵

A few Hmong in Southern China left during these periods to Southeast Asia, and some were found in Laos around 1810.¹⁶ Gradually they migrated to Vietnam and Laos, and later to Thailand and Myanmar (Burma). Since their arrival in Laos around 1810 the Hmong have lived a mostly peaceful life in the highlands, except for three wars in which they became involved.¹⁷ The first two wars were waged against the French colonial government in Laos to protest heavy and unjust taxation. The first took place in 1896.¹⁸ The second war was known as the “War of the Insane,” and it occurred between 1919 and 1921.¹⁹ The last war—the most well known war in modern Hmong history—was the United States Central

Intelligence Agency's Secret War in Laos, and it lasted from the early 1960s to 1975.²⁰ It is called the Secret War because the CIA did not tell the U.S. Congress and the American public about their involvement in Laos due to specific treaty stipulations preventing the US from having ground troops in Laos.

Although this last war caused heavy casualties and tremendous upheaval for the Hmong of Laos,²¹ it also pushed and pulled many Hmong into education, modernization, and most importantly, socio-political recognition.²² It was in the first doctoral dissertation among the Hmong by Yang Dao in 1972 that the true name of Hmong not Miao or Meo, the names imposed on them by outsiders, was brought to light, and that Hmong want to be called by the name they call themselves, Hmong.²³

In less than 200 years the Hmong of Laos have undergone a total change in their identity and status from voluntary immigrant non-citizens to full and active participants in Laotian social, economic, and political affairs. The Hmong were not accepted as full citizens of Laos until 1947.²⁴ By the beginning of 1975 the Hmong of Laos had one minister, one chief procurator of the Laotian Supreme Court, one general, three deputies to the Lao National Assembly, two members of the National Political Consultative Council, one person with a Ph.D., and more than thirty students studying in universities abroad.²⁵

The end of the U. S. Secret War in Laos in 1975 gradually caused more than ten percent of the population of Laos to become refugees abroad.²⁶ More than a third of these refugees are Hmong. Approximately one half of the 300,000 Hmong of Laos have fled the country since 1975. During the U.S. Secret War, the Hmong of Laos were divided into three factions: the right, neutral and left.²⁷ It is estimated that one-third of them belonged to the right faction who allied themselves with the Royal Lao Government supported by the CIA. Another one-third of the Hmong of Laos were on the opposing side; they fought on the side of the communist Pathet Lao. The last group, who composed of mostly Hmong peasants, were neutral to the conflict yet suffered from it as much as the other two groups. There are in 2001 more than 200,000 Hmong in Laos, and they continue to take active roles in the affairs of the

country. Hmong continue to have a few high-ranking officials, including one minister, a Vice President of the Lao National Assembly, and one provincial governor.

The Hmong began to leave Laos in May 1975; by the year's end a few Hmong refugees had already resettled permanently in America. About 750 Hmong came to the United States in early 1976,²⁸ and their numbers grew slowly but steadily. Hmong refugee resettlement in the United States peaked in 1980, when about 27,000 Hmong were admitted,²⁹ Their population grew rapidly in the early 1980 to an estimated 100,000 in 1989.³⁰ Although the United States continued to admit Hmong refugees up until the end of the 1990s, more than 10,000 Hmong refugees still are living legally or illegally in Thailand. By the end of 1999 Hmong Americans were estimated to number 200,000.³¹ This rapid growth is attributed to the Hmong's high fertility and low mortality rates and to the past continuous influx of Hmong refugees into this country. In the 1990 census Hmong Americans made up 1.3% of all Asian Americans.³² Among all Asian groups in America the Hmong represent the youngest population, with a median age of about thirteen. They also have large families: 6.6 people per household.³³ This might be explained by their past agricultural lifestyle and their traditional preferences for large families and for having more than two generations living under one roof. In addition use of effective fertility control technology, such as oral contraceptives, is often not readily available and/or encouraged within the Hmong community. The size of a large Hmong household in Laos varies from ten to more than twenty persons and can include children, parents, grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles, and other members of the extended family.³⁴

In the early days of resettlement the Hmong, like other refugees from Indochina, were dispersed throughout America. In the early 1980s many Hmong began to migrate to California in what is known as a secondary migration. By the end of 1986, approximately 46,000 (more than half the Hmong in the United States) were living in California.³⁵ It was during this time that Fresno, California, became the capital of the Hmong—the largest concentration of Hmong in America. The Hmong community in Fresno grew from one family in 1977 to five families in 1979 to 2,000 in 1980 and to about 35, 000 in

1993.³⁶ The mid-1990s saw a reversal of this trend with Hmong moving out of California, especially Fresno.³⁷ To escape high unemployment and poor economic conditions many Hmong moved out of Central California cities to Minnesota, Wisconsin, and other mid-western states.³⁸ Fresno, which topped the list of cities with the largest concentration of Hmong in the 1980s and early 1990s, dropped to second place in 1999. The Twin Cities—St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota—with more than 60,000 Hmong, now occupy the top spot.³⁹

In the 1980s and early 1990s the Hmong were among the poorest and most politically passive Asian Americans. The 1990 Census, for example, indicates that sixty-five percent of Hmong Americans were unemployed, and more than sixty percent lived below the poverty line.⁴⁰ The Hmong were basically in the stage of cultural shock. Gradually they have learned to cope and have adjusted to their new life in America. Many success stories of the Hmong begin after 1990. The election of Choua Lee, a Hmong woman, to the Board of Education for the St. Paul Public Schools in 1992 marked not only the beginning of Hmong's participation in the American political system but also their social and economic development. More Hmong individuals were elected to public offices in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Nebraska. The rate of Hmong unemployment and welfare participation began to decline, as more Hmong participated in the American labor market. Hmong businesses expanded and grew. Hmong restaurants in Detroit, for example, multiplied from only a few in the early 1980s to more than 100 by the end of 1999.⁴¹ More importantly the Hmong community began to cast away the label of refugee and to call themselves Hmong Americans. They began to exercise their rights and responsibilities as American citizens and at the same time to work to retain the best of their cultural heritage. The changes in the last decade show a remarkable level of social adaptation to mainstream America by Hmong Americans. From a pre-literate society, the Hmong in 2000 have more than 120 doctorates, nine tenured and tenure-track university professors, three city council persons, and others in significant positions. Additionally, Hmong Americans have developed their unique culture in America: they have Hmongrapcomedy, Hmonglish, and

Hmong American music, dance, arts, and media. They have, indeed, come a long way but still have a long way to go to overcome many of their acculturation problems, such as family conflict, youth delinquency, poverty, health, and other issues.

The Acculturation of Hmong Americans

The meeting of Hmong and American cultures has created many success stories, and distinctive cultural barriers, economic hardship, family conflict, youth delinquency, and health and mental health issues. Unlike European immigrants, post-1965 Asian immigrants, and other refugee groups from Indochina, Hmong were one of the Indochinese refugee groups least prepared to adjust to life in America.

The Hmong culture is shaped and formed by a long history of being an oppressed minority, with a group-oriented patriarchal clan system, a belief in animism and ancestral worship, an oral tradition, a rural lifestyle, and slash-and-burn agriculture.⁴² Their background resembles that of the early Chinese immigrants to San Francisco in the 19th century who were mostly peasants. These rural southern Chinese farmers were mostly uneducated and from poor peasant families.⁴³ When they arrived in California, the Chinese formed associations based on their clans, dialects, and/or districts in China.⁴⁴ The Hmong, too, use their clan names as a base for many of their organizations in America. Organizations such as the Lo Society Educational Council, Thao Universal, Xing Educational Way, and Yang Family Association exist in almost all of the eighteen known Hmong American clans. Many Hmong in central California grow specific crops, such as strawberry, tomato, bean, bok choy, and lemon grass, and their farming is similar to the agricultural work of the earlier Chinese and Japanese Americans. Like the early Chinese in America, the Hmong came to America from a rural background and with no formal educational training.

The Hmong are very different from other post-1965 Asian immigrants whose members include not only many city dwellers but also professionals. The post-1965 Chinese immigrants "came from urban backgrounds, were educated in Hong Kong, mainland China, or Taiwan, and are Mandarin speaking, in contrast to the Cantonese (Guangdong) origin, Toisanese-

speaking (Taishan hua) Chinese resident population",⁴⁵ which comprised most of the earlier immigrants. The Immigration Act of 1965 abolished the national origins system and gave a high priority to family reunification and to both skilled and unskilled workers.⁴⁶ This Act has been the main factor in the rapid growth of the Asian American population, especially the educated and professionals.⁴⁷

Adjusting to a new cultural environment is not new to the Hmong⁴⁸, however the extremely large cultural gap between the Hmong and mainstream Americans have created formidable obstacles to the traditional coping skills and folkways of the Hmong. These cultural differences, in addition to a lack of transferable vocational skills and inadequate educational preparation, have contributed to many major acculturation problems such as high unemployment, poverty, a high rate of welfare participation, a significant generation gap, youth gangs, role change and conflict, mental health and medical problems. In the early 1980s many refugee workers concluded that the Hmong's adjustment to life in the United States was a "worst case situation".⁴⁹ This statement reflects the difficulties that face both Hmong and American immigration, resettlement, and social service systems. While the United States is regarded as the land of immigrants, working with contemporary Asian immigrants and refugees such as the Hmong is new to this country. Previous immigrants to the United States were mostly from Europe. The European model or straight-line theory, which "includes voluntary immigration, acculturation, integration, assimilation, and eventual absorption into the dominany society"⁵⁰ is problematic for the Hmong. Unlike most prior immigrants the Hmong came to America as non-white refugees and brought with them their long history as an oppressed minority scarred by wars. Consequently they have a very different outlook and cultural experience. Nothing about America compares with anything from their past experience; adjusting to life here was beyond their coping skills and wisdom. Consequently the resettlement of the Hmong in the 1980s and early 1990s has been a challenging experience for both the Hmong people and for their adoptive land.

Fortunately the acculturation situation gradually improved toward the end of the 1990s. During the mid-1980s about half

of the more than seventy Hmong American communities throughout the United States had already achieved self-sufficiency.⁵¹ By the end of the 1990s most Hmong American communities had adapted somewhat successfully to life in America and are fairly self-sufficient except for a few Hmong communities in Central California, especially Fresno, Visalia, Merced, Stockton, and Sacramento. The slow attainment of self-sufficiency for the Hmong in California's Central Valley might be partially due to the economy of this region which is based on agriculture and which does not offer the kinds of jobs the Hmong need to sufficiently provide for their families.⁵² Many Hmong made their secondary migration to Central California with the hope of farming, but their hope turned sour when they realized that their slash-and-burn farming skills are not compatible with the highly mechanized agribusiness in Central California. Moreover they did not have the needed capital money or the technological and marketing skills needed to do agribusiness. As a result most of them were not able to support themselves from their small farming. A few of them continue to farm special crops, such as strawberry, Bok Choy, Lemon Grass, Bitter Melon, and so on. Although the Hmong in California's Central Valley have not yet achieved full self-sufficiency, they, too, have been able to reduce their welfare participation from about sixty percent in 1995 to just above twenty percent in 1999.⁵³

Gender Differences in Adaptation

While many Hmong men adapt well to life in America, others do not. A study of Hmong men in 1993 reveals a diverse group with very different approaches to their adaptation to life in the United States.⁵⁴ The study classified them according to their outlook in life. The men fell into one of three groups: the past, present, and future-oriented.

- Past-oriented Hmong men emphasize the importance of their life in the past; they have a harder time adapting, and so they experience more acculturation problems.
- Present-oriented Hmong men focus on their daily life with no realistic goal(s) for the future.
- Future-oriented Hmong men focus their energies and thoughts on discussions and activities that will positively

impact their future. They tend to have more education and access to resources and experience more social independence.

This study indicates that as members of the Hmong community have adapted to life in America differently, they have themselves become more diverse in the process. At one end of the continuum are those who do not adapt at all with tragic consequences. Hmong men have committed a few high-profile acts of self-directed violence, including a Hmong man in Sacramento who in the fall of 1999 killed his five children and himself.⁵⁵

The adaptation of Hmong women appears to be two-sided. On the positive side many Hmong women tend to see America as the land of opportunity. They learn the language faster, having more interactions with their children, the teachers of their children, and other service providers. Hmong women can also earn an income sufficient to support their families and hold responsible jobs outside of the home. These factors might explain the substantial progress made by many Hmong women. The success stories of Hmong American women seem to be on the rise as we enter the 21st century. For instance a woman, Choua Lee, became the first Hmong to be elected to public office. Many Hmong women play important leadership roles in the Hmong American community, including chairing the first and second Hmong National Conferences. In California, three out of five Hmong lawyers are women. Hmong women have many strong associations, including the Association for the advancement of Hmong Women and the Hmong American Women's Association. The Executive Director of the Council of Asian Pacific Minnesotans is a Hmong Woman. The two Hmong students attending Harvard University are women.

On the negative side many Hmong women live in America without attaining the full benefits of societal participation. Many of these women spend most of their time at home, with very little or no opportunity to get an education or to interact with American society. Many of them are home caring for their many young children, while others are home because of restrictions imposed upon them by their husbands or families. Consequently many of these women do not fully benefit from

being in America, the supposed land of opportunity and freedom. Like Hmong men, many Hmong women continue to suffer from family, health, and/or mental problems. Violent cases involving Hmong women are known to occur. One of these cases is the case of a Hmong woman in St. Paul, Minnesota, who, in September, 1998, strangled her six children to death.⁵⁶

One of the many important factors that have influenced the progress and change for Hmong American women is educational opportunity. In the United States all children must attend school and are provided with free elementary and secondary education, regardless of gender. While Hmong girls tend to get less support from their parents, clan, and community to pursue higher education than Hmong boys, they are equally entitled under the law to get an education in America. As two decades have passed and they are more accustomed to life in America, Hmong American parents and community gradually are making more efforts to support both boys and girls to get higher education. This support is evident in many educational celebrations where both boy and girl are honored for their educational achievement. In 1999 the number of Hmong men and women students in many universities are almost equal. It appears that in California State University, Stanislaus, there are more Hmong women than Hmong men students, and this campus' Hmong Student Association is run by mostly Hmong women officers. This opportunity and accessibility to education, in addition to equal income earning power, is likely to continue empowering Hmong women to make more progress in the future, and this development is likely to move traditional Hmong sex roles toward the more egalitarian sex roles of mainstream America.

Experiencing Discrimination

The Hmong American community has suffered countless acts of discrimination; many began soon after their arrival. In 1984, thirty-two Hmong families in Fresno were illegally evicted from their apartments. The tenants fought back in a very American way. They took the case to court but the resulting out-of-court settlement of \$278,000 was well below the \$34 million judgment they originally sought.⁵⁷ On June 23, 1991, *The Fresno Bee* published an article describing the anger of many resi-

dents of Tollhouse, a suburban community near the foothills of Fresno County, where Hmong burials and funeral practices had greatly distressed area residents. One resident, Tom Dean, was quoted as saying, “They [the Hmong] ought to go back to Hmong-land”.⁵⁸ A Hmong chapel burned down that month, and the cause remains a mystery.⁵⁹ The likelihood that this represents an ethnic hate-crime remains.

In 1992 the Fresno City Council proposed an ordinance to make illegal the killing of animals without a permit. This was an indirect attack on Hmong religious practices, which involve animal killing.⁶⁰ In the mid-90s, many Hmong fruitstands along Shaw Avenue and other streets were burned down, some more than once. Touxia Xaochay Thao, a Hmong farmer in Fresno, stated that these fruitstands were torched at night so that no one would know who did it. He said some farmers had taken to bringing their valuable property home when they left at the end of the day.⁶¹

In some cases media stereotypes and misleading details aggravate the problem of public perception of the Hmong. *The Fresno Bee*, in particular, has published headlines that played up ethnicity when the story is unfavorable. The article, “Hmong Girl Allowed To Go Home,”⁶³ would be titled differently if she were not a Hmong. The title might then have been “‘Fresno Girl’ or ‘Clovis Girl’ Allowed To Go Home.” Another title, “Hmong Say GAIN Unfair” was misleading. The *Fresno Bee* reporter did not interview or survey the more than 30,000 Hmong in Fresno to come to that conclusion. In fact, the article said there were only 500 Hmong who had participated in a demonstration to publicize their claim that GAIN was unfair. This kind of tainted journalism led a Cambodian refugee to observe, “When I do something wrong, it’s because I’m Cambodian. When an American does something wrong, it’s only because they’re Mike or John.”⁶³ When referring to youth gangs, instead of identifying the gang by name, *The Fresno Bee* tends to identify them simply as Asian or Hmong gangs.

Hmong in other cities have also encountered many discriminatory acts. For example, the Hmong in Wausau, Wisconsin, were discriminated against when in 1993 a group of citizens successfully pushed to end the practice of busing their children to other schools, where they would be mixed with

mostly Hmong students “to give all students...” in the words of a school official “...an equitable socioeconomic balance and learning environment.”⁶⁴ While many good American citizens, groups, and organizations do their best to help the Hmong, many others do not welcome their presence and openly vent their hostility toward them.

Hmong Americans at the Dawn of the new Millennium

After twenty-five challenging years in America, Hmong Americans have already achieved much, yet have some serious challenges still ahead. Many of their most pressing difficulties stem from family problems, youth delinquency, health, and economic hardships. Often these problems result in tragedy. For example a Hmong man in Fresno was found guilty on September 29, 1999, of slaying his wife’s lover.⁶⁵ In February, 1999, a judge in Fresno sentenced a leader in gang rapes to eighty-six years.⁶⁶ Hmong community leaders and elders were shocked at the news that three boys, ages ten, eleven, and thirteen, were arrested in September, 1999 for gang-raping an 8-year-old girl.⁶⁷ And on October 11, 1999, Lee Pao Xiong, the President of Hmong National Development, announced that four Hmong girls from out of state were abducted at gunpoint and held for more than two weeks in Detroit. They were repeatedly raped by a dozen Hmong boys and young men in Detroit.⁶⁸ This is just a sampling of the many problem areas that have arisen in the Hmong’s attempt to acculturate to life in America at the dawn of this century.

