

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES



INDEX, VOLUMES 1 - 5

Vol. 6, No. 2

July 1983

Explorations in Ethnic Studies is an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. The editorial staff welcomes manuscripts that are in concert with the objectives and goals of the National Association for Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies. Contributors should demonstrate the integration of theory and practice.

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Davis, CA 95616

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EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

**The Journal of the National
Association for
Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies**

Published by NAIES

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**A Writer Speaks: An Interview with
Lorenz Bell Graham
(2 June 1983)
Charles C. Irby**

Missionary, teacher, professor, strikebreaker, cook, waiter, and author are embodied in the national treasure interviewed here. Lorenz Graham received an honorary Doctorate of Letters from his alma mater forty-seven years after receiving the B.A. degree. He is almost as old as the twentieth century in years of age and as young as a college freshman in spirit. Graham is a recognized giant as a writer of literature for young readers. His major works include South Town (Chicago: Follett Publishing Company, 1958), North Town (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1965), Whose Town: (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1969), Return to South Town? (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1976), and John Brown: A Cry for Freedom (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1980). In the following interview Graham shares aspects of his life with those who share the dream of a better society.

Lorenz Bell Graham was born January 27, 1902, in New Orleans to Elizabeth Etta Bell Graham and David Andrew Graham. David Graham, a minister of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church, moved his family to Seattle in 1916, and Lorenz Graham attended Broadway High School in that city. The interview begins with that period of his life.

LG: I finished high school in 1920 and went to the University of Washington, but I did not graduate from there.

CI: What did you do after you quit the University of Washington?

LG: I worked at sea as a room steward and waiter on steamships and also as a waiter for the Southern Pacific Railway.

CI: The Southern Pacific came down to California?

LG: Yes, in fact, that was my first way of getting to Los Angeles. I came down in a dining car.

CI: How did you get involved in working on a steamship?

LG: Well, that's a long story.

CI: Tell the story.

LG: While I was in high school, my white companions used to get jobs working on ships in the summer. I could never get a job. Race. Then the Seaman's Union called a strike. The Alaska Steamship Company advertised for people to go to sea. I volunteered. I wound up as ship steward on the S.S. Northwestern headed for Alaska.

CI: What year was that?

LG: That was 1921. I was chief cook—not because I was a good cook but because I was a volunteer. When I revealed the fact that I was a cook and a Negro, they zeroed in on the fact and asked, "Well, do you have any friends who are also cooks?" And I said, "Oh, yes, I have lots of friends who are cooks with lots of experience." "And could you organize a crew?" Well, I organized a crew, and I signed on the ship.

CI: So you were essentially a strikebreaker?

LG: I was a strikebreaker. I was a scab.

CI: How long did you do that?

LG: I did that off and on for about two and a half years and then I got off a ship in San Pedro and came to Los Angeles to go to school.

CI: What school did you go to then?

LG: University of California, Southern Branch.

CI: Did you graduate from UCLA?

LG: No, I did not.

CI: When did you go to Liberia?

LG: 1924.

CI: Why did you go to Liberia?

LG: I went to Liberia for several reasons. But immediately, I heard a bishop of the AME Church who had established a school in Liberia make an eloquent plea for the help of trained young people who would be able to go on to teach. This was while I was at UCLA. I volunteered, and, much to the surprise of my friends and myself, I was accepted. So I left in 1924 to go to Liberia to teach.

CI: How long did you stay in Liberia?

LG: I stayed in Liberia a little over four years.

CI: What did you teach?

LG: My value as a teacher was that I had taken all the trades that there were to take in high school, including woodworking, auto mechanics, machine shop, foundry, drafting, and so forth. I knew

how to work. When I discussed my qualifications this was what appeared to the bishop to be of great value in his school in Africa. So I supervised the teaching of trades and I also taught high school subjects including English, public speaking, and mathematics.

CI: What was the name of the school in Liberia?

LG: Monrovia College. It ran from beginners through high school only. Most of the students were living on the premises. About 180 were living on the premises, from 180 to 200, and then there were another 100 or so who came in from the towns.

CI: Who paid their tuition?

LG: Most of them paid no tuition. This was supported by the African Methodist Episcopal Church and their missionary program. If their parents could pay tuition, they were asked to do so. Most of them paid nothing.

CI: When did you return from Liberia?

LG: I came back and I stopped in New York. Later on, the same year, the young woman whom I had met in Liberia came back, and we were married in Richmond, Virginia, in 1929.

CI: And what was her name?

LG: Her name was Ruth Giles Morris, and she was from the east coast. Her father was a well-known, quite prominent Baptist minister.

CI: Then what did you do after you got married?

LG: After we got married we anticipated going back to Africa as teaching missionaries, but the Depression came on and the foreign mission board of the National Baptist Convention used us for raising money to try to maintain and support the missionary program over there. Then, in the meantime before our sailing date, we discovered that my wife was pregnant. The secretary of the foreign mission board felt that it would not be wise to send out a young couple beginning a family. The secretary himself had served in Africa and he had children who were born in Africa. He knew some of the hardships and problems. So we did not go to Africa.

CI: What did you do instead?

LG: I was in Richmond, Virginia, and there was the Depression. I suffered the tortures of the unemployed. I worked WPA. I waited tables and I tried to get a job. I could get a job at teaching. I was offered a job at teaching at rates of something like fifty-five to seventy dollars a month as a principal. And I could make more money at waiting tables, so I waited tables. It was a miserable

life. Then I also went to school to try to get a Bachelor's degree because I had not gotten a degree yet. I went to Virginia Union and received a Bachelor's degree in 1936. I was immediately appointed as a camp educational adviser in the Civilian Conservation Corps. That was a good position.

CI: Where was that?

LG: That was in Virginia beginning in Fort Monroe and later moving to south-side Virginia near a town called South Hill which became the focus of my book *South Town*.

CI: How long did it take you to write *South Town*?

LG: Well, the proper answer is that it takes all of one's life to write a book. But in this case it took less than six months to turn out the first manuscript.

CI: How long did it take you to get it published?

LG: Twelve years.

[The black family in South Town had too much dignity for the white publishers, and that is the reason why it took twelve years to get the manuscript published as a book. C.C.I.]



Lorenz B. Graham at the Eleventh Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies, Ontario, California 16 April 1983.
(Photograph by Barbara L. Hiura)

- CI: How long did it take you to do *North Town*?
- LG: Approximately a year to do the draft.
- CI: How long did it take you to get that published?
- LG: About three years.
- CI: Three years—getting shorter. And *Whose Town*?
- LG: By that time I was away and running, and it did not take too long to get that one published.
- CI: How about *Return to South Town*?
- LG: There was a demand by this time for my books, so it went pretty fast.
- CI: How long did it take you to write *John Brown*?
- LG: I was working on it for about ten years because there was a lot of research. I had completed a pictorial on the raid at Harper's Ferry, a picture book for Scholastics Publishing Company, and I wanted to do a full narrative on John Brown. I continued the research and did other things in the meantime, had some other publications. I taught at Cal Poly [California State Polytechnic University] and it was brought to my attention that I wasn't writing while I was teaching because teaching took up too much time even though I was not a full-time teacher. I had to come out of the classroom in order to get back on *John Brown*.
- CI: Good! That's the question I wanted to ask anyway. What advice do you have for people who want to write literature about coloured ethnic people in this country?
- LG: Giving advice is really difficult. I hesitate to do it. I want to tell you something that I feel about writing. I first feel on a general plane that I ought to write that which I know well. I am black. I have been black all my life. I've lived in Africa. I've been to the West Indies. And I've been in other countries around the world. I am black, and I am coming from there. I've experienced all the hell that goes with being black. I've been discriminated against. I've been isolated. I've been disenfranchised, and I've been a victim of racial violence. I know these things. So, I write from there. Next, I think that a writer ought to write that which is important. It was my realization when I was in Africa that the Africans were not as wild, as vicious, as barbarous, as uncivilized, as backward as I had expected them to be. I had gotten my opinions, primarily, from that which I had read about Africans. I found that there were no books about Africans, *no books about Africans which dealt with them as people*. I felt that somebody ought to write some books about Africans treating them as people. This was my motivation for writing.

CI: Tell me about your African books.

LG: My first good novel which I submitted was considered attractive to Random House. They said they were very interested in it, but they said, "there weren't enough American people who would accept this view of Africans. The characters have too much sense. They're too well organized. They're not savage enough. We couldn't sell this book." However, one of my early books was *Tales of Momolu* which was the story of an African boy at home without benefit of any contact with our way of life. And it gives village life, the training program in which this boy is involved, the activities, the family structure, the village political structure. This was very well accepted. The reviewer in the *New York Times* said, "The American boy reading about Momolu will recognize him as just another fellow." For this I was very happy. I later did another Momolu book with the same boy growing up, a little older, at the age of fifteen—puberty—coming from the interior village out to the coast and seeing the Americoliberian way of life, learning some things from it, being repelled by some of the things that he sees also, some of the unpleasant things.

CI: How did the *Town* series evolve?

LG: My *Town* series came out of the realization that our whole race problem was involved with people not knowing other people and my belief that I could present a normal black family. The books about American Negroes were of three kinds: there were sociological studies of Du Bois and Johnson and some others; there were historical ones like those of Carter G. Woodson; and there were some hero books about outstanding, successful Negroes—my sister [Shirley Graham Du Bois] was into that—George Washington Carver, Booker T. Washington, Frederick Douglass. But there were no books about people like I considered myself to be, people like people in my family. People who were all around me. People of whom there were so many. The people who were in South Hill, Virginia, which I knew so well. With the help of my own family, my wife and my children, we put together the story of a plain family who had dignity, who had some ambition, who had little education, but *who believed* that there was a god somewhere and that we shall overcome some day. And this was the beginning of the *Town* series. The only books I had published before starting the *Town* series were African-based, the children's book about Momolu and the Bible stories in West African pidgin—*How God Fixed Jonah*, the birth of Jesus, and the flood.

CI: What book are you working on now?

LG: I don't like to talk too much about that because I have a conference tomorrow with my collaborator, Ruth Graham May, Ph.D.

CI: Is that your daughter?

LG: Yes. We're doing a textbook for upper elementary grades about family stories. We are recognizing that every student out there has stories within the family and that each student can do research. That is, asking parents, the aunts, the grandparents, if available, about how they came through or what their experiences were, and whatever achievements or whatever failures they have had. All of us have had the elements of great stories within our lives. We had love. It may not have been successful. We might have loved and lost. We have had some successes. We have had some failures. We have had some problems. We have had some struggles to overcome.

