ISSN 0730-904X

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

Vol. 8, No. 1 January, 1985

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.

Opinions expressed in articles and critiques are those of the authors and not necessarily of the editors or the publisher.

Articles appearing in this journal are annotated and indexed in *America: History and Life* and *MLA International Bibliography.*

The subscription list for this journal may on occasion be released to responsible scholarly and academic organizations; any member objecting to this practice should notify the treasurer of the NAIES, Inc.

EDITOR ..... Charles C. Irby
ASSOCIATE EDITORS ..... Gretchen Bataille
Meredith Reinhart

Copies of articles from this publication are now available from the UMI Article Clearinghouse.

UMI Article Clearinghouse

Mail to: University Microfilms International
300 North Zeeb Road, Box 91 Ann Arbor, MI 48106

NAIES logo "The Source" designed by Jo Myers
COPYRIGHT by NAIES, Inc., 1985

Vol. 8, No. 1 January, 1985

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

The Journal of the National Association for Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies

Published by NAIES

General Editorial Board

Paula Gunn Allen, Writer and Independent Scholar
El Cerrito, California

Wolfgang Binder, American Literature
Erlangen, West Germany

Lucia Birnbaum, Italian American Historical Society
Berkeley, California

Lorenz Graham, Writer
Claremont, California

Jack Forbes, Native American Studies
Davis, California

Lee Hadley, Writer
Madrid, Iowa

Annabelle Irwin, Writer
Lakeview, Iowa

Clifton H. Johnson, Amistad Research Center
New Orleans

Joyce Joyce, English
College Park, Maryland

Paul Lauter, American Studies
Old Westbury, New York

Ron Takaki, Ethnic Studies
Berkeley, California

Darwin Turner, English
Iowa City, Iowa

Vol. 8, No. 1 January, 1985

Table of Contents

Goan Literature from Peter Nazareth: An Interview by Charles C. Irby 1

Racism and the Canadian State by Daiva K. Stasiulis 13

Critiques
A. William Hoglund 32
Luis L. Pinto 34
Vagn K. Hansen 36
Delo E. Washington 37

Between Shadow and Rock: The Woman in Armenian American Literature by Margaret Bedrosian 39

Critiques
Joe Rodriguez 49
Orville W. Taylor 51
Linda M.C. Abbott 52

Cultural Differences in American and Southeast Asian Children's Psychosocial Development by Jacqueline Ulmen Zbaracki ... 55

Critiques
Alice Deck 63
Dennis Stewart 64

The Editor Notes 67

Contributors 68

Index, Volume 7, 1984 69

Goan Literature from Peter Nazareth: An Interview (8 November 1984)

Charles C. Irby

Peter Nazareth is an associate professor in the English Department and the Afroamerican Studies Program at the University of Iowa. His job includes being an advisor to the International Writing Program, which brings published writers from thirty to forty countries to Iowa City each fall. During the fall of 1984, he accompanied Michael Anthony (Trinidad) and Flora Nwapa (Nigeria) to Iowa State University for readings, and it was a golden opportunity to get some insights about the growth and development of both Goan literature and its primary catalytic agent to date.

Goa, for those without a sense of geography or knowledge of the colonized world before 1960, is located on the west coast of the Indian Sub-Continent. It was a Portuguese colony from about 1510 until 1961, when it was taken over by India. Since 1962, Goa, along with Daman and Diu, forms a Union Territory of the Republic of India. Consequently, Goan literature developed out of a colonial heritage.

In a letter dated 23 November 1984, Nazareth tells of the most important things to have happened to him recently: (1) he was elected Vice President of the African Literature Association and will become President in March of 1985; (2) his second novel, The General Is Up, *was published in October, 1984, (in India); (3) he received the 1984 Distinguished Independent Study Course Award from the National University Continuing Education Association for a study guide,* Literatures of the African Peoples; *and (4) a book of criticism,* Selected Essays *was published, in translation, by Europa Publishing House in Budapest, Hungary, in October of 1984. The book consists of selected essays on African literature.*

In the exorcised parts of the interview, Nazareth credits the late Professor Charles Davis for his fellowship at Yale University (after In

Explorations in Ethnic Studies, Vol. 8, No. 1 (January, 1985)

a Brown Mantle *was published) and his move to the University of Iowa. He also talked about his ancestral origins—some of which remains intact here. Nazareth was born in Uganda, and went to Goa twice as a child. The interview begins with his perceptions of Goa as an African of Goan ancestry.*

CI: What recollection do you have of Goa?

PN: I have some mythic memories of Goa which are reinforced by members of my family who have been there. I remember, for example, that we had to travel over a lot of water to get to Goa. We crossed on a big ship from Mombasa in Kenya to Bombay, and then on a smaller ship which took us to Goa. It was a country chiefly of old people, because the young went and worked outside; there were a lot of people dying and you would hear the church bells tolling.

CI: How did Goa fit your East African paradigm?

PN: In East Africa, the colonial system took a racial form, and it seemed that people's class position was a form of racial identity. Goans were civil servants: that seemed to be the Goan characteristic. And black Africans were low on the colonial hierarchy, inferior. This was a justification for colonial rule: the white people were ruling because they were supposed to be culturally, racially, and morally superior. I was astonished when I went to Goa the first time to see Goans along the whole range of classes, even workers and peasants who wore something called a *kashti,* a little loin cloth. The men, I mean.

CI: So you grew up with Goans?

PN: Yes, I did. I went to a Goan primary school in Entebbe, which is a small civil service town. I went to secondary school in Kampala, an Indian secondary school (Goans were not considered to be Indian). In those days, Goans used to be sent after primary education to Goa or to India. My father decided not to send me away because he felt I would grow apart from the family. After the Indian secondary school, I was very keen on going to the local University, Makerere, which was affiliated with London University. I was one of the earliest Asians (meaning East Indian) to be admitted. I could have gone to England to study, and everybody was telling my father to send me there, but again my father did not want me to grow away from the family. So you can see my experience with racial stratification. In spite of all this, a kind of racial intermingling took place. Language was affected.

When Goans speak we make this chirping sound, which they do in the West Indies, too. It's an African sound to express displeasure or anger; it's almost a curse. We had servants and I was, to a large extent, brought up by an *ayah* (nannie). I'm not saying that this is the best kind of intermingling, but it is wrong to think that we merely lived in a communal bubble. I traveled by bus many times, or by taxi, the taxi that picks up passengers, which carried mainly Africans. We would communicate in some fashion in Kiswahili.

CI: Tell me about the development and propagation of Goan literature.

PN: I got to Goan literature very late in my career. My degree and graduate work are in English literature. I got really interested in African literature, of which I am a part. I know a number of the African writers. Ngugi wa Thiong'o was at Makerere with me and then later at Leeds, and I began to read a lot of African literature and to contribute to it. After all I was living in Africa. I am an African. I was also an editor of *Penpoint*, a seminal literary journal at Makerere. While working for the Ministry of Finance in the late sixties, I felt that we could all make better decisions if we knew, imaginatively, what was going on: so I read a lot of African literature. I extended my interest to Indian literature, whatever was written or available in English.

When I came to this country I began to learn as much as I could about Afroamerican literature, because outside this country you just know a handful of Afroamerican writers—say Baldwin and Richard Wright. I didn't know there was this great wealth of black American literature, very diverse, very complex, very entertaining: that's what I began to read when I came to the U.S. Goan literature was not at the front of my mind when I arrived. It was almost an accident that I got invited to edit an issue of the *Journal of South Asian Literature* on Goan literature.

The invitation was made across the lunch table at Michigan State University, where I gave a lecture to the faculty entitled "Time in the Third World." I didn't hear the invitation correctly, and I agreed to it. Much later, I discovered what it was I had agreed to, and I was going to write back to say that I couldn't do it. I didn't know Goan literature. But there was an Indian writer in our Program, Dilip Chitre, who had been to Goa and knew Goan writers, and he told me to give it a shot. So, I said, "All right, let me try." I didn't know then what I know now: namely, how difficult it was. I discovered that Goan writers did exist.

They were spread out all over the world and they had written in at least fourteen different languages. Konkani, the Goan mother tongue, is written in at least three different scripts: Roman, Devanagari and Kannada.

The task seemed beyond me. I found out that when you try to get things done in Goan literature, people just don't move very fast. I was used to moving quickly. I worked fast in the civil service; I could move fast in African literature, as a critic and writer of fiction. But with Goan literature, it was like swimming through mud. I had many moments of discouragement and almost gave up. The only thing that kept me at it was that the Afroamerican Studies Program gave me a research assistant, Joseph K. Henry, a black American, and I was obliged to give him work. I gave him materials I had received from Goan writers. Being a black American, Henry could understand colonial alienation and displacement, the elements that figured in Goan writing. At the same time, he was an outsider and could point out to me what in the work was valuable and what was not. We kept each other working at the literature. We got to the point where we were ready and we did produce the volume. I gave Joseph Henry credit in the anthology; his name is up there with mine, "Assisted by Joseph K. Henry," because I believe strongly that people must be given credit for what they do. If a person has been a research assistant, give that person full credit; I don't believe that I lose anything. On the contrary, I gain something. I told Joe that when I receive flak, as I probably will from Goan writers, I'll put him out in front. Goans are polite to non-Goans, but very vicious to one another. They would say, "We cannot be so rude, he's an outsider, he's a black American." That's half a joke, but it's also half serious.

And Joe has benefitted too. He gave a presentation on Goan literature on a panel I chaired in 1982 at the Eleventh Annual Conference on South Asia, held at the University of Wisconsin at Madison. He focused on a novel by Leslie de Noronha, *The Mango and the Tamarind Tree.* His paper is being published in India in *The Journal of Indian Writing in English.* Joe is thus bringing an Afroamerican perspective to Goan literature in India.

The response to the anthology has been good. The first edition sold out in a year, and now we are in the process of preparing a second edition. A second edition, not just a second printing, with a new introduction, an updated bibliography, and corrections to

typographical errors.

CI: What's the name of the second edition?

PN: The journal is the *Journal of South Asian Literature* published by Michigan State University at East Lansing and the issue is called *Goan Literature: A Modern Reader*. We are focusing on the modern period although there are inescapable references to the past. We do not call it "Modern Goan Literature"—we call it "A Modern Reader." The past is in the present. Still, it's in the modern period that I can operate best.