On the other hand, Hmong Americans have had many successes and made many contributions to America, despite their short history in this country. Some of these successes are discussed below:

Education: Hmong did not have their own written system until 1953 and had not earned a doctorate until 1972. And although it was not until 1982 that the first Hmong earned an American doctorate, the Hmong make education one of their most important goals. By 1999 about 120 Hmong Americans—a third of them women—had completed their doctoral studies (including law, pharmacy, and other professional terminal degrees).⁶⁹ Hmong women make up about three-fourths of all Hmong American lawyers, and in California, as mentioned earlier,

three of the five Hmong lawyers are women. Although small in number Hmong American students are found in many American Ivy League institutions, including Harvard, Yale, and Stanford. A few Hmong also managed to be admitted to and/or complete their studies in American military academies, including West Point. A study in Minnesota found that Hmong students in St. Paul, Minnesota, in comparison with other students, have lower dropout rates, higher educational aspirations, and parents who place a high emphasis on education.⁷⁰ If the picture portrayed by this study reflects the reality of the Hmong, many more Hmong youth are expected to excel in higher education over the next decade.

University Teaching: As of 2000 nine Hmong persons hold tenured and tenure-track university teaching positions, and many Hmong are in other non-tenure track teaching positions. Of these nine, four are tenured associate professors with five of them in California, two in Wisconsin, and one each in Minnesota and Iowa.

Political Participation: With Choua Lee's election to the Board of Education of the St. Paul Public Schools in 1992, she became not only the first Hmong but the first former refugee from Indochina to be elected to public office.⁷¹ Choua Lee is a Hmong American political pioneer who set the precedent for a Hmong leadership tradition. Since her victory three Hmong persons have been elected to local school boards in Wisconsin and Minnesota, and three Hmong persons were elected to city councils (two in Wisconsin, and one in Omaha, Nebraska).

Business Enterprise: Since the Hmong first entered the United States in 1975 many have tried to engage in business enterprises. The early businesses of the Hmong were mostly of ethnic enclave businesses and economy involving grocery stores, automotive repair shops, car dealership, financial services, and insurance sales. Ethnic enclave businesses involve three main factors: an ethnic population and consumer market, low pay for work, and an apprenticeship relationship between owners and workers.⁷² In the 1990s, many Hmong have engaged in mainstream businesses such as professional services, health care, the high-tech industry, poultry farming, restaurants, and so on. For example the 10,000-Hmong community in Michigan has engaged heavily in restaurant busi-

nesses; they own and operate more than 100 restaurants. The Hmong in North Carolina have invested in many sectors of poultry farming. Some Hmong in Wausau, Wisconsin do ginseng farming, and many Hmong in California engage in strawberry farming and other agriculture-related businesses. New York has a small number of Hmong, but a few invest in the high-tech and motel industries.

Self-help organizations: Hmong Americans have established many community-based organizations to serve their many communities throughout the country. For example the Resource Development Guide of Hmong National Development listed twenty-five Hmong organizations in California, six in Colorado, and ten in Minnesota.⁷³ Among these organizations are Hmong National Development (national), Fresno Center for New Americans (local), Lao Family Community (local), Hmong American Women's Association (local), Association for the Advanced Hmong Women (local), Hmong American Partnership (local), and so on. Most Hmong associations serve both a social and economic function.⁷⁴

Government Participation: Although small in number Hmong are now found working in many local, state, and federal government agencies. Most of them are civil servants, but a few are actively involved at local, state and federal government levels. For example Lee Pao Xiong of Concordia University Saint Paul has a long list of community and government involvement since his early twenties. Now in his early thirties he is the director of Government Relations of Concordia University Saint Paul and the immediate past president of Hmong National Development. He was the executive director of the Council of Asian-Pacific Minnesotans representing more than forty groups of Asian-Pacific Americans. He is on the Board of Directors of more than ten organizations, ranging from the local chamber of commerce to the powerful Metro Council. He is also one of the eleven Asian American community leaders invited to visit the White House and meet with President Bill Clinton in June, 1999.

Hmong National Conference: The Hmong National Conference is a yearly event for the Hmong, especially the educated and bilingual/bicultural Hmong Americans. It is organized by the Hmong National Development (a nationwide

Hmong organization) to provide a forum for information exchange and dissemination, networking, discussion of contemporary issues, and, most importantly, empowering the youth to use their fullest potential in America. The first Hmong National Conference was held in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1995. The second was in Sacramento, California; the third was in Eau Claire, Wisconsin, and the fourth conference was held in Denver, Colorado. The 5th National Conference, which was held in St. Paul, Minnesota from October 30 to November 2, 1999, became a historic conference for many Hmong youths. President Bill Clinton sent a video message recognizing Hmong's challenges and contributions. It was the first time a sitting U.S. President addressed a Hmong conference. Participants of the 5th Conference included White House officials, members of Congress, and the mayor of St. Paul. About 1,000 Hmong attended from all over the country and overseas.

Hmong American Pathfinders

Many Hmong individuals have risked going where no Hmong American has yet gone. Their stories are not only the success stories of the Hmong, but their pioneering spirits contribute to the educational, social, economic, and political progress of the Hmong. Here are a few of these Hmong American Pathfinders: **Choua Lee:** She was elected to the Board of Education of St. Paul Schools in 1992 when she was pregnant with her only child. She became the first Indochinese American to be elected to public office, despite being only twenty-two years old, female, and Hmong. She served one full term of four years. Currently she is an elementary teacher in St. Paul. She has a B.A. in elementary education from the University of Minnesota, and earned her Masters Degree in Education Administration in May, 1999.

Pa Foua Yang: She was probably the best known Hmong student in the 1980s and the only Hmong student ever to have been invited to the White House. She was an exceptional achiever in school, and as a result she was invited to the White House by then President Ronald Reagan. Pa Foua is also the first Hmong American woman physician and now practices medicine in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Joe Bee Xiong: He was elected to the Eau Claire City Council

in 1996, the first Hmong person to be elected to a city council. He served a second term in 1998. He is also a Hmong traditional music player. He can play many Hmong traditional music instruments, including the Qeej, violin, and flute.

Xoua Thao: He is the first Hmong to graduate from Brown University with a medical degree and from Harvard with a Master of Public Health. He also earned a law degree (Juris Doctor) from William Mitchell College of Law in St. Paul. He has served as the president of the Hmong National Development, a nationwide Hmong organization established to assist the Hmong in America. He is the founder of Xoua Thao Medical Center and co-founder of Hmong Chamber of Commerce (St. Paul) and the Hmong Bar Association in Minnesota. He is also a student of Hmong culture, especially Hmong wedding rites and chants. He practices medicine and lives in the Twin Cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis.

Yee Chang Hang: He is the first Hmong person to graduate from West Point, the most prestigious military academy in the United States. Since his graduation in 1992, he has served in the army and currently holds the rank of captain.

Lee Pao Xiong: He is the director of Government Relations of Concordia University Saint Paul and a respected Hmong American community leader. He was among a group of Asian American leaders invited to meet with President Clinton in June 1999. In May, 2000, he was appointed by President Clinton to serve on the Commission on Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders and became one of only two Indochinese Americans to serve on this commission. The St. Paul Pioneers described Lee Pao Xiong as someone who might significantly contribute to the political development of St. Paul, including possibly being the mayor of that city.⁷⁵

Vang Hang: This college dropout-turned-restaurant entrepreneur in Michigan has established eight restaurants in Michigan since the late 1980s. Mario's Labelle, his largest, has fifty employees, is open twenty-four hours, serves American, Chinese and Thai food, and has a gross annual sales of about \$1.6 million.

Teng Lee: Lee, who is a member of a small Hmong community in New York, is a chemist, an entrepreneur, and a Hmong community activist. He specializes in solid-state gas sensing

technology, has a preference for the high-tech industry, and has devoted much effort to advocating Hmong causes and promoting the ideas of “Virtual Universal Hmong Nation” and Hmong are responsible for “Hmong.” He is a strong supporter of Hmong youths—the people he calls the hopes, the dreams and the future of the Hmong people. Teng Lee joined the gas analysis instrumentation department of Leybold Inficon in the 1985. There he was exposed to the leading technology of the time in gas chromatography, mass spectrometry, Infrared/ Ultra-Violet (R/UV), Nuclear Magnetic Resonance (NMR), and other scientific methods in chemical detection and analysis. Since 1988 he has been assigned to do research and development works on solid-state gas sensing technology. He earned his first US patent in 1991 developing a ceramic sensor for the detection of halocarbon gases. He received the Product of the Year Award in 1993. He is now researching and developing the fourth generation of sensors: tiny sensing structures mounted on microchips. Through his fascination with science and technology, Teng holds an unflinching belief that science and technology must be used to bring a quantum leap in advancement to the Hmong people. He said, “They allow people such as Hmong to jump directly from pre-literacy to cutting-edge technology in a single generation,” a process that would have taken centuries in the normal course of human development. Hence, their potential must be harnessed and exploited to quickly develop and empower the Hmong people.” He is convinced that the proper applications of education, science/technology, and economics are the key to a survivable Hmong future, as he puts it, the savingr factor of the Hmong people. Consistent with this basic philosophy, he went on to co-found Illumination Technologies (IT) which specializes in developing state-of-the-art illumination systems for use in robotics and machine vision. He has founded other enterprises such as NCL, Inc., which engages in light assembly and Jayshau, Inc., which owns and operates motels. He is also involved in the software industry through Princeton Teaching Associates Software, Inc. which specializes in developing interactive multimedia educational software. His latest interest is in 100IG, Inc. which attempts to bring Hmong entrepreneurs to form a venture company with the intent to invest in and/or to

acquire mainstream businesses.

Tou Ger Xiong. He is a college educated young Hmong artist, actor, comedian, family and youth consultant, rap musician, storyteller. He is well known among many Hmong youths. Tou Ger Xiong calls his performance **Hmongrapcomedy**, a combination of Hmong arts of storytelling, American rap music/performance, and comedy performance to tell the story of the Hmong. He makes the old laugh and entertains the young with messages of life and wisdom. He makes the Hmong cry and opens non-Hmong eyes and hearts to the worldview and experience of the Hmong. His show and performance have inspired thousand of Hmong youth and their families throughout the country. Many of his performances focus on Hmong history on the Hmong experience of discrimination and acculturation in addition to the empowerment of Hmong youth to pursue education and realistic life goal. He also uses his performance to educate teachers and other service providers to better understand the Hmong and their experience. His arts and performance make him a well recognized Hmong person in the Hmong American community.

Conclusion

The Hmong bring with them to America a unique cultural and historical experience that has no exact parallel with any other prior ethnic immigrant group. They are not white, do not come from a Judeo-Christian background, and did not come to America as voluntary immigrants. Moreover they do not exactly resemble the earlier Asian immigrant groups to America either. They have a long history of being a minority within Asia and brought their minority status and experience with them⁷⁶. Throughout their long history they have fought oppression and assimilation to survive as an ethnic group⁷⁷. They tend to use multicultural approaches rather than pure assimilation to adapt to their American environment. Paul and Elaine Lewis concluded in their writing about the Hmong that “Hundreds of years of adversity have bred a spirit of independence; they [Hmong] value liberty and dignity above all easy living. The independence they seek, however, is not for the individual, but for the kin group, and the liberty they cherish is group liberty.”⁷⁸ Their age-old wisdom and spirit of independence have, in

many ways, propelled the Hmong to survive their first two decades in America despite their many acculturation difficulties. The experience of the Hmong in America is a story of a people who have been through a trans-centennial change: from the rural mountain villages of Northern Laos to America, the most technologically developed country in the world. The Hmong, against all odds, have survived their first two very challenging decades in America. While the Hmong have achieved much in America, there are still many problems and barriers for them to overcome. This new millennium will be the real test for the Hmong in America. If they can manage to raise their very young population to do well in school, they will certainly become active participants in American social, economic, and political development. This task, however, is huge and might be beyond the wisdom of the Hmong to carry it out. To be able to raise their young successfully the Hmong may need to draw the best from their age-old parenting and coping skills and learn the best from other immigrants in America. There is a proverb that says, "After the rainy storm, the sun is bright and the sky clears."⁷⁹ It is the hope of many Hmong that after all hardships and struggles the Hmong in America will have a life more fulfilling in peace, prosperity, strengths, equality, and democracy.

Notes

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Ethnic Identity, Risk and Protective Factors Related to Substance Use Among Mexican American Students

**Edward Codina, Zenong Yin, Jesse T. Zapata, and
David S. Katims**

This study examines the relationship between ethnic identity, risk and protective factors for substance use, and academic achievement. Risk factors include deviant behavior and susceptibility to peer influence, while the protective factor is self-reported “confidence” not to use substances. The sample consists of 2,370 Mexican American students enrolled in eighth, ninth, and tenth grades. Results of the analysis (MANOVA) revealed that females had more positive ethnic identity than males. Furthermore, males were significantly more susceptible to peer influence, reported higher levels of deviant behavior, used more substances and had lower grade point averages than females. There was no significant difference in their “confidence” not to use substances.

A path analysis performed separately by gender

revealed that positive ethnic identity was inversely related to peer susceptibility and deviant behavior. This relationship was stronger for females than for males. Ethnic identity was not directly related to substance use but rather the influence was indirect through its relationship to the risk factors. Findings related to academic achievement revealed that increased deviant behavior was negatively related to GPA. The total effect of a positive ethnic identity was significantly related to increased GPA for the females, but not for males.

Mexican American adolescents, due to their unique historical and current experience in the US, are exposed to risk and protective factors not common to members of the middle class majority. These unique risk and protective factors are related to the combination of class, culture, and ethnicity. Most Mexican Americans, for example, are found in working class segregated neighborhoods, have parents or grandparents who speak mostly Spanish, and are visibly identified as an ethnic minority (Codina and Montalvo 1994; Frey and Farley 1996).

Among the many psychological challenges faced by adolescence, the issue of identity formation becomes very salient during this stage (Erikson 1968). For Mexican Americans identity formation includes self-definition and awareness as members of an ethnic minority along with its social implications and consequences. Development of a strong positive self-identity may be problematic, as they struggle with differences in treatment based on their ethnic origin and social class. This conflict may negatively influence their identity formation and self-esteem. Erikson (1968) proposes that

... the individual belonging to an oppressed and exploited minority. . . [who] is aware of the dominant cultural ideals but prevented from emulating them, is apt to fuse the negative images held up to him by the dominant majority with the negative identity cultivated in his own group (303).

Mexican Americans may react to these conflicts in a variety of ways. Some may experience a loss of identity or 'identity confusion' (which can also be applied to ethnic identity).

Identity loss and identity confusion have been recognized in severely conflicted young people “whose sense of confusion is due to a war within themselves and in confused rebels and destructive delinquents who war on their society” Erikson (1968, 17). Some may become involved in marginal identity and opposition cultural groups such as gangs. This issue has been described by Vigil (1988) based on his work among Mexican American adolescents gang members.

Other adolescents may embrace their ethnic identity with a positive affective evaluation. This ethnic pride generally includes a rejection of negative stereotypes about one’s ethnic group (Kitano 1980) as well as positive attitudes and a sense of belonging and commitment to the ethnic group (Phinney and Rosenthal 1992). A positive ethnic identity appears to be a general protective factor in the development of minority adolescents. For example, several researchers have found a relationship between a positive ethnic evaluation and positive self-esteem among African Americans, Hispanics, and other “minority” adolescents (Roberts et al. 1996).

The literature examining the relationship between ethnic identity and risk factors for substance use is rather sparse. Cheung (1991) in a literature review of this issue concluded that many researchers assumed such a relationship but most did not include any ethnic identity measure in their studies. Research examining the relationship between a cultural identity and substance use has generally found an inverse relationship. For example Hispanic females with high cultural identity were less likely to use substances, particularly marijuana (Oetting and Beauvais 1990-91). Among Puerto Rican male adolescents, lower ethnic identification was related to participation in illicit substance use (Sommers, Fagan and Baskin 1993).

Several researchers have proposed that cultural identity may not be directly related to alcohol use but may be a mediating variable or may have indirect effects on substance use through risk and protective factors related to substance use (Felix-Ortiz and Newcomb 1995). Support for this hypothesis was found in a recent study of older adolescents in which a positive Puerto Rican identity was found to moderate the effects on substance abuse risk factors that include peer and

family substance use attitudes and behaviors, personal substance use related behaviors, and drug availability (Brook et al. 1998). However, ethnic identity was not directly related to late adolescent drug use. The authors conclude that ethnic identity as a protective factor needs to be included in models related to reducing risk of substance use.

Ethnic identity and academic achievement—Matute-Bianchi (1989) has postulated that ethnic identity may promote academic achievement by buffering the psychological stress experienced by minority youth in white dominant school settings. These youth develop a support network comprised of similar others who promote acceptance and pride in one's ethnic culture. If the ethnic identity were viewed with a positive affective evaluation then ethnic identity would promote a positive self-view that encourages achievement. However, empirical research examining these relationships is very scant.

Efficacy and substance use—There has been some research that examined the relationship between self-efficacy and substance use among adolescents. Hays & Ellickson (1990), for example, examined resistance efficacy that focused on adolescent feelings of being able to resist pressure to use drugs. They reported a high correlation between resistance efficacy and substance use. This resistance efficacy also seemed to be transferable across substances, although they may experience difficulty in different social settings. Using a more general construct of "cognitive self-efficacy" Scheier and Botvin (1996) reported efficacy to be inversely related to both general deviancy and polydrug use among eighth grade, urban, Black youth. However, research in this area is rather sparse.

Deviancy—There is a general agreement that there is a relationship between substance use and delinquency (Fagan, Weis and Cheng, 1990). Some researchers propose that individuals involved with drugs and deviant behavior have a general deviant orientation or involvement in a general deviant subculture. That is, both are influenced by a common set of causal variables and generally co-occur (Huizinga, Loeber and Thornberry 1993). For example, in a study that included Mexican American, white and black youth, Watts (1990) found that alcohol, tobacco, marijuana and other illegal drugs were related to both minor and violent delinquency for all three

groups.

