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**Ethnicity: Implications
and Representations**

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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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Ethnicity: Implications and Representations

General Editor: Otis Scott

Table of Contents

Editor's Note	i
Contributors.....	iii

ARTICLES

Remembering Poland: The Ethics of Cultural Histories

William Gorski.....1

Ethnicity and Unemployment in Finland

Jan Saarela and Fjalar Finnas.....26

The Playing Ground of Childhood:

Boyhood Battles in Americo Paredes', George Washington Gomez

Delores Ayers Keller.....38

Moving Mountains in the Intercultural Classroom

Vivian Faith Martindale.....56

BOOK REVIEWS

Jane M. Gaines. *Fire and Desire:*

Mixed-Race Movies in the Silent Era,

reviewed by George H. Junne, Jr.....66

Marilyn Halter. *Shopping for Identity: The Marketing of Ethnicity*,
 reviewed by Sarah Shillinger.....68

E. San Juan, Jr. *Racism and Cultural Studies: Critiques of Multiculturalist Ideology and the Politics of Difference*,
 reviewed by Joel Wendland.....70

Nina Glick Schiller and Georges Eugene Fouron.
Georges Woke Up Laughing: Long Distance Nationalism and the Search for Home,
 reviewed by Jana Evans Braziel.....72

Corrections to Volume 24 (1, 2, 3)

Kou Vang should read Kou Yang in the *Table of Contents*.

Jennifer Jensen should read Jennifer Jensen Wallach on page 150.

EDITOR'S NOTE

This volume introduces a new look for the *Ethnic Studies Review*. We believe that this bold new presentation of the journal will be eye catching and at the same time will represent a new era and a broadened scope for *ESR*.

The concept and rendering of the cover is the creation of our editorial assistant, Eileen Claveloux. The crisp, straightforward, and aesthetically engaging graphics represent a subtle yet strong statement about the National Association for Ethnic Studies and its mission. We are excited and challenged by the obligations and scholarly possibilities presented by our new look.

The articles in this volume are connected conceptually by the important objective shaping and energizing the ethnic studies project: the need to consistently examine the cultural contexts of the ethnic group experience. And to do so with the heuristic intent of increasing the knowledge and understanding we have about the complex lives and life experiences of cultural groups in the United States and other parts of the world.

This volume makes a contribution to broadening the range of critical perspective we have about the issues, factors, and circumstances shaping the experiences of individuals and groups. William Gorski's, article, "Remembering Poland: The Ethics of Cultural Histories," offers an analysis of how selections of recent literature treat the history of twentieth century Poland. Gorski's article underscores the importance of remembering history and the relationship of accurate remembrances to shaping a clear and controlled vision of our future.

Ethnic Studies Review Volume 24

Professors Jan Saarela and Fjalar Finnäs in their article, "Ethnicity and Unemployment in Finland," present a comparative study of social integration. Their focus is on identifying the factors accounting for the differential work force presence of Swedish speakers living in Finland when compared to Finnish speakers in Finland. Their study draws our attention to language as a currency, one that opens opportunities for some and closes doors to others.

The next two articles are from graduate and undergraduate winners of the Courtland Auser and Phillips G. Davies essay contests sponsored annually by the National Association for Ethnic Studies. In "The Playing Ground of Childhood: Boyhood Battles in Americo Paredes', *George Washington Gomez*" Delores Ayers Keller engages an analytical discussion of the literary strategy of childhood play. Her discussion shows how some Chicano writers use play as a strategy for illuminating how young Chicanos deal with the duality of growing to adulthood in the United States. Vivian Faith Martindale's article, "Moving Mountains in the Intercultural Classroom," is a discussion of the learning styles and needs of college age Native Alaskan students. She examines the extent to which differences in communication styles between teachers and students too often give rise to conflict and misunderstanding between them.

We believe this volume, focusing on the implications and representations of ethnicity, lives up to the challenges of and responsibilities for adding broader perspective to ethnic studies scholarship.

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REMEMBERING POLAND: THE ETHICS OF CULTURAL HISTORIES

William Gorski
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Art Spiegelman's *Maus*, Cynthia Ozick's *The Shawl*, and Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* and *Exit into History* are recent American texts that draw upon cultural histories of Poland to launch their narratives. Each text confronts and reconstructs fragments of twentieth-century Poland at the interactive sites of collective culture and personal memory. By focusing on the contested relationship between Poles and Jews before, during, and after World War II, these texts dredge up the ghosts of centuries-long ethnic animosities. In the post-Cold War era, wherein Eastern Europe struggles to redefine itself, such texts have a formative influence in re-mapping the future of national identities.

In *The Other Heading: Reflections on Today's Europe* (1992) Derrida tells us about the importance of histories as the basis from which a people, a culture, or a nation orients itself toward future directions. He states:

Like every history, the history of a culture no doubt presupposes an identifiable heading, a *telos* toward which

the movement, the memory and the promise, the identity—even if it be as difference to itself—dreams of gathering itself; by taking the initiative, by going on ahead, in anticipation (92).

Derrida's concern about the textualizing of cultural history is voiced within the post-totalitarian moment. His musings address not only the forces of multinational economic unification in Europe but also the identity of separate nations, especially those of Eastern Europe struggling after Communist rule. In the 1990s those nations have been in the process of determining their orientation toward the future. What Derrida indicates is that a collective movement forward is intimately linked with how a people remembers its past.

Introduction

This article looks at recent American texts that draw upon cultural histories of Poland to launch their narratives. The narratives I will be examining are Art Spiegelman's *Maus* (1986, 1991), Cynthia Ozick's *The Shawl* (1989), and Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* (1989) and *Exit into History* (1993). Each text gravitates toward uncovering and reconstructing fragments of history in twentieth-century Poland. This somewhat archaeological project is carried out at the interactive sites of collective culture and personal memory. The purpose of these recollections is, in part, to collapse the exclusionary plotlines of historical master narratives and to adumbrate the fullness of the past. In the words of Walter Benjamin, the task for inclusionary historiography is to render the past "citable in all its moments" (254). In the above text the subjects whose memories are being redrawn are natives of Poland who have emigrated to the United States. I group these texts together under a generic heading of a literature of remembrance, not of memory itself but of the work of remembering, an intellectual and emotional labor that is taken up as an individual and collective project.

This recollective project is distinctly postmodern in its attitude toward memory, which is contrary to what Lyotard conceives as modernism's impulse to forget. Lyotard states,

The very idea of modernity is closely correlated with the principle that it is both possible and necessary to

break with tradition and institute absolutely new ways of living and thinking. We now suspect that this ‘rupture’ is in fact a way of forgetting or repressing the past, that is, repeating it and not surpassing it (76).

Lyotard’s formulation is apposite my study because it points to the modernist positions and strategies the subjects take up in relation to their own memory. Vladek Spiegelman in *Maus*, Rosa Lublin in *The Shawl*, and Eva Hoffman in *Lost in Translation* experience rupture, trauma and alienation as social and political realities in their native Poland. Rather than programmatic shifts toward new futures, their forgetting of the past (except in Hoffman’s case) stems from unconscious tactical maneuvers for psychological survival. However, these texts take up the post-modern work of restoring the lost or repressed fragments of the past.

If we can factor together the above statements by Derrida and Lyotard, we may come to some sense as to how the above texts under the heading of a literature of remembering, attempt to deposit the past into the present. But if we return to the idea that histories contain, presuppose, a *telos* toward which the identity of a culture is heading, then the above grouping also problematizes Derrida’s proposition. That is, although the lost history and memory that each text strives to recover is Polish, the writers, their primary settings, and general audiences are American. The texts thereby accomplish a bridging of the two cultures, Polish and American, a considerable accomplishment given the several millions of Americans of Polish descent. However, to what end—toward what *telos*—do these textual reconstructions of history serve Polish culture, the future of Poland (or for that matter, the future of the United States)?

A segment of Derrida’s *The Other Heading* was published in the January, 1993, PMLA under the title “The Other Heading: Memories, Responses, and Responsibilities.” I would like to stress here Derrida’s term “responsibility” as an important ethical feature in the act of setting forth history to generate a vision, a direction for the future. He asks:

And what if Europe were this: an opening onto a history for which the changing of the heading, the relation to the other heading or the other of the heading, were

experienced as always possible? an opening and a nonexclusion for which Europe would in some way be responsible? for which Europe would be, in a constitutive way, this very responsibility? (91)

By “the other of the heading” Derrida refers to a European cultural identity that bears responsibility toward—and respects—the multiple differences such an identity would need to contain. Hence, regarding the texts under question here, we might ask whether their American-Polish textuality is responsible toward their internal othernesses. And more pointedly to the present moment, how do these historical accounts of Poland under the blights of poverty, Nazism, or communism foster the project of envisioning a new, post-Communist Poland?

Exit Into History

Eva Hoffman’s 1993 *Exit into History* portrays the conditions in Eastern Europe in the wake of the Communist demise. In a chapter devoted to Poland, Hoffman directly addresses the matter of history and remembering:

The Poles have a tradition of tradition, a talent for historical memory—if only because for so long they had to live by it alone. They preserved their identity through memories of Poland, and through a potential ideal of Poland during more than a century of partitions, when the real Poland was wiped off the map. It’s partly where the Poles’ strong sense of themselves come from—this defiant maintenance of memory” (34).

Hoffman suggests that each new beginning “needs to construct its own history.” This task, she indicates, is problematized by the last four and a half decades—“the brand-new past . . . a chunk of history that was largely unwanted” (35). As commonly noted in postcolonial studies, initial attempts at cultural reconstruction after periods of colonization generally revert to former periods of putative national glory on which to base narratives of national identity. Within Hoffman’s Lacanian framework, this return to a “further” past constitutes a repressive strategy regarding national memory. The Poles, she suggests, should resist the impulse to redact the recent and alien Communist layer in their historical memory.

Further, regarding the strained history of Polish-Jewish relations, Hoffman asserts that this history is “largely unknown and untaught,” that periods of prejudice and persecution are flanked by “long periods of fruitful coexistence” and that both cultures “cross-fertilized” one another (104). Yet the task of reconstructing this history, she states, “is bound to be convoluted and painful” (104). In order to promote the task of Polish reconstruction, Hoffman seems to enlist Zizek’s historical application of Lacan’s repressed:

(A)s the return of the repressed demonstrates . . . the work of memory needs to be done before unconscious ideas stop exercising their force, before current reality can be faced on its own terms. Apparently history needs to be remembered before it can move on again. At the same time, history in Poland had to begin moving before it could accurately be remembered (104).

Indeed, Hoffman’s title *Exit into History* suggests a movement forward into recuperation of the past—even of the amnesia-producing Communist era. Placing Poland in the postmodern memory has this Janus-faced construct: a model of memory looking backward and forward, back to the moment of modernism and to the unthought of future—to the postmodern. Recuperation of the Polish past—whether that past is under silence, political erasure, or under trauma-induced repression—(or personal memory shaped by an over-determining collective context) will make the present bearable and the future thinkable. Hoffman, in thus framing the cultural problem for the Western reader, fosters an understanding of a situation that might otherwise seem but a ripe field of opportunity for American investors.

The Business of Remembering

When Art Spiegelman’s *Maus* appeared in 1986, it met with critical acclaim, especially for its use of the comic book genre to record personal memories of the Holocaust. *Maus* is the Holocaust survivor story of the author/narrator’s father, Vladek Spiegelman, a textile merchant from Czestochowa, Poland, who with his wife, Anja, managed to endure the loss of family and the traumas of Auschwitz. Long-repressed memory provides narrative impetus. Vladek Spiegelman had never openly discussed the

Holocaust with his American born son, Artie, and now Art attempts to retrieve the memory. My discussion here centers on the visual dimension of *Maus*. If we return to Derrida's directive that cultural histories need to be responsible to their internal others, we can assert that Spiegelman's comic book consistently keeps before the reader's eye the irreducibility of difference and otherness. Spiegelman's solution to the challenge of visually representing a multi-national narrative is to convert nationality into an allegorical figure. Allegory thus graphically maintains identity at the group level. The limits of this method are highly restrictive but reinforce the theme of the Holocaust, that is, the individual subsumed by the collective.

Two important narrative features that distinguish Spiegelman's text from other Holocaust memoirs are the comic book format and the allegorical representations of peoples as animals (Jews are mice, Germans are cats, Poles are pigs, Swedes are reindeer, etc.). The effect, or perhaps the message, of the allegory is to suggest the unalterable differences occurring at the collective levels of identity. Depicting human groups by one animal or another parallels the wearing of uniforms: identity is solidified and mobilized at the level of group affiliation, especially as identity is important in a multinational narrative bound up in the history of a world war. That Spiegelman's characters maintain their tribal masks decades after the war suggests that the current moment of globalization still operates through reductive tribal identities and, further, that the present moment is still bound to the former racial animosities that gave rise to the war. That is, the effects (read as lost memory) of former events are still producing offspring in the form of the de-humanized.

Spiegelman problematizes group membership on several fronts. The borders of otherness are sometimes drawn by nationality and sometimes by race. For instance, Americans are dogs. Yet, Americans are further defined by color: one is either a white dog or a black dog. Therefore, the status of the African race is subjugated to nationality; race is a subtext to nationality in the United States. The Jews, on the other hand, resist assimilation to national identity. The Jewish people, the focal group of the text, claim tribal identity above nationality. A Jew is first and foremost a Jew, even in America, as suggested by Spiegelman's

self-portrayal as a mouse. Another example of a people who resist the assimilation of national identity are the gypsies, who are humorously depicted as gypsy moths. The gypsies, like the Jews, are a diasporic people, and their maintenance of a position of otherness derives both from their own definition and from their host culture.

One might well ask what prompted Spiegelman to portray this tragic chapter in European history through a medium of popular culture and through the reductionist tropings of allegorized races. The allegorized figurings serve in part to historicize the narrative within the predominating fascism of the Third Reich and its imperialistic discourse of racial purity and superiority. The predatorial logic of the cat-mouse relationship is clearly extrapolated from Nazi thought, as the epigraphs to volumes *I* and *II* explain: The Jews are undoubtedly a race, but they are not human (Hitler); and

Mickey Mouse is the most miserable ideal ever revealed Healthy emotions tell every independent young man and every honorable youth that the dirty and filth-covered vermin, the greatest bacteria carrier in the animal kingdom, cannot be the ideal type of animal Away with Jewish brutalization of the people! Down with Mickey Mouse! Wear the Swastika Cross.

Spiegelman himself explains his allegorical choice for the Polish people as such:

I suppose the German epithet 'schwein' came to mind. I was looking for an animal totem outside the cat-mouse food chain that could fit into the 'Funny Animal' cartoon universe (Porky Pig came to mind) that could represent the Poles fulfilling the role of witness outside the central *maelstrom*. I wanted to reflect the Nazi hierarchy of dehumanization. Poles and Jews were both considered less than human, but the Slavic races were considered by Hitler as slaves for the Master Race; Jews until late in the war were consigned for immediate destruction, even their labor was a secondary consideration. By analogy pigs on a farm are raised for their meat; rodents are solely a threat to be exterminated. Somewhere in all my figurings were images of Polish

sausages and the notion that an 'unkosher' animal would well reflect the animus between Poles and Jews which Vladek made all too clear to me. (letter)

Spiegelman further darkens the implications of Polish anti-Semitic sentiments by narrating how Poles carried on the Nazi's work of killing Jews even after the liberation.