Professor John Hobgood of Chicago State University calls Goans "cultural brokers." There may be some truth in that term because I am able to take something from one literature to another, to take strengths, perspectives, and energy because colonial rule means a loss of energy. This idea is expressed in Ishmael Reed's novel, *Flight to Canada*. We think of energy in terms of the energy of the earth, bauxite, gold, uranium, oil—energy that's taken away from the third world and brought to the first world. But there is also psychic energy that's taken away. I've come to the conclusion that a loss of psychic energy occurred over generations of colonial rule. How do you get it back?

Ishmael Reed said in an interview I did with him that the highest form of multiculturalism is when you look at another culture in order to understand your own. I was able to take these energies from my involvement with black American, Caribbean, and African literature and use them to resurrect Goan literature, to bring it to a point where it can take off. No other Goan writer was able to do it. So, paradoxically, my Goan identity gets affirmed. And why not? Why should I be only one thing and not another? I'm an African writer of Goan origin, but I've lived in the United States eleven years and that's also part of me. I'm not going to deny any of it. I'm not going to say that this leads to a cultural crisis of identity. No, I will be all these things, creatively.

CI: Let's hope so, because all of us are more than one thing. The question I wanted to ask, which you've already answered in part, is: Do you find the things you know from African and Afroamerican literature to be helpful rather than limiting in the process of developing Goan literature?

PN: It is like opening a door that swings both ways. Let me give an example: I love the music of Elvis [Presley] at his best. When I was at Makerere doing English honors, the professors looked down on me for liking rock 'n roll. Today, I'm still discovering how much Elvis took from other singers, chiefly black but also white, and the list is endless: Big Mama Thornton, Little

Richard, Lowell Fulsom, Chuck Berry, Mario Lanza . . . . Elvis had an influence on the Beatles and others. So, Elvis is an anthology, he is a carrier. Through him, I can enter worlds I could never have entered before, because, for example, I would never have heard of Big Mama Thornton. Something or somebody can be a carrier of other things if one's mind is open. It can be a bit scary because we like to have fixed concepts and inhabit fixed worlds.

My approach to the Goan anthology was not to enclose things, not to enter a cage and put up a sign saying, "This is mine, keep off." This anthology opens things up because I have a broad perspective. I'm the one who provides the pattern and puts things there. But then a lot of the literature is Goan and more than Goan. There is Violet Dias Lannoy who was born in Mozambique, lived in Goa, and died in England. I have a story by her in the anthology set completely in Kenya among the Gikuyu. I've discovered that she wrote a novel, *Pears of the Willow Tree*, that was praised by Richard Wright; she completed the novel in his house in France and apparently he was going to see it through publication, but then he died. His death was a blow to black Americans, but as it turns out, and I discovered this years later, it was a blow to a Goan writer who did not get anything published in her lifetime. I'm against things being closed-in. "This is mine" can also be "divide and rule." Once before, you were denied knowledge of your own group, yourself, your past, your culture, your history. The moment you began to realize it and retrieve it, the same whimsical force says, "Well that's yours, that's all you can have." That's dangerous too. That's why I support the idea of true multiculturalism, because we are all multicultural.

CI: What psychic experience does Goan literature have for you in a deep cultural sense?

PN: I was quite wrong to not want to find out about it earlier. It's a good thing I was forced into it. Maybe it was not an accident, maybe the time was right. I needed to know that part of Goan culture and history important to me and to my family; why they came to be where they were, why we think the way we do. I've been very catholic with this anthology. Although I started out by saying I'm an African writer not a Goan writer, I did include an extract from my own work in this anthology. There were some other writers, like the late Raul Furtado who died in Toronto last year; if you look at his collections of stories and poems, you would be hard put to say he's a Goan writer. He has a story set in

Chicago, the heart of which is a jazz solo, and it could be any good writer who wrote it. He has a poem he wrote in tribute to Martin Luther King, published in *The Journal of Negro History*.

My writing could be both African and Goan—although I say primarily African, because I was influenced in my writing style by other African writers, by friends and colleagues, by the kind of openness you find in East African writing, by the environment. Editing the Goan anthology was a very good psychic experience. As I was involved in the process of gathering-in the literature, my own psyche, my own experience, my own consciousness were part of the problem of perception; so, I made myself part of that literature. We are not only involved in writing literature but also we are part of it. I began to feel the responsibility to make it happen. I felt like a dog that had grabbed a bone that was buried and although I couldn't pull it out I wasn't going to let go of it. I finally did pull it out. It's a very important psychic experience. I edited an anthology of Goan literature rather than Fijian literature, because Goan literature was of fundamental importance to me—it had to be; I saw a kinship the moment I came across the material. When other Goans saw there was somebody who was going to do it, somebody with some reputation, I got a great response. It's as if there were people waiting for this to happen.

You see the editor, too, is an artist. The editor is an artist who brings something into existence.

CI: So, you became a catalyst.

PN: Of course, the process hasn't ended. I brought it to life, but I have to continually give it life. I'm a critic so I have written about it and presented papers. A long critique I have written on the anthology has been accepted for publication by *The Illustrated Weekly of India* and *World Literature Today*. I realized a while back you have to train yourself for things. You have to recognize what you don't know and then begin re-educating yourself. The process never really ends. When I discovered in England that I had been miseducated, that the mother country was not what I had been led to believe, it was a major crisis for me. There wasn't the literature at that time to deal with the crisis—there is now, and I've been one of the people involved in developing it. It took me about three years to do a basic re-education. The same thing began to happen with the Goan anthology. When I tried to move at the same speed at which I moved with African literature, it just wasn't working. I had to retrain myself: I had to build up Goan

muscles, you might say. I began to write short reviews of Goan books for *World Literature Today*. I began to write about Goan literature slowly until I got to a point where I had the confidence that I could do more. The Goan anthology took nearly seven years to produce whereas I edited *African Writing Today*, a double issue of *Pacific Moana Quarterly*, in less than three years.

Somebody might say that the level of my writing on Goan literature is lower than the level at which I'm writing, for example, on Ishmael Reed. Somone might say that. I wouldn't say that because a critic can do many different things. I haven't come across a Goan work that is technically as complex as anything by Ishmael Reed. But one may turn up. *I* may make it turn up by keeping this anthology in existence. I have a credibility, and the next time around more Goan materials may come to me. I am now going to receive a copy of the novel I mentioned—by Violet Dias Lannoy, praised by Richard Wright. I don't think Wright would praise something that was just garbage. The novel is going to become available because of this anthology. I have already received from her husband a copy of a novella she wrote, *The Murmur in the Depth of the River*. It is a fine work, and Flora Nwapa has expressed an interest in publishing it.

There are other kinds of by-products. Goa was taken over by India in 1961 and there's still argument as to whether it was re-integrated or whether it was captured; but whatever it was, there are neighboring states that want to swallow-up Goa. A chief minister of a neighboring state said something like, "Goans don't exist as a people; where is their literature?' I have provided the answer. Politicians in Goa who may not like the anthology, or who may not read it, can pick it up and hold it up and say, "Here it is." It has weight and force. If they read the book, their minds will be opened. Even the writers who are in it will see a much vaster world than they had imagined, because writers can also be limited by the traps of their history; they can have tunnel vision, too. I found a number of Goan writers who are very good but in a narrow way. I'm the one who says, "Hey, look, there's a broader world out there of which you are a part, but you don't realize it. Now see it." And that writer won't be the same again, I hope.

CI: Are there Goans in Goa writing literature now, or are they all expatriates?

PN: There would be something radically wrong if they were all expatriates. Although the colonial forces leading to emigration are still extant, there are writers inside and there are writers

outside. One of the problems has been of not putting the experiences together. I take as my model here something from Ngugi's novel, *A Grain of Wheat.* Those in the detention camps during the guerilla freedom fight in the fifties think that those outside are having a good time, and vice-versa. *They needed to put the experiences together* and realize that they all had hard times because of the same oppressive force. Goans in Goa tended to think that those who went outside had a good time, became exploiters, or vanished; they became un-Goan in some way. Those outside tended to think that those who stayed inside were compromised, mediocre, or lazy. All this must be put together to create a dialogue. That's what I've done in this anthology. A Goan leader, Luis de Menezes Braganza, said in the late thirties that he sometimes thought the youth had to leave Goa just to breathe the air of the times, so intense was the colonial exploitation. Some people went away just so they could deal with the colonial situation, but you know they cannot come back easily. The process of return is a complex one.

CI: Especially to the same kind of situation.

PN: This Goan anthology is a kind of return, more complex than a physical return. I have used as the epigraph to the anthology a quotation from Desmond Hogan, an Irish novelist: "a momentum leading towards exile and an exile always pivoting on the point of return." I have not physically gone back to Goa. Not that I don't want to go. I want to go back to Africa, too. And Michel Haddad, a poet in our present session of the International Writing Program, a writer from Nazareth, Israel, tells me I must come to visit *my* town. How many places can I go back to? Well, as a writer I can go back to all. And as a writer, I have an advantage that few other writers have, because the colonial experience was a world-wide phenomenon. Why did the Uganda economy become dependent on cotton? The answer cannot be found within Uganda itself. The mills in England were afraid that the United States would at some point stop selling high grade cotton to England. India couldn't produce high grade cotton at that time, and the land in Egypt was limited. So, don't let Ugandans grow rubber, make them grown cotton. The Ugandans couldn't find out why the economy was dependent on cotton until they took in the whole picture. The basis for the whole picture is in my consciousness. I *have* to think of Uganda, and Goa, and India, and Malaysia. I grew up on American music—country music, blues, jazz, and so forth. I had a British

education. I have a potential advantage if I use it.

CI: You have a good position to use it, too, since the world comes to you at Iowa City.

PN: [W.E.B.] DuBois talked of the double consciousness, and in a recent issue of the *New York Times Book Review*, Ishmael Reed, reviewing a book by John Wideman, mentions "triple consciousness." I agree with that: it's not only double but also can be triple, quadruple, and more. This kind of consciousness is both a reality and strength. A monolithic mold can destroy you. I don't want someone to come to me and say, "Look, you're a Goan, you've got to love only Goan music, you cannot love the blues." I grew up on the blues, and I cannot imagine listening to music without the blues; if I must choose, I'd choose the blues rather than the Goan *mando*. But I don't want to choose, I want to have both.