Substance use and academic achievement—In general, researchers have found a positive relationship between substance use and poor academic achievement using such measures as graduation from high school, self-reported grade point average, or educational aspirations (Beauvais et al. 1996). This has also been found in research among Mexican American youth in which dropouts were found to have the highest rates of substance use, followed by those classified as at-risk students (Chavez, Edwards and Oetting 1989). However, other researchers have found much variation in the association between substance use and academic achievement in that some students perform academically better than expected, given their level of substance use, and others less well (Hundelby, Carpener and Mercer 1982).

Gender differences—Several researchers have noted that in general, there has been little research that specifically examines risk factors for males and females related to substance use (Khoury 1998). However, there is evidence that females internalize their emotional distress, resulting in depression, whereas males express their distress through socially deviant behavior (Horwitz and White 1987). Females also seem to be more susceptible to social influence to use substances and use of drugs to relieve emotional distress, including depression, than males (Opland, Winters, and Stinchfield 1995).

The present study was designed to examine the relationships among ethnic identity, self-reported deviancy, self-efficacy, substance use, and academic achievement. It was hypothesized that a positive ethnic identity was inversely related to deviancy and substance use while positively related to academic achievement. It was also hypothesized that deviancy was positively related to substance use and negatively related academic achievement, while confidence in not using substances was inversely related to substance use. The analysis was done separately by gender in order to be sensitive to any gender differences.

Method

Subjects

The school district in which the study took place compris-

es a majority of Mexican American students whose characteristics are believed to be representative of the Mexican American population of the United States. The sample consists of 1,180 female and 1,190 male (2,370) Mexican Americans students enrolled in eighth, ninth, and tenth grades from a south Texas, low socioeconomic status (SES), working-class school district. The students were surveyed in their schools in the spring of 1996. Reflective of the community characteristics, 64% of the children in the schools are on free or reduced fee lunch. Average property value for homes within the district range are estimated to be valued at \$35,000 and range from a low of \$25,000 to a high of \$70,000.

Only those students who identified themselves as Mexican American were used for the purpose of this study. The primary school language of all students surveyed was English.

Survey Procedure

A survey was administered to collect information in areas of students' deviant behavior, vulnerability to negative peer influence, use of substances, positive ethnicity identity, confidence to not use drugs, and self-reported grade point average.

Data were collected via a self-report questionnaire survey that was administered in fifty minutes. In order to control for standardized administration and readability of the survey, the survey was read aloud in English and students were directed to follow along. Trained university students administered the survey. No school personnel were present in the classroom during the administration.

Instruments

Ethnic identity—Ethnic identity was assessed using six items from the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (Phinney and Rosenthal 1992). The measure includes items reflecting the degree of exploration and commitment of ethnic identity (e.g. "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic/cultural group) and a sense of belonging and positive feelings toward the group ("I have a lot of pride in my ethnic/cultural group and its accomplishments"). Items are rated on a four-point scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree. An ethnic identity score is derived by averaging the sum of the six items.

The score can range from 0 (low ethnic identity) to 4 (high ethnic identity). The standardized alpha for this index is .80.

Confidence not to use substances—These items are based on the self-efficacy scale of Protraska and DiClemente (Prochaska, DiClemente and Norcross 1992). The students were asked “How sure or confident are you that you would not use alcohol or drugs in each of the situations? -e.g. When feeling depressed.” The responses included a) very sure not use, b) sure not use, c) might use. The individual items were recoded into either confident or not confident. The recoded items were summed and averaged. The scores were reversed so that higher scores reflect higher confidence. The Cronbach alpha was .90 for the scale.

Deviancy—this index is composed of twenty-two items related to “deviant” behavior (Yin, Katims, and Zapata 1999). The students were asked whether they have ever done any of the behaviors during the past year? Examples of the items include “cussed out loud at a teacher,” “carried a knife to school,” and “belonged to a gang.” The responses were either a “yes” or “no.” The items were summed and averaged. The alpha for this index is .91.

Susceptibility to Peer Influence—Students were asked to indicate the degree to which their behavior is influenced by the behavior of close friends (Codina et al. 1998). A high score on this index indicated a high level of susceptibility to peer influence. The Cronbach’s alpha was .68 for this seven-item index.

Average grade—the students average grade was based on self-report in which they were asked if their grades were “mostly A’s” (score of 1), “mostly B’s” (score of 2) or “mostly F’s” (score of 5). The scores were reordered so that higher scores reflected higher average grades.

Substance use—The substance use index is composed of self-reported use of beer, wine, marijuana, or cigarettes in the last thirty days. The responses ranged from “never used in the last 30 days” (scored as “0”) to “used twenty times or more” (scored as “4”). The alpha for this index is .85.

Data Analysis

First, Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) was conducted by gender to examine differences in the risk and

protective factors as well as the dependent variables. Significant gender difference would render further analyses to be performed separately for males and for females. To test the relationship between ethnic identity and substance use, academic achievement, an observed-variable path analysis was applied to fit the data to the hypothesized model using LISREL structural models separately by gender. Finally, gender invariance of the hypothesized model was examined using stacked LISREL models.

Model fit was assessed by examining various fit indices as suggested by Kelloway (1998). These included the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) and the Adjusted Goodness of Fit Index (AGFI) that evaluates the absolute fit of the hypothesized model with the population covariance matrix. In addition comparative fit indices, the Normed Fit Index (NFI), the Non-Normed Fit Index (NNFI), and the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), were also used to assess the improvement in fit of the hypothesized model compared to a baseline model. These indices range from 0 to 1, with values above .90 indicating a good fit of the data. The Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) is another important index. RMSEA indicates the amount of unfitted residuals between the implied and observed covariance matrices. Values less than .10 are interpreted as a good fit whereas values below .05 indicate a very good fit of the data. Chi-square (___) test was not used to assess the model since it is well known that it is too sensitive to sample size and data distribution.

In addition t-value associated with each estimate of the observed variable or relationship was used to assess whether it was adequately measured. A t-value was calculated by dividing its unstandardized estimate by its standard error. A value greater than 1.96 indicates the parameter was significantly different from zero, and therefore its dimensionality was correctly specified and fitted the data.

Results

Result of MANOVA—First, in order to examine the effect of gender on risk and protective factor and substance use and academic achievement variables, a one-way MANOVA on risk and protective factors and drug use was performed. The result

revealed a significant gender main effect ($F [1,2, 1174] = 38.3, p < .000$). Step-down F-test found that females had a higher positive sense of ethnicity than males ($F [1,1174]=3.96, p < .05$). On the other hand males were more likely to be involved in deviant behavior ($F [1,1174] = 109, p < .001$), to be influenced by peer pressure ($F [1, 1174] = 60, p < .000$), to use drugs ($F [1,1174] = 110, p < .001$), and to have lower grades ($F [1,1174] = 51, p < .001$) than females. There was no significant gender difference in their confidence not to use drugs. Because of these gender differences further analyses were performed separately for male and females.

Variable	Males (N= 1,190)		Females (N= 1,180)		F (sig.) (1,2,1174)
	M	SD	M	SD	
Ethnicity	2.90 .	.69	2.96	.63	3.96(.05)
Susceptibility					
Peer	1.62 .	.57	1.46	.46	109.6(.000)
Deviant					
Behavior	1.33 .	.27	1.22	.21	60.0(.000)
Confidence					
Not Use					
Drugs	1.69.	.34	1.69	.33	.03(.868)
Use of Drugs	2.09.	1.3	1.61	.92	110.0(.000)
Grades	3.39.	.97	3.66	.89	51.0(.000)

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations and Univariate F Tests for Independent and Dependent Variables by Gender (MANOVA)

Result of Path Analysis—Table 2 displays the indices of model fit for male, female and stacked models. With the exceptions of AGFI and RMSEA other fit indices were all within acceptable ranges either for absolute or comparative fit suggesting data provided reasonable fit to the hypothesized relationships in both female and male models. Furthermore stacked path analysis clearly suggests that the relationships between risk and protective factors and drug use (i.e., the path coefficients)

in the hypothesized model were similar between female and male students.

	X ²	GFI	AGFI	RMSEA	NFI	NNFI	CFI
Female model	465.58	.95	.80	.28	.96	.89	.96
Male model	519.19	.95	.77	.29	.96	.88	.96
Stacked model	1180.26	.94	-.20	.95	.95	.95	

Table 2. Comparison of Indices of Overall Model Fit for the Hypothesized Model

Path Analysis for Female Students—For females a positive sense of ethnicity was inversely related to deviancy ($\beta = -.21$; $t = -6.49$), peer susceptibility ($\beta = -.20$; $t = -6.22$) and positively related to Confidence not Use Drugs ($\beta = .08$; $t = 2.64$). For females the total effect of a positive sense of ethnicity on lower drug use was significant ($\beta = -.13$; $t = -4.10$). This relationship, however, is indirect rather than direct mainly through ethnic identity's relationship with deviant behavior and peer susceptibility. As hypothesized, confidence in not using substances was inversely related to drug use ($\beta = -.29$; $t = -7.50$) while deviant behavior ($\beta = .31$; $t = 7.13$) and peer susceptibility ($\beta = .20$; $t = 4.53$) were positively related to higher substance use. A positive sense of ethnicity was significantly related to higher grades as indicated by its indirect effect ($\beta = .06$; $t = 2.91$) and total effect ($\beta = .22$; $t = 2.63$) on grades

Path Analysis for Males—For males a positive ethnic identity was inversely related to deviancy ($\beta = -.11$; $t = -3.35$) and peer susceptibility ($\beta = -.09$; $t = -2.80$) but not to confidence not to use drugs (see Table 3). A positive sense of ethnicity was indirectly related to lower substance use ($\beta = -.06$; $t = -2.66$) mainly through deviant behavior and peer susceptibility. Ethnic identity was also indirectly related to higher grades ($\beta = .03$; $t = 2.48$). Confidence in not using drugs ($\beta = -.24$; $t = -6.84$) was directly related to lower substance use, while deviant behavior ($\beta = .28$; $t = 7.16$) and peer susceptibility ($\beta = .34$; $t = 7.73$) were directly related to higher substance use. The total effect of

deviant behavior on grades was also significant ($\beta = -.24$; $t = 2.06$). The path analysis model showing the direct effects for males and females are presented in Figure 1.

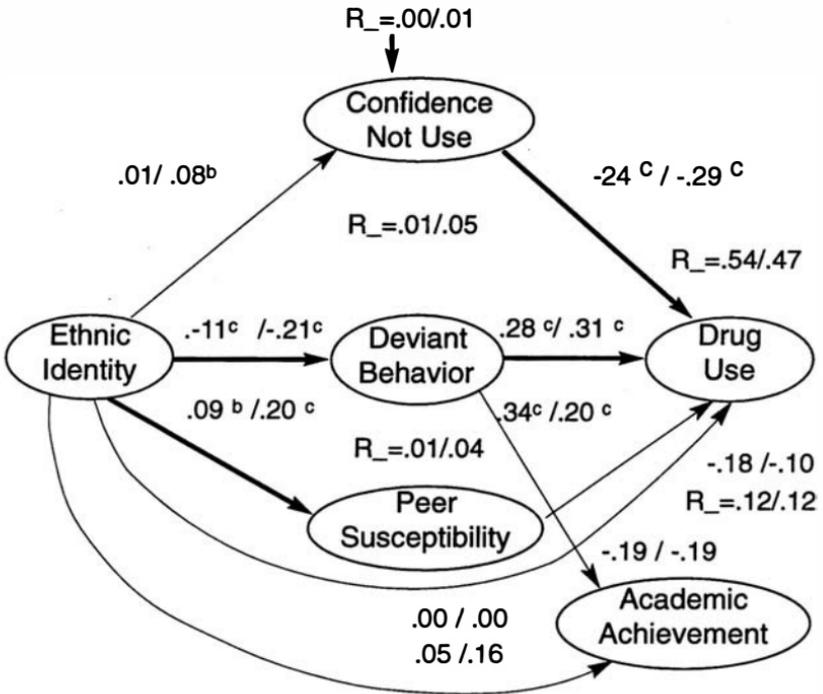
Outcome Variable	Zero Order	Spurious	Indirect Effect Beta(t)	Direct Effect Beta(t)	Total Effect Beta(t)
On Drug Use					
Ethnicit	-.13	.00	-.13(-5.57)	.00(-.14)	-.13(-4.10)
Confidence	-.57	-.28	-	-.29(-7.50)	-.29(-7.50)
Not Use Drugs					
Deviant Behavior	.60	.29	-	.31(7.83)	.31(7.83)
Peer Suscept.	.59	.39	-	.20(4.53)	.20(4.53)
On Grades					
Ethnicity	.22	.00	.06(2.91)	16(1.94)	.22(2.63)
Deviant Behavior	-.29	-.06	-.03(-.60)	-.20(-1.86)	-.23(-2.49)
Drug Use	-.24	-.14	-	-.10(-1.00)	-.10(-1.00)

Table 3. Effect Variables on Drug Use and Grades for Females

Outcome Variable	Zero Order	Spurious	Indirect Effect Beta(t)	Direct Effect Beta(t)	Total Effect Beta(t)
On Drug Use					
Ethnicit	-.07	.00	-.06(-2.66)	.00(-.22)	-.07(-2.24)
Confidence	-.59	-.35	0	-.24(-6.84)	-.24(-6.84)
Not Use Drugs					
Deviant Behavior	.64	.36	0	.28(7.16)	.28(7.16)
Peer Suscept.	.67	.33	0	.34(7.73)	.34(7.73)
On Grades					
Ethnicity	.09	.00	.03(2.48)	.05(.71)	.09(1.17)
Deviant Behavior	-.31	.07	-.05(-1.78)	-.19(-1.94)	-.24(-2.06)
Drug Use	-.31	-.13	0	-.18(-1.84)	-.18(-1.84)

Table 4. Effect Variables on Drug Use and Grades for Males

Figure 1. Path Model for Ethnic Identity, Confidence In Not Use Drugs, Deviancy, Peer Influence, Drug Use and Academic Achievement for Males and Female Adolescents (females data in italics)



a t > 1.96, p < .05; b t > 2.57, p < .01; c t > 3.29, p < .001

Discussion

The results of the analyses indicate that for both males and females those with a positive sense of ethnicity are less likely to be involved in deviant activities and are less susceptible to peer influence. This is consistent with Erikson's (1968) assertion that a loss of a sense of identity or "identity confusion" (including ethnic identity) is found in many destructive delinquents. This is also consistent with the observation that many Chicano adolescent gangs have marginal identities or are experiencing an identity crisis (Vigil 1988). Belitz and

Valdez (1995) reported that many of these youth had few positive role models with strong ethnic identities. The authors propose that any diversion program with at-risk youth include a focus on the prosocial and nonviolent aspects of cultural identity.

The finding that the relationship between ethnic identity and substance use is indirect through risk and protective factors related to substance use rather than direct is consistent with results reported by others (Felix-Ortiz and Newcomb 1995). However other studies have reported a direct relationship between ethnicity and substance use among Hispanic females (Oetting and Beauvais 1990-91) and Puerto Rican male adolescents (Sommers et al. 1993). Some of this discrepancy may be due to variations in models and variables included in the research, age, and ethnic group differences and the regional context of ethnicity. However all of these studies reaffirm the importance of understanding the role of ethnic identity in substance use research.

Ethnic identity was also found to be related to academic achievement, mainly for females. It may be that identity formation for females is different than that for males particularly in relation the schooling experience. For example the development of identity for females seems to include both interpersonal and intrapersonal identity development, whereas males appear to develop mainly intrapersonal identity (Lytle, Bakken, and Romig 1997). These findings suggest that it is important to examine how the education system may influence the connection between ethnic identity development and academic achievement for males and females.

Deviancy and drugs—For both males and females deviant behavior was significantly related to substance use (as well as to academic achievement). This is consistent with previous research with delinquency and substance use among adolescents (Wills et al. 1996) as well as between delinquency and academic achievement (Reyes and Jason 1993). Even though females tend to be less involved in deviant behavior and substance use than males, the strength of association between deviancy and drug use is similar for both genders. However the weaker link between the ethnic identity and deviancy among males compared to females may be due to the tendency of

males to be reinforced for sex-typed behaviors such as aggression (Archer 1992).

Confidence to not use substances—Self-efficacy theory has generally been applied to smoking and to alcohol use rather than to other drugs. Thus this study provides valuable information on this topic and is also one of the first attempts at using the “confidence in not using drugs” scale with Mexican American adolescents. The significant and somewhat similar relationship between self-efficacy and drug use for both males and females implies that this construct may be similar for both genders. This finding reaffirms the importance of resistance self-efficacy training in substance abuse prevention developed by other researchers (Ellickson, Bell, and McGuigan 1993). However these dynamics needs further exploration with implication for prevention programs to include efforts aimed at common underlying factors related to deviant behavior and substance use that may also be related to self-efficacy (Huizinga et al. 1993).

Drug Use and Academic Achievement—The non-significant relationship between drug use and academic achievement may be due in part to the inclusion of the other risk and protective factors in the equation. A weak relationship has also been observed by Evans and Skaeger (1992) who have stated that a significant proportion of the variance in achievement remains unaccounted for by measures of substance use. Some of this variance is evident in the number of academically successful students using drugs and poor performing students with no drug use reported in previous research (Codina et al. 1998). However future studies need to distinguish between substance use and substance abuse, meaning that abuse negatively impacts the personal life of the individual.

Conclusions—These findings suggest that for Mexican American adolescents issues of ethnic identity development are linked to risk and protective factors related to substance abuse and academic achievement. The salience and dynamics of these issues may also vary by gender. Further research is needed in order to identify the specificity and commonality of these issues for males and females. Furthermore as Erikson (1968) reminds us:

. . .identity formation, while being ‘critical’ in youth is

really a *generation issue*. So we must not overlook a certain abrogation of responsibility on the part of the older generation in providing those forceful ideas which must antecede identity formation in the next generation—if only so that youth can rebel against a well-defined set of older values. (Italics in the original)(29-30).