Maus maintains a double narrative, tracking the stream of events in the present and in the past. In the present time narrative, Spiegelman portrays his visits to his father's home in Rego Park, Queens. The very first page of volume *I* renders Vladek Spiegelman in terms of the estranging force of his personality. Art states, "I hadn't seen him in a long time—we weren't that close," and about Vladek's relationship with his second wife, Mala, "They didn't get along" (11). Though these statements do not blame Vladek for these discords, his angry outburst over the petty matter of wire hangers demonstrates that Vladek is the source of tension. However, in the interest of recording his father's survivor's tale, Art has decided to brave his father's often petulant and obsessive behavior. Structurally, each chapter begins and ends with the present-moment narrative, detailing domestic skirmishes between Vladek and Mala or repeating the age old strains between father and son. The second narrative strand, constituted out of Vladek's war memories, falls in between the parenthesis of the present. More than narrational device, the bracketing of memory demonstrates that the present contains the past.

Perhaps Spiegelman goes even further to suggest that the past imprisons the present. The dust jackets of both volumes graphically suggest the contiguity of history and the present moment. The back cover of volume *I* displays wartime Poland, partitioned by Russia and Germany; crossbones topped with mouseheads pinpoint the major concentration camps. Within this map a small streetmap of Rego Park has been inserted; the street blocks remind us of concentration camp barracks, and the railroad tracks of the Long Island Railroad cutting through the map's center echo the tracks which carted the Jews to their terminus at Auschwitz. On the back of volume *II*, the representation is inverted. That is, an aerial view of Auschwitz, with its block-like barracks and medial train tracks, quarantines within its borders a map of the Catskill Mountains, where Vladek vaca-

tions. The image within the image sardonically suggests that the shadow of the death camps still haunts the contemporary “summer camps,” the kosher resorts; in the Catskills, cats still kill mice. The figure of Vladek in his prison garb overlaps both mappings. Spiegelman thereby enunciates the various layers of his palimpsest; he visually collapses time to suggest that the parallax of historical hindsight is an illusion. The disease of the past is the symptom of the present.

Though Vladek has kept silent about his life in Poland, the silencing of personal memory has no direct connection with forgetting that memory. Silence appears to be an attempt to forget, even to destroy memory—to deny its original inscription and its residual trace. Vladek’s first remove from the site of trauma occurs in 1946 when he boards a plane with several other refugees bound for Sweden. Though the refugees fear flying, Vladek quips,

So don’t worry. Let the plane crash—at least we’ll be out from Poland It was nothing anymore there for us after the war. Nothing” (I, 123, 124).

After his first wife’s suicide in 1968, Vladek burns the journals containing Anja’s Holocaust memories: “These papers had too many memories. So I burned them” (I, 159). The language here suggests that Vladek is attempting to destroy the memories themselves, rather than just the prompts of memory. So it is with reluctance that he collaborates with his son in the enterprise to remember, though he masks his resistance behind doubts regarding the project’s commercial value: “Better you should spend your time to make drawings what will bring you some money” (I, 12).

But as much as Vladek wishes to repress Holocaust memory out of consciousness, his character and behavior attest to the active, persistent, and seemingly permanent nature of memory. I invoke here the standard Freudian paradigm of memory. As explained in “Recollection, Repetition and Working Through,” the theory of repression asserts that both consciousness and the unconscious collude in negotiating a settlement around materials which, for one reason or another, must be censored from consciousness. However, energy that originally impelled the repression of a given content cannot be stanchd, and, by associative

processes, memory constructs alternative circuits for its expression. These circuits, namely substitutes and symptoms, deflect the conscious mind from remembering the repressed contents yet also provide a partial and unsatisfactory discharge of the imprisoned energy. And as Freud notes, the unsatisfactory nature of the substitution or metaphorical displacement gives cause for a return to the original scene of repression, to work consciously through the material the subject was previously unequipped to negotiate. The symptoms and substitutions that evidence the repression of Vladek's Holocaust nightmares are sudden eruptions of temper, disturbed sleep, an obsessive need to control his environment, an exaggerated thrift that complicates his relations to loved ones, a penchant for hoarding useless objects, dissociation from feelings, and a repetitive narration of recent petty events. This last symptom–substitution–is perhaps the most crucial, as Vladek is constantly sidetracked from his Holocaust narrative by endlessly renarrating the domestic skirmishes he encounters with his second wife, Mala (also a camp survivor), whom Vladek ironically represents as his oppressor. He has no sense of scale; for Vladek, his domestic strife seems as menacing and as totalizing as the regime at Auschwitz.

Perhaps Vladek's poor sense of scale, his disproportionate emotional reactions to minor events, also lends itself to the detailed narration he provides of life in prewar and Holocaust Poland. This narration of detail, in combination with the visual format of *Maus*, contributes to a parodic aura of documentation and authenticity. In several instances Vladek sketches for his son layouts of camp buildings, cross-sections of basement hideouts, diagrams of prison labor, and step by step instructions for shoe repair. His minute attention to these details attest not only to his capacious memory, but also to his interest in structuring and mastering the physical world. Further, Vladek's day to day account of camp life—particularly those instances wherein Vladek manages to cordon off his emotional life from the environment—provides the contemporary reader with a cultural study of concentration camps. Walter Benjamin, in his "Theses on the Philosophy of History" comments:

A chronicler who recites events without distinguishing between major and minor ones acts in accordance with

the following truth: nothing that has ever happened should be regarded as lost for history . . . only a redeemed mankind receives the fullness of its past . . . its past become citable in all its moments (254).

The citing and redemption of history within *Maus* occur at the expense of the heroic and the monumental, tendencies which mark out the terrain of Modernism. Vladek's minor acts of heroism do not serve to diminish the reigning terror of the Third Reich; they serve Vladek's continuing need to stave off the terror lodged in memory. As Lawrence Langer cautions,

Only through the invention of a mythic narrative 'afterwards' can we reconstruct an idiom to change their death from a 'forgettable' (because unbearable) occasion into a memorable one (270).

Spiegelman also seems to deflate the modernist psychoanalytic notion that remembering trauma induces catharsis and hence a return to the realm of normalcy. Instead, the conscious and present containment of memory suggests a postmodern memory noted for its sense of simultaneity and coextension. Vladek's remembrance conveys no therapeutic effect. It would seem that the Holocaust has not only inscribed but tattooed the memory in some permanent way. Just as we repeatedly recognize the numbered tattoo on Vladek's forearm, the tattoo of memory cannot be erased, and any attempt to forget or cover over results only in blistering eruptions of the original trace. *Maus's* comic book survivor's chronicle restores and restories the past, but makes no claims to purging its demons.

Poland, then, becomes a primal scene that is repressed and then returns as the Real in Lacanian terms. Poland maps out the original trace of memory—personal memory inscribed by a culture of extermination. Transposed in an inter-generational narrative set in America, Poland is the irretrievable motherland (and mother), the site of primary union and disjuncture. Poland's status as the place to which return is impossible, yet which always returns through memory, further suggests Lacan's fundamental assessment of human existence. In the words of Ellie Ragland-Sullivan,

The devastating loss of symbiosis [fusion] is repressed and displaced, but symbolically felt by its effects. This

is why Lacan speaks ironically of the *faut/faux* du temps, playing on the idea that self-revelation only comes in the unfolding of a person's "epic" in time, but also on the fact that chronological time is false. The primordial separation drama creates a repressed void in being which never ceases to echo (270).

My consideration of *Maus* in the light of Lacan's developmental models in no way minimizes the particular historical contingencies of the Holocaust. My point is that *Maus's* particular border-crossings-in time, space, and genre-also raise important questions about identity, ethnicity, memory, and culture. The separation drama that Spiegelman stages marks out voids between child and parent, between Poles and Jews, and as suggested by the animal figurings, between human being and racial being.

Spiegelman ends *Maus* with an image of the gravemarker shared by Vladek and Anja, now both dead. This particular iconography speaks to Spiegelman's memorializing intent; that is, *Maus* is a textual monument (as opposed to the monumental) to the Holocaust. James E. Young, in theorizing about Holocaust monuments, comments that such monuments' "fusion of public art and popular culture" is produced specifically to be historically referential, to lead viewers beyond themselves to an understanding or evocation of events (69, 99).

The more private (yet public) graphic gravemarker in *Maus* is positioned both inside and outside of the comic text. That is, the headstone's position allows its referents to participate in the remembered world of the text and also in the world outside the text. This world outside the text is the empty margin-itself a border between inscribed textual space and the contextualizing space of the reader. The preservation of memory, the image seems to suggest, is the active awareness of this borderland, situated between text and reader, present and past, story and memory, the dead and the living, Poland and America.

As a memoir that bears enormous implications as a historical narrative, we might conclude that *Maus's* depiction of wartime Poles is rather one-sided in a negative vein. Though *Maus* does much by way of resurrecting a fragment of European history—particularly Jewish and Polish—it seems to do so without regard for the *telos* of the cultures represented. However, to be

fair to Spiegelman, no culture—American included—escapes the captivity of his satire.

Alternative Histories

Whereas *Maus* visually offers a history of totalitarian horror that the survivor would rather forget, Cynthia Ozick's *The Shawl* presents a survivor which, in theorizing its own complex hybrid status as memory and virtual memory, demonstrates the impossibility of both remembering and forgetting one fatal segment of Polish, Jewish, and European history. And whereas *Maus* visually produces a narrative schizoid split between collective representation and personal memory, *The Shawl* produces its own schizoid narrative in generating memory based on experience that never occurs.

Ozick's novella, *The Shawl*, comprised of two related stories, "The Shawl" and "Rosa," portrays Holocaust survivor Rosa Lublin as she perpetually hovers over the fields of memory, alighting on some segments and avoiding others. She creates alternative histories of her own memory; she creates an alternate memory that takes on a life of its own. This alternate memory becomes as indestructible as memory generated via experience. Rosa's present day existence in a Miami boarding hotel is a refuge from life, a sort of limbo in which she recreates her infant daughter, Magda, who was murdered in the camps.

"The Shawl," the short story which begins the novella, is set in a nameless land, in a nameless camp (which, however, as we may infer from Rosa's last name, is probably Maidenek, the camp on the outskirts of Lublin). Salman Rushdie's sentence, "My story's palimpsest country has, I repeat, no name" (88), describes well a similar status for Ozick's Poland. As a historical site, wartime Poland is already appropriated and overwritten by its captors. In some instances Polish linguistic geography is erased and denied its own name. For example, Auschwitz has replaced the Polish town named Oswiecim in a permanent way, first as a German appropriation and second as a Jewish memorial.

The anonymity of the place echoes the larger anonymity to which Rosa and all camp prisoners were subjugated. A name suggests identity, an entry into the shared world of language through which we are named and identified and through which

we continue to identify ourselves. Moreover, a name creates a sense of belonging to self and others. Naming, we could say, produces community—a shared reference. In the concentration camps, however, the names of the prisoners were stolen from them; they were re-christened with a tattooed forearm. The senseless hours the prisoners stood for appel, the guards checking and rechecking the roll of seven-digit numbers, stresses the Nazi obsession with naming (or, more precisely, with numbering). The issuing of serial numbers reveals the Nazi strategy of reifying the prisoners—that is, of converting citizenry to property, to units of production. The invocation of the prison-issued numbers, hour after hour, sardonically hearkens back to Adam and his God-granted charge to name the beings of creation. I dwell upon this specific feature of camp-life as it demonstrates the oppressors attempt to obliterate the associative tissue of memory, but also provides the setting in which Rosa's baby girl, Magda, is discovered by an S.S. guard and summarily murdered. Prior to this scene Magda has been speechless. Since mother and child have been on a death march, and Rosa can produce no milk, Magda has ceased to produce her childish speech. Ozick is perhaps suggesting a primary linkage between nurture and speech, love and language. Yet as Magda's need for nourishment persists, Rosa gives her shawl to the child to suckle on. The shawl doubles then as the mother—it becomes a substitute mother, an actual though metaphorical replacement.

The metaphorical status of the substitute is disseminated throughout *The Shawl*. Specifically Ozick repeatedly employs a chain of metaphors in order to name persons or things. For instance the following chain of four metaphors describes Rosa's dried up breasts: "The duct-crevice extinct, a dead volcano, blind eye, chill hole" (4). Other chains seem less negative, such as Magda's face peeping through the shawl: "a squirrel in a nest, safe, no one could reach her inside the little house of the shawl's windings . . . a pocket mirror of a face" (4). The insistence on metaphorical naming and renaming verges on narrational excess. However, if we focus on the rhetorical function of the metaphor as a substitute (shawl for mother), then the metaphor gains clarity as a compensatory modality for the fundamental lack that the camp prisoners experience. The mother's desire to

supply nurture—to give from her body—is perversely sublimated to the realm of discourse. Breast-feeding is substituted by metaphor, epithet, and poetry, none of which can sustain her daughter's body. Although the high instance of metaphors tends to poeticize the text and seems ironically to produce a cultural poetics of the concentration camp, I would argue that Ozick's stylistics target another agenda. That is, her primary rhetorical strategy—that of naming through a chain of metaphors—suggests that one substitution is not enough to rename the subject, not sufficient to restore the subject to a name once the name has been repressed. The bounty of metaphor signals, instead, a profound sense of lack in the symbolic domain. In this “place without pity,” stripped of culture and identity, the reliance on metaphor becomes a survival tactic. Yet it is metaphor—as poetry or as substitution (shawl)—that staves off the horrors of virtual interment. Therefore, Ozick's ironic poetics suggest a lyrical impulse of consolation, a means of denying the overwhelming denial of life that constituted every strategy of camp life.

The shawl is also a miniature palimpsest, a woven text. Rosa uses it to hide Magda, to mask her daughter's existence, for the only way to maintain one's life in the camp is to submit to the personal death of having identity erased, to become the property of the evil empire, to accept the anonymity of number. Like Poe's purloined letter, the shawl's presence, absence, possession, or loss generates narrative movement.