CI: I'm not sure a dualistic culture is any better than a monoculture in the final analysis.

PN: You are using "dualistic" with a different meaning from DuBois's "double consciousness." I agree. Dualism is one of the problems with the Western approach to Africa and the Third World countries—the imposition of a Manichaean world: good and evil, black and white. The absolutes—the evil is out there and the good is in here—is one of the most dangerous concepts that Europe has produced; it was the means by which one could totally exterminate "the other." If you wanted to grab their land you could exterminate them because you said they were, by definition, evil. If you have multiple perspectives, you cannot easily dismiss other people as evil with no right to be alive. You'd say to yourself, "Well, maybe I don't know them. But there might be something in me that can relate to that somebody out there whose culture I don't know."

CI: I think the idea of creating Goan literature, even though it exists, is really a facinating concept. Too frequently too many Afro-americans, for example, see black literature as protest literature rather than see the complexities represented.

PN: I found in Goan literature multiple qualities and themes and subjects and psyches—for example, ghost stories, which you find in Latin cultures, and a radical leftist approach to land alienation in Goa. I say "Let's have all these." Although I don't like colonialism, I cannot wave a wand and say that it didn't happen and didn't affect our psyches. Every culture has multiple things in it, multiple possibilities. The Portuguese who came and conquered Goa and *cahtolicized* it had themselves been ruled by the

Moors for 400 years. Something gets absorbed in colonial relations and you cannot kick it all out, because it's in your psyche.

So what can you make of it? You can only make something if you look at the totality. If Raul Furtado studied in Chicago, wrote a story in which the protagonist is lonely, went to a jazz club and listened to a jazz solo, is that not a Goan experience? And just because he's not a leftist, it doesn't mean I'm going to exclude him. Orlando Da Costa writes in Portuguese. His novel, *O Signo Da Ira*, is about land alienation and exploitation of the workers and peasants in Goa during the Second World War. He won an award in Portugal for this novel although it was banned by Salazar, perhaps because he was a member of the Communist party. Da Costa's ideology would contradict that of Raul Furtado, but I say let's have them both, they're good writers. I don't want to be one-sided, and I include work of Hindu Goans such as Manohar Sardessai and R.V. Pandit in additional to the Catholics like Adelaide de Souza. I include the poems of a feminist, Eunice de Souza, beside the obsessive fiction of Loy Saldanha. And there are humorous essays on the Goan world and Goan social behavior by Ladis da Silva, George Menezes, and the late Lucio Rodrigues. And what about myself? In the first edition, I listed a bare minimum of my work in the bibliography; but now, for the second edition, I will include more of my work. I wrote a paper on Ishmael Reed, "Heading them off at the Pass, The Fiction of Ishmael Reed," which I presented last year at the conference at UCLA on Black Literature entitled *Of Our Spiritual Strivings: Recent Developments in Black Literature and Criticism*. Reed liked the paper very much, and because of that, it got published in *The Review of Contemporary Fiction*. The Afroamerican experience helped me understand the Goan experience. I discovered that Goans have been trying to get to Canada for the last 100 years and it's the same situation as with black Americans. I never understood why there was this thing in the Goan psyche until I read *Flight to Canada*. Instead of denying my background, I was bringing it forward. This essay should be available to Goans, so I'm listing it as well.

CI: In addition to that, you should include everything you've ever written because you were a Goan when you wrote it—even if you were writing African literature.

PN: There are certain moments in time when a writer has to take the responsibility of opening out things for his people, his group, by using his own name, as long as he does not fool himself. I should

not think I'm a great guy because I'm doing these things; I have a reputation, part of it genuine, part of it just the mythification of anybody who has some position in the United States. I can use myself to gather things and to open things out. And maybe at some point I can step aside and the literature will take off by itself, it won't need me.

CI: Or there will be someone else to stand in your place.

PN: Yes. I'm not talking about building up my own ego because that's one of the curses of the Goan situation like that of any other small people. Some writers are big fish in a small pond and want to preserve their privileged position. I don't want that.

CI: We can stop the interview at this point, and probably continue in the future, as Goan literature develops. Meanwhile, thank you for sharing aspects of Goan literature with me, NAIES members, and the world.

[**Editor's Note:** *Goan Literature: A Modern Reader* can be ordered from Kay Fitzgerald, Managing Editor, *Journal of South Asian Literature*, Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48824. Each copy costs $12.00, including postage.]

Racism and the Canadian State

Daiva K. Stasiulis

Introduction

The practices and official discourse of a variety of state institutions in Canada have reflected a new level of "race consciousness" during the past five years. A notable development within the Canadian state has been the emergence at all levels of administrative and parliamentary institutions of new "race relations" and "visible minority" committees, liaison and consultative structures, programs, and commissions. Following a series of racially-motivated attacks within Toronto subways directed principally at South Asians, the Metropolitan Toronto Police and the Toronto Transit Commission jointly established a system designed to intercept attackers and prevent further incidents. A growing number of municipal councils and boards of education in Metropolitan Toronto and other major cities such as Vancouver and Ottawa have established standing committees on racism or multiculturalism (with race relation components). A Police Ethnic Relations Unit and Liaison Group on Law Enforcement and Race Relations became well-publicized adjuncts to the Metro Toronto Police Force.

At the federal level, the tenth anniversary of the Multiculturalism policy in 1981 was marked by a "national program to combat racism" supported by a $1.7 million budget and directed by a new Race Relations Unit within the Multiculturalism Directorate. The "anti-racist" initiatives developed within the federal bureaucracy spawned the establishment of a Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities. The Committee conducted a series of public hearings across the country and in March of 1984 issued a report entitled "Equality Now!" It made eighty recommendations aimed at providing the "means of achieving equality of opportunity for visible minorities in Canada."

Official concern with race relations is a departure from established Canadian political traditions. Historically, considerable resistance has existed on the part of the Canadian state to acknowledging claims

made on public resources on the basis of collective rights and "special status."[1] Moreover, the *expansion* of race relations apparatuses is occurring during a time of cuts in social expenditures and the erosion of state welfare institutions within Canada and other liberal democracies. Finally, recent Canadian race relations policies are *not* the product of massive social disruption, but in cities such as Toronto, whose "visible minority" population has registered a six- to ten-fold increase over the course of fifteen years,[2] ongoing skirmishes and incidents involving racially motivated violence have occurred. Concern over years of aggressive and racist policing practices has succeeded in mobilizing minority groups such as blacks and Sikhs to ally themselves to movements calling for the democratization of the police. Alarmist media reports following the police shootings of two black men in 1978 and 1979 that "Toronto was developing into a racial powder keg" have not been borne out by the peaceful and orderly through periodically confrontational nature of campaigns over police practices, the Ku Klux Klan, and other pillars of racism.[3]

Although scholarly investigations of particular policies pertaining to immigration, multiculturalism, and welfare provision to ethnic groups are increasingly forming part of the social science literature, the interconnections among the various race-conscious apparatuses and policies have virtually been ignored. This article illuminates the recent politicization of race within Canadian state policy. It analyzes the relationship between two apparently unrelated areas of policy development—immigration and multiculturalism. In particular, it argues that the ameliorative, anti-racist program developed within multicultural institutions is the result of racial tensions aggravated by the coercive practices of immigration and law enforcement policies. The article concludes with a discussion of the strategies required by minority groups to successfully combat racism.

Contradictory State Policies in the Management of Race Relations

Important variations exist among the recent race-conscious state policies in the degree and the nature of responsiveness to visible minority interests. Although the recent official "race relations" discourse and programs within educational and cultural institutions represent significant gains for minority groups, other state policies and practices—notably those pertaining to immigration and law enforcement—have served to enshrine the social and political mar-

ginality of the most disadvantaged segments of visible minority communities.

The parallel development of "responsive" and "repressive" state policies, constituting the political management of race relations in Canada, corresponds to more general tendencies in the development of late capitalist states identified by theorists such as Claus Offe and Nicos Poulantzas. First, an intensification of state control over every sphere of socioeconomic life has occurred; the "factors of production"—labour, capital and land—are increasingly developed, shaped, and allocated by specific state policies.[4] Agencies associated most directly with the management and reproduction of labour power and economic policy generally are structured in such a way as to render them relatively autonomous from elected officials and public scrutiny and are dominated by corporate management techniques and "scientific" forms of decision-making.

Second, a rapid proliferation has occurred within the state bureaucracy of institutions and programs whose role is to respond to and manage popular demands. The quality of representation is generally poor among those state agencies whose primary role is to represent and mediate conflicts and interests of subordinate or marginal classes and social forces. Such agencies occupy a lowly position in the hierarchy of state apparatuses as signified by their small and precarious budgets, their institutional dependence, limited policy influence on other agencies, and the largely symbolic nature of their terms of reference.[5] In addition to insulating popular demands from the *real* centers of decision-making located within the executive and high levels of the bureaucracy, these state bodies show a tendency to moderate dissent and contain working class and popular movements and organizations with which they establish relations.

The process of containment occurs through a multitude of familiar practices including the closely supervised funding of dissident groups, the depoliticization of popular and costly demands, the "cooptation" of militants, and the construction of bridgeheads to unrepresentative but "responsible" spokespersons, who become effective disciplinarians of their constituencies.[6] The prevalence of these control practices serves to undermine the image of the state's neutrality and further what Offe has termed a "blocked mediation"[7] between the state and popular demands and what Poulantzas calls the "growing distance between political democracy and socioeconomic democracy."[8]

The Offe and Poulantzas formulation, though abstract and insensitive to the specificity of particular nation states, can be productive as

an analytical tool in trying to make sense of the recent processes of formulating and implementing race-related "reforms" within different institutions of the Canadian state. Many of the race relations structures, committees, and liaison bodies have placed the need for racial equality and harmony within a prominent position on their political agendas. The location of these bodies at the fringes of state power, however, have made them profoundly irrelevant to the lives and material conditions of visible minorities. Worse yet, they have sidelined and worn down the energies and resources of anti-racist minority groups bent on reform, while diverting the latter's attention away from the real, though far less accessible, centers of decision-making over the terms of minority group economic, social, and political existence.