This identity formation is, of course, more complicated with minority status youth, since they have to contend with both the values from their own ethnic group as well as the values from the dominant culture. They also have to contend with the additional stressor of being a member of an historically oppressed minority ethnic group.

These concepts reflect complex historical and socio-psychological dynamics that we are just beginning to understand. Future comprehensive prevention and intervention programs aimed at decreasing substance use and increasing academic achievement need to start addressing these issues in a comprehensive manner working at the individual, the group, and community-school level.

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ETHNICITY AND THE JURY SYSTEM

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Discrimination in the jury system has been a matter of constitutional and ethical concern at least since the mid-nineteenth century. Ethnic and linguistic minorities have been disadvantaged by the use of the peremptory challenge, statutory requirements, and administrative practices which compromised the Sixth Amendment provision for a jury of one's peers with its implication for juror impartiality. Attacks on the discriminatory applications of those systems and practices resulted in reduction, as gradual as it was, of the exclusionary practices. *Batson vs Kentucky* made the Sixth Amendment guarantee more reachable for ethnic and linguistic minorities.

The campaign to eliminate ethnic bias from the jury system and to make panels conform more closely to the ideal of trial by a jury of one's peers has been long and tortuous. As with much of the legal system the entire system of trial by jury is often manipulated to discriminate against members of cognizable groups including ethnic and linguistic minorities. That manipulation of the system occurs is not surprising. The selection process, the wider judicial system and its traditions, and the pluralistic nature of the American nation lend themselves to it. The United States Department of Justice counted ninety-two different methods to select jurors in the federal system.¹ When the vast panoply of state and local courts are added to the federal system the variety becomes almost unfathomable.

Trial by jury is rooted in law and tradition. It is widely

accepted that the practice existed in England by the end of the thirteenth century. English settlers took it to the colonies in the early seventeenth century. Colonial practices concerning juries and trial procedures were enshrined in the Fifth, Sixth, and Seventh amendments of the United States Constitution after the Revolution. The Sixth guarantees the right to a trial by jury with the provision that “In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed....” The Constitution leaves the operation of state and local courts, including aspects of forming juries, to the states for non-federal matters hence the great variety of jury practices at the state and local levels.

Some uniformity exists in the jury selection process nonetheless. In most jurisdictions there are three major phases to the process. First there is identification of a qualified pool. Membership is obtained from lists of payers of property taxes, registered voters, holders of valid driver licenses, names contributed by community leaders, telephone subscribers, or from some other repository taken to be representative of the public at large. Creation of the *venire* is the second step. Some members of the pool identified in phase one are summoned for a specific trial. Some jurisdictions permit veniremen, those called for phase two, to disqualify themselves on presenting of a valid excuse. Physical condition, occupation, and employment are but three of the acceptable myriad of valid excuses. The last step is the *voir dire*. *Voir dire* means literally “to see to tell.” In it potential jurors taken from the *venire* are subjected to oral questioning by the judge, by attorneys to the suit, or by all of them. During the *voir dire* or at its end the *venire* pool is culled to provide the actual trial jury and alternates if the jurisdiction provides for alternates.

The reduction of the *venire* to produce the trial jury is achieved mainly through a system of challenges and additional disqualifications. There are two types of challenges: cause and peremptory. A challenge for cause may be invoked whenever a member of the *venire* indicates or demonstrates some actual or potential partiality to the case. Each side of a case can use an unlimited number of challenges for cause. Peremptory challenges on the other hand are limited. The

number is established by the political or judicial jurisdiction. Traditionally attorneys from either side could use them to eliminate prospective jurors from the *venire* pool without having to state either cause or explanation. A peremptory challenge is therefore a mechanism to eliminate those prospective jurors who the attorney believes, but cannot or is unwilling to prove, will act less favorably than other members of the *venire* to his or her client.

The peremptory challenge is rooted in tradition. According to Blackstone, it was in use in England at the beginning of the fourteenth century. As with many other aspects of American legal procedures, the practice immigrated to the Americas with English colonists. The United States Supreme Court categorized it to be "a necessary part of trial by jury." Until the 1980s the Court almost routinely rejected attacks on the use of peremptory challenges even when it was obvious that peremptories were used to skew the replication of the ethnic quilt of American society in juries.²

The issue of ethnicity and juries arose shortly after the Constitution was ratified. As in much of the debate on American race relations the issue was framed mainly in the White-Black dichotomy. Native Americans and Asian mattered little. Jury service was tied to citizenship, and few of either group attained citizenship until relatively recently. While Congress granted citizenship to members of some tribal groups in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Native American citizenship was recognized only in 1924 and fully settled in 1940 by the Nationality Act. Asians became eligible for citizenship even later. As for African Americans, federal law was ambiguous on the nature of slaves: they were both chattel and persons. The Constitution and fugitive slave acts, most notably the original Fugitive Slave Law of 1793, mandated the return of escaped slaves. Without exception all states provided for trial by jury. Constitutions of the various states did not deviate much from the Seventh Amendment provision that "in suits of common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved . . ." Theoretically, therefore, questions on ownership of alleged slaves could be answered by juries. Within their borders free states tended not to recognize the chattel quality,

and therefore the monetary value, of a slave. Such states regarded slaves as persons before the law. For purposes of recovery slave owners also emphasized the human aspect of alleged fugitives. As an individual a reputed fugitive slave was entitled to a jury trial in free states. Federal law took precedent on this issue however. Consistent with the *Article IV Section 2* of the Constitution, apprehended alleged slave fugitives were extradited or otherwise returned to the purported place of their escape without trial.

In the 1830s some states enacted personal liberty laws to frustrate the slave returning procedures. Personal liberty laws reversed that basic tenet of the slavery era that African Americans were slaves unless it was proven to the contrary. Not only did they take a black person to be free unless and until it was established that he or she was a slave, such statutes also provided for jury trials before an alleged fugitive could be removed from the state. Most proponents of personal liberty laws were not concerned with the civil rights and duties of African Americans however. Motivated primarily by the issue of states rights, some advocates of personal liberty laws objected to what they regarded as needless federal intrusion into prerogatives of the states though the national government's enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act. They also believed that the jury trial requirement would dissuade bounty hunters and other agents of slave masters.

Motivations aside, the Supreme Court and the Congress undermined personal liberty laws. In *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*, 1842, while it affirmed the constitutionality both of the Fugitive Slave Law and personal liberty statutes the Supreme Court invalidated trial and jury provisions of the latter. ³ The Court relied heavily on *Article IV Section 2* which held that:

No person held to Service of Labor in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labor, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom and Service or Labor may be due.

In the Court's thinking, *Article IV Section 2* vitiated any state law or holding that conferred freedom to an alleged fugitive slave. Hence it nullified the issue of a jury trial for any pre-

sumed fugitive. Congress reaffirmed the right to remove alleged fugitive slaves without trial in 1850 when it re-authorized the fugitive slave act.

While it became embedded in the debate over slavery, the issue of African Americans and juries was in no means limited to practices linked to the "peculiar institution." It should be remembered that federal citizenship was relatively inconsequential in contrast to state citizenship on issues most likely to involve the judiciary. In much of the slave-free North states continued to make jury service a prerogative of Whites. For example, in 1807, as Congress debated termination of the international slave trade, New Jersey, with a tradition of choosing jurors from lists of qualified voters, adopted a new constitution with a white suffrage only requirement. In a more direct manner, Ohio enacted a law in 1831 to remove the right of African Americans to sit on juries. And it was only on the eve of the Civil War, in 1860, that Massachusetts's social exclusion of African Americans as jurors was breached.

The question of ethnic minorities and juries took new directions in the aftermath of the Civil War. With the abolition of slavery, whether African Americans were equal before their respective states' laws, with the same rights, privileges and obligations as Whites, including trial by and service on juries, became an issue of presidential reconstruction. States reconstructed under the Lincoln-Johnson plans answered no. Moreover federal juries in such states tended to be all-white and it was common for them to return what might be termed anti-black and anti-Union decisions. In the beginning the issue was justice for African Americans at the hands of all-white juries in the ex-confederacy. The matter soon expanded to the right of African Americans to serve on juries in state and federal courts and the quality of justice for all. The inability of federal prosecutors to get convictions of ex-Confederates by all-white juries was cited by African Americans, Northerners, and their sympathizers as proof of the failure of southern justice. Radical Republicans and many Northerners thought that African Americans should have been given full access to juries if for no other reason than to balance the scales for the government. White Northerners assumed that interracial juries would provide more even-handed justice for African Americans

as well as for Whites. Buttressed by their notions of equality before the law and the unfairness of justice in the South, Radical Republicans drafted the Fourteenth Amendment and enacted a host of statutes, including the Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875 and the Enforcement Act of 1872, designed to enhance and protect the citizenship rights of Blacks. The Civil Rights Act of 1875 made it a criminal offense to exclude anyone from jury service on grounds of race. It also included the corrective provision that in instances of discrimination in the selection process any party to a suit could petition to have the case transferred to a federal district court.

The transfer and criminal provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 had little meaning from the time they were enacted. Attorneys found it difficult to prove that racial prejudice was a reason African Americans were omitted from juries. As Reconstruction waned, ex-Confederates and their spiritual allies reestablished white supremacy across the South: some did so by stealth; others straightforwardly discriminated against African Americans without fear of punishment or censure. Some localities enacted statutes that limited the rights and privileges of African Americans. On the judicial front, the discriminatory drive was slowed by the Supreme Court in 1880 in *Ex parte Virginia* with its reversal of decisions by Virginia judges to limit juries in their court rooms to white men only.⁴

In *Strauder v. West Virginia*, also decided in 1880, the High Court invalidated state statutes which limited jury service to white males as a violation of the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. An African American, Strauder was indicted, tried, and eventually convicted by an all-white jury in a West Virginia county court. Prior to the jury's deliberation his attorney protested against the exclusion of African Americans from the jury. He invoked the transfer provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1875 and petitioned to remove the case to a federal court. The trial court denied his objection and the trial proceeded. The attorney renewed his protests after the jury rendered its decision. In additional motions, he moved to quash the conviction and asserted that the act which limited jury service to Caucasian males violated the Equal Protection Clause because it denied his client the right of trial by a jury inclusive of his racial peers as afforded to Whites. The trial and superi-

or state courts rejected all of his motions. A divided United States Supreme Court concluded otherwise: it held that defendants are entitled to juries composed of their “neighbors, fellows, associates, persons having the same legal status in society as ...” themselves. Writing for the majority, Justice William Strong added that to deny African Americans the right to participate in the administration of law branded them as inferior and contributed to inciting “that race prejudice which is an impediment to securing to individuals of the [Negro] race that equal justice which the law aims to secure to all others.” Any positive potential of Strauder and its progenies was not realized until relatively late because a defendant had to show intentional discrimination by court officials. Furthermore adhering to a principle enunciated in *Smith V. Mississippi*, 1896, the Court operated on the presumption that a state’s action was constitutional and correct unless a petitioner proved otherwise.⁵

The Virginias were but two of the states that kept African Americans ineligible for jury duty. In the Strauder decision the Court ruled that it was a clear denial of equal protection of the laws for a black defendant to stand trial before a jury from which all African Americans were excluded by state statute. The Court posited that “the very idea of a jury is a body of men composed of the peers or equals of the person whose rights it is selected or summoned to determine . . .” And, cognizant that “prejudice often exists against particular classes within the community, which sway the judgment of jurors,” the Court asked rhetorically:

Is not protection of life and liberty against race or color prejudice, a right, a legal right, under the constitutional amendment? And how can it be maintained that compelling a colored man to submit to a trial for his life by a jury drawn from a panel from which the State has expressly excluded every man of his race, because of color alone, however well qualified in other respects, is not a denial to him of equal legal protection?⁶

Consistent with constitutional law, Strauder was a solution for a specific problem. Hence while Strauder seemingly made it clear that states could not use legislation to bar African Americans from jury service the ruling did not address other

strategies contrived to produce the all-white jury. Delaware, for example, allowed local jurisdictions to select “sober and judicious” persons for jury service from taxpayer lists. Under that system, black taxpayers were ostensibly qualified for jury service but were rarely selected for the jury pool. In ruling to a challenge of the continuing exclusion of African Americans from juries, the Delaware Supreme Court agreed with the State’s contention that very few of the African Americans in Delaware were intelligent, experienced, or moral enough to serve as jurors. Seeking to rectify discriminatory administration of racially fair jury selection laws to achieve discriminatory results the Court extended the premise of *Strauder* in *Neal v Delaware*.⁷

Neal was a hollow advance however. The same day that it handed down the *Strauder* and *Ex parte Virginia* decisions the Court, in *Virginia v Rives*, emasculated the transfer provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1875, ruling that the absence of African Americans from a particular jury was not persuasive proof of illegal state discrimination. The Court stated clearly that while black defendants are entitled to juries chosen free of discrimination against members of their race, no black defendant is entitled to a jury which contains members of his or her race.⁸ Thereafter a case could not be transferred to federal courts before a jury was impaneled.

The causative elements in *Strauder* and *Rives* were indicators of the drift toward “separate but equal.” In the re-cast inequality, Southern states limited political participation of African Americans through the use of comprehension tests, poll taxes, and other well-chronicled means to purge African Americans from the political system. In spite of the connective links between political participation and jury service the Supreme Court found discriminatory political statutes constitutional. The segregationist drive to exclude African Americans from juries received heightened sanction in 1898 with the decision in *Williams v. Mississippi* in which the Court upheld Mississippi’s use of gerrymandering, poll taxes, and subjective literacy tests to limit or prevent the political participation of African Americans and especially to prevent them from registering to vote. Then, having already placed its constitutional imprimatur on Mississippi’s political practice, the Court held

that since the state's voting statutes were constitutional under the Fifteenth Amendment, its law restricting jury service to registered voters was likewise constitutional even if few African Americans met the registration requirements. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes seemingly expressed the Court's reasoning with his decision in *Giles v. Harris*; he wrote that the Court lacked the power to protect the rights of African Americans when overwhelming numbers of Whites were determined to violate them.⁹ A number of Southern states followed the Mississippi example after the Williams decision. The end result was with the severe reduction of the number of qualified black registrants the potential pools of black jurors were much restricted since voter registration lists were the most popular source of potential jurors.

Some African Americans managed to overcome the hurdles designed to prevent or to limit their political participation and, ostensibly, therefore, some were eligible for jury duty. It was rare, however, for many of them to be summoned for duty and rarer still for any of them to serve. Court officials and others with ancillary judicial functions routinely skipped over the seemingly qualified few until 1935 with the decision in *Norris v. Alabama*.¹⁰

Norris lessened the burden of proof for defendants by forcing states to defend practices which had discriminatory impacts. For the first time the Court suggested that lower courts should be guided by statistics when considering objections to alleged discriminatory uses of peremptory challenges. The infamous "Scottsboro boys" case, Norris was an appeal by a black male of his conviction by an all-white jury of raping a white female. In a partial reversal of the Rives doctrine, the Supreme Court held that a defendant could prove a *prima facie* case of discrimination if he or she could demonstrate (a) the existence of a substantial number of his or her cognizable group in the community and (b) its total exclusion from jury service. Upon a defendant demonstrating those "facts," the burden of proof shifted to the state to prove that the exclusion was not a product of discrimination. The Court noted that general denials of unintentional discrimination could not satisfy the burden of rebuttal.

Norris was but an opening. As before, officials altered dis-

criminary practices to satisfy specific objections of the Court but without intention to institute jury equality. A common adjustment was to add a few minorities to the identified pool and occasionally to jury panels. Often times minorities were added to general pools and removed before or during the *voir dire*. Such subterfuge did not go unchallenged. Advocates of minority inclusion attacked the chicanery. As cases arose that involved token inclusion of minorities, rather than their total exclusion, the Supreme Court broadened the Norris thesis, first, to instances of gross under-representation¹¹ and, then, to cases where a substantial disparity between minority group members in the community and on the jury list “originated, at least in part, at the point in the selection process where the jury commissioners invoked their subjective judgement rather than objective criteria.” This drift culminated in 1977 with the ruling in *Castaneda v. Partida*, a decision that held a *prima facie* proof of discrimination was established by a demonstration of prolonged under representation from a cognizable group.¹²

The Court had not become tolerant of proportional representation however: far from it. In 1965 in *Swain v. Alabama* it considered the use of the peremptory challenge for discriminatory purposes for the first time. Swain represented still another appeal of a black male convicted by an all-white jury of the rape of a white female. No black person had served on a petit jury in Talladega County, where the trial was held, in the fifteen years before 1965 although twenty-six percent of those qualified for jury service were black. In the *voir dire*, the prosecutor used his peremptory challenges to eliminate all six African Americans on the *venire*. On appeal the Supreme Court was asked whether the Equal Protection Clause prevented the total exclusion of African Americans from a petit jury. Counsel for Swain argued that this was not a singular case of utilizing peremptories in a racially discriminatory fashion. Although it agreed with defense counsel that no African American had sat on any type of jury in the county in modern times, the Court, noted that in several cases the defense had agreed with the prosecution not to include African Americans in juries, held that Swain’s attorney had not proven that the state alone was at fault for the discriminatory results. The Court observed that a Fourteenth Amendment issue would be raised if the defendant

could prove that regardless of the charge or the parties to the crime Talladega County prosecutors used their challenges systematically to eliminate all African Americans on *venires* from duty on juries. However, the action was not unconstitutional if the state limited its exclusion of black veniremen to cases with black defendants "for the question a prosecutor or defense counsel must decide is not whether a juror of a particular race or nationality is in fact partial, but whether one from a different group is less likely to be."