The pivotal event of the story occurs when Rosa's fourteen year old niece, Stella, steals the shawl (i.e., appropriates the mothering she also needs) from the sleeping Magda. When Magda awakens to discover the shawl's absence, she wanders into the yard during the appel to look for her substitutional mother. Magda shatters her long-held silence by crying out “Maaaa,” (8) the utterance which solidifies the metaphorical connection between mother and shawl. Further, Magda's “Maaaa” reinscribes Rosa with the name of mother. She has restored Rosa to her function as life-giver and nurturer. Moreover, since “ma” constitutes the first syllable in Magda's own name, its invocation is another way of saying “me.” The symbiosis of mother and daughter exemplifies Lacan's developmental paradigm of the mirror stage, wherein the child discovers its separate existence in

relation to the mother's body, "a pocket mirror of a face." And within the terms of palimpsest history, Magda represents the return of the real, that which cannot be erased—that imaginary layer of instinct and emotion erupting through the imposed symbolic layers of the palimpsest. In her innocence Magda has violated the principal dictate of tyrannical bureaucracy: she supersedes abstract number by exercising that primordial privilege of human naming. Yet for Magda's radical utterance she must pay. Her cry of "Maaaa" attracts an S.S. officer, who picks up the child and tosses her through the air to land on the electrified fence. At the sight of her daughter flying through the air, Rosa stifles her own impulse to cry out by stuffing her mouth with the now recovered shawl. Like an inverted mirror image, the shawl that once served as substitute mother-nurturer will now be transformed into a substitution for a dead daughter.

The same shawl reappears in "Rosa." The action of this story occurs in Miami, some thirty years after the war. Rosa has recently left Brooklyn after taking an ax to the secondhand shop she owned. In her one-room quarters in a cheap hotel, Rosa unpacks the shawl that Stella has mailed to her. Rosa needs the physical artifact of the shawl to invoke the reality of her daughter's fictive presence. Though Magda has been dead these thirty years, Rosa has sustained more than mere memory of Magda through various fictions: Magda the physician, Magda the Columbia University professor. In each incarnation this spectral Magda is a successful young professional. This way, through endless narratives that have no basis in fact, Rosa has created alternative histories. Salman Rushdie claims, "All stories are haunted by the ghosts of the stories they might have been" (116). The ghost stories of Magda, what her life might have been, are Rosa's palimpsest that she constructs to cover over the tragic facts of "The Shawl."

Mixed in with alternative histories, however, are Rosa's oft-nourished memories of her early life with her parents in Warsaw. Just as Rosa replaces the fact of Magda's death with fictions of her presence, she also fences out the realities of modern America with memories of prewar Poland. These memories recuperate the status her family prided themselves on before the Nazi onslaught. She scoffs at the Americans "who call her refugee"

and lump her together with ghetto Jews (20). As she says to the immigrant Persky, “Your Warsaw is not my Warsaw” (22). In Rosa’s remembrances, Poland is an amalgam of high culture, beauty, literary accomplishment, her father a scholar; her mother a poet.

In school she had read Tuwim: such delicacy, such loftiness, such Polishness. The Warsaw of her girlhood: a great light; she switched it on, she wanted to live inside her eyes. . . . Cultivation, old civilization, beauty, history! Surprising turnings of streets . . . unexpected and gossamer turrets, steeples, the gloss, the antiquity! Gardens. Whoever speaks of Paris has never seen Warsaw. Her father, like her mother, mocked at Yiddish; there was not a particle of the ghetto left in him, not a grain of rot. Whoever yearns for an aristocratic sensibility, let him switch on the great light of Warsaw (20-21).

Rosa’s claims on her father’s sublimated ethnicity are further buttressed by his sense of patriotism:

My father was never a Zionist. He used to call himself a ‘Pole by right.’ The Jews, he said, didn’t put a thousand years of brains and blood into Polish soil in order to have to prove themselves to anyone (40).

Rosa’s mother also seems to have lost her ethnic Judaism in favor of the stronger strains of Polish culture, wanting to convert to Catholicism and as a poet, her mother’s Polish was “very dense. You had to open it out like a fan to get at all the meanings” (42). These topographical anchorings of the cultural, racial, and nationalist aspects of the Polish subject make it all the more difficult for Rosa to reconcile herself to her exile in Miami. Since that earlier Poland has been destroyed, she seeks eternal refuge in the memory of the fatherland and the mother tongue.

Rosa theorizes to Persky the basis for her condition of exile. She employs a threefold partitioning of history to explain how experience has been inscribed in memory: “the life before, the life during, the life after” (58). The middle phase—the life during—is marked out by its permanence. The lives of before and after, while they may leave a trace in memory, do not have the same durability of inscription. Rosa explicates her hypothesis in

two ways:

- 1) The life after is now. The life before is our *real* life, at home, where we was born . . . [And during,] this was Hitler; 2) Before is a dream. After is a joke. Only 'during' stays. And to call it a life is a lie (58).

The duration of the Holocaust, therefore, alters the concept of memory as trace. Holocaust memory is categorically different, as Lawrence Langer argues, imposing its indelible inscription over both the before and after of passing time (263-273). The staying power of the "during" seems to elevate Holocaust memory to a fifth dimension of time, eternal recurrence or perpetual repetition of trauma. The events contained in the short story "The Shawl" constitute Rosa's "during." It is the witnessing of Magda's death that Rosa actively seeks to deny. She attempts instead to construct an alternative line of living time in defiance of the black hole of the Holocaust that continues to suck in and devour the before and after. Yet as much as Rosa insists on the reality of her fictional daughter, the end of the narrative suggests, provisionally, that Rosa may relinquish the spectral Magda to live in relation to the present.

This shift occurs when Rosa takes the shawl out of its box and envisions Magda at the age of sixteen. Rosa then writes a long letter to Magda in which she recounts how she and her parents were pressed into the Warsaw ghetto. Once again Rosa delineates family status: "My father was a person of real importance, and my tall mother had so much delicacy and dignity" (68). Yet their entry into the ghetto represents a fall, being lumped together with the mere "working class," with "teeming Mockowiczes and Rabinowiczes . . . with all their bad-smelling grandfathers and their hordes of feeble children" (68, 66). Rosa describes how she used to relate fragments of her ghetto history to the customers who frequented her Brooklyn shop. Like Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, she is compelled to repeat her narrative over and over, though Rosa's narrative lacks the former's purpose of expiation and instruction. The customers do not understand; Rosa is never heard.

In chronicling these events for Magda, her addressee is leading toward a confrontation between actual and fictive histories, toward being able to hear herself. The pocket mirror of a

face—Magda’s visual power or reproduction—takes on the auditory analog of an echo chamber. The mirror stage appropriate to the infant Magda would be reenacted for Rosa: by hearing and seeing herself through the empty reflection of the absent Magda, Rosa is confronting her own narcissism. If Rosa continues to tell her story to Magda, she must logically arrive at the moment of Magda’s death on the electrified fence. Perhaps remembrance of the trauma in all its pain will mitigate the indelible “during” as well as the alternative lives Rosa has constructed to override (overwrite) the Nazi palimpsest.

But Ozick ends *The Shawl* on an indeterminate note with Persky coming up to Rosa’s hotel room. Rosa removes the shawl from the telephone receiver, and Magda vanishes: “Magda was not there. Shy, she ran away from Persky. Magda was away” (70). Though the prognosis is indeterminate, it is hopeful. The negotiation between memory and fantasy has begun. Through a fictional narrative—Magda’s continued existence—Rosa has created a memory more real to her than her current life can dislodge. Yet through the narrating of actual memory Rosa at the point of remembering Magda’s death will have to dissolve, to kill even, the alternative daughter she has invented. If permitted the indulgence to speculate on events beyond the boundaries of the text, I would suggest that Rosa’s appointment with forestalled mourning, if it does not overwhelm and cripple her, may well lead to her entry into a new world. By “killing” her daughter, Rosa will give birth to herself.

This alternative future based on the hope built into Freud’s model of memory is not, however, what Ozick offers. Ozick’s pastiche of cultures, memories, and fabrications suggests the limitations of the psychoanalytic model of catharsis. Instead a postmodern memory is offered, one that seems to disclose a subjectivity (as well as narrative and nationality) that is non-centric. Its inclusion of radically different otherness militates against sequential time, against cause and effect, and against a model of healing that attempts to restore the subject to itself by therapeutic reintegration of repressed memory.

Ozick’s importation of Polish/Jewish culture and history into her American text also brings into view an implicit critique of mainstream American culture. As in *Maus*, Rosa’s remembrance

of a now extinct haven within Polish culture registers a larger existential alienation indicative of postwar cultural logic. However *The Shawl* projects a slim redemptive hope that American culture offers—to begin again, to rebuild a shattered life. This potential, as borne out by other immigrant narratives, speaks to the further potential within United States history to absorb the foreign subject—the refugee—within its borders, which, dialogically, necessitates an expansion and alteration of its own cultural boundaries.

Memory as Cultural Self

Eva Hoffman's *Lost in Translation* moves this study beyond recent American literary approaches to World War II into Poland's Communist era. Hoffman recounts her postwar childhood in the seemingly idyllic Cracow, her family's emigration to Vancouver when the Communists allow Jews to leave Poland in the late 1950s, and her later adult assimilation into American culture. These three movements are reflected in Hoffman's three-fold narrative arrangement: "Paradise," "Exile," and "The New World." This periodicity of personal history is resonant of Rosa's before, during, and after. Similar to Rosa's Warsovian childhood, Hoffman's "Paradise" is a charmed one, filled with happy family relations and an entry into the world of literature and imagination. Hoffman's "Exile" (the during), though in no way comparable to the trauma of the Holocaust, is nevertheless marked out by the loss of native culture and language. These losses result in alienation from social discourse as well as from her internal referencing; she occupies the marginalized zone of the immigrant. And the posited "New World" to which Hoffman assimilates slowly is yet overshadowed by her sense of exile.

Lost in Translation is memoir devoted to representing the process of memory-loss and its recuperation. And here I employ the term memory not as stored information but as the cohering processes of language, emotion, and sensation inscribed in childhood and constitutive of identity. Hoffman passionately articulates the motivating logic for her childhood recollections in the first section, "Paradise," a childhood marked not only by its intense affections, sharply defined sensations, and feelings of playfulness and wonder but also by the cruel, irrational taunts of

anti-Semitism, registered both locally and nationally:

No, I'm no patriot, nor was I ever allowed to be. And yet, the country of my childhood lives within me with a primacy that is a form of love . . . despite my knowledge of our marginality, and its primitive, unpretty emotions (74).

Poland has given her "language, perceptions, sounds" as well as first loves and the "furrows of reality" (74). Her roots as a social and psychological being have been nurtured by this first food of impressions, and moreso the topographical anchorings of Poland have delineated an organic relation to the earth:

No geometry of the landscape, no haze in the air, will live in us as intensely as the landscapes that we saw as the first, and to which we give ourselves wholly, without reservations (74-75).

Insofar as Hoffman's memoir recapitulates the generic stages of the *Bildungsroman*, her translation project is one of continual return to this Eden of Cracow:

All we have to draw on is that first potent furnace, the uncomparing, ignorant love, the original heat and hunger for the forms of the world, for the here and now (74).

The terms "uncomparing," "ignorant," and "here and now" all suggest a return to innocence, which derives its potency from a condition of internal unity, before the mark of difference produces an alienating fissure within the subject (and hence with the subject's relation to the world).

This return, however, cannot be translated into space-time reality, as Hoffman demonstrates in her first return trip to Poland in 1977 at the age of thirty-one. Poland is still under Communist rule, and aside from the visible effects of pollution, Cracow seems remarkably unchanged. Yet the familiar landscapes and social impressions fail to evoke previously felt potency. Proust's narrator concluding *Swann's Way* seems to echo in the background of Hoffman's text:

How paradoxical it is to seek in reality for the pictures that are stored in one's memory, which must inevitably lose the charm that comes to them from memory itself and from their not being apprehended by the senses.

The reality that I had known no longer existed(325). During her almost twenty year absence from Polish culture, she has decidedly acquired a hybrid-self, a tenuous negotiation between American and Polish influences. She formulates the tensions of her precarious balancing act in contrast to Theodor Adorno, “who warned his fellow refugees that if they lost their alienation, they’d lose their souls” (209). In other words don’t allow a new culture to efface your origins—don’t become a walking palimpsest. Hoffman prefers a less oppositional stance, one that allows her to lose her alienation without losing herself. And her return to Cracow proves that she has maintained to some extent her Polish self, yet the distances of time and culture have ineluctably interceded.

What exonerates Hoffman from cliché realization—you can’t go home again—are the implications this journey has for relation to the past and present:

To some extent, one has to rewrite the past in order to understand it. I have to see Cracow in the dimensions it has to my adult eye in order to perceive that my story has been only a story, that none of its events has been so big or so scary. It is the price of emigration, as of any radical discontinuity, that it makes such reviews and rereadings difficult; being cut off from one part of one’s own story is apt to veil it in the haze of nostalgia, which is an ineffectual relationship to the past, and the haze of alienation, which is an ineffectual relationship to the present (242).

Although it is not quite valid to compare the subject of an autobiography to a biographical subject (such as Vladék Spiegelman) or to a fictional character (such as Rosa Lublin), I would like to draw such a comparison, as it may provide an instructive conclusion. I want to suggest that Hoffman is able to return home, both figuratively and literally, because the radical discontinuity she suffered via emigration was comparatively easy. Though her girlhood is darkened by anti-Semitism, the greater share of her memory is positive. Vladék and Rosa, however, suffer trauma and alienation on native soil. Since their radical discontinuity begins in Poland, the project to recuperate lost memory and culture is both a problem and a necessity.

Conclusion

Yet a greater inference to be drawn from *Lost in Translation* is the comparatively open and thorough depiction Hoffman renders regarding the interplay of cultures, identity, and memory. Her engagements of Poles with American culture and the Americanized Pole's return to contemporary Poland point toward an ever-expansive (yet minutely attended and attuned) fluidity occurring within national identities. Hoffman, perhaps because of the site she occupies as Jewish-Polish-American in the post-war(s) era, performs the broadest and most constructive work of any of the writers studied here. Her work enacts for a Western readership a journey from innocence to experience that implicates the amalgam of several identities within one subject. Unlike Spiegelman's *Maus*, which insists on tribal difference as its organizing principle, Hoffman demonstrates a singular capacity for integration, or inclusion, of the past and present, Jew and Pole, East and West.

The common chord the above texts strike is the evocation of Poland as a site of unfinished business between nations, tribes, races, and intra-psychically for survivors. As Hoffman notes, both Nazi and Communist regimes constituted a stoppage of sorts for Polish history, and now the Poles must reconstitute their history in the post Cold-War era. The American writers herein discussed have helped in this effort, at least so far as our current frame of reference is a multi-national, global one. Just as the remembrance of the Holocaust has become an American project (the museums in Washington and Los Angeles; Steven Spielberg's on-line Holocaust archive), a project to preserve Jewish memory and to prevent recurrence, so too with the current focus on Eastern Europe it becomes a site not just for capital investment but of cultural interest for Americans, especially insofar as the threads of heritage are recognized.

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ETHNICITY AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN FINLAND

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This research note provides the general findings from a research project analyzing the reasons behind the lower unemployment rate of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, compared with the Finnish-speaking majority. The main conclusion is that the unemployment gap cannot be attributed to ethnic-group differences in age, education, place of residence, or industrial structure. We believe that two latent factors are highly relevant in this context: language proficiency and social integration, although no data presently available provides information about such issues.