The following discussion examines the contradictory contributions to race relations made by two interventions of federal state institutions: *recent policy shifts in the immigration department*, and the *national program to combat racism* centered within the Multiculturalism Directorate and the Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities. The two policy developments—one primarily "repressive" and the other manifestly "responsive"—are obverse expressions of more general processes of state restructuring to sustain capital accumulation, and the legitimacy of the state itself, in a climate of ongoing economic and social deterioration.

Recent Developments in Canadian Immigration Policy and Procedures

With the onset of the current wave of stagnation in world production and trade, the efforts by Canadian firms to contend with the crisis by restructuring production processes, automating at home, and shifting labour-intensive processes overseas, have changed the volume and nature of domestic labour requirements. On a global scale, the restructuring of production has translated into a shift from *labour import* to *capital export*.[9] Whereas the import of labour from underdeveloped countries to advanced industrialized centers characterized the long wave of capitalist expansion from 1945 to the early 1970s, a generic feature of the current period of restructuring is the export of capital to Pacific Rim and other Third World contexts where phenomenal levels of unemployment and repressive state measures serve to keep wages low.[10] The development of new microprocessors, telecommunications, and transport technologies has given rise to a dizzying capacity among multinational corporations to internationalize production throughout the world. Capital flight from high-wage

economies has combined with the rationalization and automation of the work process in a wide array of manufacturing and service industries to produce a staggering level of plant closures and redundancies.[11]

Although corroborating evidence is needed, it appears that recent visible minority immigrants in Canada have experienced the displacement effects of the crisis more extensively than other workers. In 1976, the unemployment rate for Torontonians of Indo-Pakistani mother tongue already registered twelve percent, or double the figure for "all mother tongues." The rate for Indo-Pakistani women, aged fifty-five to sixty-four, registered a whopping forty percent.[12]

The response by the federal government during the 1980s to the crisis-induced high unemployment levels among immigrants and the Canadian working population in general has predictably involved attempts to control and maintain a flexible immigrant labour force. To that end, the current immigration policy contains three related aspects: (1) a reduction in "selected worker" and overall immigration intake of the "settler" type,[13] (2) an augmentation in the level of temporary visa workers, and (3) the establishment of a program to process and monitor illegal migrants.

As the federal government's "Background paper on future immigration levels" (November 1, 1983) makes clear, the recent and projected restrictions on immigration are part of the Canadian state's policies to mediate the effects on the domestic labour market of the restructuring of the world economy, wherein capital is shifting to low-wage countries. The Government's paper proclaims that:

> The recession precipitated structural changes in the labour market which will result in the disappearance of some occupations. New production techniques and some detrimental shifts in international markets are among these indicators. At the same time, technological development and rising productivity are expected to affect both world and domestic economies; *high volume manufacturing involving lower-skilled workers will shift to developing countries . . . .*[14]

A restriction on selected workers from abroad, which specifies that only those with arranged employment are admissible, came into effect May 1, 1982. As a result of the restriction, the selected worker intake dropped dramatically from 18,143 in 1982 to an estimated 7,000 in 1983.[15]

Overall, the number of immigrants permitted landing fell by twenty-seven percent from 121, 147 in 1982 to 88,846 in 1983 (see Table 1). John Roberts, the Minister of Employment and Immigration, justified the restriction on immigrant workers on the grounds that

it was consistent with a "Canadians first" policy of protecting jobs for Canadian citizens and permanent residents, a policy that would likely obtain the support of Canadian wage earners and the labour movement.

Table 1. Immigration Landings and Temporary Employment Authorizations, Canada, Selected Years

YEAR	TOTAL IMMIGRATION LANDINGS	EMPLOYMENT AUTHORIZATIONS
1974	218,465	87,353
1978	86,313	83,497
1981	128,618	126,581
1982	121,147	125,911
1983	88,846	130,000

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration.

Far less publicized and less popular has been the move by the federal government to simultaneously *augment* the number of temporary visa migrants working in Canada in particular jobs for specified amounts of time ranging from a couple of months to a few years. In 1974, a peak year for immigration to Canada, the total number of immigrant landings was 2.5 times greater than the number of employment authorizations (or temporary workers). By 1978, the two categories had approximately equal numbers. But by 1983, the balance had shifted so that the number of temporary visa workers in Canada had increased slightly from the year before and now *exceeded* the number of immigrant landings by forty-six percent (see Table 1).

Discernible within these trends was a shift from "settler" to "contract" labour. The gate-keeper mechanism of the state immigration apparatus was used to provide employers with a flexible migrant labour force which could be recruited and expelled according to the demands of the capital accumulation momentum. The benefits which accrue to employers from the employment of "contract" or "guest" workers resides also in their weak *political* status, devoid of rights held by nominally free wage labour—to move freely in pursuit of the optimal conditions for the sale of their labour power, to bargain collectively, vote, and express dissent. The temporary visa system also benefits the state which can send unwelcome, unemployed "guests" back home rather than bear the costs of their unemployment through payment of unemployment insurance or welfare benefits.

The majority of workers on temporary employment visas during the 1980s were white: close to half were from the United States and approximately seven percent had passports from the United Kingdom. The third, fourth, and fifth largest sources for temporary visa workers were the predominantly non-white countries of Jamaica, India, and the Philippines; workers from these and other Third World countries are brought in to fill low-paid, undesirable, and unprotected jobs such as domestic service and seasonal agricultural work. The number of temporary visa workers from Jamaica has, since the late 1970s, overtaken the number of "settler" immigrants, and for India and the Philippines the numbers in the two categories were not markedly different by 1982 (see Table 2).

Table 2: (1) Canadian Immigration Landings & (2) Employment Authorizations: For Jamaica, India and the Philippines, 1978-1983.

YEAR	JAMAICA		INDIA		PHILIPPINES	
	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(2)
1978	3858	5253	5110	1557	4370	484
1979	3456	5257	4730	1957	NA	774
1980	3161	5322	8483	2573	6051	1857
1981	2553	5420	8256	3924	5859	3450
1982	2593	5117	7776	5499	5062	4575
1983	NA	5265	NA	5244	NA	4373

Source: Canada, Department of Employment and Immigration

The closely supervised channelling of visible minority workers into contract labour jobs has fostered tensions and divisions among workers. Negative sentiment toward migrant workers was expressed at the 1981 Ontario Federation of Labour convention when the St. Thomas and District Labour Council unsuccessfully brought forward a resolution recommending a program to reduce the number of off-shore workers allowed into Canada. The preamble to the resolution read, "Whereas the off-shore workers rob the Canadian workers of jobs and chances for gainful employment in the seasonal vegetable, fruit and tobacco harvest."[16]

The development of a program to locate and deport "illegal aliens," initiated by the Immigration Department in the summer of 1982, is the clearest instance of coercive state regulation of migrant labour. The

high priority assigned by the Immigration Department to the tracking of unauthorized workers is reflected in the spending estimates for the program which were recently boosted by $2 million to $47 *million*. One can contrast the $45 million increase to the $3.1 *million* provided to *all* community organizations across Canada involved in immigrant assistance. These organizations received no increase in funding from the previous year, despite an expanded mandate for federally-financed immigrant assistance programs.[17]

The process through which the immigration department developed its program on illegal migrants offers a fascinatingly reflexive study of the legitimation, through recourse to "public opinion," of increasingly coercive immigration practices with distinctly racist features. The ideological implications of this process clearly contradict the emergent anti-racist thrust of programs and discourses within other state institutions; yet they also connect with common-sense racist notions about the sources for economic and social decline. It is thus worthwhile to "deconstruct"[18] the official report of the special investigation into the "problem" of illegal migrants in Canada. The method of deconstruction which scrutinizes the official claims made about illegal migrants, brings to light the role of immigration policy in heightening racial fears and tensions.

A process of consultation conducted by W.G. Robinson, the special advisor appointed by the Immigration Minister to investigate illegal migration, elicited close to 1000 letters and briefs. Most submissions articulated a popular view that scapegoated illegal migrants, identified them with non-white peoples, and defined them as a social problem—stealing jobs from whites, swelling unemployment levels, failing to pay taxes, and burdening welfare. Within his report, Robinson made some attempt to discredit the position that defined illegal migration as a problem of *major* proportions in Canada. He acknowledged that "the situation in Canada pales in comparison with that in many other countries throughout the world,"[19] and proceeded to scale down the scope of the problem to a maximum estimate of 50,000 illegal migrants or one-quarter of the estimate made earlier by the Canadian Employment and Immigration Advisory Council.

In order to provide a focus for public discussion, the Special Advisor prepared an "Issues paper" (February, 1983) which referred to *one* study of *apprehended* aliens in the Toronto district, identifying among other statuses their nationalities. Most "were from Jamaica (28 percent), Guyana (16 pecent), and Portugal (8 percent), *not counting those from the United States.*"[20] More than 15,000 copies of

the "Issues paper" were distributed: some were used as a basis for discussion in school classrooms, thus providing school children with "evidence" that the cheaters and transgressors of Canadian laws are commonly black, a view frequently conveyed within the mass media. The submissions received by the Advisor to the effect that the high rates of illegal migration among Jamaicans and Guyanese were attributable, in part, to increased enforcement against visible minorities were dismissed by him on the grounds that "we have received no evidence to support such an allegation."[21]

Public consultation was thus used to dispel allegations of racism in immigration procedures. But more important, it confirmed the view that illegal migration was a problem of public concern inasmuch as such anomalies threatened "the *integrity* of our immigration system,"[22] which "could be characterized as *generous and open* and one which has *served us well.*"[23] Abuses linked to the restrictive and increasingly coercive policy reflecting the historical preferences for "assimilable," white immigrants, and guided by the labour and foreign investment concerns of corporations found no place in the Special Advisor's analysis. Instead, the problem was defined as one of exploitation by black "aliens" of an insecure, underemployed and mostly white domestic population and an impartial and even generous immigration system.