Holding that the defendant had failed to prove that the prosecution used its peremptory challenges to deliberately exclude African Americans from the jury, the Court declared that the "presumption in any particular case must be that the prosecutor is using the State's challenges to obtain a fair and impartial jury. . . . The presumption is not overcome [even if] all Negroes were removed because they were Negroes." To overcome the presumption, the Court ruled, a defendant had to demonstrate that the state followed a consistent pattern of discrimination in "case after case, whatever the circumstances, whatever the crime and whoever the defendant or victim." Moreover, the defendant had to differentiate between the defense's and prosecution's peremptory challenges in order to establish a discriminatory motive.¹³ No defendant was able to meet the standards of systematic exclusion established in the decision. Moreover, state and federal courts alike did not countenance presentation of evidence from only cases which involved black defendants.¹⁴

Swain represented a judicial use of tradition. As early as 1883, in *Bush v. Kentucky*, the Court had ruled that the Constitution does not require that a trial jury must contain members of the same race as a party to a suit but simply prevents the state from arbitrarily eliminating members of her or his cognizable group. *Bush* was but one of a score of challenges to the system of peremptory challenges. The Court was adamant that the Constitution forbids the systematic exclusion of members of cognizable groups from jury panels without requiring inclusion of representation from groups in such bodies. The Court restated its position in *Apodaca v. Oregon* in which it held that no defendant had the right to "challenge the makeup of a jury merely because no members of his race are

on the jury” for there is no constitutional requirement that every particular jury be representative.¹⁵ Thus, while the Court accepted, for a time in *Akins v. Texas*,¹⁶ the practice of the Jury Commissioner of Dallas County of never including more than a single African American in grand juries as a “good faith effort” in compliance with the ruling, in *Hill v. Texas*,¹⁷ it eventually found the practice odious and unacceptable. According to Associate Justice Frank Murphy, the Equal Protection Clause guarantees “not only the right to have Negroes considered as prospective veniremen but also the right to have them considered without numerical or proportional limitation.” As stated in *Cassell v. Texas*, it is unconstitutional to include a predetermined number of any cognizable group, even that to which a minority defendant belongs, for jurors “should be selected as individuals, on the basis of individual qualifications, and not as members of a race.”¹⁸

While still reluctant to consider the use of peremptory challenges the Court addressed the notion of group affiliation more directly in 1954 in *Hernandez v. Texas*. Texas had continued to rely on the key-man system to select juries; community leaders provided jury commissioners with names for jury lists. Most key-men were White as were most of their identified prospects. Minorities especially persons of Mexican heritage were severely under represented in jury lists. In *Hernandez* the Court accepted the assertion that Mexican-Americans constituted a cognizable class. It then proceeded to rule that an administration of jury selection procedures so as to exclude Mexican-Americans or to minimize their participation was as much a violation of equal protection as if it had been done against African-Americans. In the words of the Court:

When the existence of a distinct class is demonstrated, and it is further shown that the laws, as written or as applied, single out that class for different treatment not based on some reasonable classification, the guarantees of the Constitution have been violated. The Fourteenth Amendment is not directed solely against discrimination due to a two-class theory—that is, based upon differences between white and Negro.¹⁹

The Court also dealt with other procedural questions with

bearing on juries and minorities. The right to invoke cause is premised on the realization that individuals hold prejudices that might hinder their ability to be fair and impartial. Prejudice can be ethnic and racial. While it does not guarantee perfection, the *voir dire* is an opportune process to discover any prejudice that might affect a juror's impartiality. Rules of judicial behavior restrict the questions which attorneys and judges might ask potential jurors however. Nevertheless in *People v. Reyes*,²⁰ with Mexican nationals as defendants, in *People v. Car Soy* which involved Chinese,²¹ *Horst v. Silverman*,²² a case in which Jews were parties, and *Aldridge v. United States*, an appeal by an African American,²³ the Court declared that there are special conditions when the "essential demands of fairness" command that veniremen be questioned about racial or ethnic prejudices. In a series of later decisions, the Court delineated the very limited circumstances when *voir dire* questioning to discern such biases is permissible.²⁴

The High Court also held that illegal discrimination in constituting of either the grand or the petit jury mandates reversal of any resulting conviction²⁵. Then going further, and casting aside technicalities, the Court in *Turner v. Fouche*²⁶ and in *Carter v. Jury Commission*²⁷ accepted the right of black citizens not directly involved in a specific exclusion case to challenge the systematic exclusion of African Americans from petit and grand juries. According to the *Carter* majority "Whether jury service be deemed a right, a privilege, or a duty, the State may no more extend it to some of its citizens and deny it to others on racial grounds than it may invidiously discriminate in the offering and withholding of the elective franchise."

The decision in *Peters v. Kiff* extended that rationale to Whites. In *Peters*, a white male defendant protested against the systematic exclusion of African Americans from the grand and petit juries which, respectively, indicted and tried and convicted him. Before his appeal could be considered on its merits, the question of whether white persons had standing to raise the issue of systematic exclusion of African Americans had to be decided. A divided Court said they did. Writing for the majority, Justice Thurgood Marshall held that:

When any large and identifiable segment of the community is excluded from jury service, the effect is to

remove from the jury room qualities of human nature and varieties of human experience, the range of which is unknown and perhaps unknowable. It is not necessary to assume that the excluded group will consistently vote as a class in order to conclude, as we do, that its exclusion deprives the jury of a perspective on human events that may have unsuspected importance in any case that may be presented.²⁸

President Lyndon B. Johnson echoed Marshall's position in his call for the Civil Rights Act of 1966. The Civil Rights Act of 1966 was motivated in part by a desire to eliminate discriminatory practices condoned by the Swain decision. The immediate inspiration behind the bill, however, was the acquittal of several white defendants charged with crimes against African Americans and civil rights workers by all-white juries. In recommending corrective action to Congress, President Johnson evoked parallels of the Reconstruction era's notion of community and community service, with the assertion that to deny

. . . jury service to any group deprives it of one of the oldest and most precious privileges and duties of free men. It is not only the excluded group which suffers. Courts are denied the justice that flows from impartial juries selected from a cross section of the community.

The people's confidence in justice is eroded.²⁹

Title I deals with federal juries. It prohibits discrimination on account of color, race, religion, gender, economic status, or national origin. Its initial section reaffirms that "all litigants in Federal Courts entitled to trial by jury shall have the right to a jury selected from a cross section of the community in the district or division where the court convenes. . . ." It declares that "all qualified citizens shall have the opportunity to serve on grand and petit juries" in federal courts and "shall have an obligation to serve when summoned." It also established procedures for the selection of jurors.

Title II aims to eliminate discrimination in state and local juries primarily through judicial, rather than administrative, means. Section 201 holds that

it shall be unlawful to make any distinction on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin or economic status in the qualifications for service, and in the

selection, of any person to serve on grand or petit juries in any state.

The Act commissions the Attorney General to sue in federal court

whenever there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person has engaged or is about to engage in any act or practice which would deny or abridge" any of the guarantees of Section 201." If it determined there were violations of the Act's jury provisions the court can force state officials to use "objective criteria" in formulating jury lists.³⁰

A number of states also moved to end the systematic abuse of the right to a jury of one's peers. California led the way. In *People v. Wheeler* the California Supreme Court ruled that the use of peremptory challenges to disqualify prospective jurors simply on grounds of group affiliation violated *Article I Section 16* of the California Constitution.³¹ The California opinion also rested on *Taylor v. Louisiana*,³² a judgment by the United States Supreme Court that one's peers required trial juries and not merely *venires* to have a cross section of the population. The California jurists went further and added that a petit jury should reflect as ideally a cross section of the community as random selection would produce. Like the U.S. Supreme Court in *Swain*, the California court formulated standards to establish a *prima facie* condition to assert the use of peremptories in an ethnically biased manner. Either the defense or the prosecution can object to a seemingly discriminatory use of peremptories and neither side has to be a member of the cognizable group it claimed was illegally excluded. Massachusetts and New Mexico followed suit in *Commonwealth v. Soares*³³ and *State v. Crespin*³⁴ respectively. The Massachusetts court held peremptories could not be used in a fashion so as to make meaningless the state constitutional guarantee of a petit jury of one's peers or to infringe upon the state's Equal Rights Amendment which prohibits any abridging of equality on the basis of color, creed, gender, race, or national origin.

Wheeler, *Soares*, and similar decisions withstood attacks of their constitutionality in federal courts because they rested on their states' constitution and not on federal statutes.

Though it continued to adhere to Swain the Supreme Court was not unalterably opposed to reconsidering its position. In the interim and over the repeated objections of justices William Brennan and Marshall, it waited to “allow the various states to serve as laboratories in which the issue receives further study before it is addressed by this Court” again. Joined by Brennan, Marshall attacked the majority’s “experimentation with the rights, and lives of petitioners”; in his dissent in *Gilliard v Mississippi* he wrote:

When a majority of this Court suspects that such rights are being regularly abridged, the Court shrinks from its constitutional duty by awaiting developments in state or other federal courts. Because abuse of peremptory challenges appears to be most prevalent in capital cases, the need for immediate review in this Court is all the more urgent. If we postpone consideration of the issue much longer, petitioners in this and similar cases will be put to death before their constitutional rights can be vindicated. Under the circumstances, I do not understand how in good conscience we can await further developments, regardless of how helpful those developments might be to our own deliberations.³⁵

Marshall also chided his brethren that

there is no point in taking elaborate steps to ensure Negroes are included in *venires* simply so they can be struck because of their race by a prosecutor’s use of peremptory challenges.”³⁶

The delayed reconsideration came in *Batson v. Kentucky*, a radical ruling on peremptories. For the first time, a federal court agreed that an attorney can be forced to explain his or her reason for invoking a peremptory. It provided release from the untenable situation created by Swain. The issue was framed starkly in the “Question Presented” to the Court by Batson’s counsel on appeal:

In a criminal case, does a state trial court err when, over the objection of a black defendant, it swears an all-white jury constituted only after the prosecutor had exercised four of his six peremptory challenges to strike all of the black veniremen from the panel in vio-

lation of constitutional provisions guaranteeing the defendant an impartial jury and a jury composed of persons representing a fair cross section of the community?

The "Question" encapsulated the facts. James Kirkland Batson had been charged with burglary and the receipt of stolen goods. At the end of the *voir dire* the prosecutor, Mr. Gutman, used four of his six peremptories to create, in his words, an "all-white jury." Defense counsel, Mr. Douglas Dowell, moved for dismissal of the panel before it was sworn on grounds that the panel did not represent a cross-section of the community and to use it would be a denial of equal protection. The judge denied the motion to discharge the jury. Batson was tried and duly convicted. The Kentucky Supreme Court upheld the conviction, in 1984, holding that it had "recently reaffirmed [its] reliance on Swain" and because Batson had not shown "systematic exclusion from the jury" he did not have a claim under Swain.³⁷ The Supreme Court disagreed. It reversed Batson's conviction holding that the impaneling of the jury resulted in a denial of equal protection. In ruling that when an objection is lodged against an alleged racially discriminatory use of the peremptory challenge the trial court must examine the validity of the claim, the United Supreme Court continued the incremental reform to make the Sixth Amendment guarantee of trial by a cross-section of the community meaningful for all. In so doing the Court not only reversed Swain but also might have opened a new Pandora's box, creating a second category of peremptory challenges.

Notes

¹ P.L. Murphy, *The Constitution in Crisis Time, 1919-1969*. (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), p. 413.

² *Batson v. Kentucky*, 84 SC 733 (1985); See also *McCray v New York*, 461 U.S. 970 (1983).

³ *Prigg v. Pennsylvania*.

⁴ *Ex parte Virginia*, 100 U.S. 339 (1880).

- 5 *Smith v. Mississippi*, 162 U.S. 592 (1896).
- 6 *Strauder v West Virginia*, 100 U.S. 303 (1880)
- 7 *Neal v. Delaware*, 103 U.S. 370 (1881).
- 8 *Virginia v. Rives*, 100 U.S. 313 (1880)
- 9 *Giles v. Harris*, 189 U.S. 475 (1903).
- 10 *Norris v. Alabama*, 294 U.S. 587 (1935).
- 11 *Avery v. Georgia*, 345 U.S. 559 (1953).
- 12 *Castaneda v. Partida*, 430 U.S. 482 (1977).
- 13 *Swain v. Alabama*, 380 U.S. 202 (1965).
- 14 *McCray v. New York*, U.S. 103 S. Ct. 2438 (1983). *Gilliard v. Mississippi*, 104 S. Ct. 340 (1983). *Miller v. Illinois and Perry v. Illinois* 561 U.S. 961 (1983) *Thompson v. United States*, 105 S. Ct. 443 (1984).
- 15 *Apodaca v. Oregon*, 406 U.S. 404 (1972).
- 16 *Akins v. Texas*, 325 U.S. 398 (1945).
- 17 *Hill v. Texas*, 316 U.S. 400 (1942).
- 18 *Cassell v. Texas*, 339 U.S. 282 (1950). See also *Thiel v. Southern Pacific Co.*, 328 U.S. 217 (1946) in which the Court wrote “jury competence is an individual rather than a group or class matter. That fact lies at the very heart of the jury system. To disregard it is to open the door to class distinctions and discriminations.”
- 19 *Hernandez v. Texas*, 347 U.S. 475 (1954).
- 20 *People v. Reyes*, 9 Cal. 347 (1855).
- 21 *People v. Car Soy*, 57 Cal. 102 (1880).

- ²² Horst v. Silverman, 20 Washington 233, 55 P. 52 (1898).
- ²³ Aldridge v. United States, 283 U.S. (1931).
- ²⁴ See Ristaino v. Ross, 424 U.S. 589 (1976); Rosales-Lopez v. United States, 451 U.S. 182 (1981); United Bear Runner, 502 F. 2d 908 (8th Cir. 1974); United States v. Diggs, 429 U.S. 852 (1976); and United States v. Walker, 416 U.S. 1994 (1974).
- ²⁵ Pierre v. Louisiana, 306 U.S. 354 (1939).
- ²⁶ Turner v. Fouche, 396 U.S. 346 (1970).
- ²⁷ Carter v. Jury Commission, 396 U.S. 320 (1970).
- ²⁸ Peters v. Kiff, 407 U.S. 503 (1972). Also see Powers v. Ohio, 111 S. Ct. (1991).
- ²⁹ *Hearings Before Subcommittee No. 5 of the House Committee on the Judiciary on Miscellaneous Proposals Regarding the Civil Rights of Persons Within the Jurisdiction of the United States*, 89th Congress 2nd Session, Series 16 (1966) 1048.
- ³⁰ H.R. 14765 S 101-186, S 201, S 203(b).
- ³¹ People v. Wheeler, 22 Calif. 3d 148 California Reporter 903.
- ³² Taylor v. Louisiana, 419 U.S. 522 (1975).
- ³³ Commonwealth v. Soares, 377 Mass. 461 and 3444 U.S. 881 (1979).
- ³⁴ State v. Crespin, 94 N.M. 486, 612 P. 716 (N.M. Ct. App. 1980).
- ³⁵ Gilliard v. Mississippi, 104 S Ct. 40 (1983)
- ³⁶ McCray v. New York, 461 U.S. 970 (1983).
- ³⁷ Batson v Kentucky, 84SC 733-MR.

Saliency of Category Information in Person Perception for Ingroup and Outgroup Members

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The saliency of category information in person perception for ingroup and outgroup members was investigated. European American participants were presented with a fictional character that varied in race (African American or European American) and occupational garb (military, judge, doctor, or athlete). Occupations were chosen to be either stereotypical or nonstereotypical for African Americans and European Americans with the aid of the Statistical Abstract of the United States (1992) percentages. Based on prior research findings (Park & Rothbart, 1982; Mackie & Worth, 1989), it was predicted European American participants would spontaneously describe an outgroup character by race (superordinate category information), but would mention occupation (subordinate category information) when spontaneously describing the ingroup character. As predicted, results indicated race was rarely mentioned when describing the ingroup character, but was usually the first label applied for the outgroup character. Moreover, when

describing the ingroup character, as compared to the outgroup character, occupation was mentioned earlier. Thus, differential utilization of organizing information about a seemingly mundane stimulus may provide a clue as to the origins of intergroup categorizations and bias.

Assignment of persons to social categories is an efficient method of simplifying social information we encounter on a daily basis. Categorization of persons into groups allows us to enter social situations with a sense of control over interaction outcomes and can guide behavior during interaction. Moreover, salient characteristics aid the categorization process with minimal expenditure of cognitive effort. Usually, the salient features used to categorize are visual and may include race, sex, physical disability, attractiveness, (Hamilton & Trolie, 1986; Jones, 1997; Stangor & Lange, 1994; Zebrowitz, 1990) and even hair color (Clayson & Maughan, 1986).

Although categorization of persons allows for simplifying and efficiently managing the social world, it can result in biased social information processing. For example, stereotyping (or a belief system about the category and its members) occurs as a result of categorization (Hamilton & Trolie, 1986; Linville, Salovey, & Fischer, 1986; Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994) and can produce perceptions of outgroup homogeneity (Brigham, 1971; Park & Rothbart, 1982; Rothbart & John, 1985). Physical characteristics that denote group membership can result in different expectations for personality, activities, occupations (Duncan, 1976; Martin, 1987), and even prejudice level (Willis-Esqueda, Hoffman, & Wulf, 1999).

Another categorization outcome is that perceivers make finer distinctions between ingroup members than outgroup members (Fiske, 1998; Rothbart & John, 1985), which can enhance perceptions of ingroup differentiation and outgroup homogeneity (Linville, Salovey, & Fischer, 1986). Ingroup differentiation implies that diversifying information would be applied to the ingroup, while outgroup homogeneity would foster less attention to diversifying information for the outgroup. Thus, perceivers may attend to higher, more superordinate levels of categorization (e.g., race) for outgroup members (Fiske,

1998) and attend to lower, more subordinate levels of categorization (e.g., occupation) for ingroup members (Mackie & Worth, 1989; Park & Rothbart, 1982). Race can be considered an example of superordinate category information. It provides little individuating or diversifying group information and invokes or activates stereotypic information (Devine, 1989; Linville & Jones, 1980). However, subordinate information, such as occupational knowledge, can provide more individualized knowledge about a person, such as approximate income, education, lifestyle, etc. (Rothbart & John, 1985).