Economic and Psychic Exploitation of American Indians

Gretchen M. Bataille and Charles L.P. Silet

Two general points can be made about Euroamerican exploitation of American Indians: first, whatever level of exploitation they have experienced by the motion picture industry, it is part of a long tradition which dates back to the earliest contacts between white Europeans and Indians; and second, that the exploitation has taken on two forms—economic and psychic. Just how Indians have been taken advantage of economically is relatively clear. Euroamerican history texts happily record the ways in which the native inhabitants of the American shores were bilked, with the \$24 worth of beads, for Manhattan Island and with equally inequitable arrangements for the rest of their lands. Perhaps less obvious, and more damaging, is just how these same people have been exploited for emotional and psychological reasons. Although economic exploitation takes away one's goods, psychic exploitation robs one of dignity and self-esteem, which is the more devastating of the two. Economic exploitation in America is psychic exploitation as well, for in a society which places so much emphasis on the material aspects of existence to be without money or to have been robbed of it is to place oneself in a precarious position vis-a-vis one's place in that society. This article is concerned with clarifying the interplay of economic reality and the development of psychic myths concerning Euroamerican images of Indians. One of the most effective ways to show the dual exploitation is to examine how "the Indian" was created by Hollywood and fixed onto the silver screen and in the minds of Euroamericans as a cultural artifact. But Hollywood received its cues from a culture wrestling with a frontier history, and it is within this broad social and historical context that we begin this examination.

Historical Context

When Europeans first came to the American continent they were faced with a dual problem: what to do with the "wilderness," and what to do with those who inhabited it. The first colonials believed their task was to subdue the wilderness and bring order to the newly found

chaos. They wanted to create a civilized society much like the one they had just left. One of the impediments to their progress was Indians. So, the early European colonists had a plan for civilizing the “savages.” Unfortunately, the Puritan settlers exorcised their intense psychological and social anxieties by violent confrontation with the *dark forces of nature and humanity* of which “the Indian” became the focus.

The Puritans established a set of national attitudes and traditions based on the hunter/hero struggling in a savage new land in order not only to claim the land but also to displace the Indians. European colonists relied on their confrontations with Indians to support the definition of the settler who was to become an “American.” The initial impulses of the colonists were at least well intentioned. They wanted to bring Indians into the emerging Euroamerican social order. But the Indians were unwilling to accommodate the expectations of the Europeans.

By the end of the 1770s, however, the American Revolution demanded a commitment from the colonists to a new world vision, one in which Indians would play no part. The original notion of the noble savage gave way to the realization that Indians were bound inexorably to a primitive past, a primitive society, and a primitive environment. Consequently, Indians became unfortunate obstacles in the path of progress after the dawning of the American Republic.

The new society, which white Americans built for themselves, demanded the assurances of power and superiority—and Indians became the point of comparison. Europeans who settled in North America brought with them all the trappings of western culture, including its need to know the past and future. The “historyless antiquity” of Indians was beyond the comprehension of Europeans. Indians had no past and no future in western terms and thereby fell out of society and history. So, Indians had to disappear.

The transition in mental attitudes of whites from assimilation to annihilation was not an abrupt one, but by the beginning of the nineteenth century there was public recognition of both the failure in theory and in practice of the white attitude toward Indians. Since they would not conform to the ways of white society, and since they could not or would not be civilized, then they had to be destroyed.

Europeans had learned about the inherent goodness of natural man and the simple life from Rousseau, and white Americans inherited the noble savage as part of their literary tradition. With the rise of an

indigenous literature, writers were forced to modify the noble savage image of Indians into a white American one—to be pitied and censured. To pity the Indians was easy enough, especially after their fall from grace, but it was also necessary to destroy their nobility. One could not wipe out a noblerace without justification, and so the blood-thirsty noble savage was created. Indians were reduced to a set of contradictions: noble and ignoble, pitied and praised, censured and celebrated.¹

Economic Exploitation

Economic exploitation of Indians has a long tradition in the United States, dating back to the first settlement of this continent by colonists of the sixteenth century. The Puritan English who settled the area around Boston did so with the intent of displacing those already inhabiting the lands. The Virginia Company, which financed the colonists in the tidewater South, advanced the capital in the anticipation of profit, profit derived from the exploitation of the land of the natives. In fact it was the direct exploitation of Indians by both colonial groups which helped them survive the early years. In Virginia, for example, the English colonists traded goods with local Indians for the very food they ate. And during periods of scarcity the whites actually forced the Indians to trade with them at gun point—an early example of American “free” enterprise!

The most noteworthy and glaring product of economic exploitation perpetrated by white society has been the expropriation of Indian lands. What land was purchased was generally done so at greatly reduced value. In cases where Indians refused to concede to the sale, they were normally forced to do so.

The second means of white exploitation was the entertainment value of Indians. As early as the fifteenth century, the first travel narratives, illustrated by lurid woodcuts, showed American Indians performing acts of cannibalism and parading naked before the white explorers. The merchants of entertainment quickly learned the value of Indians as a curiosity.²

An ambivalence toward Indians was reflected in the earliest accounts of life in America, however. In the journals of explorers such as Christopher Columbus and John Smith, then later in histories by government officials such as William Byrd and William Bradford, descriptions of Indians depicted varying qualities of generosity, barbarousness, or piety.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the captivity narratives reinforced the existing Puritan explanation of Indians as sub-human or inspired by the devil. The Puritan view remained a pervasive theme and, although the hope of “civilizing” the Indians was often expressed, ultimately Euroamerican religious orientation demanded that the confrontation between the groups result in Indians capitulating to white domination. Individual Indians could be “good,” but the group had to be depicted as “bad” to justify the existing exploitation by government and religious authorities.

James Fenimore Cooper, relying on existing documents and stories, created both the noble and ignoble savages as stock characters in American literature. Cooper’s *The Leatherstocking Tales*, however, were preceded by a number of other nineteenth century works that drew on the conventions of the English historical romance of Walter Scott as well as the prototypes created in earlier frontier accounts. Robert Montgomery Bird’s *Nick of the Woods* (1837) and William Gilmore Simms’s *The Yemassee* (1835) reinforced existing attitudes. These works of fiction were bolstered by the epic sweep of such historical studies as Francis Parkman’s *Oregon Trail* (1849), which solidified white attitudes about manifest destiny and the role of Indians in the expanding nation.³

The single attempt to reconcile the races in literature appears in literary attempts to use “the half-blood” as a transitional figure between civilization and savagery, but there seems to have been a psychological barrier which prevented such a mythical figure from providing an acceptable social model which could reconcile the claims of savagism and civilization. Whereas the *idea* of savagism determined the obligatory treatment of the red race, the *factual* existence of North and South American half-bloods was relatively free from similar long-standing beliefs other than a sometimes vague, sometimes pronounced contempt for miscegenation. Some writers devised works which treated half-blood Indians in radically different ways than they had treated full-blood Indians. Some writers pictured half-bloods as retaining the worst traits of both races; others saw half-bloods as embodying the best traits of both races. In either case there was normally an ambivalence about half-bloods which reflected a pervasive social value in white American society, the unreceptiveness to assimilation of people unlike themselves.

Half-bloods objectified in their very being the conflict between the red and white races, and their portrayal in American fiction of the nineteenth century emanates from uncertainty as to their malign or

benign relation to white society and to their connections with the promise of the American nation. The central question underlying the literary portraits of mixed-blood Indians was do they represent a new, wonderful link between the red and white races or do they represent a degenerate, abnormal amalgamation of the worst vices of both races which threatened the promise of a new world civilization? The question remains unresolved as the twenty-first century approaches.⁴

Entertainment Value

By the end of the nineteenth century, Indians were stereotyped most often as blood-thirsty savages, an image which was perfected in the dime novel and transferred to the Wild West Show. Buffalo Bill was not only the most popular of the dime novel heroes but he was also an extremely successful showman; his Wild West Show toured throughout the world. Included among the exhibits in the show were Indians whom Buffalo Bill paraded around in front of the audience and used in mock battle scenes he staged between the white settlers and the savages.

Buffalo Bill, Pawnee Bill, and Colonel Frederick T. Cummins all used Indians as entertainment, reenacting their own visions of the "taming of the west." At the same time Indians were being paraded before white people in small towns and villages to sell a variety of medicines and potions, all guaranteed to be "genuine" Indian remedies. Repeatedly, Indians were coopted to make money for white entrepreneurs.

By the time Buffalo Bill and the transient vendors were through, Indians were firmly established as figures of entertainment like the stage Irishman and the comic Jew. To transfer the melodramatic use of Indians as an all around foil for white heroes onto celluloid was easy. And that is precisely what happened. The themes of the dime novels and the traveling shows were adapted to provide the ideas and scripts for the one-and two-reel Western movies and the image of "the Indian" was transferred wholesale to the screen.

What Hollywood did was to fix firmly those stereotyped images of Indians and, of course, to spread them widely. Where dime novels reached millions of readers, the early films reached tens of millions, including the vast influx of newly arrived immigrants, many of whom could not read English and derived much of their knowledge of the United States from the movies. Movies gave filmmakers enormous power to influence public opinion and form attitudes about the native peoples. In the process the moviemakers made money from the films

they produced and distributed. "The film-Indian" became a staple item not only of the Saturday afternoon serial but also provided one of the central icons of the film industry's most prosperous indigenous product—the Western.

The appeal of the traditional western movie is that it provided values which led to clear, simple solutions to complex problems and the inevitability of triumph. The winning forces of civilization provided ready-made material for films, and the static image of "the screen Indian" was an easily exploitable commodity. Quickly and unambiguously recognizable in war paint and breechclout, astride his pinto pony, "the Indian" became the necessary fallguy for the hero, the impediment to progress overcome by the settlers, and finally on the emotional level, the repository of all those age-old western European bugaboos: irrationality, bestiality, savagery. Indians became the ultimate Hollywood stereotype—easily recognized and emotionally necessary—one which provided a universal theme by satisfying the universal fears and uncertainty of the audience, an enormously profitable combination.

By the time of World War One the image of Indians was well established in popular films and for the next three decades, with some minor exceptions, that image remained constant. The moviemakers expressed the same ambivalence that the dime novelist had. The ignoble, noble savage remained. There was one major difference though; because of the visual nature of the new medium, Hollywood had more opportunity to distort the image of Indians.

The writers of pulp fiction sketched in the settings and described the "red men," but Hollywood actually showed them. The resulting confusion was symptomatic of white ignorance of the people they had dispossessed. Indians of the Northeast were shown wearing clothing of the Plains Indians and living in dwellings of Southwestern people. Hollywood created the instant Indian: wig, warbonnet, breechclout, moccasins, Hong Kong plastic beadwork. The movies did what thousands of years of social evolution could not do, even what the threat of encroaching whites could not do: Hollywood produced the homogenized American Indian, devoid of tribal characteristics or regional differences.⁵

Hollywood used the standard images of Indians as savage, warlike, often noble but vanishing and pathetic, forever locked into an historical past as integral to the Western experience. For generic purposes it was necessary to keep Indians frozen in the stereotype. So much of white America's mythos was contained in the legends of the West and

its “taming” and “conquest” that it was emotionally threatening to portray Indians in any other way. The very experience of the westward movement, the very rationale for the subjugation of the continent, depended on the adversary relationship between whites and Indians.

Indians had a multiple image and at the same time a partial image. *The Indian*—no tribe, no identity, almost always male—was either noble (still savage, but noble nevertheless) or bloodthirsty and vicious. There were variations of the stereotypes—the drunken Indian, the heathen, the lazy native—but still it was a picture of a creature less than human without religion and lacking in morality and virtue. Usually he was viewed apart from wife or children or any family relationships; he was an isolated figure, one with a pinto pony, gliding across the plains of America, viewed always as an Indian first and an individual last. He combined all the noble virtues expressed in a Catlin painting with the savagery of a Beadle novel.