At one point in the report, Robinson acknowledged that because of "lack of political will," employers are infrequently prosecuted or convicted for hiring illegal migrants. The recommended solution to this problem is to "*measure* the effectiveness of *existing* employer sanctions," rather than impose more effective penalties.[24] The interests of capital are thus discursively dealt with, yet are not seen to comprise a structural feature of the reproduction of the system of cheap, illegal migrant labour. In this way, Robinson's report is typical of official discourse whose role Burton and Carlen describe as that of seeking "to redeem legitimacy crises by the confrontation and appropriation of unofficial versions of discreditable episodes. To render this other immaterial, the textual formation attempts to discursively appropriate non-official readings."[25]

The official portrayal of the threat posed by illegal immigrants resonates with similar common-sense beliefs held by many Canadians. Scores of surveys conducted since the mid-1970s have documented the presence of anti-immigrant and racist sentiments among the majority (or a significant minority) of Canadians.[26] In an analysis of a national survey of Canadians conducted in 1977, Filson found

that sixty percent of working class respondents believed that Canada admitted too many immigrants from India and Pakistan, and forty percent expressed this negative sentiment about West Indian immigrants.[27] A March, 1982, Gallup Poll commissioned by then Minister of Multiculturalism, James Fleming, revealed that twelve percent of respondents were opposed altogether to non-white immigration, and thirty-one percent said they "would support organizations that worked toward preserving Canada for whites only."[28]

The official legitimation provided to the definition of the unseen illegal presence as the "enemy within," which needed to be rigorously routed out of the fabric of Canadian society, touched the nerve of a common sense racist understanding. In so doing, it provided justification for an attack on the rights and civil liberties of visitors, immigrants, and Canadian residents simply because they were black and suspected of being "aliens." The program to control illegal migration involves the imposition of new measures to aid border control, including visa requirements for all countries except the United States, landing cards for non-Canadians on incoming flights to Canada, and referral for secondary examination and subsequent monitoring of entire flights of non-Canadians.[29] Predictably, the first planeload of visitors to Canada subjected to the pilot project of lengthy secondary examination and subsequent monitoring consisted of black Jamaicans who saw incoming white passengers file by without official query or subsequent surveillance.

The recent aggressive attempts to locate and deport "aliens" working without legal status in Canada form part of the litany of Canadian immigration regulations and policies which are non-discriminatory in appearance, yet in fact are designed to ensure that Canada's gates remain shut for all but a trickle of poor, low-skilled migrants from colonized, "non-traditional" sources.[30] The new measures for policing the borders and the new emphasis on temporary contract migration represent attempts by the immigration department to mediate the interests of business firms in reducing foreign labour reserves during a period of recession. They also reflect the state's interests in limiting the maintenance costs of surplus labour and encouraging the settlement in Canada of skilled, "assimilable" immigrants. Public consultation, a new provision in immigration planning, justified the intensified efforts on the part of immigration authorities to control, monitor, and exclude entry of non-white migrants through reference to an increasingly intolerant climate of public opinion. The terms of dialogue with "the public" in the process of immigration planning thus reinforce the popular definition of the

growing crisis in the economy and social services which shifts the focus of blame onto recent visible minority immigrants and illegal immigrants. The public legitimation of racist sentiment fostered by the recent developments in immigration policy forms part of the "problem of racism" which federal multicultural policy has begun to address.

Multiculturalism and the Anti-Racist Agenda of the Federal Government

The federal policy of multiculturalism has existed for over a dozen years; it has formed the "new orthodoxy" among researchers of Canadian ethnicity who accept its existence as a form of representation won by the non-English, non-French groups. Yet scholars also delight in directing barbs at the policy's failure to live up to its goals—ethnocultural retention and sharing, and the overcoming of cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society.[31]

The policy of multiculturalism and its administrative apparatus, the Multiculturalism Directorate, are easy targets for criticism. The policy's lowly status is symbolized by a junior Minister of State who, unlike most ministers, does not preside over a separate ministry or department. The subordinate structural position of the federal multiculturalism bureaucracy is captured in departmental charts which portray the minister of state "floating like a loosely connected dirigible to one side of the secretary of state while the directorate is well hidden beneath the undersecretary of state, five assistant undersecretaries and layers of other bureaucrats."[32] The low priority assigned to multiculturalism by the Treasury Board is also signified by the modest sums allocated to the program—approximately sixteen million dollars for the 1983-1984 budget, or what amounts to 64¢ per capita. This sum can be contrasted to the forty-seven million dollars allocated to the tracking and deportation of illegal migrants.

One of the central contradictions inherent in the multicultural ideology pertains to the role of ethnic minority cultural traditions, loyalties, and languages within a societal framework governed both by capitalist social relations and Anglo-Saxon and French-Canadian norms. In the policy, "cultural differences are at once extolled and considered a hindrance to be removed in the interests of equal opportunity."[33] The appeal of multiculturalism resides within its apparently contradictory claim to provide ethnic minorities with both cultural and linguistic rights *and* the means to escape the stigma of ethnicity and pass into the mainstream.[34] The recent "national program to

combat racism," centered within the Multiculturalism Directorate, extends the Canadian state's claim to be a multiethnic democracy explicitly to visible minorities.

Until recently, questions of racism and the special disadvantages faced by visible minorities were addressed within the Multiculturalism Directorate in a cryptic fashion, e.g., the "elimination of cross-cultural misunderstandings." In 1981, the federal government announced that it would initiate a national anti-racist program; $1.7 million was earmarked for race relations and a Race Relations Unit was established within the Multiculturalism Directorate. The new Race Relations Unit subsidized research to determine the nature and extent of racism in Canada, and initiated a public educational campaign to "inform and correct misinformation about minority groups and their contributions to Canadian society."[35]

Two factors were principal catalysts for these developments. The first was the anticipation of a federal election to be held some time in 1984 and the perceived need to engage in a high-profile activity which would gain Liberal votes from the visible minority electorate. The second was the commitment by the Minister of Multiculturalism, James Fleming, to address a potentially explosive race relations situation in Canada. The results of a March, 1982, Gallup Poll commissioned by Fleming, reporting that thirty-one percent of Canadians "would support organizations that worked toward preserving Canada for whites only," provided confirmation for such official anxieties.

By May of 1983, the focus of the federal government's anti-racist campaign had moved to Parliament where a special "Parliamentary Committee on Racism" was established and subsequently renamed the "Special Committee on Participation of Visible Minorities in Canadian Society." Seven members of Parliament were appointed to sit on the Parliamentary Task Force—three Liberals, three Progressive Conservatives, and one member of the New Democratic Party. The fact that all seven members were white males drew severe criticism from visible minority organizations. The criticisms were well-founded in a sense that the all-white committee consistently manifested a lack of understanding of the fundamental manner in which the experiences of visible minorities are mediated by colour or "visibility" and the oppression that brings. One Committee member, the former Minister for Multiculturalism during Clark's short-lived Progressive Conservation administration, responded to the criticism by defining the term inclusively to incorporate white, European

groups: "How about Paproski? I am visible. What about our Greek friend here Gus Mitges? How about Laverne Lewycky? How visible do you want us to be? ... You know 30 or 35 or even 40 years ago we were visible minorities at that time."[36]

During a one-month period in September and October, 1983, the Commons Committee engaged in a process of consultation with the public. It received approximately 300 briefs and met with 130 race relations, immigrant service, visible minority, and other community groups in Ottawa and nine other cities across the country. The "orders of reference" for the committee's work had been expunged of the crisis tone taken by Fleming and sought "to identify and investigate examples or models of the promotion of harmonious relations between visible minority Canadians and other Canadians particularly in institutional areas." In its final report, tabled in the House of Commons on March 28, 1984, the Committee acknowledged its disappointment that more "positive models" had not been forthcoming during the process of consultation and investigation. The Committee's "optimistic" mandate had been repeatedly criticized during the hearings which began with the hyperbolic warning from the President of the Sikh Federation that "a hurricane of racism" was sweeping the country. A member of the National Captial Alliance on Race Relations perceived the Committee's mandate as counselling witnesses to "look for flowers in a bull pen."[37]

The Committee's final report was named *Equality Now!* It conveys the image that "Canada has, when compared with other countries, an enviable record in the area of race relations, [but one that is] flawed."[38] The eighty recommendations contained in the report and grouped under six headings—social integration, employment, public policy, justice, media, and education—are presented as a "blueprint . . . to promote racial harmony in a country that increasingly is becoming multiracial." Notwithstanding the diversity of its recommendations and the jurisdictions to which they are addressed, *Equality Now!* reflects two central, related concerns. The first is a desire to preempt the development of a form of race relations that had disrupted the "harmony" of other countries such as Britain and the United States. That is, "The federal government must quickly take decisive action to prevent a potentially serious race relations problem from developing."[39] After releasing the report, the Committee's Chairperson, Bob Daudlin, stated, "There is a substantial amount of frustration out there. Lord knows they have reason to be activist."[40]

The second concern is the perceived need to provide *symbolic*

recognition to visible minorities as a growing social and electoral force within Canadian society:

> It is difficult to overestimate the symbolic importance of political institutions in a society. The legitimacy of government action and public policy depend upon the credibility of the institutions which administer them. Clearly, if Parliament, government departments, agencies and organizations are to maintain their credibility, they must adequately reflect the nature of the society in which they are based.[41]

The sheer number of recommendations contained in the report conveys the impression that a thorough overhaul of societal structures is warranted and promoted. This illusion is soon undercut by the weakness of most recommended reforms, the listing as "recommendations" of ongoing programs and processes, and that many of the recommendations (e.g., pertaining to the media and education) are outside the federal government's jurisdiction and capability for direct influence. Expression is also given to the need for *mutual* accommodation, the need for change not only in Canadian institutions but also in the behaviours of the visible minorities which evoke negative responses from white Canadians.