The purpose of the present research was to determine if visual stimuli (i.e., race and occupation) would be differentially utilized for spontaneously describing ingroup (other European Americans) and outgroup members (African Americans) by European American college students. In delayed recall descriptions of a narrative, Park and Rothbart (1982) found that superordinate information (i.e., gender) was recalled equally often for ingroup and outgroup members, but subordinate information (i.e., occupation) was more likely recalled for ingroup members with explicit questioning about targets' gender and occupation. In addition, Mackie and Worth (1989) found recall of superordinate gender category information was equal for both ingroup and outgroup members, but subordinate category information (academic major) was more often recalled for ingroup members than outgroup members.

Brewer and Miller (1988) argued that, "... categorical generalization of contact experiences occurs only when the superordinate category membership of the out-group individual is salient in the contact situation" (317). Race is a salient characteristic and can influence subsequent interactions with other, similar outgroup members. In order to reduce category based classifications and enhance intergroup member's interactions, personalizing outgroup members and making category membership subordinate (i.e., decategorization) should be the goal. However, what if the initial, spontaneous descriptive label refers to race and automatically categorizes the character, even in the absence of a contact situation that makes race salient? In the real world, one often hears outgroup members described with reference to their racial group membership in situations where such membership is not relevant. Similarly,

Omoto and Thomsen (1993) found highly prejudiced European Americans overestimated the number of African Americans in their social environments and in slide presentations, in comparison to European Americans, outside a contact situation. One goal, then, of the present research was to determine if race is a salient descriptive label, used by European Americans, for describing outgroup members in the absence of a situation that would even promote the use of race, using a free-response methodology (McGuire, McGuire, Child, & Fujioka, 1978; Stangor & Lange, 1994).

It was predicted physical characteristics denoting race would be salient for an outgroup character, but occupation would be salient for an ingroup character. Specifically, it was anticipated race would be more frequently used in describing an outgroup (African American) character than an ingroup (European American) character by European Americans, and would be one of the first labels used to describe the outgroup character. If outgroup variability is seen as minimal, basic category membership (i.e., race) may be considered primary and sufficient for describing an outgroup member. However, more diversifying information would be useful in describing an ingroup member. Thus, occupation would be more frequently used to describe the ingroup character, and an ingroup character's race would rarely be mentioned in spontaneous descriptions.

What happens if the categorized member does not possess a good fit to the category? One possibility is relegation to a special category label (Rothbart & John, 1985), and the inconsistent information becomes salient (Hamilton & Troler, 1986). An outgroup character's nonstereotypical occupation becomes important individuating information for subcategorizing (Rothbart & John, 1985). Thus, it was anticipated that viewing outgroup characters in nonstereotypical occupations would result in spontaneous descriptions with the occupation label as an important descriptor, rather than race, whereas outgroup characters with stereotypical occupations would be categorized with a race label.

However, it was predicted that the effect of stereotypicality of occupation would not influence ingroup categorization and race would rarely be mentioned. Subordinate information

would be more informative for classifying ingroup characters than superordinate information.

The liking for and perceived competency of the characters was also measured, as part of the evaluative response to the characters. It was hypothesized that subtle evaluative measures would detect any biases against the characters, particularly when characters held nonstereotypical occupations. For example, the African American medical doctor could be evaluated as less competent than the European American one, while the European American athlete could be evaluated as less competent than the African American one.

Characters' sex was held constant in order to eliminate the influence that multiple category memberships would have introduced into the descriptions (Stangor, Lynch, Duan, & Glass, 1992). Only male characters were depicted, because males are considered the norm (Miller, Taylor, & Buck, 1991) and prototypical "person" (Fiske, 1998), and stereotypical occupations could be identified more easily by race for males than females.

Method

Participants

One hundred and ninety one European American students (64 males and 127 females) participated for partial credit to fulfill requirements for an introductory psychology course. The participants' mean age was 20 with a range from 17 to 38 years. Only 11 minority students participated and their responses were insufficient in number for separate analyses. Consequently, only European American participants' responses were analyzed.

Procedure

Participants were told the purpose of the study concerned an examination of children's storybook characters. In order to produce stimulus materials that depicted storybook characters, the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (1992) was reviewed. Frequencies with which male African Americans and European Americans hold certain occupations were examined and stereotypical and nonstereotypical occupations were chosen for African Americans and European Americans. Athletic

and military occupations were chosen for African Americans and judge and doctor for European Americans, because males are highly visible and have a high representation in these fields. Pictures of characters that could easily be found in children's storybooks were then developed. All the stimulus characters were converted to slides and were the same size. They were shown with a full body, frontal view. The slides depicted an African American or European American male, dressed in occupational clothing (i.e., athlete, military, judge, or doctor) and resembled a character that could be found in children's storybooks.

For each session the experimenter randomly chose a slide that was projected onto a screen with five to eight participants viewing the slide in each session. Several researchers have deemed eight seconds sufficient for encoding person characteristics (Haig, 1986a; Haig 1986b; Light, Kayra-Stuart, & Hollander, (1979); Solso & McCarthy, 1981). Consequently, the slide projector was preset to present each slide for eight seconds, thus providing an equal exposure time for character presentation. This resulted in a 2 (African American or European American male) by 4 (occupations: military, judge, doctor, or athlete) between-participants design. Before viewing, participants were instructed they would view a slide of a character and complete a questionnaire about the character. After viewing the slide, participants completed an open-ended description of the character and a questionnaire that contained manipulation checks and evaluative measures about the character. Participants were not allowed to revise the character description once they had turned to the questionnaire.

Participants provided the spontaneous character description with a free response format, using as many descriptors as needed. On the top of a blank sheet of paper, the specific instructions read, "In the space provided below, please describe the character. Use as much detail as you can." Descriptive mentions of race or occupation followed a continuum, from use as a first descriptor to no mention of race or occupation. The place along the continuum reflected a continuous measure of the saliency of race and occupation as descriptors of the character (with lower numbers indicating increased salience). If no mention of race occurred, the use of race was

coded at the end of the range of the continuum as ten. If no mention of occupation occurred, its use was coded as a nine. Moreover, the race and occupation descriptive mentions were coded, relative to other terms. Race might have been the first mentioned descriptor, followed by some other descriptor, followed by an occupation descriptor. Thus, race would have been coded as a one, while occupation would have been coded as three. Finally, race and occupation were coded to reflect order of mention by a coder who was blind to experimental condition.

In addition, the questionnaire contained the character's job competency and likeability ratings with a seven point scale that varied from 1 (very much so) to 7 (not at all). The percentage of similar characters thought to hold the same occupation was provided as a check on participants' perceptions of the race representations in the occupations. Participants could circle any percentage from 0 to 100%, in increments of 10. To ensure that participants had correctly perceived the race and occupation of the character, multiple choice questions concerning the character's race and occupation were included, as well as multiple choice filler items for hair and eye color. After questionnaire completion, participants filled out a debriefing form that asked about their perceptions of the research purpose, and were debriefed and excused.

Results

All participants reported the correct occupation and race of the character they viewed in response to the manipulation check questions; consequently, no responses were eliminated due to interpretation error of the stimulus character. The anonymous debriefing form and the oral debriefing indicated that participants believed the study concerned evaluations of storybook characters.

It was found that the order of mention of characters' race had a range, with race used as a first descriptor to race used as a ninth descriptor. The use of occupation as a descriptor had a range with occupation used as a first descriptor to occupation used as the eighth descriptor. Because the mention of race or occupation could fall along a continuum, a multivariate analysis of variance was conducted. Order of mention of race,

order of mention of occupation, the character's competence, the likeability of the character, and the percentage of similar characters thought to hold the same occupations served as dependent measures, and the character's actual race and occupation served as independent variables. The analysis revealed a significant interaction between race and occupation, $F(15, 495) = 2.25$ (Wilk's Lambda), $p < .01$.

As predicted, follow-up univariate analyses of variance indicated a significant interaction between race and occupation for the order of race mentions, $F(3, 183) = 3.30$, $MSE = 8.51$, $p < .05$. As shown in Table 1, Scheffe post hoc analyses indicated race was more likely salient and mentioned earlier in the spontaneous descriptions when the character was African American than when European American, for each occupation (all p 's $< .0001$). In fact, 86.9% ($n = 93$) of the participants made no mention of race at all when the character was European American, but 79.8% ($n = 67$) of the participants mentioned race when the character was African American. Moreover, when the character was European American a Scheffe post hoc comparison indicated no differences between occupations for order of race mentions, $p = .12$. However, the African American athlete and military officer characters differed in order of race mentions, with the athlete's race being less salient and mentioned later than the military officer's, $F(3, 80) = 3.21$, $MSE = 11.43$, $p < .05$, but neither of these characters differed from the other occupations. Thus, as predicted, race was a salient categorization label for European American participants when confronted with an outgroup character, in comparison to an ingroup character.

Follow-up univariate analyses of variance also indicated a significant interaction between race and occupation for the estimated percentage of similar characters in the occupations, $F(3, 183) = 6.39$, $MSE = 657.94$, $p < .001$. In Table 1, it can be seen that the estimated percentages of similar characters reflect approximate percentages found in the Statistical Abstract of the United States. A Scheffe post hoc comparison indicated no perceived differences in percentages by race in the military ($p = .26$) or the athlete ($p = .40$) occupations. However, European Americans were perceived as more likely to be employed as judges, $F(1, 58) = 22.72$, $p < .001$, and as

doctors, $F(1, 43) = 21.07$, $p < .001$, than African Americans. Thus, participants were aware of the representations within the occupations.

In addition to interactions the multivariate analysis indicated a significant main effect for the characters' race, $F(5, 179) = 43.59$ (Wilk's Lambda), $p < .001$. The univariate analysis showed there were differences in the perceived likeability of the two characters, $F(1, 183) = 7.72$, $MSE = 2.53$, $p < .01$. Both characters were liked, but the African American character was liked more ($M = 2.93$) than the European American character ($M = 3.61$), even though the characters were identical except for their color.

Moreover, the univariate analysis indicated a significant effect by race for the order of mention of occupation, $F(1, 189) = 5.87$, $MSE = 9.67$, $p < .05$. Overall, the European American characters' occupations were mentioned earlier and were more salient ($M = 4.20$) than the African American characters' occupations ($M = 5.04$), providing partial support for predictions.

The multivariate analysis found a significant main effect for occupation as well, $F(15, 495) = 3.00$ (Wilk's Lambda), $p < .001$. In the univariate analysis, competency of the character, $F(3, 183) = 4.86$, $MSE = 1.36$, $p < .01$, was influenced by the type of occupation. Although all the characters were considered fairly competent, a Scheffe post hoc comparison revealed the athlete was considered less competent ($M = 2.49$) than the doctor ($M = 1.73$) or judge ($M = 1.82$), but not less competent than the military officer ($M = 2.30$), $F(3, 187) = 6.24$, $MSE = 1.36$, $p < .01$.

Discussion

It was predicted that occupation (i.e., subordinate category information) would be spontaneously mentioned more frequently and earlier than race (superordinate category information) for all ingroup characters and for outgroup characters in nonstereotypical occupations, because occupation would be an outstanding and important descriptive category label. However results indicated occupation was mentioned earlier for ingroup characters than for outgroup characters, regardless of the stereotypicality of the occupation. An examination of means for the nonsignificant interaction indicated occupation

was mentioned much earlier for ingroup characters for each occupation in comparison to outgroup characters. Thus, subordinate information was more salient for ingroup characters than outgroup characters, as predicted.

There were striking differences in the order of race mentions for ingroup and outgroup characters. The outgroup characters were spontaneously described by a race label more frequently and earlier regardless of occupation, in comparison to ingroup characters. Thus for the outgroup character superordinate category information (i.e., race) was considered outstanding information with which to categorize the character by the European American participants.

Also, for the outgroup character there were differences by occupation in the order of race mentions. Specifically, the stereotypical and highly visible occupations (athlete and military) differed from each other, with the race of the African American athlete being mentioned later than the African American military officer. It is possible that race is not an important outgroup descriptor when athletes are involved. Devine and Baker (1991) identified "Black athlete" as a distinct stereotypical subtype and posited that occupation might be a more important category label than race for this subtype, in comparison to European American athletes. While that notion was not supported here, it was found that race was a less salient descriptive category label for the African American athlete, in comparison to the other African American occupations.

A superordinate information label (i.e., race) was used to describe outgroup characters, rather than a subordinate label (i.e., occupation), such that race was used for outgroup characters, regardless of the occupation's stereotypicality. This finding may have implications for the outgroup homogeneity effect, because European American participants invoked more abstract information (i.e., race) to spontaneously describe (and hence categorize) a character from the outgroup (African American), rather than more diversifying information such as occupation, which they used for the ingroup (European American) characters. One outcome for this result is that narrative information about the characters would be differentially remembered and distorted in order to conform to superordinate and subordinate categorizations.

It should be noted that sex has been reported "...to be the most common basis of social categorization..." (Stangor & Lange, 1994, p. 394). However, in the present research sex was not mentioned by participants; race was the primary category referred to for characters with the phrase, "The character was black/African American" or by merely using the terms "military" or "doctor". The phrase, "He was black/African American," or "He was a doctor" was rarely used, which would denote attention to the character's sex. Here, the lack of reference to sex may be a function of the fact that the stimuli did not contain both males and females for comparison purposes, as in prior research (Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, & Ruderman, 1978; Oakes & Turner, 1986; Oakes, Turner, & Haslam, 1991). Moreover, males are considered the cultural norm (Fiske, 1998; Miller, Taylor, & Buck, 1991), and when the norm is presented "male" is not a useful piece of information.

Likewise, European Americans are the norm in the United States, and in the current research European American participants demonstrated race was not an outstanding label when the character fit the norm. Here, European American participants described ingroup characters with diversifying information with little reference to characters' normative race, but they automatically relegated other characters to outgroup status with a superordinate category label, usually the first label mentioned and based on skin color that differed from the norm. Future research should examine if normative standards are the driving force behind the use of superordinate and subordinate category labels, rather than distinctive features (Hewstone, Islam, & Judd, 1993).

In addition, future research should examine whether the same results would occur with minority group participants. Although European American participants were involved here, there is a growing literature that demonstrates that people cognitively process social information based on group membership, goals, and motives (Fiske, 2000), and that the experiences of European Americans cannot be equated to those of others who belong to ethnic minority groups (Grimes, Jr., & Reed, 1995). Consequently, it could be that minority group members would show a preference for spontaneous, descriptive mentions that provide subordinate labels (e.g., occupa-

tion) for their own group and superordinate labels (e.g., race) for European Americans. This would attest to an ingroup favoritism effect when called upon to spontaneously categorize a character, as was found for European American participants. In contrast, it might be that minority group participants would provide the same results as the European American participants here, but not as part of a response to a cultural norm. Rather, minority participants may spontaneously describe ingroup characters by race, instead of occupation, because "...objects toward which individuals hold highly accessible attitudes automatically attract attention when they enter the visual field" (Fazio & Dunton, 1997, p. 452). Thus, minority group participants may show a preference for spontaneously describing ingroup characters by race, because they hold highly accessible attitudes toward their group, rather than because their group is cognitively normative. At any rate, future research should address the possibility that the results found here are limited to European American participants.

Participants reported a greater liking for the African American character than the European American one, and a similar finding was found by Branscombe and Smith (1990) in response to photographs of job applicants who differed by race. Here, the characters were identical except for color depiction, and increased liking for the African American character may be an attempt to counter any appearance of prejudice. It could be argued that increased liking for the African American characters was a function of the greater salience of such characters. However, use of race as a descriptor for the African American character indicated participants categorized the character as an outgroup member and it would be expected that such categorization would produce less liking, rather than more, in comparison to the European American character (Dovidio & Gaertner, 1993), particularly when all participants reported the correct race. Moreover, the characters' perceived competency did not differ by race, and positive affect should result in similar ratings of likeability and competence.

These findings go beyond the examination of attitudes and feelings for outgroup members, and demonstrate how visual characteristics can be spontaneously utilized to process information about outgroups and ingroups. Future research should

examine if there are individual differences in the use of superordinate and subordinate information for categorizing. For example, regardless of ethnicity, those with high prejudice may be more inclined to use superordinate categories for outgroup members than those with low prejudice, resulting in less perceived outgroup variability, enhanced between group differences, and increased intergroup bias (Gaertner, Mann, Murrell, & Dovidio, 1989). This finding would further our knowledge on methods to combat biased processing of person information based on ethnic groups in our social world.

Table 1

Mean Order of Race Mentions by Character's Race and Occupation

Occupation	Character's Race	
	European American	African American
Military	9.61	1.41
Judge	9.31	3.86
Doctor	8.00	3.29
Athlete	9.33	4.64

Mean Estimated Percentage of Similar Characters in Occupations by Race and Occupation

Occupation	European American	African American
Military	53.04	44.12
Judge	58.21	24.29
Doctor	50.42	23.33
Athlete	37.14	44.80

Frequency and Percentages of Order of Race Mentions by Character's Race

Order	European American	African American
No Mention	93 (86.9%)	17 (20.2)
First Mention	6 (5.6%)	38 (45.2)
Second to Ninth Mention	8 (7.4%)	29 (34.5)

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USING AFRICAN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVES TO PROMOTE A MORE INCLUSIVE UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN COMMUNICATION THEORY

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This article addresses the use of African American perspectives as a means of promoting a more inclusive understanding of human communication theory. It describes contributions by African American scholars as they relate to providing a framework for inclusion of other under represented cultures in U.S. society (i.e. Asian American, Latino American, etc.). This objective is becoming more and more relevant because of the increased percentage of U.S. citizens who are of non-European origin. Common sense supports the position that an inclusive curriculum, representative of the many cultural groups that compose the U.S., will appeal to the diverse audience educated in the U.S. today and tomorrow.