Introduction

The empirical literature on ethnic-group differences in labour market success and income has mainly been concerned with first or later generations of immigrants versus natives (see e.g. Chiswick, 1977; 1978; Borjas, 1985; 1987; 1992; 1993; 1994). In most such comparisons, discrimination and inherent ability differences explain the higher unemployment risk and the lower income of the minority group.

Some ethnic groups, however, challenge the traditional view (Becker, 1957) on minorities and labour market discrimination. For example, American-born Chinese, Japanese and Jews are successful in the U.S. labour market (Brenner and Kiefer, 1981, Chiswick, 1983a, 1983b, Sowell, 1981), whereas unem-

ployment of Welsh-speakers is lower than that of English-speakers in Wales (Drinkwater and O’Leary, 1997). Characteristic differences (in age, education, geographical location, etc.) cannot, however, fully explain the disparities. The reasons behind these contradictory findings therefore have not been fully understood. It is plausible that latent cultural differences may be important.

Besides the majority of Finnish-speakers in Finland, there is an (native) ethnic minority group of Swedish-speakers, which constitutes barely six percent of the total population (barely 300,000 individuals). Only about 1.7 percent of the population has a native language other than Finnish or Swedish. The Swedish-speakers all live along the southern and western coastlines of the country, about half of them in municipalities (*kommuner*) where they form the local majority (see Figure 1).

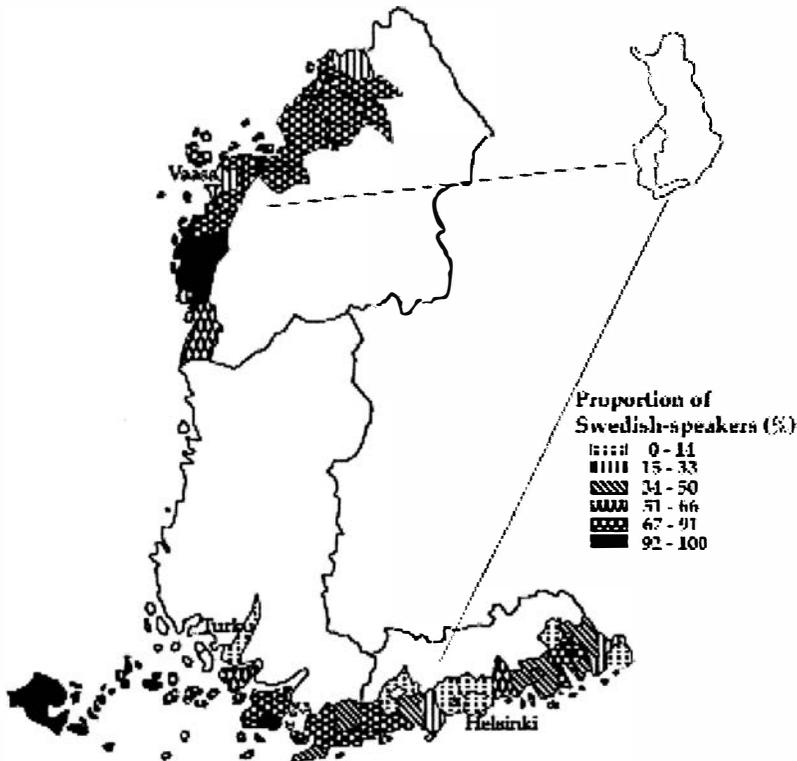


Figure 1. The geographical concentration of Swedish-speakers in Finland (1990)

Studies have shown that Swedish-speakers have better health and live longer than Finnish-speakers (see e.g. Finnäs, 1986; Saarela and Finnäs, 2002a). In addition the unemployment rate of Swedish-speakers is lower than that of Finnish-speakers. On a national level, the unemployment rate in 1990 was about 2.6 percent for Swedish-speakers and about 5.7 percent for Finnish-speakers. During the 1990s Finland experienced an economic recession during which unemployment increased dramatically; however ethnic-group differences in unemployment rates remained. In 1995 the unemployment rate of Swedish-speakers was 11.4, whereas among Finnish-speakers it was 19.3. In 1998 the corresponding numbers were 7.9 and 14.9. No successful attempts have been made to explain these ethnic-group disparities empirically.

The bilingual parts of Finland also experience the lowest unemployment rates. In counties (*län*; the three larger geographical areas in the above figure) with both Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking residents the unemployment rate was 2.9, 15.3 and 10.2 in 1990, 1995 and 1998, respectively. In the corresponding years the overall unemployment rate in the other counties in Finland was 7.3, 21.5, and 17.7.

Reasons behind the difference in unemployment rates between Swedish-speakers and Finnish-speakers in Finland previously has not been analyzed. The present research note will provide the main findings of a research project analysing this issue (Saarela and Finnäs, 2001; 2002b). In order for the reader to better understand the interpretation of the results, we start with providing an overview of the Swedish-speakers' situation in Finland.

The Swedish-Speaking Ethnic Minority in Finland

Municipalities in Finland are either bilingual or monolingual. A municipality is classified as bilingual if the minority exceeds 8 percent or 3,000 inhabitants. In a bilingual municipality people are entitled to use either Finnish or Swedish with local authorities (i.e., local authorities must provide service in both languages).

The roots of the Swedish-speaking community in Finland go far back in history. For several centuries Finland was integrated

and an equal part of the realm of Sweden. Swedish was then the dominant language of government, business, and culture. In 1809, when Finland became a part of the Russian Empire, the Swedish-speaking population was about 15 percent of the total population. It was, however, not until the end of the 19th century that the Finnish language achieved equal status with Swedish. According to the Constitution Act of 1919 Finnish and Swedish have equal status as official languages. In 1917 Finland declared its independence. In the 1920s and 1930s attitudes towards the Swedish-language issue sharpened, but the wars against the Soviet Union in 1939-1940 and 1941-1944 united the two ethnic groups.

The Swedish-speaking ethnic minority (ethnicity is defined on the basis of native language) is guaranteed constitutional rights and is covered by a considerable organizational and institutional network. This institutional support is political and educational, as well as cultural.

The national awakening of Swedish-speakers at the end of the 19th century generated a number of institutions which still have great vitality. A Swedish-language political party was founded, the Swedish People's Party (*Svenska Folkpartiet*). This non-socialist party has in general elections attracted over 70 percent of all Swedish-speaking voters. The party has also been represented in most governments since Finland's independence. It has been more influential than its size and has protected fairly successfully the interests of the Swedish-speakers. At present it has twelve of the two hundred seats in the Finnish Parliament. The party has one representative in the present national government and one member in the European Parliament. Also the other (more dominant, Finnish-speaking) political parties have operations in Swedish.

Another important political pressure group that protects the interests of Swedish-speakers is the Swedish Assembly of Finland (*Svenska Finlands Folkting*). It represents a cross-section of political opinion and receives financial support from the Government.

Bilingual municipalities are required to provide schools for both language groups. There is a school system that can offer teaching in Swedish from elementary up to university level. One

Swedish-speaking university (*Åbo Akademi*), several bilingual universities, and a number of tertiary-level institutions guarantee teaching at the highest education level. Swedish is a compulsory subject at Finnish-speaking comprehensive schools, as is Finnish at Swedish-speaking comprehensive schools.

There are also other important institutions. One of the brigades of the Finnish defense forces provides instructions in Swedish (*Nylands Brigad*). Most young Swedish-speaking males do their compulsory military service within this brigade. There is a diocese for Swedish-speaking parishes in the Evangelical-Lutheran Church to which 85 percent of the population belong. Swedish-speaking free-church communities are also numerous. Moreover, there are Swedish-speaking co-operative organizations within agriculture, banking, insurance, book publishing, fur trading, and retail business, as well as Swedish-speaking cultural foundations and associations.

Swedish-speakers have a fairly extensive cultural life, which includes theatres, newspapers and sports associations. The Finnish Broadcasting Company (YLE) maintains two radio channels and one TV-channel that are Swedish-speaking. Numerous books and magazines are also published in Swedish.

It is thus fairly evident that the institutional network constitutes an important element for the vitality of the ethnic minority group of Swedish-speakers in Finland.

Research Results

Statistics Finland (*Statistikcentralen*) maintains register data of the total population of Finland, including information on personal characteristics, such as age, gender, education, municipality of residence, labour market status, etc. These registers also include a language variable, which indicates the unique mother tongue of each citizen; consequently empirical research must not be undertaken on the basis of samples (only). We have used data consisting of cross sections at the end of the years 1990, 1995 and 1998 of the total Swedish-speaking and Finnish-speaking population of Finland aged twenty-sixty to sixty-four (about three million individuals per year). Due to the geographical concentration of Swedish-speakers and regional differences in unemployment rates we have restricted the data to the bilingual

part of the country, i.e. the geographical area that consists of the bilingual municipalities.

It is reasonable to argue that ethnic-group differences in unemployment may be due to differences in labour force participation and (or) between-group differences in personal characteristics, such as age, education, and municipality of residence. Our empirical analyses could, however, not find any support for the hypothesis that Swedish-speakers and Finnish-speakers differ with regard to labour force participation. We therefore concentrated our subsequent analyses on labour force participants (employed and unemployed). However the unemployment gap between Swedish-speakers and Finnish-speakers decreased only marginally when we controlled for the impact of age, education, gender, and municipality of residence. The results indicated that there is an ethnic-group difference in the odds for being unemployed, of about 30 percent.

It also would be reasonable to assume that ethnic-group differences in industrial distribution, i.e. the fact that Swedish-speakers and Finnish-speakers to some extent work in different industries, may explain the unemployment gap. In order to test such a hypothesis, we also have used panel data (an extract from the Finnish Longitudinal Census Data File). The analysis results suggested that the effect of (the most recent) industry of work has a significant impact on unemployment, but only to a very limited extent explains the ethnic-group difference.

A third type of data including time spent unemployed in the local labour market Vaasa indicated that Swedish-speakers have shorter unemployment spells than Finnish-speakers. In relation to the above findings we could conclude that there also must be an ethnic-group difference in the inflow into unemployment (which we have not been able to observe explicitly).

In our empirical analysis we have accounted for the effects of a number of socio-demographic characteristics as well for the municipality of residence. Still there is a substantial unemployment gap between Swedish-speakers and Finnish-speakers which we have not been able to explain; therefore we will discuss some other plausible explanations although we emphasize that we cannot test them empirically with presently available register data.

Alternative Explanations

We believe two latent factors are highly relevant when one compares Swedish speakers with Finnish speakers with regard to unemployment: language proficiency and social integration.

Higher language proficiency implies higher individual productivity, while higher level of social integration, i.e. more extensive social networks (cf. Coleman, 1988; Montgomery, 1992), induce a more efficient job search. Language skills could make it easier for a person to become employed, because he or she is assumed to have a higher individual productivity than a person without language skills (cf. McManus et al., 1983). More and better social networks, in terms of friends and other personal contacts, reduce the time spent searching for a job (cf. Blau and Robins, 1990; Wadsworth, 1991).

It is commonly thought that Swedish-speakers to a higher extent than Finnish-speakers are bilingual, i.e. that they speak both Swedish and Finnish fluently. There is no Finnish data that would provide information about language proficiency (nor about social integration) linked to individual labour market outcomes. There is, in fact, very little known about individual bilingualism in Finland. No recent data exist that would provide information about individual language proficiency. There is a census from 1950, which included a question about knowledge of Finnish and Swedish, and a smaller survey directed to the Finnish population in 1987 (cf. Sandlund and Björklund, 1980; Sandlund, 1991). The 1950 census clearly indicated that bilingualism was much more frequent among Swedish-speakers. Whereas about half the Swedish-speaking population considered themselves to be bilingual, fewer than one-third of the Finnish-speakers, in the bilingual area, did. In bilingual municipalities with a Finnish-speaking majority, more than 80 percent of the Swedish-speakers considered themselves to be bilingual. The survey from 1987 found that, in general, knowledge of Swedish among Finnish-speakers has increased; however fewer than half of the Finnish-speakers living in the bilingual area considered themselves to be reading and speaking Swedish "well" or "rather well." Due to the migration of Finnish-speaking individuals into the bilingual area, Swedish-speakers have more and more become a local minority, but there are no reasons to

believe that knowledge of Finnish among Swedish-speakers has decreased.

Another notable issue in the present context is the existence of bilingual families. More than 30 percent of the younger Swedish-speakers have a bilingual family background. Only 5 percent of the Finnish-speakers, in the bilingual area, come from bilingual families (Finnäs, 2000). We are confident that most Swedish-speakers with a bilingual background speak Finnish fluently. Individual bilingualism would consequently favour Swedish-speakers in the labour market.

There is also the issue of employment discrimination, implying that persons with identical productive characteristics are treated differently because of the ethnic group to which they belong (cf. Ehrenberg and Smith, 1994, 402). Half the population of Swedish-speakers live in municipalities where they form the local majority. Finnish-speakers could, being a minority in such areas, be discriminated against; however it is plausible that language proficiency requirements are higher in areas with a higher proportion of Swedish-speakers. This would benefit Swedish-speakers in their job search, since they to a greater extent are bilingual than Finnish-speakers. There are some indications that ethnic-group differences in unemployment increase with the proportion of Swedish-speakers in a municipality. We cannot adjudicate between these two explanations, although we doubt that they fully explain the ethnic-group difference in unemployment.

The other latent factor that may explain the unemployment gap between the two ethnic groups is social integration (or social capital). This concept is hard to quantify. No adequate empirical measure has yet been established. Putnam (1993; 1995), for example, has argued that there is reciprocal relationship between community level involvement and trust in others, which induces a high level of social integration in a society (subpopulation). This will in turn manifest in the attributes and activities (e.g. the unemployment situation) of individuals who live in such a society.

We believe that there is a higher degree of social integration among Swedish-speakers than among Finnish-speakers (see also Hyyppä and Mäki, 2001a; 2001b). Besides the institutional sup-

port discussed in the previous section, which is important in this context, two other aspects suggest there being a higher degree of social integration in the Swedish-speaking population. Within the bilingual area geographical mobility has been higher among Finnish-speakers. In 1995 about 80 percent of the Finnish-speakers aged 20-34 lived in the same area as they did in 1990, while the corresponding figure among the Swedish-speakers was as much as 95 percent. If the length of an individual's stay in a region is positively correlated with the degree of social integration, this may induce a more favourable position for Swedish-speakers. A fairly common argument is that all Swedish-speakers "know each other."

Secondly, it is plausible that ethnic-group differences in divorce rates may be an indication for differences in the level of social integration. The divorce rate among Swedish-speakers is almost half that of Finnish-speakers (Finnäs, 1997).