From the beginnings of the film industry most Indian roles in movies were played by whites. This was especially true once the audience came to recognize the various actors who helped to foster the star system. The lead parts in films became extremely important for the salability of the property, and practically all leads went to white actors.

Audience recognition was important from the onset. The really savage Indians were often played by white horror film characters such as Bela Lugosi, Lon Chaney, Jr., or Boris Karloff. Indians in comic roles were often played by white movie stars the audience would recognize as humorous—the Marx Brothers, Buddy Hackett, Joey Bishop, and Buster Keaton all played Indians. Indians have been played by Latins—Ricardo Montalban and Delores Del Rio, by blacks—Woody Strode, by Japanese—Sessue Hayakawa, and by a variety of whites who were box-office giants—Rock Hudson, Elvis Presley, Richard Harris, and Raquel Welch. Indian women have usually been portrayed by white stars who would gain some measure of sympathy from audiences—Mary Pickford, Loretta Young, Katherine Ross, Debra Paget, Audrey Hepburn, Julie Newmar, and Donna Reed. Notable examples of using “real” Indians such as Jim Thorp, Chief Wachtel, Red Wing, or Chief Thundercloud (the first Tonto) were the exception rather than the rule.

With some of the early films, notably those of William S. Hart, the filmmakers tried for a realism, a grittiness which led to the employment of Indian actors as extras to provide background atmosphere.

But even this trend was not to last for long and during the height of the studio days Indians were notably absent from films altogether, having been replaced by Hollywood extras hired in and around the studios. What location shooting was done was infrequent.

Director John Ford, who had a love affair with Monument Valley in Utah and for years shot his westerns in this locale, employed Navajos to play the Indians in those films which required them. In spite of the close working relationship between the director and the cast, Ford perpetuated and helped to further develop the exploitative stereotype. He finally broke with the Hollywood tradition of simply using Indians as part of the scenery in *Cheyenne Autumn* (1963).

The image of Indians that is a part of the history of the motion picture industry evolved from stereotypes created by the earliest settlers and chroniclers of this country. The contradictory views of Indians, sometimes gentle and good and sometimes terrifying and evil, stem from the Euroamerican's ambivalence toward a race of people they attempted to destroy. Contemporary screen images descended from the captivity narratives of the eighteenth century, the romances of James Fenimore Cooper, and the Beadle dime novel tradition. *The treatment of Indians in the movies is the final expression of white America's attempt to cope with its uneasiness in the face of a sense of cultural guilt.*

The psychic shock of Viet Nam and its consequences finally jolted Hollywood out of its long tradition and forced the film industry to examine, however clumsily, the stereotypes of Indians. Although they have long been exploited economically, Indians were also exploited psychically for much longer and to a much greater extent. Even *before* white settlement in North America, Europeans had definite concepts of the "savages" they would find inhabiting the "wilderness" into which they were moving; the sixteenth century concept was vitally important then, and has remained so for the last 400 years, that Indians appear as the savage, opponent of civilization and technological progress, backward and primitive in religion and morality, part devil and minion of dark forces of the human soul. They provided the point of comparison against which the more "civilized" European, *himself* only lately emerged from a state of semi-savagism, could be measured.

Contemporary Issues and Prospects

What *is* the current "mythology" of Indians? Certainly there are many mythologies about the people who were the first to walk the

forests, climb the mountains, and plant corn in what is now America. The savage of Beadle dime novels, the romantic nomad of the forest created by Rousseau, the Indian princess with roots in Jamestown and branches as far as Dame Judith Anderson's portrayal in *A Man Called Horse*, the drunken Indian, the stoic cigar store vendor, the old chief with the secrets of the ages in ancient mythology and oral tradition all have remained as variations of the mythic images of Indians.

Hollywood managed to destroy and stereotype almost every ethnic group, but Indians seem particularly frozen in time. Although some recent films use a twentieth century setting, the Indians of film usually exist in a world somewhere between the landing of the Pilgrims and the end of the nineteenth century, the primary focus being on the period between 1850 and 1900, the time when Indian people were desperately trying to hold on to their land and were fighting for their lives. Because the second-half of the nineteenth century represents a time of victory for white Americans, of overcoming obstacles in the way of progress, it is a glorified time. To justify mass slaughter and land grabbing, the movies were forced to portray Indians as savage and illiterate, not suited for "modern" civilization. The few who were descendents of Chingachgook, Pocahontas, or Squanto were "good" Indians. They either "vanished" or were transformed into the Tontos who knew their role in the changing society.

What will happen to the image of Indians in film in the future is impossible to predict. If the past is any guide, films will find or develop another stereotype, one that will accommodate a new popular image. Mass arts tend to the allegorical (which allows them a broader or more universal appeal) preferring surfaces and types to essences and individuals. Although Indians will probably be portrayed more sympathetically and with greater historical accuracy, the popular film-Indian will nonetheless remain as one-dimensional as all other types.

Recent films depicting Indians have tended to muddy the traditional stereotype, to reverse, in some cases, the white mythology itself. That is not to say, however, that the same old images are not presented from time to time, only served up in new ways and packaged in new forms. A shift in attitudes has nonetheless occurred, largely brought about by U.S. involvement in Viet Nam and the national soul-searching which that war occasioned. The idea that the government could conceivably commit genocide in Southeast Asia led some people to reconsider the treatment of Indians, the home-territory genocide. Close examinations produced some interesting and at times thought-

ful, if flawed, films. They also generated new ideas to be exploited and as things “Indian” became fashionable what was left of Hollywood moved-in by way of *Billy Jack*, *White Buffalo*, and *A Man Called Horse*; and all to a degree raised the old spectre of economic and psychic exploitation.

After decades of discriminatory portrayals of Indians and other minorities in motion pictures, a systematic study was conducted in 1968 to ascertain the extent of stereotyping and the degree to which ethnic minorities were discriminated against in the entertainment media. In 1969 the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission held a series of hearings in Los Angeles and concluded that discriminatory practices existed in both employment and portrayal of minorities and women. In 1977 the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights issued a report, *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television*, stating that “minorities and women continue to be underrepresented on local and network forces.”⁶ In its 1979 *Update* the Commission found that there had been no improvement as did the expanded study prepared by the Annenberg School of Communications and released by the Screen Actors’ Guild.⁷

The California Advisory Committee to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission convened in 1976 to study the participation of minorities in the entertainment industry, focusing this time on representation in the motion picture studios.⁸ The Advisory Committee studied the work forces of the seven major studios, concluding that the representation of minorities remains proportionately lower than their numbers in the total work force.

Although the study showed American Indian representation in the motion picture work force in 1975 was .5%, close to their percentage of the population as a whole, other statistics are more revealing. For example, there were no Indians selected for the training programs which including training and apprenticeships as assistant directors, camera assistants, and other skilled positions during the period April 1974 to February 1977. The apparent equitable representation is skewed not only because Indians are a small minority numerically but also the lack of training programs for them suggests no commitment to affirmative action on the part of the studios. Further, the on-screen portrayals of Indians in westerns have outnumbered other ethnic minorities through the years. There were always roles for Indians, but the parts have not been played by Indian actors.

There has been no similar follow-up study of minority employment behind the scenes of the industry, but in 1983 the Screen Actors’ Guild,

long active in the cause of minority employment in motion pictures and television, released a study of minority employment in leading and supporting roles. *Minority Casting Summary Report* finds that for the period between July 1981 and the end of September 1982, ethnic minorities continued to be underrepresented in motion pictures. During this period there were no American Indian women in leading roles, although there were .3% in supporting roles. Indian men did better, nearly equalling their .6% of the population in leading and supporting roles. Still, white males received 89.9% of the leading male roles and white females captured 93.5% of the leading female roles.⁹

All of the studies of the past decade and a half lead to similar conclusions: Ethnic minorities are not being fairly represented either on the screen or working behind the scenes. The generalizations spawned by statistics are illuminated by specific recent examples, examples which suggest that there has been little change despite pledges to increase minority participation and equally strong assurances that the federal government would enforce civil rights legislation.

Movies have introduced a number of Indian actors during the past decade—Chief Dan George, Will Sampson, Ray Tracy, and Geraldine Keams, to name a few. But what of the roles they are consigned to play? Will Sampson, the nearly-mute Indian of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* played the reverse of the Indian side-kick and showed that anyone could be a victim in contemporary society. Perhaps his role was more a result of Kesey's vision than of Hollywood's because in *White Buffalo* Sampson played a stereotypical role. Chief Dan George became an instantly popular and believable figure in *Little Big Man* and he was basically non-stereotyped in *The Outlaw Josey Wales*, yet in the film the audience was expected to believe that George, playing a Cherokee, could understand the language spoken by the Navajo Geraldine Keams. Keams praises Clint Eastwood for the changes he allowed in the film script, changes which gave more legitimacy to the Indian roles, but despite the changes, the film still has its share of misrepresentation.

Indian people continue to find themselves compromised or compromising in the entertainment industry. If they want to work they must accept the roles offered to them. If they protest too much there will be no work. Such is the case with *Mystic Warrior*. This television mini-series is an offshoot of the controversial novel by Ruth Beebe Hill, *Hanta Yo*, and has parts for eighty to one hundred Indians, but almost all of the parts have been assigned to Hispanics. Because the Indian people in this country had raised so many questions about the

script, taken from the novel, they had protested themselves out of jobs. The studio was tired of listening, so “look-alikes” were hired to play the roles. A similar situation occurred with *Running*, the story about Billy Mills. The Blood people of Alberta put up money for the film, but when the lead was chosen, Robbie Benson got the part.

In *Legend of Walks-Far-Woman*, Raquel Welch plays the leading female role while Indian actors such as Geraldine Keams play minor parts. In *Windwalker*, generally a sensitive film which used Crow language subtitles and many fine Indian actors, the lead was played by Trevor Howard. Certainly such “names” meet the studios’ need for “bankability” but one wonders just when Indian leading roles will be given to Indian people. Geraldine Keams believes that only when there are more Indian writers will we begin to see some changes. Her fantasy film is to show the “cowboy and Indian” movie from the view of the Indians.¹⁰ Such a reversal would be shocking to most audiences, but would, if successful, make them realize that the worldview of the filmmakers has always determined what image would be projected onto the silver screen.

Conclusions

Economic and psychic exploitation of Indians by Euroamericans is woven into the fabric of U.S. history—from explorers’ journals through dime novels and Wild West Shows to the films of this century. All of these forms of entertainment have been exported so that “cowboys and Indians” is well recognized as a childhood game the world over. The challenge is no longer merely to recognize the stereotypes but to begin to do something about changing them. Indian peoples—their culture, their clothing, and their languages—have been exploited to produce profits for the entertainment industry and other commercial enterprises with little concern for the impact that such misrepresentation has had on the psyche of the people themselves. The continued economic and psychic exploitation of Indian people as well as the mythic interpretation of U.S. history does a disservice both to truth and the integrity of the white American vision of its past.