The education curriculum is never finished. It is dynamic and continually in a state of change. This article focuses on the use of research findings by African American scholars that expands the communication arts curriculum as a means of re-shaping the curriculum so it is more representative of the various cultures that compose U.S. society. This move towards a more multicultural curriculum should encourage eventual focus on all U.S. cultural backgrounds. This article addresses contributions by African American scholars, which are not presented

here as a single Afrocentric perspective, and is intended to provide a framework for inclusion of other under represented cultures in the U.S. (i.e. Asian American, Latino American, etc.).

Within five years, roughly thirty-three percent of school age children in the U.S. will be of non-European origin.¹ Thus we have a unique opportunity and obligation to ensure our academic curriculums are representative of these non-European perspectives. Thorough modifications will be a lengthy process. Calls for a more inclusive curriculum representative of the multicultural composition of American society have come from a variety of sources,² One frequently hears that we need emphasis on education as a means to help American society get along with itself (in the area of inter-racial/ethnic relations). Common sense supports an inclusive curriculum, representative of the many cultural groups that comprise the U.S., that will appeal to the diverse audience educated in the U.S. today and tomorrow.

The aforementioned inclusive curriculum obviously can be attained only when scholarship representative of all American cultures is included in curriculum expansion efforts. Emphasis on the research of African American scholars within this article is intended as one of many steps towards an inclusive curriculum, and obviously, communication arts is but one of many disciplines to be expanded.

A review of literature on the subject of curriculum development and multicultural inclusiveness reveals little that deals with models for curricular development specifically in communication arts however much has been written on curriculum development and multicultural inclusiveness that can be applied in communication arts and other disciplines within the social sciences. Helle Bering-Jensen³ recommends inclusion of minority contributions in classroom content as a means of supplementing Eurocentric perspectives. Beverly Tatum⁴ offers strategies for overcoming student resistance to race related content. Emphasis on inclusion of culturally diverse works of literature is described in Pfordresher⁵ and Post.⁶ Michael Harris⁷ suggests one means of addressing racial problems is to promote inclusion of African and African American content in U.S. public schools. Kerry Feldman⁸ emphasizes how anthropology departments can be helpful in choosing mul-

ticultural education components. Jerry Gaff ⁹ claims that multiculturalism has won the war against Eurocentrism and that we should move to the next step of creating inclusive programs that are educationally valuable. These views point to the need for expansion of the curriculum. Again, the focus of this article is on the inclusion of African American scholarship as an initial objective with the inclusion of scholarship representative of all American cultures being the primary long term objective.

During the past quarter century many colleges and universities have tried to include minorities in their curriculums through the creation of African American Studies departments that stress black contributions. It is a central premise of the Lilly Foundation grant proposal, that funded the research undertaken by this author, that "if majority students are to gain the benefits of the minority perspectives, we believe that the contributions of minorities should claim their proper place throughout the curriculum and not be relegated to a 'separate but distinct' area."¹⁰

The author has approached this research of African American scholarship as an opportunity to substantively augment his academic orientation. One could merely use a recipe approach of "just add African American readings and stir" but this would only allow for cosmetic changes. Rather, this author has approached this as he did his graduate school years. Knowledge learned is intended to become part of his theoretical fabric. Such an approach takes time and thorough analysis. His graduate training was a long indepth period of study. Any serious modifications of that foundation will come through a similar path.

The communication arts discipline covers a wide range of subject areas including public speaking, interpersonal communication, organizational communication, mass media, rhetoric, journalism, public relations, broadcasting, theater, and cross-cultural studies. The author has focused on five courses he teaches: Rhetorical Communication Theory, Mass Media in America, Persuasion, Communication in the Organization, and a Unity in Diversity course. A majority of the works are most appropriate in the Unity in Diversity course. Examples of course modifications will be described to exemplify how curricular change in communication arts can be perpetuated.

Before addressing specific course modifications, it will be helpful to describe the process through which this author gathered contributions of African American scholars. Essential in this process were his visits to the Moorland-Spingarn Research Center at Howard University. It is the "largest and the most valuable research library in America for the study of Negro life and history" and "the most comprehensive and interesting group of books by Negroes ever collected in the world"¹¹. Such a comprehensive collection of African American scholarship offers a unique opportunity to study African American contributions in a variety of areas.

This author used a variety of key words to search for information relevant to communication arts. The seven most useful key words were rhetoric, communication, narration, persuasion, political oratory, nonverbal communication, and interpersonal relations. The following lists, in parentheses, the number of relevant titles found under each key word heading: rhetoric (36), communication (75), narration (71), persuasion (6), political oratory (7), nonverbal communication (17), and interpersonal relations (35).

Rhetorical Communication Theory is an upper-level course at Ohio Dominican College. The course traces the development of rhetoric from the classical period to the British period to the contemporary period. Two primary assignments in the course are a research paper on a significant rhetorician and an oral presentation in class about the rhetorician researched. The suggested list of rhetoricians includes individuals representing a variety of perspectives. No African Americans are included in the list. As a result the following African American names have been added to the list as possible rhetoricians to be studied: W.E.B. DuBois, Sterling Brown, Ralph Ellison, and Toni Morrison. Thus the list is more inclusive of African American perspectives. Students are also encouraged to suggest other African American rhetoricians for study.

Students choosing to study the African American rhetoricians might use as a foundation for their research works such as *The Anatomy of Black Rhetoric*,¹² *A Comparative Study of Two Approaches for Analyzing Black Discourse*,¹³ *Rhetoric of Racial Hope*,¹⁴ *The Relationship Between Errors in Standard*

Usage in Written Compositions of College Students and the Students' Cognitive Styles,¹⁵ *From Behind the Veil: A Study of African-American Narrative*,¹⁶ and *Black Communication*.¹⁷ These works, authored by African American writers, focus on African American rhetoric. Again no single Afrocentric perspective is promoted in this approach.

The Mass Media in America course uses a textbook entitled *Introduction to Mass Media*.¹⁸ It can be supplemented with *Split Image*¹⁹ and *Mass Media in America*.²⁰ These works better highlight the role of African Americans in mass media. Other sources regarding the role of African Americans are found in an extensive bibliography entitled "Blacks in the Media: Communication Research Since 1978",²¹ published by the Howard University Center for Communications Research.

The Persuasion course describes persuasion theory and contemporary applications of persuasion theory. One of these applications involves persuasion in public speaking. Contemporary public speakers can be used for case study analysis in the course. This is an excellent opportunity to promote inclusion of African Americans (i.e. the Jesse Jackson address at the 1988 Democratic National Convention, Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech, etc.).

The Communication in the Organization course emphasizes communication in interpersonal, group, and organizational settings. African American scholarship can easily be included to enhance understanding of communication processes in these contexts. It is suggested that one simple guideline for text selection in such a course is to analyze possible textbooks regarding favorable inclusion of African American cultures in case studies, examples, photographs and overall content. This guideline would obviously be beneficial when considering textbooks for other courses in the communication arts curriculum as well.

The Unity in Diversity course is a new course that was developed under the auspices of the aforementioned Lilly Grant. This course is team taught by Judith Abala (a black female) and Jim Schnell (a white male). This course, developed by Abala and Schnell, is an introductory course that explores the implications of belonging to a culturally pluralistic society with all of its richness, complexities, challenges, and

responsibilities. The course seeks to enhance the ability of students to interact with culturally different individuals who comprise American society. There is no textbook for the course. Instead a readings booklet (comprised of many types of articles) has been compiled.

A variety of sources by black authors are relevant for study in the Unity in Diversity course. Such references include *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*²² and *African American Communications*.²³ These works offer perspectives on the complexities of communication among American cultures and can be helpful in enhancing student understanding of relevant considerations. Unity in Diversity is an experimental course at the time of this writing. It has the potential for being added to the core requirement courses for all students. A common objective in all of these courses, regarding inclusion of African American perspectives, is to empower students to discover African American contributions and share their discoveries in class. This allows for the individual student to learn, his/her fellow classmates to learn, and the professor to learn. This empowerment is preferable to an approach that is driven solely by the faculty member. To empower the student to learn the process for discovering African American contributions allows for more self initiated learning by the student.

Future curricular development will benefit from increased inclusion of other cultural perspectives. These perspectives obviously exist in the communication arts curriculum but, perhaps, not to the degree that they should. We should aim to increase inclusion of all cultural perspectives. The modification process described in this article is offered as a model for future development regarding the creation of a multicultural curriculum.

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Notes

¹ Channing L. Bete, *Learn About Diversity*. (South Deerfield, Massachusetts: 1993), 4.

- 2 Michael A. Williams, *Blacks and the Media: Communication Research Since 1978*. (Howard University: Washington D.C., 1990). Debra Viadero, "Issue of Multiculturalism Dominates Standards Debate", *Education Week*, Vol. 11, Issue 31, (April 22, 1992), 18. Edmund W. Gordon & Maitrayee Bhattacharyya, "Human Diversity, Cultural Hegemony, and the Integrity of the Academic Canon", *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 61, Issue 3, (Summer, 1992), 405-418.
- 3 Helle Bering-Jensen, "Teaching All Things to All People," *Insight*, Vol. 6, Issue 14, (April 2, 1990), 49-51.
- 4 Beverly Daniel Tatum, "Talking About Race, Learning About Racism: The Application of Racial Identity Development Theory in the Classroom", *Harvard Educational Review*, Vol. 62, Issue 1, (February, 1992), 1-24.
- 5 John Pfordresher, "Better and Different Literature in Our Time", *Design for Arts in Education*, Vol. 93, Issue 4, (March 1992), 2-10.
- 6 David Post, "Through Joshua Gap: Curricular Control and the Constructed Community", *Teachers College Record*, Vol. 93, Issue 4, (Summer, 1992), 673-696.
- 7 Michael D. Harris, "Afrocentrism and Curriculum: Concepts, Issues, and Prospects", *Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 61, Issue 3, (Summer, 1992), 301-316.
- 8 Kerry D. Feldman, "Multicultural Education and Anthropology: 'The Rise of Civilization' as a Foundation Course", *Human Organization*, Vol. 51, Issue 2, (Summer 1992), 185-186.
- 9 Jerry G. Gaff, "Beyond Politics", *Change*, Vol. 24, Issue 1, (January, 1992), 30-35.
- 10 Ohio Dominican College, "Improving Multicultural Climate at a Four-Year College," (1991). A grant proposal funded by the Lilly Foundation.

- 11 *The Arthur B. Spingarn Collection of Negro Authors*, (Washington:D.C., Moorland Foundation, Howard University Library, n.d.,1947) 1 & 7.
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- 15 Grace C. Cooper, *The Relationship Between Errors in Standard Usage in Written Compositions of College Students & the Students Cognitive Styles*. (Dissertation: Howard University, 1979).
- 16 Robert B. Stepto, *From Behind the Veil: A Study of African-American Narrative*.(Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1979).
- 17 Robert Mullen, *Black Communication*. (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 1982).
- 18 Jay Black & Jennings Bryant, *Introduction to Mass Media*. (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1992).
- 19 Jannette Dates & William Barlow, *Split Image: African Americans in the Mass Media*. (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1990).
- 20 Donald Pember, *Mass Media in America*. (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., 1992).
- 21 Michael A. Williams, *Blacks and the Media: Communication Research Since 1978*. (Howard University: Washington D.C., 1990).

²² Molefi Kete Asante, Eileen Newmark & Cecil Blake, *Handbook of Intercultural Communication*. (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publishers, 1979).

²³ James Ward, *African American Communications: An Anthology in Traditional and Contemporary Studies*. (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing, 1991).

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Book Reviews

Our National Amnesia About Race: A Review Essay of David Blight's *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*.

In *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, David Blight is not concerned with “developing [a] professional historiography of Civil War” but rather with documenting the ways that “contending memories [of the war] clashed or intermingled in public memory.”¹ Blight and others working in the interdisciplinary field of “historical memory” have broadened the scope of historical writing in their insistence that uncovering “what really happened” in the past is but one piece of the historical puzzle. Another important piece is the recovery of how historical agents conceptualized and remembered their pasts and in turn how these memories impact the present. What were their motivations in constructing their memories in particular way? What did they choose to remember; what did they willfully or unconsciously decide to forget? It quickly becomes clear in *Race and Reunion* that these individual and collective memories of the past—in this case specifically of the Civil War—may or may not have much bearing on what really happened. However, historically inaccurate memories still are revealing, often because of their inaccuracies rather than in spite of them. For as Paul Thompson claims, “one part of history, what people imagined happened, and also what they believe might have happened—their imagination of an alterna-

tive past, and so alternative present—may be as crucial as what did happen.”²

Race and Reunion is a testament to the importance of understanding the imagined alongside with the actual past. Blight makes it clear from the onset that memory has an important political dimension. Almost immediately after the war ended, participants on both ends of the struggle began searching for a way to remember the war best serving their political needs. “Historical memory [of the war] was,” according to Blight, “a weapon with which to engage in the struggle over political policy” (282). These early Civil War memories manifested themselves in various ways. Blight identifies three primary categories of Civil War memory: the “reconciliationist vision,” the “white supremacist vision,” and the “emancipation vision” (2).

The book begins and ends with a detailed description of the Blue-Gray reunion held in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of Gettysburg in 1913. A total of 53,407 veterans attended the event, arriving in Pennsylvania from all over the country. President Wilson, the first Southerner elected President since the Civil War, made a short speech, which summarized the reconciliationist tone of the celebration, “We have found one another again as brothers and comrades in arms, enemies no longer, generous friends rather, our battles long past, the quarrel forgotten” (11). *Race and Reunion* describes in great detail how a memory of the Civil War was constructed, making this unique event and Wilson’s remarks possible.

A peculiar intermingling of motivations and ideologies fed this reconciliationist vision including war weariness, the economic interests of those involved in North-South partnerships, an elaborate Southern “Lost Cause” mythology, and a growing apathy about the fate of the freedman. Furthermore, new memories about the causes of the war were constructed, whitewashing the role of slavery as the root cause of the Civil War. Northerners remembered a Civil War fought to preserve the Union. Southerners remembered a war against Northern aggression and in defense of states’ rights. Both sides remembered the heroism and loyalty of their troops. In this realm of the cult of the valiant soldier, northerners and southerners found a basis for mutual admiration. Stripped of its sig-

nificance as a war over slavery, the Civil War could be remembered as a war between patriots on both sides. All of a sudden the origins of the conflict seemed less important than the idea that both sides fought a good but tragic fight. The nation had been tested and was now stronger as a result.

Blight concludes that by 1913 the reconciliationist version of the Civil War had been triumphant in America's collective memory. However, such a brief summary of his conclusion does an injustice to the multi-faceted memories he describes. Memory is dynamic. It changes. According to Pierre Nora, "It remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialect of remembering and forgetting....vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation." ³ A close reading of *Race and Reunion* reveals how memories can and do change in response to circumstances in the present. For example, many early, northern memories of the war were founded on the beliefs in southern war guilt and that slavery was the root cause of the war. However, these memories began to fade as a response to the Gilded Age of "teeming cities, industrialization, and political skullduggery, [when] Americans needed another world to live in [and] yearned for a more pleasing past in which to find slavery, the war, and reconstruction" (222).

Furthermore, this study reveals that collective memory is neither accidental nor absolute. In his essay, "'For Something Beyond the Battlefield': Frederick Douglass and the Memory of the Civil War," Blight argues convincingly that "historical memory is also a matter of choice, a question of will. As a culture, we choose which footsteps from the past will best help us walk in the present." ⁴ White, reconciliationist historical memories of the Civil War were deliberately stripped of all references to emancipation and slavery. This was no historical accident but a deliberate choice. As a result commitment to emancipation and all its political implications were forgotten. The fate of the freedman was offered as a sacrifice in the name of reunion.

Because memory involves choice, an important theme in *Race and Reunion* involves the existence of those who chose to reject the reconciliationist version of the war. Blight acknowledges that "countless private memories began to collide, inexorably, with the politics of collective memory" (19). For memory, which can be collective, is also private and individual.

Albion Tourgee, a Union soldier, carpetbagger, novelist, and North Carolina federal judge, remained outspokenly devoted to an emancipationist conception of the war throughout his life. Union veteran and gifted writer Ambrose Bierce's war memories were so consumed with agony over the dead and dying that he was unable to couch his memories in any greater ideological understanding. He was unable to embrace reconciliation's implied promises of a better future, and according to Blight "[his] ultimate tragedy was that in the America where he grew old, in a society tortured by racism, he found no higher meaning in Civil War cemeteries nor on his old battlefields than the precious deaths he recollected" (251). Finally, the strongest opposition to the reconciliationist historical memory of the war came not from a handful of individuals but from the class of people most affected by the war's outcome, African Americans.

Frederick Douglass and later W.E.B. Du Bois were champions of an emancipationist version of Civil War memory. These spokesmen did not need to remind the newly freed men and women of the central role slavery played in the Civil War. Theirs was a battle against the historical forgetting of the reconciliationists who believed in forgiving and forgetting and who spoke of the war in remote terms of soldierly heroism and shirked the issues of outcomes and root causes. Frederick Douglass ceaselessly articulated memories of the Civil War and reconstruction, which put emancipation and the promise of African-American political incorporation at the center of his analysis. At a Memorial Day observance in 1871 he asked, "if this war is to be forgotten, I ask in the name of all things sacred what shall men remember?"⁵

In creating this complex portrait of collective memory, David Blight identifies a number of mediums where historical memory is simultaneously being reflected and created: political speeches, diaries, advertisements, poems, published memoirs, short stories, Memorial Day celebrations, and monument building campaigns. Some of the richest passages in the book consist of Blight's analysis of literature inspired by the Civil War. He is sensitive to Genevieve Fabre's and Robert O'Meally's observation that "the writing-narrating-of history has not been the exclusive concern of historians; it has also been

the province of artists and writers as well as other thoughtful and sometimes brilliant people.”⁶ Soldiers who published their reminiscences did so often to make a buck in the economic hard time after the war but in so doing they made their voices part of historical record and transformed themselves into historical narrators. Thomas Nelson Page wrote sentimental stories, which romanticized the Old South—complete with benevolent masters and ever-loyal slaves. When read in context of the battle over historical memory, however, his writings are anything but lighthearted tales. They function as political tracts, which helped pave the way for reunion. Page was a narrator of fictional histories, which were readily employed in the in the creation of an imaginary past that made reconciliation possible. In *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), W.E.B. Du Bois narrates African-American history from a number of rhetorical positions. He alternately wears the hat of historian, fiction writer, autobiographer, and folklorist. In the second essay in *Souls*, he provides one of the briefest and most eloquent summaries of the aftermath of the Civil War: “Three characteristic things one might have seen in Sherman’s raid through Georgia, which threw the situation in shadowy relief: the conqueror, the conquered, and the Negro” (48). Thus in one sentence, Du Bois narrates an entire history wiped out by the false memories of reconciliation, which no longer acknowledged winners or losers in the struggle and robbed the former slaves of their right to historical significance.