Finally, we want to point out one aspect that might be assumed important but which we do not believe has any major impact. One could argue that ethnic-group differences in unemployment are the results of a sorting process (cf. Weiss, 1995), induced by emigration. It is a well-known fact that emigration, foremost to Sweden, was very strong in the 1960s and 1970s, and that it was much more frequent among Swedish-speakers than among Finnish-speakers (Finnäs, 1986, 1994). The similar relationship between ethnicity and emigration still exists, although the emigration flows are much smaller. This may be assumed to generate a sorting process where a higher proportion of Swedish speakers than Finnish speakers emigrate instead of being or becoming unemployed. The implication would then be a higher average productivity and thus better labour market performance among non-emigrating Swedish-speakers than among non-emigrating Finnish-speakers. However we believe that migration flows have a very small impact on the unemployment gap between the ethnic groups, because Finnish-speakers are much more mobile than Swedish-speakers with regard to long-distance migration within the country (Finnäs, 1994). Also migration out of the bilingual area is much more frequent among Finnish-speakers, which consequently contradicts the sorting hypothesis.

Based on the discussion above, there are good reasons for Swedish-speakers to have lower unemployment rates than Finnish-speakers. As stated earlier, there is no obvious way for us to differentiate empirically between potential effects induced by language proficiency and social integration. We do not therefore claim that our empirical results will be specifically in favour of any of these factors.

A main advantage of using large register data sets is that it provides the opportunity to reject (with certainty) some aspects as being explanations. Additionally the method of approach clearly raises a number of other interesting research questions, for example that of how to measure potential ethnic-group differences in social integration. One way to proceed with such analyses would be to use data including a number of potential indicators for social networks, such as participation in different social activities. An attempt to construct survey data concerned with language proficiency of each ethnic group would be another avenue. In any case, we believe that our research results may be of interest to an international audience.

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**THE PLAYING GROUNDS OF CHILDHOOD:
BOYHOOD BATTLES IN AMÉRICO PAREDES'
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Although playing is generally viewed as a childhood universal—an expected and somewhat innocuous part of children's lives—Chicano writers often particularize play's universality by constructing the diverse grounds of childhood play as sites that encapsulate conflicting subject positions. Among the Chicano texts in which playing shares this complexity as a critical locus for the child protagonist is Américo Paredes' *George Washington Gómez*. Paredes employs narratives of childhood play in a dialectical pattern that elucidates his protagonist's inner and outer conflicts and that also evokes Ramón Saldívar's theory of Chicano literature. While Guálinto Gomez's playworlds reflect both the violence and discrimination that surround him in the real world and highlight his struggles with his dual American and Mexican identity, Paredes provides no synthesis for his protagonist's dialectical dilemma of

doubleness.

In Chicano literature children and childhood have been prominent concerns, and, according to Chicano literary critic and theorist, Juan Bruce-Novoa, “By the early 1970s, the [Chicano] novel tended to fall loosely within one pattern, that of the *Bildungsroman*” (82). As Ted Lyon also notes, “Much of contemporary Chicano prose creates a child or adolescent protagonist, narrator, or focus character” engaged in a “search for identity” that entails “the concept of ‘loss of innocence’” (255). In this “search for identity” many of the children in Chicano literature find themselves situated precariously at the crossroads of two cultures, languages, and loyalties and confronted with dilemmas and oppositions that seem impossible to reconcile. While Chicano children have a “wide diversity” of life experiences during childhood, Chicano writers often incorporate an overriding theme into that diversity—the troubled adjustment of Mexican Americans to American culture” (Portales 69, 48). In the articulation of this “troubled” position, Chicano authors frequently employ the motif of childhood play as a site of both destructive and constructive experience for their child characters.

Although playing is generally viewed as a childhood universal—an expected and somewhat innocuous part of children’s lives—Chicano writers particularize play’s universality by constructing the diverse grounds of childhood play as sites that encapsulate conflicting subject positions. According to Rosaura Sánchez, it is the “general marginalization in society, on the basis of class, ethnicity, and gender, that Chicano literature has reconstructed textually” (1011), and the children in Chicano literature are often acutely aware of their marginalized status both as children subject to adult authority and as Chicanos subject to societal oppression. Sánchez also asserts that

Chicano novelists and short story writers have used many literary strategies to call attention to the cultural, political, and economic constraints within which Chicanos live and work, constraints formative of discourses used to construct Chicano subjectivities” (1021).

For Chicano writers one of these “literary strategies” is the use of narratives of playing in which the site of play embodies the internal and external oppositions that plague children as they move from childhood to adolescence and into adulthood. In these fictional worlds of play, issues of race, ethnicity, class, and gender often collide with the processes of identity formation and the loss of naiveté, and as a result the site of play becomes a complex ground of multiple struggles with self-definition. Among the Chicano texts in which playing shares this complexity as a critical locus for the child protagonist is Américo Paredes’ *George Washington Gomez*.¹ By alternating between situations that conflate play experiences with real world experiences and situations that place the two in opposition, Paredes elucidates his protagonist’s inward and outward struggles to define himself and to cope with the often violent erasure of “the disjunction of childhood innocence and adult maturity” (Sutton-Smith 115-116).

According to play theorist Brian Sutton-Smith, one of the popularly held ideologies about childhood play is the belief that play is “frivolous” (10,11). However, the “rhetoric” which relegates play to the realm of frivolity “takes on a much more serious purpose when we view it as an implicit form of political or scholarly denigration” (207-208). Sutton-Smith argues that this “denigration of play in intellectual terms is shown by the absence of the key term *play* from the index of almost every book about the behavior of human beings”. (208)

Furthermore, Sutton-Smith asserts that whenever “the spontaneous play of children, women, [and] minority groups” is classified “as trivial or frivolous,” this categorization serves to demean “these [already] denigrated groups.” Moreover, “[a]ll of these denigrated groups are generally as deadly serious . . . about their own play as are those who denigrate them; they are not frivolous in their own eyes; they are seriously at play”. (208).

Significantly in their serious play pursuits children often disassemble “the world . . . in a way that suits their own emotional responses to it,” and in this way “their play is a deconstruction of the world in which they live” (208, 166). Yet at the same time the player must retain “supreme awareness of the two levels of being, the virtual and the mundane, and how she [or he] can

interact with both of them.” The “manipulation of that duality is central to the character of . . . play. There is the mundane and there is the virtual (as thesis and antithesis) and there is a synthesis in the ongoing play transformations that this duality then produces, and so, structurally, it is a dialectic” (196).

Recognizing both the pivotal role of play in human behavior and its dialectical nature, Paredes constructs the site of playing as much more than a space of frivolity. In *George Washington Gomez* Paredes employs narratives of boyhood play in order to foreground the dialectical nature of his protagonist’s inner and outer conflicts in a strategy that evokes Ramón Saldívar’s theory of Chicano literature. According to Saldívar, instead of “passively reproducing images of reality, the task of contemporary Chicano narrative is to deflect, deform, and thus transform reality by revealing the dialectical structures that form the base of human experience.”

Saldívar suggests,

In opting for open over closed forms, for conflict over resolution and synthesis, in proclaiming its very difference, the function of Chicano narrative is thus to produce creative structures of knowledge to allow its readers to see, to feel, and to understand their social reality.

Saldívar further explains this process as one of “duality,” and asserts, “The ideology of difference of Chicano narratives emerges from . . . its paradoxical impulse toward revolutionary deconstruction and toward the production of meaning” (CN 7). He states that Chicano texts

must be understood as different from and in resistance to traditional American literature, yet must also be understood in their American context, for they take their oppositional stance deliberately in order to offer readers a reformulation of historical reality and contemporary culture that is more consistent with the way reality and culture are actually experienced (CN 8-9).

George Washington Gomez, published in 1990 but written by Paredes in the late 1930s,² possesses both “a reformulation of historical reality” (CN 9) through correctives to the historical account as rendered by the colonizer³ and contemporary relevance, for, as Marco Portales asserts,

The educational practices and attitudes revealingly dramatized by Paredes in the 1920s and 1930s still largely shape the educations that Chicanos and other Latinos and minority students experience in the United States (83).

Portales notes that Paredes' child protagonist is trapped "in an education system that does not even try to understand the values and ways of Mexican American culture" (85). As Portales points out, "Paredes . . . makes it clear that formidable social pressures everywhere force Chicanos to choose between being Mexican or American"; thus Paredes effectively "captures the quandary of Mexican American split-allegiance" (94).

According to Saldivar, "Américo Paredes has argued that this sense of 'an in-between existence' characterizes Mexican American border culture" and "also characterizes one aspect of the complex polarity of identity, both Mexican and American but neither one nor the other fully, that is so evident in contemporary Chicano narrative". (CN 17-18).

The "sense of 'an in-between existence'" is powerfully depicted in Paredes' *George Washington Gomez*, which "takes especially as its moment the 1915 uprising in South Texas by Mexican Americans attempting to create a Spanish-speaking republic of the Southwest (Saldívar, "Borderlands." 276). The "seditionists" of this uprising were "answering deep-seated feelings of anger and frustration over Anglo oppression and injustice," but "were overwhelmed by the American military forces." During "the aftermath of the seditionist uprising, hundreds of innocent Mexican-American farmers and ranchers were slaughtered by Texas Rangers, summarily executed without trial at even the smallest hint of possible alliance with, or even sympathy for, the seditionists". (276). As Saldívar explains, "Paredes' novel situates us in the midst of this historical scenario, taking its tone from the pathos of those innocents from whom was exacted the cost of defeat" (277). However, as Monika Kaup states, "While the hero of the seditionist prologue to the novel is Feliciano, the courageous defender of the old order, [Paredes places] the focus of the main plot . . . on the next generation, and its subject is the formation of a new dual and conflicted, Mexican and American identity". (373).

The representative of this “next generation” in Paredes’ *George Washington Gomez* is the child protagonist who bears the same name as the title of the novel. Born in 1914 and called Guálinto by his friends and family, he and his older sisters, Carmen and Maruca, are raised by their mother, María, and her brother, Feliciano, after the murder of their father. Set primarily in the fictional border town of Jonesville, this narrative, which begins in the early years of the 20th century and concludes during the years of World War II, is the story of Guálinto’s struggle to come to terms with his identity as both a Mexican and an American. One of the crucial considerations in this text is that Guálinto does not know the truth about his father’s death nor does he know that his Uncle Feliciano was a part of the band of men who wanted to reclaim the lands that the gringos had stolen from the Mexican people of south Texas. Although Guálinto’s father, Gumersindo, is murdered by Texas Rangers shortly after Guálinto’s birth, Gumersindo is able to make a dying wish known to Guálinto’s Uncle Feliciano: “Gumersindo opened his eyes and looked at Feliciano with no hint of surprise. ‘Don’t tell him,’ he mumbled through bruised lips. . . . ‘My son mustn’t know. Ever. No hate, no hate’”. (GWG 21) Feliciano, although appalled by this request, promises to abide by Gumersindo’s wishes.

Settling in Jonesville after Gumersindo’s murder, Feliciano obtains work and provides María and her family with a home that “[i]n later years George W. Gómez would remember . . . as an enchanted place” (50).⁴ Feliciano has regrets about his promise to Gumersindo but remembers that “[m]any times before, Gumersindo had said that he wanted his son to have no hatred *in his heart*”; Guálinto “must grow up to be a great man and help his people.” Feliciano, nevertheless, reflects on the difficulty of keeping this promise: “It would be very hard to keep such a terrible truth from this male child. Never to tell him how his father died, never to give him a chance at vengeance” (31). Yet while Feliciano keeps his promise for many years, he is unable to shelter the child Guálinto from other forms of knowledge and real world experiences that are just as capable of producing hatred and anger.

During the early years of his childhood, however, Guálinto

does have a tangible shelter from the outside world in the form of the banana tree grove behind his home that his Uncle Feliciano had planted when Guálinto was an infant. Guálinto is enthralled with this grove that is his backyard retreat and playing ground of magical make-believe: "Here Guálinto hunted tigers and engaged pirates. Here he became a lone Indian tracking the wounded deer." However, the banana grove possesses a dual nature for Guálinto who fears the night: "With darkness the banana grove and the trees beyond it became a haunted wood where lurked demons, skeletons and white-robed women with long long hair". Guálinto's imaginary fears parallel real world events, for his "neighborhood, being at the edge of town, had seen more than its share of [political] bloodshed"; thus the bodies of the victims "haunted the night" for Guálinto, whose "mother tried to calm his fears with religion" (50). Before going to bed each night, he says a prayer which ends with the lines, "If I die without the grace of God/I shall burn in Hell forever," and these words cause him to lie in bed "hat[ing] God for being so cruel" (51). Little Guálinto, not yet old enough to begin school, is also filled with "[s]trange, terrible questions [that] surged inside him":

Why am I, I? Why are things things and how do I know that they are? Will they be the same when I die like the prayer says, and how will I know they will be the same when I am dead and can't see them any more? (51-52)

Guálinto's preoccupation with death in these questions is important, for it constitutes a prelude to the murder he will soon witness during playtime.

Guálinto, who "like[s] to play" at the home of Chicho and Poncho Vera, is "playing with Chicho out on the sidewalk" when Meno, the Veras' neighbor, is murdered (55). While Chicho "had vanished with the first shot," Guálinto, "his hands tightly clenched around the pickets of the fence, his face pressed against them," (56) sees the gruesome and cold-blooded murder of the man who, only minutes before, had been chatting with him and Chicho. As a witness to the murder Guálinto is terrified that "the law" will "take him away, pushing him along in front of them and cursing him," and that the policemen will "beat him to make him tell all". While these thoughts run through the little boy's mind, the killers are "in plain sight," standing "down the

road.” (57) Yet the policemen are unconcerned about both the killers’ and Guálinto’s presence. Finally, Guálinto is able to make his “trembling” (58) body respond, and he races for the safety of his own house.

This brutal disruption of Guálinto’s play world emphasizes the real world violence that inhabits the *barrio* and foregrounds the disregard that “the law” has for the lives of the *barrio*’s inhabitants. Guálinto’s witnessing of Meno’s murder also dispels the illusion of childhood as a site protected from certain kinds of knowledge. As Guálinto’s thoughts reveal, even as a preschooler he has some knowledge of the inequities and cruelties in the world around him, for his fear that “the law” will “curse” and “beat” him even though he is only a small boy who has engaged in no wrongdoing emphasizes the fact that Guálinto knows that these particular lawmen are corrupt. The intrusion of this real-world violence and abuse into Guálinto’s playtime also blurs the opposition of Guálinto’s “enchanted” home and the “violent” neighborhood that surrounds it, and Guálinto will soon transfer the violence of the real world to the site of his home when he brings a make-believe play world of battle into the banana grove that is “his best friend” and his “playground and playmate” (67).

Although his father’s dying wish had been that Guálinto would have no hate in his heart, Guálinto is already experiencing forceful emotions of hate and rage which erupt into fantasies and scenes of imaginary violence. Embarrassed at church when another child makes fun of him for having shortening in his hair (which his mother had decided to use when she found that they were almost out of brilliantine), Guálinto rages inwardly as he walks home:

He hated his mother, he hated everybody, he was alone in the world He choked and walked faster, his lower lip trembling. He would go away. They would be sorry, all of them. He would go away and become a big bandit. Or a *rinche* maybe. And then he would come back and kill people (62).