The Indians portrayed on the silver screen will remain a twentieth century anachronism, perpetuating what Jack Forbes calls the “‘never-never’ land of mythology,”¹¹ unless Indian self-determination becomes a reality and all people join in demanding realistic images from media. It is the responsibility of educators, politicians, and, indeed, all citizens to ensure that the same old images are not merely repackaged for the next generation.

Notes

¹For a fuller discussion, see Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1965); Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); Leslie Fiedler, *The Return of the Vanishing American* (New York: Stein and Day, 1969); Bernard Sheenan, *Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

²See, for example, Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979); Raymond William Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).

³Louis K. Barnett, *The Ignoble Savage: American Literary Racism* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975).

⁴William J. Scheick, *The Half-Blood: A Cultural Symbol in 19th Century American Fiction* (Lexington: University of Kentucky, 1979).

⁵Additional information about the development of the Indian image in film can be found in Gretchen Bataille and Charles L.P. Silet, *The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1980); Ralph and Natasha Friar, *The Only Good Indian . . . : The Hollywood Gospel* (New York: Drama Book Specialists, 1972).

⁶United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Window Dressing on the Set: Women and Minorities in Television* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1977).

⁷United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Window Dressing on the Set: An Update* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1979); George Gerbner and Nancy Signorielli, *Women and Minorities in Television Drama, 1969-1978* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, The Annenberg School of Communications, 1979).

⁸California Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights, *Behind the Scenes: Equal Employment Opportunity in the Motion Picture Industry* (Washington, DC: USGPO, 1978).

⁹David Robb, "Minorities' Minority PIC-TV Roles." *Variety* 199, 21 (4 April 1983) 1, 14.

¹⁰Geraldine Keams. Interview. (Ames, IA: April 9, 1983).

¹¹Jack Forbes. *Education of the Culturally Different: A Multi-Cultural Approach*. (San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1969) 51.

Critique

Perhaps the most valuable contribution that Professors Bataille's and Silet's treatise makes is to connect the images of the American Indian in movies with antecedent images. The scope of their investigation predates Columbus, includes critical American historical imagery production, takes the reader to the very beginnings of the movie industry, and brings us up-to-date on the effects of the "Great Society" outfalls for both image and employment of American Indians in the screen entertainment establishment.

The two modes of exploitation presented as primary, economic and psychic, are solid assumptions on which the article revolves because each is operationally defined to include other dimensions of the human experience, for example, the political and artistic. The text is replete with specifics that contribute to understanding and sustaining interest. For example, the discussion of the idea of "wilderness" is accurate, complete, and continues to be pivotal in American affairs. The idea of the "noble savage" is valuable information not only in the context of this paper, but because of events in South America, the Philippines, and elsewhere as culturally-different peoples are being confronted by the Western industrial world. A discussion of the place of half-bloods reveals that there was never even the hint of a "New American" as there was for a time in Brazil when the mixing of Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans was to lead to a "New Brazilian," better in all ways to the progenitors.

A specific that harkens back to Phineas T. Barnum's adage that "a sucker is born every minute," was the merchandising of medicines and potions because they were "genuine" Indian remedies. The current fad of "natural" is simply that magnified electronically.

Aside from one gratuitous reference to "free" enterprise, a modern ideological phrase, Professors Bataille and Silet have produced a terse, well-documented, and accurate work. It could well be used as a guide to illustrate the treatment of any group in any media by any conquering or dominant people in attempts to cope with its unease in

trying to justify its behavior, past and present.

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Critique

James Joyce once said that history is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake. This article by Gretchen Bataille and Charles Silet is part of our collective process of awakening. The first portion of this article recounts the psychological and economic consequences to the conquest and domination of American Indians by more recent immigrants from Europe, Africa, and Asia. However, one need not dwell upon the history or the tragic unpleasantness of these post-Columbian events. Instead, the focus here is on present blurry eyed attempts to live in and cope with a multicultural, twentieth century North American society.

The American film industry reflects, consciously and unconsciously, the dynamic, often ambiguous, often contradictory society of which it is a part. Thus, in its own way, Hollywood struggles to cope with the American Indian as part of North America's past and present. Films may be offensive, exploitative, or inaccurate; but the illusions produced for audience entertainment also mirror society. Although the Hollywooden Indian is not authentic and may be insulting, the Hollywooden Indian image is a genuine cultural artifact of the North American experience—good or bad, right or wrong.

The Hollywooden Indian is both real and unreal. This image is "real" in the same sense that the Hollywood Westerns are real. These historical fiction films, like the dime novels before them, represent a synthesis of popular history, a confused nightmare of wagon trains, of gunfighters, and of cowboys and Indians. These myths about ourselves and about nineteenth century western history represent the realities of neither the "cowboys" nor the "Indians." Of course, many modern, real working cowboys in the American West today are Indians. Many more participate in rodeos and in the rural cowboy culture generally. The Hollywooden Indian is an illusion as are the backlot scenery and the false front buildings behind them. Myth builders *use history* rather than write it just as magicians defy physics and common sense.

Myths and stereotypes about American Indians fostered by Hollywood cause psychological damage as Bataille and Silet point out, especially when illusions are confused with reality. The homogenized Hollywood Indian is regrettable and misleading. However, one need not apologize for John Wayne or John Ford. They never pretended to be ethnographic filmmakers or even to follow Curtis's early film making example. Hollywood films are not accurate and not intended to be. Fundamentally, Hollywood does not educate; it entertains.

The important question now is where one goes from here. Hollywood continues to entertain; cowboy and Indian westerns are not in vogue. But the American Indian is alive and well and living in the twentieth century. The challenge is to reshape the Hollywood image; *i.e.*, to build more satisfactory illusions for the film audience and more meaningful identities for the American Indians themselves, especially ones that promote relevant expressions of cultures without gross distortions.

Film quality is improving slowly. Indian characters are increasingly more sophisticated and more authentic. Legitimate film roles for American Indians will improve as modern urban Indians are recognized increasingly as active participants in contemporary society. A film about Billy Mills, for instance, is possible and worth making because he is a successful, well-known athlete and, secondarily, because he is an Indian. At the same time, a rich and varied heritage exists; a vast reservoir of material remains largely unused by enterprising Indian writers, directors and producers. It is for them to articulate the drama of life, past and present, on and off the reservation. Indeed, a cowboy and Indian movie from the Indian's perspective ought to be provocative, informative and entertaining as long as it were made well enough to avoid heavy handed moralizing or alternatively the impression of self-parody. The future of American Indian participation in the film industry rests upon quality and creativity, not upon any proportional representation based upon race.

The Hollywood Indian and the cowboy and Indian stereotypes are outmoded today, if not forgotten. But the film medium remains. The challenge is to transform the medium and for American Indian actors, writers, directors and producers to use the medium for creating their own dreams.

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Retention of Undergraduate Minority Students in Institutions of Higher Education

**Verdia Jenkins
and
Melvin Terrell**

This article is concerned with the retention of minority undergraduate students, offering recommendations which contribute to a higher rate of student retention in postsecondary institutions. The first section provides a brief introduction to the state-of-the-art concerning attrition and retention. The development of a retention program for minority students comprises the second, more comprehensive section. It provides a listing of resources concerned with the problem. Concluding recommendations are presented which can contribute to the successful retention of minority students.

* * * * *

The issue of student attrition in institutions of higher education has become of increasing concern since the late 1960s. With open access to many postsecondary institutions, enrollment greatly increased during the 1960s. Also, the degree of attrition increased at an alarming rate—this condition can be attributed to various factors related to students as well as to the colleges and universities.

Higher education administrators have always recognized student attrition as a problem. In the past, attrition has been partly balanced by academic planning following recruitment. As attrition continued throughout the 1970s, attempts were made to develop strategies to solve the problem. Whereas the earlier efforts to establish retention programs were concentrated upon traditional students, it became clear that more significant measures would have to be utilized to assist nontraditional undergraduates to achieve academic success. Many studies conducted during the 1970s identified variables related to attrition; once identified, the factors provided the basis for academicians to develop more comprehensive retention efforts. "Task-

forces” were developed to investigate the retention efforts on individual campuses.

A review of some attitudes relating to retention follows: In 1978, a university-wide attrition/retention study group was formed at the State University of New York at Buffalo, consisting of more than thirty people. Faculty, staff, and students were represented on the committee, and a three-person chair directed the group in the eight-month study. The tri-chairs consisted of the vice-president for student affairs, a commuter undergraduate student, and an on-campus undergraduate student. The committee’s view concerning the retention problem shows that:

College Student Retention is an issue that affects both the private and the public sectors. It is essential that educational institutions provide the personal growth experiences to satisfy the needs of the students. If the college is meeting the needs of the students, the attrition rate can be reduced.¹

And the chair

stated in the opening remarks that everyone concerned with higher education should be concerned with the retention of students in an attempt to help them successfully pursue their objectives in higher education.²

The vision remains unchanged in the 1980s.

Retention programs should begin with an identification of the contributing forces of attrition. “It is important to understand that these forces vary in type and intensity; similarly, the types of demands and forces on students vary in kind and difficulty among institutions.”³ Faculty insensitivity to non-whites and the non-use of student support services by minority students are examples of forces and problems. Identification of the issues involved is essential for defining the scope of the attrition problem.

Known criteria for retention are important for any program. First, the criteria must be compatible with the missions and goals of the institution. Second, undergraduates must have mandatory requirements for using the campus resources. Finally, the attributes of minority college students must be addressed by institutions.

Retention studies should be examined to assess the current information available. Each institution must choose techniques for developing more relevant studies, and the resultant data must be utilized throughout the campus by academic personnel and student support services. An important use of the information gathered can help establish retention guidelines, both specific and general.

Guidelines developed on campuses must take into account institutional resources. If there is any indication that existing resources are insufficient to reverse or halt attrition, additional or alternative development of resources is necessary. The awareness and commitment of the institutional community must be realized.

Past retention programs must be reviewed. Successful components of programs must be noted for further examination in relation to present retention techniques and strategies.

Developing a Retention Program for Minority Students

According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education* in 1975, fifty-nine percent of black college students compared to forty-three percent of white students leave before graduating. Although the reasons for dropping-out are similar for black and white students, research findings during the past decade indicate that academic measures do not predict achievement for black college students as well as they predict achievement for white students. William Sedlacek and D.W. Webster suggest that our understanding of black youth and higher education can be enhanced by examining nonacademic predictors.⁴

In a longitudinal study conducted at the University of Cincinnati, Kathleen Burlaw found that nonacademic predictors that turned out to be important fall into three categories: (1) aspirations and expectations, (2) self-perceptions, and (3) the perceptions of others. She suggests that aspirations may simply be a reflection of the exposure, or the lack of it, to certain alternatives.⁵ Burlaw argues for the increased exposure of black youth to higher educational and prestigious job settings so they will consider these as viable alternatives when making decisions about education and career. Although educational aspirations were important indicators of who enters higher educational institutions, occupational aspirations were important predictors of both entrance and retention. Since students may lose interest in educational goals, an occupational end is needed to sustain their motivation to continue. Also important to retention is the sense of control exercised by students over outcomes in general. Students are more likely to stay in school if they think they have control over failure and think they can use skills or credentials acquired in college to achieve personal life goals.