The recommendation that affirmative action programs for visible minorities be implemented—possibly the most contentious in the report—urges that private sector employers be gently coaxed with tax incentives and available subsidies to *voluntarily* hire more non-white workers, at least for the first five years. The voluntary route is recommended even though the report acknowledges the dismal failure of voluntary affirmative action programs to evoke support from employers.[42]

The gradual and incremental process of institutional reform envisaged in *Equality Now!* reflects an appreciation of the current framework of economic stagnation and fiscal restraint. For instance, the recommendation to increase the participation of visible minorities on federal boards and commissions was prefaced with the following statement:

> Given the current restraints on hiring in the federal public service and the well-documented barriers to advancement which members of all disadvantaged groups along with their majority colleagues already employed in the public service presently are encountering, Governor-in-General appointments would appear to be one of the most promising areas in which the federal government could easily and decisively demonstrate a leadership role with respect to the participation of visible minorities in the public sector in the immediate future.[43]

The chief significance of *Equality Now!* is the envisaged change in the *symbolic* rather than material condition of visible minorities and the incorporation of these groups into a harmonious framework of

"multiculturalism within a bilingual setting." The report reflects an official recognition for the need to alter public rhetoric to better accord with the shifting demographic bases of Canadian society:

> Inherent in the notion of the diversity of Canadian society as a mosaic is the equal participation of the pieces making it up, yet Canadian society is in reality a "vertical mosaic," with some pieces raised above the others; the surface is uneven. The groups who appeared before the Committee were in agreement with two official languages. However, they were not in agreement with the pervasive acceptance in Canada that there be two official cultures. *As long as we persist with the rhetoric of two founding peoples, and their implied greater importance, Canadians whose heritage is other than French or English will be denied recognition as equals in the development of Canada, will be denied a sense of belonging and will be considered and will consider themselves lesser mortals."*[44]

The site for the representation of ethnic minorities, the Multiculturalism Directorate, has played a peripheral role in organizing the material conditions for the existence of Canada's ethnic minority groups. It has, however, played a central role in establishing the "official reality" of these groups. One key feature running through the inquiry proceedings was the attention paid to state multiculturalism by *both* Committee members and members of community organizations as an institution for the representation of visible minorities and as a vehicle for combatting racism.

Community organizations repeatedly urged the Committee to recommend the upgrading of the status, resources, and autonomy of the Multiculturalism Directorate and to make it more responsive to visible minority groups. The Committee's receptiveness to these "constructive" suggestions was reflected in a set of policy recommendations aimed at strengthening the multicultural state apparatus through the creation of a full-fledged Ministry of Multiculturalism, and the development of a Canadian Multicultural Advisory Council.

One consequence of the Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities' Inquiry has been to channel the process of policy formation on structural issues of racism into non-threatening agencies which emphasize *cultural* contributions or transformations. This process has deflected attention from policies such as immigration and policing which play a more significant role in structuring race relations through their influence over the economic and political incorporation of visible minority immigrants into Canadian society. Visible minority groups urged and supported the upgrading of multiculturalism as a strategy for combatting racism; this reflects their own experience whereby the symbolic confirmation of "ethnic concerns" has largely been confined to multicultural agencies. Secondly, the ambiguity of the multicultural ideology has made it an attractive

concept through which non-dominant groups can lay claim to state resources, and state authorities can voice the interests and aspirations of non-dominant ethnic groups and simultaneously neutralize the potential antagonism of their demands. Finally, the emphasis placed on strengthened representation for visible minorities within multicultural apparatuses reflects the opaqueness and inaccessibility of other areas of state decision-making (immigration, police institutions) where the exercise of discretionary power has wielded a particularly potent influence on the lives of visible minority individuals.

The possibility that the recommendations made in *Equality Now!* would lead to a "ghettoization" of all issues related to combatting racism within the Department of Multiculturalism was raised as a concern by the authors of the Report. To avert the "ghettoization" syndrome, the Report recommends that "the new department's mandate include a clear designation as the 'lead' ministry, responsible for the coordination of related policy issues emanating from other departments."[45] The implications for minority groups is that the fight for racial equality will not be advanced by a shift towards a more reformist public discourse articulated by low-status institutions, unless struggles and negotiations are simultaneously centered on several strategic political terrains.

Conclusion

The recent development of official race relations policies in Canada does not conform to a linear conceptualization of the advanced capitalist state whereby "welfare" institutions and social services are shed in accordance with the restructuring of capital in a period of crisis. An integrative discourse legitimizing the anti-racist concerns of visible minorities has emerged within a variety of institutions within the Canadian state apparatus and minority struggles have been successful in instituting anti-racist safeguards in particular institutions and particular venues. The parameters of such reforms are established by the present climate of economic decline and the fiscal crisis of the state. Extensive reforms have also been hindered by the resistance of established, white wage earners to a further deterioration in their own living standards and by the resurgence of popular racism. *These latter factors prevent anti-racist interventions from developing into broadly-based "popular-democratic" movements* or posing a challenge to the interests of business and conservative forces.

The material and symbolic concessions won by visible minority

groups, however, cannot be ignored; they support the view that the state is not a pre-given or linear instrument for racial (class or gender) oppression but offers a variety of access points which are to a variable extent responsive to concerted pressure. The potentially disruptive character of racial tensions, the organizational and electoral pressures of visible minorities, and the presence of reformist officials receptive to democratizing pressures are some of the major factors predisposing the development of new anti-racist initiatives.

The resistance to democratization within "repressive" institutions and those directly involved in organizing conditions for accumulation (policing, immigration) confirm the idealism of a view which regards state structures as unproblematically open to infusions of democratic, anti-racist practices. The obverse side to the emergent, race-conscious ameliorative interventions by multicultural and other state institutions is an increasingly restrictionist immigration policy; its efforts to rationalize immigration flows in accordance with the labour requirements of capital have had detrimental consequences for visible minority communities in Canada.

Minority groups and those concerned with fostering conditions for racial *equality* (and not simply *harmony*) are faced with an important dilemma and a challenge. Those institutions which are most readily receptive to the development of countervailing networks of democratic communication and mobilization are located at the margins of state power, and are incapable of altering the popular and structural bases of racism. Such institutions can, nonetheless, play an important symbolic role in legitimating minority claims to resources and legislative protections. In contrast, those institutions which have a real and discernible material impact in defining and shaping the nature of racial subordination and exploitation of immigrant and minority groups (e.g., immigration, policing) are least accessible to minority interests. If there is to be significant transformation in the exploitative form of race relations in Canada, it is these latter institutions which must become the focal point of anti-racist democratizing strategies to modify the relations of forces within the state.

Notes

[1]Sally Weaver. *Making Canadian Indian Policy.* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981).

[2]In 1979, the "visible minority" population was estimated to comprise between 12 and 20 percent of the residents of the City of Toronto. These estimates were made in a study prepared for the City of Toronto for the purpose of developing an affirmative action program among city employees. Included are from 200,000 to 230,000 Blacks, 100,000 South Asians, 100,000 to 150,000 Chinese and 25,000 Natives. City of Toronto. "Equal Opportunity Employment Utilization Study." (Toronto, 1981).

[3]"Cardinal Carter faces decades-old tension." *Toronto Star.* (September 9, 1979).

[4]Claus Offe. "The Separation of Form and Content in Liberal Democracy." *Studies in Political Economy.* No. 3 (Spring, 1980); Nicos Poulantzas. *State Power Socialism.* (London: NLB and Verso, 1980).

[5]Rianne Mahon. "Canadian Public Policy: The Unequal Structure of Representation." *The Canadian State.* L.Panitch, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977).

[6]Martin Loney. "A Political Economy of Citizen Participation." *The Canadian State.* L. Panitch, ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977); Daiva Stasiulis. "The Political Structuring of Ethnic Community Action: A Reformulation." *Canadian Ethnic Studies.* Vol. 12, No. 3 (1980) 19-44.

[7]Offe, 13.

[8]Poulantzas, 215.

[9]F. Frobel, J. Heinrichs, and O. Kreye. *The New International Division of Labour.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

[10]In 1976, the International Labour Organization estimated the size of unemployment in the Third World at seventy-five million. Stuckey and Fay contend that this figure is in all probability an underestimate. Official estimates are low because of government interest in minimizing unemployment. Thus, "in India the 1961 census of the greater Bombay area lists as 'employed' workers all persons who had engaged in paid activity for at least one day during the 15 days before the census. This produces a remarkable figure—only 5% unemployed." Barbara Stuckey and Margaret A. Fay, "Rural Subsistence, Migration, and Urbanization: The Production, Destruction, and Reproduction of Cheap Labour in the World Market Economy." *Antipode.* Vol. 13, No. 2 (1981) 9-10.

[11]Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison. *The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment and the Dismantling of Basic Industry.* (New York: Basic Books, 1980).

[12]Leon Muszynski and Jeffrey Reitz. "Racial and Ethnic Discrimination in Employment." *Working Paper #5* (Toronto: Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, 1981) 23.

[13]"*Selected workers* are defined as principal applicants in the independent categories, including entrepreneurs, self-employed persons and retirees. They are immigrants who are selected for their labour market skills when Canadians are unavailable or cannot be trained in a timely way. Other immigrants are referred to as 'non-selected workers' if they have indicated an intention to work in Canada. These other immigrants could be members of the family class, refugees, members of the designated classes, entrepreneurs, self-employed persons or the spouses and dependents of selected workers." Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission. "Background paper on future immigration levels." (1983) 43.

[14]Ibid., 1.

[15]Ibid.

[16]The resolutions committee recommended non-concurrence on several grounds including its perception that the resolution is "somewhat racial." Their recommendation of non-concurrence was recorded as having been "carried overwhelmingly" in the voting on the convention floor.

[17]Ann Silversides. "Aid to immigrants is cut." *Globe and Mail* (May 26, 1984) 19.

[18]"Deconstruction" is defined by Burton and Carlen as "a reading that re-opens and denies the authorial claims of official discourse, a reading that refuses the conflation of the order of the discursive into the order of the non-discursive." Frank Burton and Pat Carlen. *Official Discourse.* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979) 14.

[19]W.G. Robinson. "Illegal Migrants in Canada." *A Report to the Honourable Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Employment and Immigration.* (Ottawa, 1983).

[20]Ibid., 5, emphasis my own.

[21]Ibid., 83.

[22]Ibid., xviii, emphasis my own.

[23]Ibid., 29, emphasis my own.

[24]Ibid., xxviii-xxix, emphasis my own.

[25]Burton and Carlen, 44.

[26]John Berry, Rudolf Kalin and Donald Taylor. *Multiculturalism and Ethnic Attitudes in Canada.* (Ottawa, 1976); Raymond Breton. "The Ethnic Community as a Resource in Relation to Group Problems: Perceptions and Attitudes." *Research Paper No. 122.* (Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, May 1981); Glen Filson. "Class and Ethnic Differences in Canadians' Attitudes to Native People's Rights and Immigration." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology.* Vol. 20, No. 4 (1983); Frances Henry. "The Dynamics of Racism in Toronto." (Department of Anthropology, York University: Mimeo, 1977); Canada, Minister of State, Multiculturalism. "Race Relations and the Law." *Report of a Symposium held in Vancouver.* (Vancouver: April 22-24, 1982).