His thoughts settle on the murder of Meno, and he declares to himself that “he would kill the chief of police who kicked Meno Menchaca after he was dead” (62-63). Guálinto’s reeling thoughts continue in vivid and violent detail⁵:

He'd kill everybody and burn the houses down and his mother would come out crying and asking him not to kill her too. Then he'd sneer coldly and ride away on his big black horse all covered with shiny silver things. Yes, the sissy's sister would notice him then, all dressed up like a charro in black and gold and silver. and Uncle Feliciano

No. He couldn't be a *rinche*, after all. Uncle Feliciano hated the *rinches* and he'd have to kill him too. Guálinto did not want to do that, so he couldn't be a *rinche*. But he could fight against the *rinches* and get killed. That was it. Then they would bring his body home all covered with dirt and blood like Meno Menchaca's. Guálinto shuddered deliciously. (63)

Part imaginative imitation of real-world violence, part reaction to the taunts of others,⁶ and part "self-pity" for himself as a child subjected to adult regulation, this passage shows the conflict of subject positions at war within Guálinto. Moreover, Guálinto's "delicious" hate-filled fantasy of killing and vengeance is in complete opposition to Gumersindo's dying wish that his son should not be consumed with hatred. Requiring Feliciano to keep the circumstances of his death a secret from his son has not guaranteed, after all, that the son will be spared the lessons of life that teach hatred and violence.

Transferring his knowledge of real world hatred and violence to his playworld of the banana grove, six-year-old Guálinto stages a make-believe fight with a banana tree that he has imaginatively transformed into a *rinche*. In Guálinto's make-believe fight, as in most make-believe play, "the logic of play is the logic of dealing with emotions such as anger, approval, or fear" (Sutton-Smith 158). Thus, "the unreal worlds of play . . . are about how to react emotionally to the experience of living in the world and how to temporarily vivify that experience by transcending its usual limits." (159) In Guálinto's real-world role of child he is considerably limited in his ability to combat the sources of power that confine, ridicule, and constrain him; moreover he is powerless to combat the violence perpetrated on Mexican Americans by Anglos. However through his staging of make-believe combat with a make-believe Texas Ranger,

Guálinto creatively transforms his position of powerlessness into one of power; he deconstructs “the world in which [he] lived” (166) and in his reconstruction of that world inverts its power.

Consequently in this imaginary battle Guálinto is no longer a taunted child nor the helpless and terrified little boy who witnessed Meno’s murder; he is, instead, a fearless defender of his people: Pulling out “from beneath his dotted calico shirt . . . a piece of knotted pine wood whittled into a fair imitation of a dagger,” Guálinto shouts, ‘*Rinche!*’ as “he eye[s] the plant in front of him.” Challenging the banana-tree *rinche*, he continues the pretend confrontation:

‘Where is Apolonio Gonzalez? . . . Speak, you dog.’
His fingers clasped and unclasped the dagger’s haft.
The banana trunk was silent . . . Gualinto laughed a
harsh laugh. ‘A coward,’ he said. ‘A coward like all
your kind.’ The object of his hate took the insult meek-
ly, offering no resistance.

Guálinto then escalates his make-believe battle, and, approaching closer to the plant, he accuses the imaginary *rinche*, “‘You have killed another Mexican who never hurt you.’” With these words Gualinto lashes out with his imitation dagger, and “a thin trickle of clear fluid ooze[s] out of the plant. Spurred on by this action, Gualinto says with a sneer:

‘Why don’t you try to kill me, eh? Because you shoot
people in the back. Because you kill unarmed men and
little children. Go back to your camp and tell old man
Keene that Guálinto Gómez doesn’t kill men who won’t
fight.’

Imagining that “the treacherous *rinche*” is drawing out his gun, Guálinto sinks “his dagger into the wretch’s side,” and “again and again Guálinto’s knife” pierces the make-believe *rinche*. Guálinto then pushes “the buried dagger deeper and deeper, working it around in the wound to make it more surely fatal” (68).

Guálinto is decidedly the victor in this imaginary battle, and, as Sutton-Smith explains, one of the attractions of play is its “potential promise that one can never quite lose while still at play” (212). However reality intrudes abruptly into Guálinto’s imaginary world of conquest disturbing the psychic satisfaction

of this make-believe victory. When Guálinto hears the “sound of his mother’s voice . . . calling Maruca,” her voice brings him back from his play world into the real world with a jolt. As he surveys the results of his violent encounter with the banana plant, Guálinto finds that “the once-smooth stalk was a pulpy oozing mess, scratched, stabbed and cut, with patches of skin-like bark hanging loose.” Guálinto is “frightened” by “the damage” that he has inflicted on the tree; “He had almost killed the plant.” He tries frantically “to close up the wounds” on the tree but realizes “he could not hide everything”; even his shirt is “damp from the banana stalk sap,” which he knows “no amount of scrubbing could take off” (68, 69).⁷ Back in the real world and fearful of punishment, Guálinto’s “everyday self” (Sutton-Smith 159) knows that he has neither the power to kill *rinches* nor permission to mutilate banana trees.

On a symbolic level Guálinto’s violent slaying of the imaginary *rinche*, whom Guálinto accuses of being a killer of innocent Mexicans, is an enactment of revenge for the slaying of his father, for, even though Guálinto does not know that *rinches* murdered Gumersindo, he does know that the *rinches* murder innocent and defenseless people as is evidenced by his play dialogue. As Greta G. Fein states, “Pretend statements can be understood as statements ‘of’ real-world events based on children’s everyday experiencing of these real-world events”; therefore, “pretend scenarios can illuminate children’s real-world knowledge” (287). It is also worth noting that in damaging the banana tree Guálinto damages the fruit of his uncle’s labor and, in fact, Guálinto will eventually hurt his uncle deeply when he later becomes ashamed both of his family and of the house that Feliciano has worked so hard to provide María and her children.

On still another level this imaginary battle prefigures the real-life knife fight that Guálinto as an adolescent will have with Chucho who provokes Guálinto by making unsavory comments about Guálinto’s unmarried and pregnant sister, Maruca. This play battle also points toward the confrontation between Guálinto and the stranger that he fears he has killed near the novel’s conclusion. The stranger, however, turns out to be his exiled, seditionist Uncle Lupe whose death is the result of illness and not the blow that Guálinto deals him. Thus Guálinto’s play-

world battle forms an ironic opposition to the real-world battles with both Chucho and Lupe, for in the real world Guálinto fights not *rinches* but one of his own people and a member of his own family,⁸ and at the close of the novel George G. Gómez spies not on *rinches* but on the friends of his youth.

Guálinto's disparagement of his own people at the novel's conclusion is foreshadowed by the quick recovery that the child Guálinto makes from his fear of punishment for fatally wounding the banana tree. While resting in the grove after his violent play combat, Guálinto hears a bee buzzing as it meanders through the flowers. Then abruptly all is quiet, until Guálinto hears "a desperate buzz that rose and rose till there was a miniature tornado under the purple leaf" (69). Watching the entangled bee at last extricate "itself from the place where it had been wedged," Guálinto "laugh[s] out loud" as the bee first appears "silent and wobbly," and "[t]hen getting its bearing, [it floats] upward, disappearing into a patch of blue sky that was surrounded by green leaves," once more buzzing "its soft sleepy murmur" (69). This scene functions as a metaphor for Guálinto's own situation, for Guálinto himself is "wedged" between two cultures, and his choice of extrication will involve denying his Mexican heritage by "disappearing" into Americanization in a "desperate" rejection of his own culture and people.

The banana tree grove, the site of both the imaginary battle and the struggling bee, will remain a place of refuge for Guálinto throughout his childhood. At the age of seven when he is whipped unmercifully at school by Miss Cornelia for writing a love note to María Elena Osuna, Guálinto flees to the sanctuary of his banana grove after ramming Miss Cornelia in the gut and making his escape from her clutches. After this beating from Miss Cornelia, Guálinto is transferred to another class,⁹ and upon completing "low first with Miss Josephine, Guálinto passe[s] to high second with Miss Huff, and in so doing enter[s] American school at last."

It is in the schoolroom that he learns to develop "an Angloamerican self, but "on the playground he [is] a Mexican." As he grows older he becomes conscious of these "two clashing forces within him [that] produced a divided personality"; Guálinto becomes aware that he is "many Guálinto Gómezes,

each of them double, like the images reflected on two glass surfaces of a show window" (147). He also becomes aware that even though he may make friends with some of the "little Anglosaxons" inside the classroom, "such friendships do not extend beyond the classroom door," for "on the playground" he is ostracized by these same "little Anglosaxons"; thus, "[t]he Mexicotexan learns to stay away" (149).

According to Sutton-Smith, the playground is "an arena for learning social adaptation" (44), and "social play can be used even as a text to 'interpret' the power relationships within the culture" (74). Guálinto learns that "the power relationships" of the playground carry over into areas outside the schoolyard when, in his teenage years, several of his friends are turned away from a restaurant because they are Mexican. While Guálinto could have chosen to "pass" for Anglo in this situation, he does not. As Héctor Pérez notes, "Guálinto himself is fair-skinned, and his complexion is an issue throughout much of the novel." While he remains with his friends in this instance, that will not be the case when he becomes an adult. The adult George Gomez's "attitude toward darker-skinned Mexicans becomes one element in his rejection of his community" (40). However, during his childhood and adolescence, the oppositions that were fostered in Guálinto in the American school are a constant source of self-acknowledged conflict for him:

Hating the Gringo one moment with an unreasoning hatred, admiring his literature, his music, his material goods the next. Loving the Mexican with a blind fierceness, then almost despising him for his slow progress in the world (150).

As an adult Guálinto will repress this doubleness; however the struggle for synthesis will continue even though the conflict is buried deep within his psyche.

Many of the conflicting emotions that Guálinto experiences revolve around his hate and anger, and he vocalizes his feelings to his close friend, El Colorado, while in the banana tree grove, where, as a young man, Guálinto has returned to prepare, not for an imaginary fight, but for a real one. Fearing retribution from Chucho whom he has stabbed for making snide remarks about Maruca, Guálinto readies himself for battle while in "the banana

grove, his childhood refuge,” where he “practice[s] thrusts with the knife and defensive footwork” (249). Guálinto’s conversation with El Colorado during one of these practice sessions exposes Guálinto’s hatred, not for Chucho, but for Anglos and for María Elena. Having been spurned by María Elena for the same gringo that had impregnated his sister and having been publicly mocked by María Elena at a local church festival, Guálinto now tells El Colorado that he would like to slit “her pretty white throat,” and, as for the “*Gringo[s]*,” he would “like to kill them all, all of them!” (253, 254). Later in the novel, when Feliciano finally tells Guálinto that his father was murdered by a *rinche*, Guálinto cries, “I would like to kill somebody. . . . Why isn’t it 1916 right now? . . . Then I could get a rifle and go into the woods and kill and kill and kill” (264).

However, in spite of the desire to kill that surfaces in Guálinto’s boyhood play and in his youthful battle practice, as an adult Guálinto deals with his rage and hatred in another way altogether, for he ends up marrying a *gringa*¹⁰ whose father had been a *rinche*, and he turns his back on his family, his culture, and his friends. Rather than becoming the “leader of his people” (40) as envisioned by his father when he had named Guálinto after George Washington, the adult George G. Gómez, as he has legally renamed himself, is employed as a spy for the American government and is assigned to “watch” the border for “infiltration by German or Japanese agents” (299). As Kaup notes,

After his university education in Austin and his residence with his Anglo wife in Washington, D.C., he returns to the Valley during World War II radically transformed into an American military counterintelligence officer willing to use his Mexican background to inform against his former neighbors, friends, and schoolmates (376).

In his encounter with his Uncle Feliciano after returning home George confirms his uncle’s suspicions that he is now a soldier and that he is having his own former friends “watched.” George derides his friends as “a bunch of clowns playing at politics” and admits to Feliciano that he can envision “no future” for his people:

Mexicans will always be Mexicans. A few of them, like

some of those would-be politicians, could make something of themselves if they would just do like I did. Get out of this filthy Delta, as far away as they can, and get rid of their Mexican Greaser attitudes (300).

George's adult dreams, however, belie his words, for "the daydreams of his boyhood come back to him in his sleep," daydreams that upon becoming an adult George had thought of as "[p]laying with his little wooden soldiers" (281). Now those daydreams of his childhood—fantasies in which he leads an army of *rancheros* to victory over the United States, reclaiming all of the land that had once belonged to Mexico—have become the sleepdreams of his adulthood. As Kaup points out, Guálinto/George has grown up in "two opposed environments," which "he . . . cannot remodel to fit the integrated identity his father had dreamed for him," and "his 'Mexicanness' and the heroic role his parents conceived for him as a 'great' man who will help his people . . . have receded far into his subconscious" (375, 376).

Thus, for Guálinto/George Washington/G. Gómez, his boyhood world of "wooden soldier" dreams lingers as the playing grounds on which his own conflicted identity battles are fought in his adult world of sleep. In the real world, however, George G. Gómez is a flesh-and-blood U.S. soldier who has learned "to play the games of the powerful colonizers" (Sutton-Smith 102). Given the stifling "discourse that portrayed Texas Mexicans as inferior [and] which was circulated in and by ideological state apparatuses, such as the public schools and state authorized historical accounts," (Pérez 30). Paredes can envision no synthesis for Guálinto/George's dilemma of doubleness. According to Pérez, who sees "a sense of hopelessness in the novel—at least as far as radical social and political change for the border community" is concerned—George Washington Gomez' "overall vision, in keeping with naturalist literary projects, seems to be that major, significant social change is unaccomplishable" (42, 45). Consequently through both the play battles and the real battles of boyhood and through the lack of synthesis in this coming-of-age narrative, Paredes presents what he sees as the potential for psychic damage and repression that resides in "social reality" (Saldivar, CN 7) on the border for Americans of Mexican descent.

Notes

1 While this paper focuses only on Américo Paredes' George Washington Gomez, it is part of a larger project that includes José Antonio Villarreal's *Pocho*, Rudolfo A. Anaya's *Bless Me, Ultima*, and Sandra Cisneros's *The House on Mango Street*.

2 Marco Portales explains, "For fifty years, Paredes' work remained tucked away in the author's dresser, reportedly the object of cold rejections" (82). Because George Washington Gomez carefully chronicles the spiritual, social, and psychological growth prompted by the education received by" its protagonist (83), Portales considers it "Paredes' bildungsroman [that] remains unsurpassed in detailing the educational journeys of several Mexican American students" (83).

3 As Bruce-Novoa states, "History was and is still written mostly by the oppressors to justify themselves, so Chicanos must rewrite history from their own perspective if they want to change the present and the future" (78).