D. Elkind argues that black students experience several discontinuities between high school and college, including the absence in college of social promotion that is found in some high schools.⁶ Furthermore, the high school culture, at least in inner-city schools, may have been dominated by a black majority, while the general

college environment is dominated by the culture of the white majority.

Financial pressure and poor study habits,⁷ mistrust between faculty and students,⁸ and marginal involvement in dating and social life and lack of opportunities for involvement in campus life⁹ interfere with the progress of black students in colleges. Anthony DiCesare, et al., found that blacks who remain in college have more self confidence and higher expectations, feel more strongly that colleges should influence social conditions, are more apt to perceive racism in college, and are more likely to live on campus and make use of its facilities than are non-returning students.¹⁰ Students who leave are more likely to have problems because they tend to expect less racism than they actually find.

Attrition and retention rates are also influenced by the following factors: (1) being intensely isolated or alienated in predominantly white institutions, (2) being the first generation to attend college, and (3) having the tendency of minorities to be less likely than whites to turn to "traditional counselors."¹¹ Student perceptions of a caring attitude on the part of the university can counteract loneliness or depression. Mandatory counseling, advising, and tutorial/study skills work are viewed by students who perform poorly as a part of institutional caring and concern that can override loneliness and depression.¹² A strong support person or "significant other" within the campus life of students is important; the person can be an advisor, counselor, faculty member, or work supervisor. If a retention program is to be successful, it must address a variety of personal needs as well as offer support and assistance in academic areas.

Andrew Goodrich makes the following recommendations for retention.¹³

1. Establish a system for determining enrollment, good standing, probation, and academic dismissal rates for each academic department.
2. Develop a system for early identification of students experiencing academic difficulty.
3. Establish a follow-up communication system for contacting students experiencing academic difficulty and those on probation.
4. Set up campus-wide academic committees for the development of strategies to enhance recruitment, retention, and graduation rates of minority students within departments.
5. Conduct a campus-wide minority retention workshop focusing on concerns identified by committees.

6. Develop a system for acquiring information on nonacademic reasons for which students leave.

Goodrich places special emphasis on the Computerized Academic Monitoring System (CAMS). The system includes instructor identification of students with a D or F grade at the end of the first one-third of the term, letters sent to students from departments or Minority Affairs Office expressing concern and indicating tutorial and advising resources available, and follow-up evaluation. The Campus Academic Monitoring System works to create a supportive environment by identifying students with academic difficulty, offering a wide range of academic support services, and providing faculty/staff follow-up. Each student is put in touch with individuals who offer assistance and *psychological support* on an ongoing basis.

The key follow-up elements of the Goodrich Model are personal contact with students, academic improvement resources, data collection, reporting, and evaluation. The advising network has two facets: sensitive, knowledgeable departmental advisors and minority peer advisors trained in peer advising. The Minority Advisement Program (MAP) includes an academic survival course to acquaint students with academic requirements, administrators, university regulations, and supportive services, so they can become knowledgeable users capable of handling system-related problems. Upon successful completion of the course, students can become peer advisors and provide general academic advising and referrals, including tutorial and financial aid. Peer advisors personally contact those with difficulty.

Although they do not ignore the importance of data collection and academic factors, Simmons and Simmons place more emphasis on the personal aspects of the retention and attrition dilemma.¹⁴ Although their program was originally implemented in the Stevens Institute of Technology, its principles apply in other settings as well. The Stevens Technical Enrichment Program (STEP) takes a strong preventive orientation to minority student retention and attrition, beginning with a six-week bridge program of rigorous pre-freshman and freshman courses. Students must understand how the program works and carry some sense of responsibility for the program. They must be willing to respond to questionnaires, undergo tutoring, report failures early enough to avert serious consequences, and develop regular and honest study habits.

Efforts are maintained to help students to adjust to their new environment, acquire good study habits, and become familiar with the campus. In order to succeed, students need a sense of commitment, a

positive self-concept, and a high level of maturity.

The STEP program augments interviews, observations, and recommendations. The program uses a variety of evaluative instruments, including the Wren Study Habits Inventory, Mooney Problem Check List, Super's Work Values Inventory, Vocational Preference Inventory, and the California Psychological Inventory.

Central to the STEP program is an atmosphere of trust and safety. Students and staff are on an informal, first-name basis; they interact in informal social settings, and great care is taken to ensure a non-threatening atmosphere. A "buddy-system" complements the elements. Good relations with parents are established through parent associations, and STEP works with community agencies such as anti-poverty programs, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Urban League, and ASPIRA of America, Inc. STEP personnel also consult regularly with community representatives in the drafting of grant proposals for federal funds.

The STEP program solicits strong institutional support through commitment to the program by the administration, from the president on down. The president holds meetings to discuss STEP and makes supportive policy statements. The development office actively solicits funds, and the dean encourages faculty and others to participate.

Favorable faculty relations are essential to the program. The Faculty Advisory Board strives to increase faculty participation, to reduce conflict between students and faculty, and to help students get the most out of courses. The Dean of Students Office helps with adjustment problems and facilitates student participation in campus activities.

STEP employs a full-time undergraduate counselor and addresses the many nonacademic reasons for students leaving school: inadequate financial aid, negative home environment, and negative neighborhood pressure. Good staff training and rapport are essential. In addition, good liaison with the Career Planning and Placement Office is maintained.

Good relations with funding agencies are carefully cultivated, including foundations and corporate sources. STEP gets forty percent of its funding from the Department of Health and Human Services and twenty-five percent from the New Jersey Department of Higher Education, with the remainder coming from private sources. Good relations with the development office ensure the coordination of fund-raising activities. The president and the STEP director make direct

visits to corporations and individuals for funds.

Summary

The research findings present several models for improving the academic and nonacademic development of minority students in higher education. The possibilities are summarized:

1. Universities need to develop seminars to raise the ethnic awareness of white faculty and administrators.
2. Orientation programs must provide the necessary academic survival techniques for success.
3. Academic counselors must be trained in cross-cultural counseling.
4. Some type of monitoring and referral program that has the cooperation of faculty and student development personnel must be implemented to reduce the academic dismissal rate.
5. Developmental courses must be taught by faculty who are interested in and concerned about minority students.
6. Universities must demonstrate a commitment to funding programs that assist students in their efforts to graduate.
7. A peer counseling program can be beneficial in meeting the academic, cultural, and social needs of minority students.
8. In addition to academic advising and tutorial services, a successful retention program must address the personal and social needs of minority students.
9. A supportive network of caring counselors, advisors, tutors, faculty, and peers is essential; such a close, supportive relationship is critical for those students whose families and neighborhood backgrounds do not provide the motivation to continue in the face of adversity.

Recommendations

In order to formulate workable recommendations, the writers made an attempt to gather as much information about retention efforts as possible. Since both authors are familiar with various methods for developing undergraduate student retention programs as well as minority student retention plans, the recommendations are applicable to both variables. Through the process of incorporating first-hand knowledge with the data compiled from the literature, the writers are comfortable with the ideas presented. We concluded that there are three areas common to most or all institutions of higher education; therefore, our recommendations are clustered within the areas of environment, faculty and staff, and students.

Environment

Pre-admission— Develop orientation programs designed to inform and relate to those being recruited. For the minority student, open communication can make the difference in the perception of the academic environment.

Admissions— The procedures should reflect the institutional effort to provide prompt and effective information and assistance. Advisors who are sensitive to specific problems concerning minority student admission can create a supportive environment. The admission process must set the tone of the academic environment.

Enrollment— Students must have all of the information concerning enrollment. There must be open access to interpretation of this information. For the minority student attempting to complete the process, the availability of on-site assistance is invaluable.

Financial Aid— The availability of financial aid must be made known and information compiled. The compilation may prove complex; therefore, to relieve the frustration caused by the complexity, support must be available. Minority students often respond to the absence of clarity in these matters with confusion.

Courses— Establish a system which provides assistance in course selection, course-related problems, and grades. The continuous institutional commitment to minority students' academic endeavors provides a caring environment.

Faculty and Staff

Develop programs designed to focus upon retention with emphasis on minority students. In order to encourage faculty and staff participation, they must be made aware of concerns affecting attrition and retention. To address issues that are nonacademic, institutional personnel must have access to information showing the relationship of nonacademic problems to attrition. Faculty and staff must reflect the composition of the student body. If the purpose is retention of minority students, there must be a simultaneous effort in recruitment and retention of minority faculty and staff. Successful in-roads into halting minority student attrition must be shared with faculty and staff.

Students

Responsibilities should be clearly communicated to students. Pertinent information must be available to advisors and counselors to assist the students. Minority students' access to faculty and staff facilitates the perception of support. Support of minority students must include tutorial assistance, referral services, minority role models, and so forth. In the final analysis, it is up to students to complete course work, obtain good grades, and be responsible for themselves;

doing this successfully, however, depends upon the institutional support available.

The recommendations presented are not intended to be all inclusive. They are offered as ideas to be shared and debated with those involved in the retention of minority students.

Notes

¹James T. Closson, Doris Hill, and Lee Noel. "What Works in Student Retention?" *College and University*. 56 (Summer, 1981) 336.

²Sunny L. Low, et al. "Registrar's Office: Impact on Retention." *College and University*. 56 (Summer, 1981) 402.

³Eddie W. Morris, Edward Anderson, and Shirley Dorsey-Martin. "Realities of Retention: A Program That Works!" *College and University*. 56 (Summer, 1981) 319.

⁴William E. Sedlacek and D.W. Webster. *Admission and Retention of Minority Students in Large Universities*. ERIC ED 139 889 (College Park: University of Maryland, 1977).

⁵Kathleen H. Burlew. *Black Youth and Higher Education: A Longitudinal Study*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 181 100 (Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 1979).

⁶D. Elkind. "From Ghetto School to College Campus: Some Discontinuities and Continuities." *Journal of School Psychology*. 9 (1971) 241-245.

⁷F. Westbrook, J. Miyares, and J. Roberts. "Perceived Problem Areas by Black and White Students and Hints about Comparative Counseling Psychology." *Journal of Counseling Psychology*. 25 (1978) 119-123.

⁸C.U. Willie and A.S. McCord. *Black Students at White Colleges*. (New York: Praeger, 1972).

⁹John A. Centra. "Black Students at Predominantly White Colleges: A Research Description." *Sociology of Education*. 33 (Summer, 1970) 325-339.

¹⁰Anthony C. DiCesare, et al. *Non-Intellectual Correlates of Black Student Attrition*. (College Park: Cultural Study Center, University of Maryland, 1970).

¹¹Sedlacek and Webster.

¹²Robert A. Kaye. "A Required Counseling-Study Skills Program for Failing College Freshmen." *Journal of College Student Personnel*. 13 (March, 1972) 159-162.

¹³Andrew Goodrich. *Developing a Data-Driven Retention Model for Improving Minority Student Persistence in Predominantly White and Historically Black Colleges*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1979).

¹⁴Ron Simmons and C. Maxwell-Simmons. *Principles of Success in Programs for Minority Students*. (Hoboken, NJ: Stevens Institute of Technology, 1978).