[27]Filson, 465.

[28]Canada, Minister of State, Multiculturalism, 12.

[29]Robinson, 56.

[30]The distribution of immigration offices and proportion of the budget in staffing them clearly indicates the historical preference for white European immigration. The discriminatory nature of selection mechanisms is also evident in the considerably longer processing time for family class applicants in underdeveloped in comparison with developed countries. In 1982, the *mean* processing time for family class applicants in New Delhi was three times that for London (345 and 104 days, respectively). Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission. "Background paper on future immigration levels." (Ottawa, November 1, 1983) 31, Table 8.

[31]Manoly Lupul. "The Political Implementation of Multiculturalism." *Journal of Canadian Studies.* Vol. 17, No. 1 (1982) 93-102; Kogila Moodley. "Canadian multiculturalism as ideology." *Ethnic and Racial Studies.* Vol. 16, No. 3 (1983) 320-331; Karl Peter. "The Myth of Multiculturalism and Other Political Fables." *Ethnicity, Power and Politics in Canada.* J. Dahlie and T. Fernando, eds. (Toronto: Metheun, 1981).

[32]Lupul, 95.

[33]Moodley, 320. "Trudeau, in introducing the policy, speaks of providing assistance to 'all cultural groups to overcome cultural barriers to full participation in Canadian society,' and in the same breath, speaks of the value of cultural heritage retention" (House of Commons Debates, October 8, 1971, p. 8545).

[34]The image that Canada is not merely a liberal democracy, but one supportive of the cultural rights of a multi-ethnic populace is codified in Section 27 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms which states: "This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canada."

[35]Canada, Minister of State, Multiculturalism.

[36]Steve Paproski. Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities in Canadian Society (heretofore SPCVM). *Minutes.* (Ottawa, October 4, 1983). At several points, the non-Anglo "ethnic members" of the Committee made reference to the discrimination and suffering white Europeans had been subjected to in the past. The clear implication of such remarks was that the discrimination experienced by visible minority immigrants would disappear, as it had for earlier groups of immigrants, through a process of ethnic succession, or in the words of the Committee's Chair, Bob Daudlin, "Your turn is coming—the next 30 years."

[37]Ibid.

[38]SPCVM, *Equality Now!*, 2-3.

[39]Ibid., 55.

[40]Charlotte Montgomery, "MPs urge Ottawa to press for hiring of more non-whites." *Globe and Mail.* (March 29, 1984) 2.

[41]SPCVM, *Equality Now!*, 50.

[42]Ibid., 35. "The Affirmative Action Branch of the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission has encouraged and assisted the private sector to develop programs targeted at women, the disabled, aboriginal people and Blacks in Nova Scotia on a voluntary basis. From 1979 to 1983, 1130 firms were approached, but as of November 1983, only 49 companies throughout the country had signed agreements to establish formal affirmative action programs."

[43]Ibid., 5.

[44]Ibid., 5.

[45]Ibid., 56.

Critique

Stasiulis's two-part essay offers a critique of the policies on immigration and racism pursued by the Canadian government during the past decade or so. While the government's multicultural institutions seek to ameliorate racism, its immigration agencies get blamed for intensifying the problem. The latter agencies are better supported than the former which are on the "fringes of state power," and, according to the author, have little chance of changing immigration policies.

The first part of the essay argues that since the early 1980s the Canadian government has tried to control and maintain a flexible

immigrant labor force to meet the fluctuating demand for labor in a stagnant economy. Instead of welcoming immigrants who become permanent residents, the government has favored workers admitted with temporary visas. Almost half of these visa workers represent the "visible minorities" from Jamaica, India, and the Philippines. Concurrently, the government is trying to get rid of illegal minority workers who are seen as a threat to an immigration system which has traditionally preferred assimilable whites. By focusing on the "illegals" the government legitimates the racist view that the blame for the growing economic and social crisis in Canada belongs to the "recent visible minority immigrants and illegal immigrants."

The second half of the essay examines the official policies on multiculturalism and their challenge to racism. The article agrees with critics that the government's multicultural bureaucracy is weak and poorly funded in comparison with the agency that deals with illegal immigrants. It also questions the wisdom of a bureaucratic policy of extolling cultural differences of ethnic groups while encouraging them to merge with the dominant culture. Finally, it criticizes a governmental committee's recommendations offering "symbolic" rather than material support to the visible ethnic minorities. Thus, minorities are channeled into non-threatening agencies which emphasize cultural contributions and deflect attention away from racist immigration policies. The article concludes that winning symbolic concessions shows that the state can be made to respond to democratic pressures, nevertheless.

Questions arise regarding this provocative two-part thesis about Canadian policy makers. It is not clear, however, whether the few reports of consultants and commissions cited were accepted as official definitions of policy since receiving one does not signify approval or disapproval. Also, there is no systematic analysis of the policy makers and their views; they are merely assumed to share the views expressed in the reports. Likewise, one wonders whether the policy makers were all conscious of serving corporate labor needs. Is it possible that they were instead inspired mainly by racist or other ideologies? Nor does the article explain the relationship between the two groups of policy makers, saying only that the multicultural institutions divert attention from the immigration agencies.

The author needs to explore the distribution of immigrants in the labor market to determine responsibility for it in subsequent studies. Although pointing to the low-paid jobs of the visible minorities with temporary visas, Stasiulis does not examine the employment of

whites arriving on the same basis. Nothing is said about employer responsibility in distributing both groups. Is it correct to assume that the government became a kind of employment bureau for employers? Nor is it clear whether employers conceded that kind of interventionist power any more than they would tolerate controls imposed by the multicultural institutions. And it is not made clear whether white workers rather than employers bear more responsibility for creating the illusion that new minorities reduce job opportunities for everyone. All this is to suggest that the roots of racism are more complex and long-seated than is made apparent by "Racism and the Canadian State."

Despite these observations and queries and others that might be made, the author's basic thesis on the interventionist role of the modern state in Canada is still tenable. Western nations like the United States have also long intervened in labor, immigration, and related matters. So, the Canadian experience is not unusual. But the nature of its interventionist role dealing with immigration and racism may not be as one-dimensional as suggested. And its historical roots need study to determine if it is such a recent development responding to the impact of a stagnant economy.

A. William Hoglund
University of Connecticut

Critique

The value of "Racism and the Canadian State" is its tragic reminder that injustice is alive and flourishing in Canada as well as the United States and elsewhere. Stasiulis presents an interesting and perceptive analysis of the practices of official discourse of different Canadian institutions which have brought about a new level of "race onsciousness." She deals effectively with the measures taken by the federal government, within the past five years, to confront the social problems and demands of visible minorities in Canadian society.

It is encouraging to see that as a direct result of concerns expressed by researchers like Stasiulis a new concensus is emerging where scholarly investigations of particular governmental policies pertaining to immigration, multiculturalism, and welfare provisions to ethnic groups are increasingly represented in the literature. It is disheartening to know, however, that the recommendations from the interconnected special interest groups of ethnic minorities have been virtually ignored.

Stasiulis enumerates a series of well-known tactics used in containing dissidents: closely supervised funding of ethnic organizations, depoliticization of popular and costly demands, cooptation of militants, and construction of bridgeheads to unrepresentative but "responsible" spokespersons, who become effective disciplinarians of their constituencies for the state. Although many of the race relations structures within government, committees and liaison bodies have placed the need for racial equality and harmony on the agenda, the location of these bodies at the fringe of state power has made them profoundly irrelevant to the lives and material conditions of visible minorities. Again, the pattern looks like that of the United States.

The serious and deleterious effects that the "flexible immigration" measures are having on transient or "guest" workers have not been fully understood. These workers are now denied the right to move freely in pursuit of the optimal conditions for the sale of their labour power, to bargain collectively, to vote, or express dissent. The temporary visa system also benefits the state, which can now send an unwelcome or unemployed "guest" back home rather than bear the costs of their unemployment through payment of unemployment insurance or welfare benefits. These tactics are not news to us; we are familiar with the plight of the Mexican "wet back" and other types of illegal immigrants in the United States. What is to some extent surprising is the recourse to public consultation in order to provide a focus for public discussion of the problem in Canada.

"Racism and the Canadian State" constitutes an important contribution to one of the most pressing problems of our time. There is no question that Stasiulis's research will become a must consultation for scholars and researchers who will be writing on this topic in the near future. Her article adds a new and refreshing perspective from whence new evaluations will emerge.

Luis L. Pinto
Bronx Community College of CUNY

Critique

Conservative-directed change is a time honored feature of Canadian politics. Canada's elites have long recognized that self-interest may be served most effectively by accepting the inevitability of change and working to mitigate its effects rather than by seeking to block change entirely. In her illuminating article, Stasiulis holds that the development of racial policies of the Canadian state has been controlled by elites seeking to preserve their own dominance by simultaneously following policies of repression and responsiveness: bringing public attention to the problems confronted by minority groups in the Canadian society and attaching the legitimacy that accompanies expression of government concern while simultaneously pursuing policies designed to limit the growth of the minority groups and circumscribing their aspirations for political power.

North America has, for over three centuries, exerted a powerful attraction to people whose economic, political, or religious aspirations have been frustrated in other parts of the world. Wave after wave of immigration from overseas has populated the United States and Canada with persons of European, African, and Asian descent while pushing the Native American populations into even smaller portions of their historic territory, provided labor and entrepreneurial skills for explosive industrial and agricultural development, and created a heterogeneity of population rather more profound than that found elsewhere.

The processes by which the ethnic composition of their populations has changed and the political reactions to the changes in Canada and the United States have had both similarities and differences. Canada did not experience the forced immigration of millions of Africans, as the United States did, for example; the United States has not had a tradition comparable to Canada's biculturalism, on the other hand.