4 This comment by the narrator is to some extent paradoxical, for, as an adolescent, Guálinto is also ashamed of his home. During the scene in which María Elena (who is from a wealthy Mexican family that claims to be Spanish in an attempt to avoid discrimination) drives down Guálinto's street while he is walking home, Guálinto walks past his own house and around the block so that María Elena will not realize that this is where he lives. According to Portales, "Class and racial distinctions have begun to make the young Guálinto feel ashamed of his relatives and neighborhood" (92).

5 Taking my cue from Portales, who notes that he "quote[s] extensively from the work because Paredes' text is not generally known and deserves wider recognition" (179, n.5), I also will quote at length from this important Chicano text.

6 Guálinto is subjected to taunts throughout the novel. Guálinto's mother, not realizing that he has just witnessed a murder, calls him a coward when she believes he has been "frightened" by "the sound of a few shots" (54). On his first day in school, La India, one of the girls in the class, accuses him of "making dirty signs at" her, and, when all of

the girls chime in with “indignation” at this fabrication, Guálinto is reduced to tears (122). In addition to being called a coward by his mother and being taunted by La India, Guálinto is also verbally as well as physically abused by Miss Cornelia throughout his stay in her class. 7 Arguably, this could be a foreshadowing of the adult George’s attempt to wash his hands of his own people and his own Mexicanness. However as an adult George finds that he cannot totally rid himself of his loyalties to his Mexican heritage, for his boyhood fantasies of victory for Mexico surface in his adult dream world.

8 Héctor Pérez likewise notes, “It is clear that Chucho is a convenient substitute for the *rinche* figure” (44). Regarding Guálinto’s encounter with Lupe, Pérez asserts, “When Guálinto strikes Lupe, he not only fatally injures the prison escapee but strikes a deadly blow against his family and more symbolically against the earlier generation of Chicanos who resisted Anglo encroachment and fought as seditionists.” According to Pérez, “George Washington Gómez is an Oedipal neo-Chicano who kills his seditionist father” (41).

9 Portales notes that the beating that Guálinto receives from “Miss Cornelia, his Mexican American low first grade teacher . . . leads his uncle, Feliciano Garcia, to visit the principal with two lawyers by his side, a state of affairs that Mexican Americans have often had to resort to in Texas in order to improve the nature and the quality of education” (85).

10 The women who have taunted, beaten, or abused Guálinto have all been of Mexican descent. His marriage to a *gringa* signifies the unresolved nature of both the racial and the gender conflicts that have plagued him since childhood. Pérez, noting the racial dynamics in the novel, states, “The community is not entirely innocent of racial biases, for in it are people like the Osunas who deny their Mexican Indian heritage and pass as Spaniards, European and white.” Furthermore, according to Pérez, the “women in the novel internalize a gendered code of behavior as a microcosm of larger oppressive systems,” and “Guálinto’s mother and his first schoolteacher—both figures in important relationships for a person’s psychological social development—are especially pertinent cases.” María Elena Osuna’s rejection of Guálinto can also be seen “as a microcosm of larger oppressive systems,” for, as previously noted, she and her family “pass as Spaniards, European and white” (39, 40), and she verbally and publicly denigrates Guálinto’s Mexicanness.

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MOVING MOUNTAINS IN THE INTERCULTURAL CLASSROOM

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Today many Alaska Natives are seeking a higher education; however due to subtle differences in communication styles between the Native Alaskan student and Euro-American instructor, both students and educator frequently experience communication difficulties. This paper examines the differences in non-verbal communication, the assumption of similarities, stereotyping, preconceptions, and misinterpretations that may occur between Alaska Native and Euro-American cultures. University classrooms are becoming increasingly multicultural, and one teaching style may not be effective with all students. Those involved with education need to promote flexibility and awareness of cultural differences in order to achieve successful communication in the classroom.

The communication styles of the Alaska Native culture and

the Euro-American culture are very different; therefore, teaching college in Alaska can be a challenge for educators. Certain aspects of the Alaska Native culture, although some may seem insignificant, can become obstacles to effective intercultural communication. Removing the obstacles that exist between the Alaska Native culture and the Euro-American culture can seem like moving mountains. The most important place to begin removing obstacles is with an understanding of the basic differences in the Alaska Native culture versus the Euro-American culture, among which are the Alaska Native worldview, including the languages, and differences in non-verbal communication. The differences in non-verbal communication include face-saving techniques, body language, implied meanings, pauses and silence. The assumption of similarities must be addressed, as well as stereotyping, preconceptions, and misinterpretations. The obstacles must be examined and understood in order to be an effective educator among Alaska Native students. After all, without effective communication, effective education cannot occur.

The first problem lies with assuming similarities. Euro-Americans tend to expect similarities between their culture and the culture of another. According to Laray M Barna in "Stumbling Blocks in Intercultural Communication" this "confidence comes from a myth of similarities, which is much stronger than assuming differences between cultures"(337). It is easy for educators to assume that because there are similarities between Alaska Native culture and Euro-American culture, there will not be a breakdown in communication. For instance, a common concept is assuming that Euro-American and Alaska Native cultures are similar because looking around small Alaskan towns, we see Natives living like everyone else. Some are teachers, bus drivers, policemen, secretaries, fisherman, etc.; therefore we are assuming similarities. This tendency to assume likeness occurs because it makes communication easier, but in actuality, it hinders it. It makes people uneasy to deal with differences. Realizing there are assumptions of similarity being made is the first step towards removing the obstacles.

The second obstacle is understanding the Alaska Native worldview in which the Natives languages are connected. In Alaska, as it is with a majority of colleges in the United States,

college instruction is in English, and since most Natives speak English as their first language, a language barrier is not a problem during communication between Native students and their instructors. However, the concepts in the Alaska Native worldview, which include their ancestral language, may be a hindrance to effective communication. The Alaska Native worldview consists of many dimensions. The Alaska Native worldview is the Alaska Native culture, and it is handed down from generation to generation. In *Haa Kusteeyí* Tlingit author Nora Dauenhauer writes, "The way we speak to our elders, how we interact with one another, family ties, and subsistence lifestyle, all are a part of our worldview" (15). To simplify, Alaska Natives view this world and react to it in a different manner from Euro-Americans. If an instructor assumes that all his or her students are communicating in the western worldview, then the instructor is making the first mistake (Barna 337). For Alaska Native students, existing in western society with the worldview of their culture poses everyday challenges, especially when a Native student decides to seek a western college education. For an educator, understanding that despite the fact that Alaska Natives speak English, their worldview is very different from the Euro-American's is essential to communication with Alaska Native students.

Traditionally, in the Tlingit culture, as well as other Alaska Native cultures, education was not an institutional matter. Education was the responsibility of the child's family. In the Tlingit worldview, one never stops learning, and the family and the community are the classrooms. Young people are taught by their elders and specifically by their mother's brother. Native children are taught to respect elders, never interrupt, and learn by observation (Dauenhauer 20). Some of these important aspects of their earlier learning are not always applicable to the college setting. For example, Alaska Native people see themselves as a part of a cultural group, a concept that goes against the grain of the independent "I" concept of Euro-Americans. For many Native students making the transition from a traditional at-home-family educational setting, to a classroom education and then going onto college is quite the undertaking. Carol Williams, Title 9 grant coordinator for the Hoonah School District and

University of Alaska Community Schools Representative, in an interview (Nov. 14, 2001) stated the following:

I was resistant when the school district wanted to teach our culture in the classroom. We learned about our culture at our grandparents' knees. We listened and learned. We watched and learned. Eventually, I realized that we were losing something if we did not teach others the important parts of our culture, like the language. Many parts of our culture would be lost on the upcoming generations.

Williams, as well as other Tlingit educators, were reluctant to make the change from the traditional family learning environment to the public setting. To move from the traditional Native educational style of watching and observing to the Euro-American practice of interrupting and asking questions is difficult for many Alaska Native students, thus creating another obstacle in communication.

Native students have a difficult time interrupting the instructor to ask questions. Williams said that if she participated in a class with twenty-five other classmates, "I would not interrupt them and would probably remain silent." Williams said that it is very hard for Native students to interrupt because they are taught that the speaker's words are as important as theirs. "If I interrupted the teacher I would make them feel less important." Alaska Natives place a great importance on a speaker's abilities and their oral traditions that are handed down from generation to generation. She explained that interrupting in a classroom setting is very hard because "it is important for us to confirm to the teacher that we knew the answer; however, this is difficult because we do not interrupt, and we take longer to answer the question." This is a face saving technique used by Alaska Native cultures. The Native student does not want the teacher to feel unimportant nor does the Native student want to be perceived as being rude or inconsiderate. This inability to interrupt is a face-saving measure that is often unrealized during the communication between the Euro-American educator and the Native student and must be taken into consideration when teaching in a multi-cultural classroom.

Saving face and misinterpretations of non-verbal language

often happen between the Alaska Native student and the Euro-American educator during the beginning of a class, at the time of introduction. Because people either approve or disapprove of initial interactions with one another, educators often evaluate “the statements and actions of the other person or group rather than to try to comprehend completely the thoughts and feelings expressed from the worldview of the other” (Barna 342). According to the video, *Talking Alaska: Intercultural Communication*, when Native people meet new people, Natives often remain quiet and get to know each other using non-verbal language before beginning the conversation. The person from the Euro-American culture likes to ask questions and begins the conversation right away in order to get acquainted. The Euro-American will often speak openly about himself revealing information that a Native person would not. In Alaska Native cultures it is not polite to talk about yourself. This difference can be a hindrance for Alaska Native students because it will take them longer to feel comfortable in expressing themselves in the classroom setting.

Nonverbal communication is often misunderstood among participants in an intercultural classroom. Alaska Natives are less likely to be dramatic in their arm and body movements and may make less direct eye contact than European Americans. Williams said, “As young children, we are taught not to make direct eye contact unless instructed to do so by an elder when the elder is speaking specifically to the child.”

When a Native student does not look the educator in the eye and avoids direct contact this can lead to assumptions that the student may not be paying attention or is being shy. Misinterpretations can lead to the tendency to evaluate a culture based on assumptions, not knowledge of the culture. In *Managing Intercultural Conflicts Effectively*, Stella Ting-Toomey suggests that during a conversation the speaker and the listener may be making false assumptions, such as the other person is offensive, rude, or shy, or many other labels that one can attach to a miscommunication (364). If a miscommunication occurs, the educator needs to accept that the Native student did not intend to confuse information or to convey negative attitudes, through the use of body language or long pauses. Recognizing

the indirect eye contact a Native person may exhibit during a conversation as a sign of respect, rather than shyness, is essential to effective communication between an educator and student.

Another nonverbal misinterpretation is the difference in the time that traditionally occurs between a Native speaker's statement and a Native listener's response. Native speakers will likely pause by way of exhibiting not only respect but also thoughtfulness, while a non-Native speaker tends to seek to respond immediately to demonstrate command of knowledge or quickness of mind. Though only seconds occur between the question and the response, in the western classroom environment those seconds are enough to make the Euro-American educator ask another student the same question, assuming the Native student does not know the answer. Also because the Alaska Native student is quiet following a statement does not mean that the student understood the message. These subtle but complex differences can be hindering when it comes to conversation and classroom interaction. People from individualistic cultures such as the Euro-American culture, whose focus comes from the individualistic mindset, should seek to become aware of the face-saving characteristics of collective cultures like that of Alaska Natives. Direct confrontation is avoided and silence is observed out of respect and as a sign of reflectiveness, also as a sign of respect for the words and thoughts of another, particularly an elder.

Educators must realize that if they do not call on the Native student, the student may not say anything during the entire class. Raising one's hand, waiting one's turn to speak, and interrupting to ask questions can all pose challenges for Native students in a classroom. It takes a conscious effort on the part of the Native student to become accustomed to the classroom protocol. In the interview mentioned above, Carol Williams said: "We don't ask questions because we are expected to grasp the meaning with our own mind. An elder will tell you that the answer will come to you. We train our children to use their minds." According to Williams when a question is asked and the answer is very apparent, Native speakers do not want to embarrass the teacher by answering the question. They also are thinking about what the teacher is really asking.

When a teacher asks a question, we will think about it,

ponder it, and give an answer using the right words. We may not be ready to answer the question for ten or fifteen minutes”(Williams).

The educator must be aware of the importance of words in the Alaska Native culture and the difficulty the Native student may have in immediately addressing a question.

This difficulty in choosing the right words to answer a question comes from there being implied meanings in Alaska Native culture. The Alaska Native culture is considered a “high context” culture. According to Edward T. Hall, this type of classification examines the relationship between what is implied in communication and what is stated outright. European American culture tends to be low context, meaning that Americans tend to be more precise in their verbal communication. Meaning is implied or presumed in Alaska Native culture (Ting-Toomey 362). Silence is an example of an implied meaning. In Alaska Native culture, silence is a sign of respect. A Native student who does not speak out in school has been taught that to do so is impolite because a listener is as respected as a speaker is. In the low context European American culture, if one does not speak out then the person must agree with whatever is being said, whereas in Alaska Native culture, people value what the person is saying whether it is right or wrong. A communication breakdown can occur when the Euro-American educator is trying to teach from a low context point of view where everything is transmitted in a “pattern of linear logic and direct verbal interaction style” (Ting-Toomey 362). The Euro-American communication style can seem overwhelming to a Native student trying to interpret the applied meaning in the conversation.

Not understanding the behavior of others during conversation leads to frustration, and frustration leads to stereotyping. According to Ron Scollon in *Interethnic Communication*, “We unconsciously feel that our own way of communicating is natural and correct and that any deviation from this style is unusual or strange” (59).

Educators who misunderstand the important aspects of silence and pauses in Alaska Native culture may assume the student is unfocused or lazy. With regard to Euro-American stereotyping, all too often are heard statements like “They are so slow”

and expressions of prejudiced attitudes like “Natives are dumb.” These stereotypes evolve from the misinterpretation of silence in a conversation and the difference in the time between questions and answers. According to Carol Williams, a Native person may take as much as ten seconds longer than a Euro-American to answer a question. She said that the longer pauses are due to the view that every word a Native person uses should be chosen very carefully because Natives are cultural thinkers; “When we are thinking about how to answer a question, we are also thinking about how this will impact our culture.” The instructor needs to have patience, avoid stereotyping, and understand that there will likely be longer pauses when a Native student is considering how to answer the question.

Another difference in culture is the Euro-American obsession with time and the Alaska Native sense of time. According to *Intercultural Competence: Interpersonal Communication Across Cultures*, authors Myron Lustig and Jolene Koester, orientation to time is a cultural pattern that “concerns how people conceptualize time” (100). Euro-Americans are obsessed by time. In contrast, in Alaska Native cultures, time is viewed in a very different context. The measurement of time is part of the Tlingit worldview. Time is tied to the seasons, to fishing and hunting, and to the moon; hence, time is variable, not linear and constant. In Native culture, things begin when everyone important arrives which may not be at the set time of the particular event. This has led to the Euro-American stereotypical saying: “Indian Time.” Native culture does not have the same sense of “being on time,” or the obsession with it that Euro-American culture does. Therefore, the educator needs to be aware of this difference and be patient with his or her student, respecting the Native sense of time as a part of their worldview.