Critique

Increased retention of minority undergraduates is a goal that can be supported for a variety of reasons, from the avoidance of human waste, to concern for balanced institutional budgets, to the desirability of turning out larger numbers of minority graduates who will become professional role models for the next generation. The authors have presented a state-of-the-art review of some promising retention programs, together with recommendations for strengthening such programs.

The changes in student recruitment pools since the open access period of the 1960s have been, reasonably enough, accompanied by changes in institutional strategies for retention of these diverse groups. As a significant proportion of the "non-traditional" student body, minority students have been the focus of special concern and of programs growing from that concern, since their attrition rates have been higher than those for white students. The nature of these retention programs, the authors argue, must reflect the mission and goals of the institutions housing them, for each educational institution brings forces and demands of a particular type and strength to bear on its students.

Despite these institution-specific stresses, there are, it would seem, relatively universal predictors of minority attrition. The authors summarize the characteristics of several program models developed from these predictors and present recommendations in the areas of the environment, the faculty and staff, and the students which build

upon their summary of exemplary programs.

While the selection of some models and omission of others can be argued—why was UCLA’s well-developed program not mentioned, for example—the general premises of the selected models are consistent with the best retention programs nation-wide.

In discussing the educational environment, the author’s recommendations regarding admissions, enrollment and financial aid are useful. Orientation is a much more complex subject, however. Pre-admission orientation for minorities can easily backfire, stigmatizing them and requiring them to leave much-needed employment well before school begins. Ongoing alliances with feeder schools can provide means for transmitting some of this orientation information, and “rolling” orientation sessions—keyed to present assistance in topical areas when the need arises might be productive alternatives.

On the subject of courses, the authors did not speak to the need for relevance in course content, the strongest issue to come from our recent research with minority graduates, and a frequently mentioned priority elsewhere. Racist bias in instructional materials and the absence of minority role models in the professional case examples presented in class contribute to the lack of career goals cited in this article as a factor contributing to attrition. Clearly, curriculum evaluation and revision has implications for minority retention.

The recommendations regarding faculty/staff involvement in the retention issue are clear, strong and urgent. In-service training programs are necessary to teach these support skills, to build helpful alliances, and to move institutional commitment from the theoretical level to the practical. Many administrators would welcome research and development of model training programs for these purposes.

Finally, while responsibility for educational performance rests with the student, institutions have accepted, if only to keep their enrollments up, a share in that responsibility. Sensitive faculty and staff welcome assistance such as here presented in avoiding or overcoming barriers to educational performance. Further delineation of the types of institutional support which most effectively compensate for environmental deficiencies would be welcome.

Linda M.C. Abbott
California School of Professional
Psychology - Fresno

Critique

“The Retention of Undergraduate Minority Students in Institutions of Higher Education” presents an informative discussion on the retention of minority students. The article comprehensively addresses the problems relevant to retaining minority students in institutions of higher learning. In addition, it represents a clear and fairly precise discussion of what elements a retention effort geared toward black students should contain in order to achieve success.

One problem with the article is its assumption that blacks constitute the only minority group and makes only a token attempt to determine if the strategies presented are applicable to other minority people. For those of us responsible for serving large segments of indigenous minorities in addition to blacks, an expanded discussion would have been helpful. For example: statistics predict that by the 1985 academic school year minority student enrollment will increase manifold and that no fewer than fifty-two percent of those will be Mexican Americans. Therefore, our concerns must involve retention strategies which are effective across the various cultural, economic, and social lines.

The strategies and techniques discussed in this article can produce positive results. However, the strategies presented, though well intended, are short-sighted and merely the application of “band-aids” where major surgery is necessary. Even though the article discusses remedies for the immediate problem of minority retention, it does not address preventative measures. The strategies presented are faulty in that the assumptions seem to be that the problem peculiar to minority retention can be addressed and resolved only at the college level.

In California we are now convinced that many of the variables that prevent minority students from matriculating and completing a bachelor’s degree can be effectively addressed before starting college. Towards that end, concerned administrators, counselors, et al. need to give considerable thought to an early outreach/recruitment effort designed for students in grades six through twelve. The University of California system has implemented an Early Outreach Program and the California State University System is soon to do likewise. The intent of these efforts is preventive in nature and might prove effective in addressing academic preparation, study habits, academic, occupational and other aspirations at an earlier time.

Success in these endeavors should also diminish many of the adjust-

ment problems minority students face in college. In addition to the strategies presented, innovative and preventative strategies should be developed. Because we are cognizant of the problems minority students must face in college our minimal obligation is to prepare them as early as possible for the rigors they will face.

Willie Wright
California State Polytechnic University
Pomona

Critique

Jenkins' and Terrell's assessment of factors contributing to the attrition of undergraduate minority students is written in such general terms that it does not make a clear statement of the problem. Further, while their use of Kathleen Burlew's study may have provided some specific insights, to say out of context that "since students may lose interest in educational goals, an occupational end is needed to sustain their motivation to continue" comes perilously close to a rationale for consigning minority students to vocational programs.

The fundamental problem is the all-pervasive one of institutional racism. I do not mean to imply that most colleges and universities *actively* discriminate against minority students for this is obviously not true; many institutions have established programs aimed, to some degree, at compensating for past prejudicial behavior. Rather, this kind of racism manifests itself in subtle but no less powerful forms. Jenkins and Terrell have cited the need to sensitize faculty and administrators to non-white styles and values. I suggest that more than awareness alone is necessary; people must develop a positive appreciation rather than merely a tolerance for cultural differences.

Hiring (and tenuring) minority faculty, and providing minority counselors, even requiring students to make use of them, do not create a hospitable environment as long as the implicit administrative assumption is that to cope, these students must become "like us." A profound change has to take place in prevailing campus attitudes and practices if the attrition of minority students is to be halted. *The price of academic success achieved through conditioning students to adapt to situations which inherently devalue their self-images is simply too high.*

Ultimately, the true indicator of an institution's commitment to any endeavor is its funding priorities. Those colleges and universities really willing to put their money where their publicity is are also likely to develop the kind of setting which fosters growth among all members of their communities.

Helen MacLam
Dartmouth College

Racial Identity Among Mixed Adolescents In Hawaii:

A Research Note

Graham C. Kinloch

The islands of Hawaii are well-known for their unique level of racial heterogeneity and admixture, overt norms of racial tolerance and harmony, and temperate climate. Of central interest to the social scientist is the manner in which racial and cultural blending take place in such a complex society, particularly among those of mixed racial origin; Hawaii provides a social laboratory in which to study such processes in depth. This paper, viewing racial identity as an important index of intergroup relations, examines the racial identities and related reasons of forty high school adolescents in Hawaii in order to highlight controlling factors of the social environment.

Racial Mixture and Identity

There are a number of distinct possibilities regarding racial identity among mixed individuals: (1) physical admixture may result in cultural admixture with the development of a distinctly "mixed" group identity (e.g., Michener, 1961); or (2) physical mixture may result in little cultural mingling with the development instead of a distinct sense of marginality as the individual is not accepted fully by any particular race group (Park, 1950; Songequiest, 1937); or (3) physical admixture may result in limited cultural admixture, with adherence to a particular racial identity dependent upon the particular mix involved as well as other physical, social, and demographic factors. Such an approach appears applicable to Hawaii where major race groups vary on a number of basic characteristics: migration rate, length of residence, rate of intermarriage, size, and even more important, level of socioeconomic achievement.

Methods

Forty seniors at a high school on Oahu were interviewed by two

teachers who knew them well. The school was predominantly lower class in social origins, and part-Hawaiian and Samoan in racial composition, with far lower percentages of Caucasians and Orientals. A questionnaire concerning background characteristics and attitudes was used as the basis of the interview.

The racial mixture of the sample was predominantly Caucasian-Oriental, Caucasian-Hawaiian, and Oriental-Hawaiian. Non-mixed Caucasian, Oriental and Hawaiian students were also included for purposes of comparison. For this study, the students' racial identities and reasons for those identities were analyzed by racial background.

Results

The students' identities, analyzed by racial background, are presented in Table 1. It can be seen that unmixed Caucasian, Oriental, and Hawaiian students predictably adhere to their identities without change. On the other hand, racially-mixed students tend to reflect the

Table 1. Racial Identity by Racial Background

Racial Background:	Caucasian-Caucasian	Caucasian-Oriental	Caucasian-Hawaiian	Oriental-Oriental	Oriental-Hawaiian	Hawaiian-Hawaiian
Racial Identity:						
Caucasian	100.00	60.0	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0
Oriental	0.0	40.0	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0
Hawaiian	0.0	0.0	75.0	0.0	90.0	100.0
Mixed	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	9.1	0.0
Total N:	2	5	8	8	11	2

school's racial composition: Caucasian-Hawaiians and Oriental-Hawaiians are overwhelmingly Hawaiian in identity with few exceptions. Caucasian-Orientals, however, are about evenly split between Caucasian and Oriental identities. In these cases, looks determine Caucasian identities while those who opted for an Oriental identity stated explicitly that there were few Caucasians in the school and they did not want to be considered Caucasian. The relevance of the school's racial composition and hierarchy is evident in the social pressure to be 'local' in identity regardless of mixture except when looks make this impossible. Thus, the importance of physical appearance and social pressure is apparent here, even a society presumed to be free of racial criteria in behavior.

Table 2 presents reasons for identity by racial background. The trends here are as clear as in Table 1: unmixed students explain their

Table 2. Reasons for Racial Identity by Racial Background

Racial Background:	Caucasian-Caucasian	Caucasian-Oriental	Caucasian-Hawaiian	Oriental-Oriental	Oriental-Hawaiian	Hawaiian-Hawaiian
Identity Reasons:						
Am	100.00	0.0	12.5	88.8	14.3	66.6
Looks	0.0	40.0	62.5	0.0	42.8	0.0
Behavior	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	7.1	0.0
Rejection	0.0	60.0	12.5	11.2	21.4	33.3
Hwn. residence	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.0
Total N:	3	5	8	9	14	2

identity as being what they are and nothing else, for Caucasian-Hawaiian it is mainly a matter of physical appearance, for Oriental-Hawaiians both looks and racial pride are important, while for Caucasian-Orientials looks and rejection of one of their possible identities is operative. The importance of appearance and racial status is clear here, pointing to the importance of both physical and social criteria to racial identity in a society even as traditionally non-racist as this one. Rather than predominantly ‘mixed’ or ‘marginal’ identities, then, racial alignment based on physical and status characteristics in a particular social setting is evident. Racial attitudes are thus structured by characteristics of the situation in which they operate even in a relatively non-racist society.

Conclusions

The myth of total racial equality, non-racism, and complete and on-going racial blending in Hawaii is obviously fallacious. Although when compared to most other situations, Hawaii is one of the least racist areas in the U.S. This paper shows how physical and social status factors continue to operate even among those who are racially-mixed and supposedly defined in non-racial terms. According to these data, racial identity even among mixed individuals is clearly structured by physical and situational criteria. Thus, clear racial identity and marginality are present in a situation traditionally defined as non-racist highlighting the continued operation of racial and eco-

conomic inequality. Further examination of the operation of these factors among mixed individuals in this unique society should make an important contribution to the understanding of racial attitudes in general.