In analyzing various literary responses to the war, Blight makes a number of aesthetic evaluations in passing. Describing Ulysses Grant’s *Prose in Personal Memoirs*, he says “[Grant] wrote without flair and almost stoic detachment. His diction is unmarred by pompous excesses...” (212). In his wry criticism of fiction about the Civil War and slavery that appeared in periodicals in the 1880’s and 1890’s, Blight observes that “an American genre was reborn and Civil War memory fell into a drugged state, as though sent to an idyllic foreign land from which it has never fully found the way home” (217). Blight identifies Albion Turgee’s clear-headed writing as an antidote to the sentimental excess of other Civil War literature, and he credits Ambrose Bierce with writing “one of the most artful and honest characterizations in Civil War literature”

(246). Blight's highest praise, however, is reserved for Du Bois, and he describes *Souls* as a "masterpiece" (251).

In making these observations, Blight is subtly analyzing these texts not only on the basis of what they say, but also on how they say it. It is also clear in Blight's own writing in *Race and Reunion*, that he is mindful of aesthetics. For example, the last sentence in the book, "All memory is prelude," is both cryptic and beautiful and is perhaps designed to increase the likelihood that a reader will incorporate Blight's study of Civil War memory in his or her own memory. For as Blight himself has observed, "A mixture of the scholarly and literary dimensions of history...may occur in historians' work more than we are likely to admit."⁷ In the instance of *Race and Reunion*, the intermingling of history with literary style is to the book's credit.

Although he doesn't explicitly talk about aesthetics in *Race and Reunion*, he does so in his essay "Du Bois and the Struggle for American Historical Memory." He traces a shift in Du Bois' work from "social science to art." Blight situates himself among "many scholars [who] have stressed the importance of aesthetic appeal in the art of memory," and claims that,

The emotional power of a historical image or of an individual or collective memory is what renders it lasting.... The more profound the poetic imagery or the metaphoric association, the more lasting a memory might be in any culture.

With these criteria in mind, Blight labels *Souls* as a memory palace...of unforgettable images, conveyed with such aesthetic power that readers and writers might return to it, generation after generation, for historical understanding and inspiration.⁸

After reading Blight's persuasive essay on the importance of aesthetics in Du Bois' work, one wonders what role aesthetics played in creating or solidifying the historical memory of the Civil War. Was some Civil War literature more influential than others because of its aesthetic appeal? Was the aesthetic power of the lost cause mythology itself more compelling than any contemporary literature? Among the writers mentioned or quoted in *Race and Reunion*, the works of Walt Whitman, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Du Bois have been most enduring.

Did these writings endure in part because of their aesthetic appeal? What impact do these works have on our current historical memory of the Civil War? Is their net impact larger now because the other, more sentimental war writings which were published at the same time have grown increasingly less prominent?

In his review of *Race and Religion* in the *New York Times*, Eric Foner somewhat offhandedly remarks, "One regrets that Blight did not try to bring [the book] up to the present." This book practically begs for a sequel. Blight makes a few tantalizing remarks about the historical memory of the Civil War in the twenty-first century. For example, he claims,

To this day, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, much of Civil War nostalgia is still rooted in the fateful memory choices made in the better two decades of the nineteenth century" (313).

The battle for the historical memory of the Civil War is still raging and is manifested in film, on television, in recent controversies over the continued use of the confederate flag, and in the bizarre dispute between Alice Randall, an African-American woman and author of a *Gone With the Wind* parody entitled *The Wind Done Gone*, and the heirs of Margaret Mitchell over Randall's right to publish her alternative version of Mitchell's famous saga.

Reading *Race and Reunion* has inspired me to reflect on my own historical memory of the Civil War and to think back to a time long before I was a doctoral student of Afro-American studies and well versed in the historiography on the subject. As a little girl growing up in Arkansas, my elementary school class made yearly pilgrimages to Pea Ridge Military Park. I remember somberly examining charts depicting troop movements, admiring period uniforms and other costumes, eating my sack lunch while sitting under a long defunct cannon, and listening to the park ranger speak about the tragedy of "brother killing brother." Slavery was never mentioned. I read a string of young adult historical novels which were invariably resolved with a charming North-South wedding that put a tidy end to these "sectional" troubles. Indeed in my U.S. history class, I learned the "sectionalism," that peculiar and innocent enough sounding word, was the cause of the Civil War. My

comprehension of the Civil War was vague and impressionistic, filled with romantic emotions and images and bereft of any true understanding of the conflict. My first exposure to a counter-memory of the war came in the form of Richard Wright's *Black Boy*, which I read when I was about twelve. Wright tells the story of his aged grandfather, a Union war veteran, who was denied a federal pension for his service during the war. That was the first time I realized that African-Americans too fought in the Civil War. Finally. A partial revelation.

Blight's careful tracing of the development of the historical memory of the Civil War from the actual event up until 1913 is as compelling as it is troubling. As he so convincingly demonstrates, our all too convenient national amnesia about the issue of race is fraught with tremendous moral and political consequences.

Notes

¹ David Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001), 1-2.

² Paul Thompson, *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 139.

³ Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History," *Representations* (Issue 26): 8.

⁴ *The Journal of American History* 75(March 1989): 1169.

⁵ Quoted in Blight, 1160.

⁶ "Introduction", *History and Memory in African American Culture*, Genevieve Fabre and Robert O'Meally, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 6.

⁷ David Blight, "W.E.B. Du Bois and the Struggle for American Historical Memory," *History and Memory in African- American Culture*, 52.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 53, 55.

Jennifer Jensen

Michael Eric Dyson. *I May Not Get There With You: The True Martin Luther King Jr.* (New York: The Free Press a Division of Simon and Schuster, Inc. 2000). 404 pp., \$25 cloth

Michael Eric Dyson's approach to his biography of Dr. Martin Luther King entitled "*I May Not Get There With You: The True Martin Luther King Jr.*" is unlike the numerous other biographies of King in that the method he employs in recasting the life of Dr. King is described as "Bio-criticism."

Dyson's major thesis is that we cannot hope to understand the full measure of Dr. King's human rights accomplishments without understanding the complexity of the man. He quite correctly argues that King is more than the embodiment of the "I Have a Dream Speech" which he contends has been co-opted by liberals and conservatives alike, who in their quest to promote their own particular political and social agendas, portray Dr. King as sanitized without the weaknesses of mere mortals. His bio-critique reveals that Dr. King though one of the greatest men of the twentieth century was no saint. His contribution to the Civil Rights Movement cannot be denied. However, at the same time he had his weaknesses: a history of marital infidelity, plagiarism, the failure to fully acknowledge the support he received from others, and his sexist attitude toward women.

Dyson's argument that King would have a lot in common with members of the Hip-hop generation is a bit of a stretch in my opinion when we reflect on the relationship Dr. King has with the more militant youthful members of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) e.g., Stokely Charmichael and Bob Moses, whose ideas often clashed with his. In his attempt to show how much Dr. King had in common with Tupac Shakur, in characterizing their behaviors of smoking, drinking, sexual recklessness, hard work, etc., he could have juxtaposed the name Stokely Charmichael or Bob Moses. But the recounting of those comparative behaviors obscures their deep ideological differences, as would be true also in the case of Turpac Shakur and Biggie Smalls. Dr. Dyson painstakingly discusses the life of King through the trilogy of "Ideology, Identity and Image." He begins with how he was socialized

prior to his Morehouse days through his intellectual development in theological school and Boston University to his arrival in Montgomery, Alabama, at Ebenezer Baptist Church and his cataclysmic introduction to the Civil Rights Movement as the leader of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. It is through this frame that he dresses King in very human clothing helping the reader to understand that King was far more complicated than how he has been deified by the "I Have a Dream Speech." Dyson takes on King's journey through the Civil Rights Movement emphasizing the radical King, the constantly growing King who grew to see how American racism was inseparable from colonialism and how the American hegemony that produced white supremacy and Jim Crow were directly related to our imperialistic involvement in the Vietnam War.

It is at this point where King has reached the conceptual "Mountain Top" that he is assassinated on April 4, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee, while advocating in support of the sanitation workers on strike.

Except for some excessive hyperbole, which I suspect comes out of his Baptist preacher tradition, Dyson has given us a portrait of an American hero in all of his humanness. It is an excellent book for general readership, Civil Rights scholars, and as a supplemental reader in the Social Sciences and in Ethnic Studies.

Reviewed by: Robert L. Perry
Eastern Michigan University

David Leiwei Li, *Imagining the Nation: Asian American Literature and Cultural Consent*. The Stanford Series on Asian America, ed. Gordon H. Chang. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998). xii. 261 pp. Contains notes to each chapter at end of work, as well as an index.

Whenever "the nation" is "imagined," Americans of Asian ancestry are excluded by common "cultural consent" as alien/alienated "Others," as citizens of their ancestral nations.

Due to recent immigration from many Asian nations, the globalization of economies, including the Pacific Rim, and especially the efforts of some Asian American writers, the situation has improved—somewhat. Still, if Asian-American writers stress the American in their representations, they are denying the Asian. If they stress the Asian, they have bought into American “cultural consent” its racist representations of Asian-Americans. Further, they themselves can’t help but think within “the nation’s” ongoing restrictive racist “cultural consent” paradigm, because as Americans they have unconsciously internalized it.

Li offers Frank Chin, the hyper-masculinist militant nationalist, as his premier example of the most successful attempt to dramatically destabilize this bind, although Chin reinforced it for gay and/or feminist writers. He viciously attacked the likes of David Henry Hwang, author of *M. Butterfly*, Maxine Hong Kingston, and Amy Tan for their cultural heresy in daring to tinker with traditional Asian myths written by and for men and hitherto unchanged for thousands of years, as well as for consciously allowing themselves to be manipulated by racist white feminists and publishers into reinforcing white American racist “cultural consent” that “Othered,” feminized, and emasculated Asian American males.

Li justly valorizes Chin’s greatest contribution, his undeniably brilliant critique of American “cultural consent” in relation to how Asian-American men are “imagined.” Unfortunately, he chooses to use the weakest link in Chin’s thinking to second Chin in trivializing the contributions of Kingston et al., especially Kingston, with the claim that they *consciously* wrote for huge white racist and feminist audiences. Chin’s weakness lay in trivializing *his* own powerful insights by appending to them this specious and petty sexist and homophobic attack on his colleagues. In all probability he was motivated to do so by wounded ego and *Invidia*. While he remained ignored and obscure, mere *women* and/or gay writers received critical acclaim and grew rich and famous.

Li’s discussions of lesser-known texts, especially by women, are perfunctory and (too) often miss the mark. For example, readers would never know that Gish Jen’s *Typical American* is a tragi-comedy, as fine a satire of Emersonian indi-

vidualism and American capitalist materialism as has ever been published. Or that Fae Myenne Ng's *Bone* is a feminist novel about how three young Chinese American women in San Francisco's Chinatown respond to traditional obligations to their family and their ancestors, their "bone." The obedient daughter chooses suicide rather than rebellion or compliance. The post-feminist daughter (significantly, a flight attendant) selfishly escapes her filial obligations and duties, flying away from them forever. The feminist daughter (also, significantly, a social worker) leaves home for good, leaves the past "back dair," as well, but with the husband of her choice, while still working as a community "bridge" within Chinatown.

Warning. Readers will find Li's haut scholarly jargon impenetrable, but no worse than many others, mine included.

Reviewed by: Phillipa Kafka
Kean University

Aldon Lynn Nielsen, ed. *Reading Race in American Poetry: An Area of Act* (Urban and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000). X, 232pp., \$49.95 cloth; \$18.95 soft cover.

For some time now it has been fashionable when reviewing any sort of anthology to focus critical lens on what the anthology leaves out. In both formal and informal reviews of literary anthologies and collections of essays what an editor does not include in his or her text often takes precedent over the relative virtues of the texts actually appearing in the anthology itself. In the most postmodern of moments, absence erases presence.

Despite every good intention on my part to avoid such an approach, *Reading Race in American Poetry: An Area of Act* demands at least a passing interrogation of what it is not. What it is not is a book about the many races that comprise America and its poetry. For Nielsen and his well-respected contributors,

the term “race” remains, in virtually every instance, interchangeable with the word “black.” Imagine my surprise when I opened a book entitled *Reading Race in American Poetry* and found no essays on American Indian, Latino, Jewish, Asian American, or Arabic American poetry. To his credit Nielsen acknowledges the limited perspective of his book by quoting Shelley Fisher Fishkin’s essay, “Interrogating ‘Whiteness,’ Complicating ‘Blackness’: Remapping American Culture,” an essay with which Nielsen’s book forms a revealing intertext:

Like Shelley Fishkin, ‘I would not want my decision to frame this essay in black or white terms to be interpreted as a denial of the importance of these other groups and traditions [...] I am simply choosing to focus, at this time, on one particular aspect of a complex set of issues’ (20).

Eric Sundquist asks for the same leeway in his *To Wake the Nations: Race in the Making of American Literature*, and because his and Nielsen’s projects are so well-intentioned, the reader grants indulgences. Still, one can’t help but wonder if the oppression mindset Nielsen and Sundquist attack in their work gets ironically reinforced when one assumes the race=black.

Once I began to think of Nielsen’s book as a musing on how black and white poets enact issues of race, I found *Reading Race* engaging and provocative, particularly because the (both white and black) contributors seemed less interested in chronicling performed ethnicity and more interested in exploring the ways in which race figures into 20th century African American and Anglo American poetry. For instance, in “‘The Step of Iron Feet’: Creative Practice in the War Sonnets of Melvin B. Tolson and Gwendolyn Brooks,” Maria K Moorty suggests that Tolson’s and Brook’s war sonnets illustrate “in microcosm, the progress of the black sonnet and the richness and craft within the black poetic tradition” (133). Arguing that issues of genre and conformity become endemic of larger cultural forces, Moorty shows how Brooks and Tolson play off and with “convention” to create a poetry that resides in both white and black worlds. In perhaps the most engaging essay of the collection, Rachel Blau DuPlessis mines the *Deuvres* of American modernist poets like Wallace Stevens, William

Carlos Williams, Gertrude Stein, D.H. Lawrence, and Marianne Moore in attempt to unearth nuggets of culture work that unveil a burgeoning nation's attitudes on black and white anthologies. In larger sense Duplessis' mission is Nielsen's, for when taken as a whole, these essays not only speak to the lived experiences of race, but they also serve as concentrated poetics of black/white relations in twentieth-century America.

Reviewed by: Dean Rader
Texas Lutheran University

Linda Pertusati. *In Defense of Mohawk Land: Ethnopolitical Conflict in Native North America.* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997). 166 pp., \$14.95 paper.

On March 10, 1990, Mohawks at Kanehsatake, located in Quebec, Canada, staged an armed demonstration that lasted seventy-eight days to protest the expansion of the Oka Golf Club onto lands that the Mohawk claimed, which included their ancestral burial grounds. One Canadian officer was killed, and many on both sides were injured during the protest. The entire Mohawk-Oka conflict lasted 200 days (March 10-September 26) and finally ended when the Canadian federal government, on behalf of the Mohawks, purchased the contested land from the town of Oka. Linda Pertusati, Assistant Professor of Ethnic Studies at Bowling Green State University, offers an overview of this ethnopolitical conflict and relates it to the nearly 400 year struggle of the Mohawk Nation to retain its political and economic sovereignty. She convincingly argues that Mohawk resistance was an indigenous reaction to colonialism.

Pertusati focuses on how the militant Mohawk Warrior Movement leaders mobilized support from other Mohawks by appealing to their ideology (nationalism) and politicized ethnicity (ethnic identity and ethnic consciousness). Indeed, Mohawk beliefs in their sovereignty and rights of self-determination

strengthened their solidarity to resist the planned golf course. In addition, the author accurately evaluates Indian opposition to the proposed 1987 Meech Lake Accord, which would have marginalized Canadian Indians, reservation poverty conditions, which helped mobilize Mohawk activism, and divisions among Mohawk communities regarding the legitimacy of the Mohawk Warrior Movement.

Although the author presents a general overview of the subject, she should have included more analysis of the relationship of the Mohawk Warrior Movement with other Iroquois nations. Pertusati could have also provided a more balanced account that includes additional information regarding those who opposed the Mohawks' protest at Oka.

In Defense of Mohawk Land contains an impressive bibliography that includes a number of interviews with Mohawk participants in the conflict. Pertusati has failed to include, however, the major works of Laurence M. Hauptman, one of the foremost authorities on the Iroquois. A few illustrations would have enhanced the text as well. Nevertheless Pertusati has convincingly explained the role that ideology and politicized ethnicity play in generating and maintaining social protest by indigenous people. Repeated violations of treaty rights and non-recognition of Indian sovereignty and self-determination by federal and state governments will continue to be issues that provide solidarity among Indian nations protesting such attacks on their way of life.

Reviewed by: Raymond Wilson
Fort Hays State University

ETHNIC STUDIES REVIEW

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