The Alaska Native’s sense of time can affect classroom attendance and promptness, which are highly valued by Euro-American culture. In my interview with Carol Williams, she also said that there is some truth to the phrase “Indian time,” although she added that the term is often used in a derogatory manner. Williams said she finally stopped wearing her watch because it was always a reminder that she was late for something. She said that Native students are often late for appointments because

Natives are cultural thinkers, not thinking about "I'd better hurry because I'm going to be late" or "I have an appointment at such and such a time." She said that whatever is going on at the time prior to the engagement receives the complete focus of the Native person. Williams added, "It is impolite to rush someone and we will give whatever we are doing at that moment our time."

Natives will arrive at the next appointment when it is their time to arrive. As a consequence, a student may consistently arrive at a college classroom a few minutes late, having no concept that the educator may expect that everyone be there early for attendance taking. The educator must understand it is possible for two cultures, like the Euro-American culture and the Alaska Native culture, to exist side by side and have two totally different senses of time.

As with the Alaska Native concept of time, the Native culture has a different style in presenting its ideas. The Tlingit culture is more analogical than Euro-American culture. With this type of communication style there is an implied or explicit lesson, story or analogy, which the speaker uses to persuade the listener (Lustig 224). This approach is evident in the stories prevalent in the Tlingit culture. For example, Williams described the concept of the importance of words in a teaching parable her father told her as a child. He said whenever she spoke, to imagine herself in a crowded room with a ten-foot stick. The stick was a symbol for her words, and if she turned the wrong way or mis-spoke she could hurt someone. He cautioned her to be very careful because the hurt that words cause cannot be undone. This illustrates the value that Alaska Native culture puts on the speaker, stemming from the importance placed upon the oral tradition. A Native student may use this presentation style in the classroom, causing some educators to become impatient as it may take the student longer to make their point than Euro-American students. Specifically, educators should allow extra time for the student to speak, not interrupt the Native student, and listen until they are finished.

Because the communication styles of the Euro-American educator and the Alaska Native student are different, the educator should be aware of assuming similarities and resist making

false assumptions. Learning about the worldview differences and avoiding stereotypes are important steps in the right direction to effective intercultural communication, making it easier for Native students to express themselves in a classroom setting. It is the responsibility of the educator to take the time to listen, show interest, thoughtfulness, and empathy in order to remove the obstacles of ineffective communication. According to the *Bible*, “If you have faith as a mustard seed, you shall say to this mountain, ‘Move from here to there and it shall move’” (“Matthew” 17:20).

Stumbling blocks to communication can, when piled together, be as big as a mountain, yet even if we have the faith that the obstacles can be removed, they may not move out of the way so easily. It takes an active participant and a conscious effort to communicate effectively between student and educator. One by one, if we remove the obstacles that build that mountain of massive miscommunication, we can move it. Moving the mountains blocking our effectiveness as a communicator can make for a successful college experience for Alaska Native students.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Jane M. Gaines, *Fire and Desire: Mixed-Race Movies in the Silent Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001) 359 pp., \$19.

Jane M. Gaines has written an important book on the topic of race movies and race relations in early American cinema. Using eclectic analyses that range from W.E.B. DuBois' insights on "double consciousness," to queer theory, Gaines is able to critically examine issues of mixed race people and race mixing in silent films. She wonderfully reworks some theories until they yield beneficial interpretations. For example, Gaines argues against the blanket use of psychoanalysis as a tool to comprehend African American Experience, including cinema, because, she says, "Historically psychoanalysis had no cognizance of black people nor was any attempt made to understand them" (75). According to her film theory has been exclusively psychoanalytic in recent years to the exclusion of almost any other alter-

native methodologies.

First, Gaines questions the validity of race classifications, although she recognizes the expansiveness of the myth of race. She then tackles the subject of "passing" and doubts whether or not anyone can truly become, like the title of James Weldon Johnson's novel, *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*. Further, Gaines examines the paradox of light skinned Blacks in the films of Oscar Micheaux, whose purpose was to venerate "Blackness" but who employed actors who "looked white" for those roles.

Gaines, who is an accomplished film historian, provides the reader with both interesting and detailed insights into race films. She clearly demonstrates that early black films, dubbed "outsider cinema," did not arise as a reaction against D.W.Griffith's racially hostile *Birth of a Nation*, originated years earlier. She points out that protests by the NAACP against *Birth of a Nation* were bound to fail because they were attacking the image and not racism itself. She also cites the censoring of thirteen films of Oscar Micheaux, which posed no threat to the public order.

When New York censors rejected Micheaux's *A Son of Satan* (1924), the reason was the death of a hooded leader. In Virginia the same work was censored because the principal character, a villain, had his criminality attributed to his white lineage and not to his black one. Virginia censors also did not like references to miscegenation and race riots both of which were real events in American history (234).

From *What Happened in the Tunnel* (1903) with the silver screen's first interracial kiss (accidental and humorous, of course) to the later works of Micheaux, Gaines does an excellent job of "exposing the sexual practices of an earlier century." (272) The fact that many actors "looked white," she argues, only confirms the obvious. Interracial sex, whether consensual or forced, would have been comprehensible to the mostly black audience. She also describes *A Florida Enchantment* (1915) in which another accidental interracial screen kiss also almost occurs. That one, however, featured a black woman and a white woman.

Gaines offers the reader insights into a very important film, long thought lost, *Within Our Gates* (1920). Retitled *La Negra*, Micheaux's second feature film that focused on the topic of

lynching was eventually returned to the United States from the Spanish National Archive. Reflecting the infamous “Red Summer” of 1919 that began in Chicago, the tale is about two innocent black men who are lynched for the murder of a white man. Historically the cause of lynching of black men focused on alleged illicit sex between them and white women; however the established reason for most lynchings was economic, and its participants were white men, women and children. Micheaux cross-cut scenes of lynching in the film with the attempted rape of a black woman by a white man. During the struggle the man rips some of the woman’s clothes revealing a birthmark on her breast. That is when he realizes that he molested his daughter, born to a black woman. The paralleling of rape and lynching, both the implied and genuine interracial sex, plus the historic implications of both proved to be too intense for black and white audiences, causing the film to be censored in many cities.

Gaines is seeking “a better recipe for mutuality, a theory or theories that offer us a way around the dichotomized antagonism of gendered as well as raced relations...” (267). Race movies are not just copies of Hollywood films but subversive works juxtaposing hypocrisy and misinterpretation with race and racism.

Reviewed by: George H. Junne, Jr.
University of Northern Colorado

Marilyn Halter, *Shopping for Identity: The Marketing of Ethnicity*. New York: Schocken Books 2000. 225pp., \$23 cloth.

Marilyn Halter has written an informative book on the interaction between the marketplace and ethnic identity in the United States. Her book fills an important gap in ethnic studies literature. While research abounds on the role the marketplace has played in the Americanization of immigrants, few scholars have researched its role in the maintenance of ethnic identity.

The marketplace in Halter’s view is highly responsive to the

needs of ethnic Americans. The marketplace, she argues, exploits American Ethnic identities to increase profits and targets products based on ethnic identities. She cites Mattel's marketing of "Black Barbie dolls" (45) as an example of this type of responsiveness. Discrimination in the marketplace, she insists, is becoming increasingly obsolete. It is simply no longer profitable. This has developed not from high-minded principles but from attempting to maintain or grow the bottom line (46).

Ethnicity gives the producer or marketer an almost unqualified advantage in the marketplace, Halter further argues. Ethnicity can be used to create market niches thus giving American ethnics a distinct advantage. She uses the town of Frankenmuth, Michigan as an example. Fischer's Inn in Frankenmuth was a truck stop until the owner adopted a German theme. This proved so successful that within a few years the downtown had turned into a "Bavarian theme park" (100) and one of Michigan's greatest tourist attractions. This obvious exploitation of ethnicity was not by immigrants with their direct connections to Bavaria but by their descendants.

Halter views ethnicity as optional, a convenience. She points out that ethnic identities are "fluid rather than fixed" (40). She believes that the marketplace creates rather than supports and enhances ethnic identities. One of her main examples for this argument is the Navajo silversmith. She contends that the marketplace demand for genuine Navajo silver jewelry created the idea of a primitive artisan working with primitive tools. She asserts that silversmithing has become essential to Navajo identity. She writes: "White consumers played a significant role in defining what constitutes a putatively authentic Navaho identity . . . thus Navaho identity became associated with a relatively new practice" (40).

Halter fails to distinguish between what the Navajo may say about their identity in the market place and what they believe about their identity in non-marketplace situations. The Navajos are aware that silversmithing and sheep herding—both modern economic activities—were introduced by European contact. However, neither sheep herding nor silversmithing define what it means to be Navajo. Clan structures, tribal connections, traditional healing, and religious practices are much more important

to Navajo identity than silversmithing.

Ethnic identities adapt to many forces including those of the marketplace but the marketplace rarely determines identity. The marketplace also adapts to ethnic consumers. Halter has done a good job of describing the adaptation of the marketplace to ethnic identity. Such adaptation should not, however, be confused with the creation and maintenance of ethnic identity.

Reviewed by: Sarah Shillinger
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

E. San Juan, Jr., *Racism and Cultural Studies: Critiques of Multiculturalist Ideology and the Politics of Difference*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002. Xii, 428, pp., \$22.95 paperback.

Have academically fashionable cultural studies methodologies replaced mass social movements as political activity? This question is raised in E. San Juan, Jr.'s most recent study, *Racism and Cultural Studies*. Contemporary postmodern and postcolonial intellectual movements, because they valorize individualized discourses and relativist pluralism, have indeed "displaced the centrality of mass social movements" in the project of group liberation in San Juan's judgment.

Racism and Cultural Studies, a study of academic and political developments in the period roughly from the 1992 multiethnic uprising in Los Angeles following the Rodney King verdict to the "Battle of Seattle" in 1999, is a wide-ranging and thorough critique of multiculturalism and identity politics. San Juan astutely and rigorously identifies these academic movements as some of the tools used in the university that "has become a conduit if not [an] apparatus for transnational business schemes." Neo-conservative elitists and neo-liberal bureaucrats strive to transform Ethnic Studies, using these ideological and institutional practices, from the highly politicized and contentious field it was at its origins in the 1960s into a device for "a peaceful manage-

ment of differences" in the current period. Far too many academics have become complicit in this process, as San Juan shows.

To counter this reactionary project San Juan urges ethnic and cultural studies practitioners, following the groundwork of such leading scholars as Evelyn Hu-Dehart, Manning Marable, and Angela Davis, among others (one ought to include San Juan himself here), to develop methodologies that will question the legitimacy of the status quo: private property relations, corporate dominance over public institutions, racial essentialism, cultural pluralism that enforces reification of "race," and the mystification of social processes in late global capitalism.

In making this argument San Juan urges the reassessment of familiar tools used by teachers and scholars in the field. His book provides excellent and accessible historical backgrounds, definitions, and analyses of key concepts such as nationalism, ethnicity, "race," multiculturalism, hegemony, the linkage of sexuality to racial difference, and postcolonial theory. Additionally studies of the work of such controversial writers as Frank Chin, familiar theorists and social activists such as Stuart Hall, Raymond Williams, and Antonio Gramsci, and national liberationist writers such as Amilcar Cabral and Frantz Fanon lend a sense of urgency and vitality to a counter-hegemonic movement in the field coalescing around social movement-oriented praxis.

In fact it is this latter characteristic of the book that is its greatest strength. This drawing together and reassessment of the methodologies of ethnic studies makes this book an excellent candidate for use in upper-division undergraduate and graduate courses. Historians, literary critics, and cultural studies scholars from a number of fields and disciplines also will find this book useful. Readers in general will encounter a refreshing accessibility and clarity difficult to find in the field.

Reviewed by: Joel Wendland
Bowling Green State University

Nina Glick Schiller and Georges Eugene Fournon. *Georges Woke Up Laughing: Long-Distance Nationalism and the Search for Home*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001. X, 324 pp., \$69.95 cloth, \$19.95 paperback.

In *Georges Woke Up Laughing: Long-Distance Nationalism and the Search for Home*, Nina Glick Schiller and Georges Eugene Fournon theorize new ways of thinking about nationality and citizenship within a global context, focusing on Haiti and its diaspora. The authors discuss recent debates about transnationalism and the changing notions of citizenship across national boundaries and further research on the subject by Michel Laguerre, Rainer Bauböck, Aihwa Ong, Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc. It is evident that the nature of their work necessitates a subjective methodology, and this becomes part of the book's analyses. Combining autobiography with ethnographic field research, and qualitative, collaborative analysis, the authors incisively reveal their personal and political investments in the work.

The opening chapters define key terms informing the book, explaining how these terms emerge not only from recent academic scholarship but also from field research in Haiti, interviews with Haitian and Haitian diasporic individuals, and Georges' personal experiences. Providing extended definitions not mired in theoretical jargon for long-distance nationalism, transnational nation-state (contrasted with deterritorialized nation-state and transnation), transnational social fields, transmigrants, and transborder citizenship, the authors contribute to scholarly debates about the changing nature of citizenship and nation-states in the 21st century. These terms are developed through specific case studies and concrete examples in subsequent chapters.

Specifically the authors explore the Haitian diaspora–Haiti’s *10^{ème} Département*, as Aristide coined it in 1990 through appeals to Haitians everywhere—as a transnational social field allowing for participation across geographical borders in a transnational nation state linked by heritage, history, and myths about race and blood. Transnational participation includes sending remittances (gifts and monies to support friends and extended family networks); forging political activism in Brooklyn, Miami, and Boston (or Montréal, Paris, and Dakar) on Haiti’s behalf; and creating organizations and hometown associations to fund public works, rebuild infrastructure, or improve local sanitation. All of these mark long-distance nationalism connecting individuals (even naturalized citizens, whom Duvalier regarded as traitors) to Haiti, though they reside and remain politically active elsewhere.

The final chapters offer potent analyses of the imperialistic effects of global capitalism on micro-nations. In “Chapter Nine” the authors define apparent states—for example, many exploited “third-world” countries dominated by global institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade Organization—as sovereign but without real autonomy or sustainable forms of economic and thus political viability. Finally the authors suggest how long-distance nationalists create subaltern political forms through participation in “transnational movements for global justice” (272). “This means,” the authors conclude, “that transmigrants living in the United States whose nationalism embraces an agenda for social justice can make a significant contribution to any effort to develop an alternative politics to the one being offered by neoliberalism. They are essential allies of everyone who desires to set the world on an alternate path” (272-73).

Reviewed by: Jana Evans Braziel
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

ETHNIC STUDIES REVIEW

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