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Critique

This modest research note is on solid ground in recognizing that racial identity prevails in the relatively non-racist, pluralist society of Hawaii. Hawaii's peoples are noted for extending respect and tolerance to the diverse racial and ethnic groups in the State, but pluralism has by no means erased all problems.

Kinloch's sampling is of mixed racial adolescents attending a Honolulu high school with a predominantly lower class student body. Their ethnic identity is connected to their physical attributes or their social situations. So far, so good.

There are two difficulties with Kinloch's study, however. One is that "local" identification is given only passing mention. "Local" is the term applied by Island-born people to themselves if they are of either mixed backgrounds or single racial stock except for Caucasians who are called "haoles." "Local" carries with it a certain pride, and Island-born Caucasians identify themselves this way in order to be distinguished from "haoles" from the mainland. A useful study is Eric Yamamoto's "The Significance of Local," in *Social Process in Hawaii*, Vol. 27 (1979).

The second problem is that the laboratory is too confined. From this admittedly small sampling, the researcher concludes that racial identity and marginality are one and the same and that they are integral to continued racial and economic inequality in Hawaii. This may be so for the people involved in his study but may be as much class as race

related. Were one to take a similar sampling in another socio-economic environment, such as a private Honolulu high school, one might find another pattern. About one-fourth of all high school students in Honolulu are enrolled in private high schools, many of which have hefty tuition rates. The parents who pay for their single or ethnically mixed children perceive that they are providing their children with middle class values and opportunities. The entire class structure of Hawaii has, in fact, undergone dramatic changes since the end of World War II when Japanese-American soldiers returning from that war demanded a share in the educational, political, and economic power structure which had been dominated by Caucasians for more than one hundred years. As other immigrant and racial groups have become established (such as Pilipinos), the children and grandchildren have entered the power structure. Thus, generational lines also affect the social structure.

Hawaii is an intriguing social laboratory. The interested researcher will want to see not only *Social Process in Hawaii*, the journal that reports on research in ethnicity, community, and social structure, but will also want to see *People and Culture of Hawaii: A Psychocultural Profile*, ed. John F. McDermott, Jr., et. al. (1980).

Helen G. Chapin
Hawaii Pacific College

Critique

Relatively few individuals have the option of choosing an ethnic identity. In most cases that identity is ascribed by parentage or by societal perception. Kinloch's research illuminates both the considerations which may be involved in making a choice of ethnic identity in those persons who have the option and the results of the choice for his sample group.

Without further probing of the reasons given by the student respondents for their choices, one cannot determine how many of them actually believed that they had a choice to make; Table 2 reports that physical appearance was, after all, the reason most frequently given for the identity selected.

Physical appearance may, in fact, have less salience in Hawaii than in other states. White is not necessarily the color of political and economic influence in Hawaii, but ethnic identity is not immaterial in that society. Kinloch reminds us of the importance of the situational context in which ethnic identity is formed; although he does not report the ethnic composition of the school in percentages, he does note that part-Hawaiian and Samoan students are in the majority. In this context Hawaiian appears to be the ethnic identity of choice for the mixed race student who has that option available. At work here, possibly, is not only an inclination to associate oneself with the numerically preponderant group but also to define the social environment rather narrowly—as the school or the neighborhood as opposed to the city, state, or nation.

A reader inclined to generalize, however, should keep in mind that Kinloch's sample is very small and that it is a sample of convenience, not a random sample of racially-mixed adolescents. The author, wisely, makes no pretense of statistical significance. He does not include with his tables the standard measures of significance that would be appropriate only to a scientifically drawn sample.

A multicultural society is one in which definitional boundaries between ethnic groups persist in spite of frequent interaction among the component groups. Fredrik Barth and his colleagues have provided intellectual direction to the recognition of the psychological dimension of ethnic identity.¹ Kinloch's research note is a contribution to the understanding of the maintenance of ethnic identity in a fluid multicultural environment.

Note

¹Fredrik Barth, ed. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1969).

Vagn K. Hansen
Delta State University

Abstracts from the Eleventh Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies “Ethnicity and Public Policy”

We asked discussants for the 1983 Conference to summarize their responses to the papers in their sessions, and Stewart Rodnon of Rider College provided a statement which comments specifically on the session for which he was discussant and summarizes the significance of many of the papers delivered at the 1983 Conference. His comments serve as a meaningful preface to these abstracts.

I have always believed that the major problem in American life has been the gap between our professed ideals and our social practice. The crucial question has been how to protect the rights of minority groups in a democracy. That is, how are we to protect those minorities from the tyranny of the majority? Groups which are treated as minorities—women, Eskimos, American Indians in the fifty states—often suffer from deep-seated traditional prejudices as cited in the Kerner Report fifteen years ago.

Each of these papers, I would argue, relates to these rights. Each indicates a pattern of how a society frequently establishes good laws only to have the ingrained prejudices of the power-laden establishment subvert them through bureaucratic manipulations or extremely weak enforcement.

The root causes, the twin evils, are money and racism. I believe frequently the answer to any question of policy and minorities is “follow the dollar.” After all, it was Benjamin Franklin, in his *Poor Richard's Almanac*, who said, “Get what you can, and what you get, hold.” This approach when attempting to synthesize a response to the problems raised in the papers in Session III on Public Policy Issues is central. In the Alaska alcohol situation, alcohol was pushed hard because of its economic value; in the situation described by Carpenter and Acosta on women's sports, clearly money was central to the NCAA's

hatchet job on the AIAW and on the gender problems still plaguing the coaches in inter-collegiate sports; and in the Intermountain Power Project, when one goes deeply into the problem of preservation of Indian sacred sites, the ultimate answer will be in the talking power of money.

Stewart Rodnon
Rider College

Abstracts

“Ethnicity, Cultural Imperialism, and the Academy”

Shirley Abdulhafiz, John Okanishi, and Meredith Reinhart
California State Polytechnic University

Imperialism is usually thought of as the extension of rule by one government or nation over another. Imperialism also exists in other forms. In the United States, a country which purports to be a society of equality, truth, and justice, there exists the control of the majority over the minority through cultural and academic imperialism. This type of imperialism manifests itself in the creation of false images of ethnic minorities to suit the needs of the majority; the images are reinforced by popular media and literature, and the failure of our academic institutions to expose these falsehoods undergirds the foundation.

This paper explains academic and cultural imperialism perpetuated against colored ethnics in the United States and develops an antidote through the creation of a viable and liberating ethnic studies philosophy. We examine the content of ethnic studies journals such as *Amerasia*, *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, and *Explorations in Ethnic Studies*. The articles are critically reviewed and the directions of the literature evaluated. The critiques show how such literature has affected the process of cultural and academic imperialism. Finally, we focus on methods for improving the state of the art.

“Meeting the Educational Needs of Hispanic Youth: A Chicano Interdisciplinary Approach”

Andres Barona and Jesus Garcia
Texas A & M University

The objectives of this presentation are three-fold: (1) discuss issues and practices related to the referral, assessment, and use of intervention strategies with handicapped Hispanic pupils, (2) present issues and problems related to the recruitment of Hispanics for doctoral level programs, and (3) describe an interdisciplinary approach employed

by Texas A & M University in training doctoral candidates.

There is an urgent need for personnel trained to meet the needs of handicapped Hispanic pupils. Both national and state surveys indicate that little is being done to recruit individuals for doctoral programs in the area of the handicapped Hispanic pupils. Texas A & M University's doctoral program is one of a few that is successfully training Hispanics and non-Hispanics to address the needs of the handicapped Hispanic learner.

“Ethnicity as a Component of State-Based Humanities Program“

Gretchen M. Bataille
Iowa State University

State Humanities Councils, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, have funded ethnic-related programs since the inception of the state programs in 1971. Today, however, conservative scholars and politicians are a threat to these programs, attacking ethnic-related programs as “pro-Communist,” “anti-family,” or “ethnic thumb sucking.” The current administration's attempt to abolish both the National Endowment for the Humanities and the National Endowment for the Arts did not succeed; however, scholars and teachers in ethnic studies must monitor, participate in, and support the humanities programs in their states to ensure the continuation of programs focusing on ethnicity.

“Armenians in America: Reclaiming a Pocket of Diversity”

Margaret Bedrosian
University of California—Davis

In order to guarantee the continuing vitality of America's ethnic heritage, we need to promote the health of smaller ethnic minorities such as the Armenians. Heirs of a rich, long-developing Old World ethos, the Armenians have easily assimilated into America's socio-economic mainstream. But as the Armenian Apostolic Church and the Armenian language—traditional guardians of Armenian culture—hold less and less influence over the lives of contemporary Armenian-Americans, the prospect of ethnic extinction becomes very real, an eventuality that would not only deny future Armenian-Americans of a proud legacy but equally lamentable, diminish the diverse cultural resources of the United States as a whole. Among the various remedies for this bleak situation are a greater implementation of ethnic studies courses in grammar schools and high

schools, and the development of heritage museums which would not only preserve the record of the past but also stimulate the discovery of an evolving ethnic identity at the grassroots level.

**“The Status of Women in Intercollegiate Athletics:
A Five-Year National Study”**

Linda Jean Carpenter and R. Vivian Acosta
Brooklyn College

The role of women in intercollegiate athletic programs has been the source of much controversy during the last decade. A five-year national study has been conducted to provide substantive data concerning any changes in that role. Two data collection phases using a questionnaire were employed. All four-year colleges and universities fielding women's teams were surveyed and return rates of 66% and 71% were obtained. Data cover a period from one year preceding the Title IX compliance date to four years post compliance.

Even though the number of sports being offered on each campus is increasing, the percentage of female coaches is decreasing. Almost 6% of the sports offered have replaced a female coach with a male coach since 1977. More than 80% of women's programs are under the supervision of a male head athletic director. No female at all is involved in the administration of over 30% of the programs and the percentage is growing.

In summary, it appears that women's intercollegiate athletic programs are becoming increasingly coached and administered by males.

**“Heritage Consistency as a Consideration in Counseling
Native Americans”**

George Estes and Darryl Zitzow
Northern State College

Current efforts in counseling Native Americans appear either to offer generalizations that are impractical for implementation in therapy or to provide specific techniques that lack universality in cross-tribal application. This paper supports an additive relationship between Native American specific concerns and current counseling theory. Beginning with the individual as the primary focus for any counseling approach, the authors explore the continuum of heritage consistency/inconsistency as (1) a structure for self-assessment of client cultural identity, (2) a tool for establishing therapeutic goals,

and (3) a means of cultural self-definition more accurate than the current concepts of traditional or nontraditional.

Life-influencing factors are itemized, such as (1) having been raised on a reservation, (2) maintaining participation in current cultural events, and (3) having a sense of pride and knowledge of individual history. They are included in a checklist to facilitate client placement on a continuum of heritage consistency. The primary counseling concerns of Native Americans (alienation and value conflicts between the minority and dominant culture) are clearly registered and structured, allowing more accurate implications for therapeutic directions. The model suggests a counseling tool responding to cultural implications in a manner that also responds therapeutically to individual Native American identity.

“The Psychological, Social, and Academic Effects of Bilingual Education”

Homer D. C. Garcia
Pitzer College, Claremont

Although there is increasing evidence of the psychological and educational advantages of bilingual education, it is uncertain how four instructional methods typically used in bilingual programs—English as a second language (E.S.L.), Spanish language, nonhumanities training in Spanish, and ethnic studies—differ in their effects on students. Path analysis data from a 1980 High School and Beyond survey in which 1499 Chicano high school sophomores participated, reveals that the four types of instruction are given largely independently of bilingual classrooms. Collectively, the five types of classes (bilingual classes included) explain low yet statistically significant levels of variation but yield few individual statistically significant effects on student traits—social psychology (self-esteem, aspirations, fatalism, etc.), educational attitudes (satisfaction, interest, etc.), educational behaviors (abiding by school rules), and competitive characteristics (ability clubs, academic achievement, etc.). Bilingual program students were the most positively affected, but the benefits were mainly social psychological and competitive. The other instructional programs yielded less social psychological effects but more effects on the other categories of dependent variables. Spanish language and ethnic studies class participation resulted mainly in affirmative significant effects. E.S.L. participation had mixed effects and nonhumanities Spanish instruction produced only significant negative impacts. When one considers the importance of “student selection”

and variables outside of the classroom in causing negative effects, it is more apparent that most of the instructional methods play an affirmative role in the education of students of limited English-speaking ability.

**“A Millennium of Maize, Mussels, and Manners: Studying
Ethnic Persistence Among American Indians in the
Prairies and Plains”**

David M. Gradwohl
Iowa State University

Anthropologists and students of other disciplines look for both continuities and changes in group behavior patterns. Too often scholars tend to under-estimate if not overlook the persistence of traditions which provides a temporal dimension of ethnic identification. These continuities indeed may be masked by a veneer of modern technology and “borrowed” cultural patterns. Although these links with the past may be subtle, they may be important components of on-going ethnic identifications and they challenge the all-too-facile labels of “assimilation” and “cultural loss.”

This paper utilizes data from contemporary ethnography, history, and archaeology in exploring the American Indian use of freshwater mussel shells as implements for shelling green corn in the Prairies and Plains. Today the Mesquakie Indians of central Iowa harvest green corn in the late summer. The green corn is parboiled and then shelled off the cob by using clam shells collected from the Iowa River. At present this practice is documented for eleven American Indian groups in the Prairies and Plains extending back to the period of first observations by the French. Similar freshwater mussel shell artifacts are found in archaeological contexts along the Des Moines River. These implements are associated with evidence for the growing, harvesting, storing, and processing of corn. Comparable archaeological artifacts are noted in other Iowa sites, as well as other prehistoric sites in the Prairies and Plains.

The documentation of this practice for nearly 1000 years into the present is symbolic of the many continuities of American Indian traditions in the face of so-called assimilation of Euro-Americans. These traditions are important factors in present-day ethnic identifications both in terms of observable group behavior patterns and the cognitive domains of individuals within those groups.

“Black Representation in State Legislatures: Do Multimember Districts Make a Difference?”

Vagn K. Hansen
Delta State University

Election laws may impose serious disadvantages upon black citizens seeking political equality. This study addresses the problem of black underrepresentation in state legislatures. Correlational analysis reveals that the equity of black representation is positively associated with the percentage of legislators elected from single-member districts as well as with certain demographic variables—concentration of blacks in central cities and black and white income levels, both absolute and relative. The association of the identified variables with equity of black representation is found to be greatest in the group of states with populations at least ten percent black. Above this threshold, the use of multimember districts is found to have a demonstrably depressive effect on the equity of black representation. The experience of states which have changed from multimember to single-member legislative districts, furthermore, is found to demonstrate the value of single-member districts in reducing underrepresentation of the black population.

“A General Concept on Education for the Indochinese in the United States”

Viet T. Le
Indochinese Refugee Assistance Program, Sacramento

Of over 62,000 Indochinese now living in the United States, many are still deprived of their basic educational rights, partly due to recent budget cutbacks in education and social services. In regard to education, the majority of the Indochinese adults, especially those from the second wave who came lately, see language learning and skills training and retraining as the most immediate and essential needs for a stable resettlement.

Different from their parents, the newcomer children do not have serious language and social adjustment problems, but they do need classes of their own languages and cultures in order to live happily with their families and communities and to contribute a part to the enrichment of their new society.

“Pinto, Placa, and Clika: The Social Trappings of a Chicano Counterculture”

Ruben Mendoza
Bakersfield College

In 1982 Los Angeles County made an attempt to redefine the legal status of Chicano youth cliques in an effort to eradicate the social malaise that law enforcement agencies attributed to these so-called gangs. The thrust of the proposed legislation was aimed at creating legal accountability for the actions of clique members, yet, as with most such legislation, the attempt was flawed from the outset by the apparent lack of insight into the characteristics and composition of the Chicano counterculture. In an attempt to deal with this problem, this presentation will focus on the identification of the social and cultural characteristics that have often been neglected in the creation of the legalistic terminology employed by both representatives of the media and the major law enforcement agencies of this country.

“From the Reservation to the Campus”

Juanita Palmerhall
Iowa State University

This presentation provides information on many of the problems (academic, social, financial) the American Indian student has in higher education. In sharing this knowledge, I hope to assist educators at all levels in understanding the educational situation of American Indian students. The path from the reservation to the campus is a difficult one to travel. The Indian student is often confused on whether values have to be left behind, if they can be taken along, and if they can be maintained. Will peers, instructors, or administrators understand that there are differences and also likenesses among Indian students? How prepared is the student academically? What funding will the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the tribe provide? All of these issues often seem too gigantic for the American Indian student to grasp.

For the past ten years, a number of individuals who have a high interest in the recruitment and retention of American Indian students at Iowa State University have been attempting to eradicate some of these problems. A support system now exists on the campus. The number of Indian students has doubled in two years, but more and greater efforts need to be made. The sharing and pooling of information can benefit us as educators and most certainly will benefit American Indian students.

“Characteristics of Ethnicity in Argentina and the United States”

Bernard E. Segal
Dartmouth College

The social incorporation of European immigrants occurred more rapidly in Argentina, where they were a higher proportion of the total population than in the United States, where the immigrant flow was more diverse and where the country was already split along racial lines. In both nations, immigrants came to occupy industrial and commercial positions which might otherwise have gone to members of native minorities, but with ultimately quite different effects. The Argentine native latecomers to areas of economic growth were recruited by Juan Peron in a form of populist nativism with strong class appeal, joining a movement which split the country. By contrast, the United States' more open coalition politics in the Democratic Party and a nativist populism which always appealed to whites alone, allowed class strains to be eased more gradually but at the cost of retarding the political mobilization of native racial minorities.

“Policy Implications of American Indian Ethnicity and Cultural Resource Assessments”

Edward B. Weil
California State University
Dominguez Hills

and

Richard W. Stoffle
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The Intermountain Power Project cultural resource studies and other energy-related environmental assessments have begun to address concerns of American Indians regarding traditional religious practices, sacred sites, ethno-geographical identification and the potential impacts to these due to development. Without the benefit (or restrictions) of yet-to-be developed procedural guidelines pertaining to the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, a variety of ethnographic studies have focused on cultural resource issues employing various interview and data-gathering techniques. Cultural concerns have typically been raised regarding impacts to such location-specific and observable entities as burial grounds, trails, earthworks, archaeological sites and rock art. These concerns can be reasonably addressed

during the development of project modifications and other mitigation procedures intended to minimize or eliminate such impacts.

Other issues, however, are more difficult to address, particularly with regard to those spiritual/sacred values which are ideologically in conflict with those of progress and development. For example, concepts of land, space, lifeforms, and the place of humans in the environment often exist in American Indian ideologies representing fragile natural balances which can be seen as vulnerable during project implementation. Plants used for traditional religious/economic purposes are taken as an example.

Discussion involves the nature of American Indian perceived effects on cultural resources which are difficult to address using currently utilized environmental mitigation procedures (often developed for archaeological phenomena). Implications and suggestions are defined for interpreting applications of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act and the intended responsibilities incurred by the involved regulatory agencies.

“Wisconsin Indian Opinions of Factors which Contribute to the Completion of College Degrees”

Janet G. Wilson

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University of Wisconsin, Madison

In order to better understand and serve the needs of Wisconsin American Indian students, this study asks the opinions of currently enrolled juniors, senior and graduate students and post graduates regarding the factors which contribute to the completion of college degrees. The study focuses on positive aspects of college graduation. The Interim Report contains eight generalizations gleaned from a review of the history of Indian education. Four examples are given of individuals and groups who have *made a difference*. A review of research on higher education is included. The methodology is described. Seven Composite Profiles of Types of Indian students who complete college degrees in Wisconsin are presented. Two figures describe a small sample of demographic data. An analysis is given of five ranked factors which 99 respondents report contributed to their completion of college degrees.

**“Alcohol Abuse in Alaska Native Communities:
A Case Study of Institutional Racism”**

Jane M. Yamashiro
University of Hawaii at Hilo

This paper examines the community response to alcohol in two Eskimo communities in Southwestern Alaska. It traces through the literature review the development of the well-institutionalized inequity in the treatment of Natives in relationship to alcohol. Further, it examines alcohol policies as they apply to Alaska Native villages. This paper demonstrates that the problems of alcohol for these two Eskimo villages are the result of governmental actions, laws, and structures which are unresponsive to community integrity and needs. The intent of the State to unify the villages in rural Alaska resulted in the breakdown of community order.

The Editor Notes . . .

This issue, perhaps more than any other, brings together the many concerns of NAIES. The abstracts from the Eleventh Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies demonstrate the wide-ranging interests of NAIES members and the many issues unresolved in our society. Lorenz Bell Graham, a guest lecturer at the Conference, agreed to share with *Explorations* readers some of his experiences as a writer of adolescent fiction. Although a brief interview cannot encompass the many insights he shared during the special session on "Ethnicity and Adolescent Literature," his comments reflect the difficulty of being a black writer writing about the black experience for a world of white publishers.

The two articles and research note demonstrate the variety of research conducted on ethnicity. Bataille and Silet review both literature and film in relation to Euroamerican history and philosophy to demonstrate why the image of Amerindians remains so distorted. Jenkins and Terrell focus on the grave problems facing traditionally white educational institutions—the retention of those minority students they have recruited. Kinloch relates in a brief note his research on Hawaii's culturally diverse and racially mixed population and the racial and economic inequities that have evolved. The critiques suggest further research directions for established scholars and students.

I expect that the topics covered in this issue will surface again, but hope that each paper, discussion, and article will bring us closer to finding solutions to on-going problems of racism, sexism, distortions of the past, and diminished identities. I remain hopeful that we will remain steadfast and strong in our determination to provide the means to carry through on an agenda of social and political justice which benefits ethnic peoples.

The publication of a five-year index as a supplement to this issue of *Explorations* should provide members with a helpful guide for research as well as a sense of what topics were addressed between 1978 and 1982. NAIES has a limited number of past issues available for purchase should any one of the articles pique your interest.

Finally, the Executive Council is looking forward to the Twelfth Annual Conference in Kansas City with the same degree of hope and determination that made the Eleventh Annual Conference a success in Ontario, California. Peace and Freedom.

Charles C. Irby

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