Official policy welcomed masses of immigrants into both countries until a transition occurred in the origins of the majority of persons seeking entry during the late nineteenth century. Persons from Eastern and Southern Europe and Asia found access more limited than their predecessors and contemporaries from Western and Northern Europe did. But expanding industry and agriculture needed their labor, and large numbers of immigrants were admitted. In the late twentieth century, however, as economies have stagnated in the developed countries, potential immigrants from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean have been confronted with official restric-

tions on their entry into either Canada or the U.S. Those who have entered legally, or in violation of the immigration laws, however, have generally found employment—at least in the fringe areas of the economy.

While the rhetoric of the "melting pot" has been conventional in the United States, Canada's political language has adopted the "mosaic" as a more appropriate metaphor for the country's society. Perhaps the tradition of biculturalism, despite the persistence of problems in ethnic relations, has enabled Canadians to recognize the societal value of multiculturalism more readily than residents of the United States have done.

John Porter's classic 1965 examination of power in Canada, *The Vertical Mosaic*, argues that access to power in Canada is limited by selective recruitment into the dominant elite. Stasiulis demonstrates that the Canadian elite is capable of making effective use of policies which appear contradictory on the surface—repressive policies combined with apparent responsiveness—to keep the concerns of the visible minorities before the public and on the fringe of public policy making. Her research indicates, as well, that any societal change that might enable the minorities to assert their interests more effectively is obstructed by a politically skillful elite.

Vagn K. Hansen
Delta State University

Critique

Stasiulis has not only entered a great debate but has sought to order it. The interconnections between Canada's recent policies on multiculturalism, immigration, and the efforts to implement the two are the reference points around which that debate is centered. The possibilities for racism, however, need to be made more clear by the author. Scholars can make significant contributions in this regard by investigating what seems to be unrelated programs and practices. Since practices are tied to the same policies, an identifiable theoretical

perspective is proposed as the leverage for yielding insights about relationships between people and things that would not otherwise be apparent.

The persistent failure of governmental programs to resolve contradictions in belief and values systems is cause for concern, but recurring themes can give way to improved speculations about patterns of behavior. For example, the theoretical, social and economic distances between visible ethnic minorities and those at the apex of institutional power are increased when the quality of representation of those minorities is kept poor, when they are in marginal structural positions in *any* system, and when funding for their programs is minimal. In other words, the marketplace of competing values has built-in designs for not tolerating dissent and mediation between the state and the affected population is blocked. By a similar token, "race relations" becomes easy prey to politicalization when people who have legal authority for allocating resources among competing ethnic group interests engage in self-serving activities. Such activities naturally include the hoarding of economic power.

Presentation of the writer's arguments should prompt new lines of enquiry regarding the viability of "corporate management techniques and [certain] scientific forms of decision-making." When such techniques and forms function in autonomous fashion, checks for balancing influences from the outside are missing and intentions regarding any policy implementation become suspect. Scholars need to pay renewed attention to how the discretions of those at the top of a hierarchy influence the behavior of functionaries who are closer to outcomes at the bottom. The result should be an improved working relationship between the two levels of governance and between theory and practice as well.

Delo E. Washington
California State College,
Stanislaus

Between Shadow and Rock: The Woman in Armenian American Literature

Margaret Bedrosian

Periodically bolting out of the Boston apartment that keeps her safe in a world unmoved by her existence, clad in the heavy sweaters and thick wool socks that shield her barren spinsterhood, the Auntie of Hapet Kharibian's "Home in Exile" also breaks out of the box that imprisons most portraits of Armenian American women.[1] As Auntie exerts her pittance of domestic authority by shopping for Ajax and picking green beans for an aged father's stew, nurturing insanity through her idle days, the reader briefly glimpses a refreshing truthfulness behind the types and stereotypes that populate much Armenian American literature. Auntie's life reflects a dual injustice: her silent reproaches to a dutiful nephew who visits weekly to shave his grandfather echo the equally inarticulate reproaches of numberless women unseen and unrecorded. Auntie reminds us that nowhere in Armenian American writing do we find a detailed and sustained portrait of a three-dimensional Armenian woman; indeed, in a literature that documents marginal experience—both in the Old Country and in America—the Armenian woman is exiled to its outer edges.

The causes for this artistic void are related to the challenges faced by smaller ethnic minorities in America as a whole. Though certain critics see a perverse philistinism in the lack of moral and financial support Armenian American artists receive from their own community, this view is probably unfair. In the swift flow of American life where smaller ethnic groups resist mobility and the disintegration of ethnic ties at the risk of calcification, they can seldom have their cake and eat it too. Addressing the particular obstacles that have tested Armenian writers in the past, Leon Surmelian notes they have "to contend with that branch of American big business called publishing, and cannot rely on their own group, as [other ethnic writers] might, to support them with sales figures publishers respect if they choose to write on an Armenian theme."[2] Currently, of course, the willingness of

smaller presses to publish the new and unknown gives writers alternative paths to an audience. Nevertheless, given the smaller size of the Armenian American population and proportionately, the fewer numbers of writers, one is grateful for the fine narratives that do exist. But the very fact that one can name several well developed works of fiction and non-fiction about Armenian fathers and sons—among the best known, Michael J. Arlen's *Exiles* and *A Passage to Ararat*—and not follow with an equivalent for an Armenian mother and daughter forces us to examine the cultural dynamics inhibiting this much needed testimony. This article charts a few views of Armenian women in Armenian myth and history, gives some sense of historical factors that have shaped their experience in America, and reviews the range of women portrayed in Armenian American literature.

Armenian culture was born out of a rocky, mountainous geography, a land that bred a durable people. The women have always maintained a tough outlook on life, and their composite story bursts with the passions of great epic. Persecuted along with the male half of the population by the whims of Ottoman rule, seldom asserting a voice in the destiny of their nation or sex, they—not surprisingly—bore much of the suffering as the massacres of 1915 turned Turkish Armenia into the century's first inferno. Yet, even as they were driven across the Syrian deserts, some remembered their descent from the proud pagan goddess, Anahid, a deity equal to any cosmic adversity, as the poet Siamanto reminded his readers on the eve of the massacres:

> Take your revenge now, after twenty centuries,
> oh my goddess, Anahid, now as I throw
> into the fires of your alter, the two poisonous arms
> of my cross. And I celebrate you, oh golden mother,
> by burning the polluted bone from the rib,
> of the Illuminator.
>
> I beg of you, oh powerful, unequalled beauty,
> give your body to the sun and be fertilized,
> give birth to a formidable god for the Armenians.
> For us, from your diamond-hard uterus bear an invincible god![3]

Significantly, the poet cites Anahid's elemental, pre-Christian vitality as the only hope for a demoralized people. Like mother goddesses in other Indo-European traditions, Anahid is voraciously active, her womb the vortex of a tough divinity. But driven underground by the national embrace of Christianity in 301 A.D., Anahid's golden strength lay impotent and her diamond-hard uterus hosted millenia of carnage.

Yet even within the Christian timeframe, in epics such as *David of Sassoon,* women matched beauty with heroism. In David's

saga, Khandout Khatoun, the matriarch of the clan, is thus said to have "killed five thousand men" and saved her husband's life in one battle. And, of course, during the deportations and massacres, as women were denied the quick death that blessed their husbands, many held on to human dignity.[4] Through successive invasions and conquests that battered Armenia, a culture rich with artistic and intellectual vitality had managed to sustain national identity. But the psychological costs of survival ran high. By necessity, the family turned itself into a fortress, guarding its boundaries with vigilance and absolute adherence to the father's word:

> In times of social unrest, when the frightful and deadly fear of massacre was rampant, the necessity for self-preservation made every Armenian the potential and suspected enemy of every other. Trickery and treachery between Armenians under stress of great necessity has not been at all uncommon in the history of this persecuted people. Thus it is that family loyalty becomes a prerequisite for social welfare and filial loyalty becomes, or remains, an essential part of Armenian family tradition.[5]

The woman's position in the traditional Armenian household varied according to age. As in other patriarchal cultures, the female child was less prized because her future lay in another man's home. As a bride, she would hold the lowliest status in the extended family; unable to address her elders directly, forced to use children as intermediaries, her married life was circumscribed by obligations to other family members: she washed the feet of her father-in-law, kept her eyes averted when addressing her superiors, was the first to rise and last to bed. If she didn't die in childbirth (commonly, Old Country men went through more than one wife because the bodies of the women met such tortuous demands), a daughter-in-law might look forward to a position as a matriarch at the close of her life. At this time she would exercise the same sanctions that had contracted her life earlier as a bride. This pattern of female subservience is common to other Mediterranean cultures, especially those nearby, and the Turkish household was essentially no different in the dynamics of male and female power. Indeed, careful comparison of these antagonistic cultures suggests that—outside of religion—they shared many similarities sociologically. It can also be argued that given the tireless work of harvesting, cooking, sewing, and rearing children, their position was central to the welfare of the family fortress, and that the father's authority was not so much imposed as assented to.

But having conceded this much, it would be naive to assign the peculiar poignance of many Armenian women's lives solely to the injustices that mark cultural patterns of Asia Minor. To forget that they were constantly vulnerable to the whims of a brutal social sys-

tem, that they were members of a race without authority within the Ottoman Empire, that for all the care their families took of their honor, one misstep with a Turk or Kurd could lead to rape and murder, betrays the same indifference that has kept the general history of the Armenians in the shadows.

The combined impact of a father-dominated home life and the unremitting threat of abduction kept women, especially young women, under the scrutiny of all. In Emmanuel Varandyan's 1938 novel, *The Well of Ararat,* we find a painstakingly vivid recreation of the tragic effects such family mores have on a young woman's fate in an Armenian village in Persia.[6] The story of Marina's betrothal aptly demonstrates by what twisted means destiny—encoded in cultural sanctions—subverts desire. Raised in a rural family besieged by poverty and Moslem foes, Marina has been espied by the Tartar Son of Bey, who naturally wants to add her to his harem. Though she manages to escape, he vows "to finish off" her parents and abduct her. In response, her parents arrange for her marriage to a man she neither loves nor trusts. Up to this point, the parents' motives seem understandable and Marina's need for obedience and loyalty, a cultural imperative. But in a work tense with irony and criticism of modern urban values, we also learn that the husband Marina would have preferred has been overlooked because the chosen groom has more money. Marina, sacrificed to the dual gods of family safety and material welfare, commits suicide at the end. Winner of the 1983 Avery Hopwood Award, *The Well of Ararat* continues to be one of the most layered and sharply focussed works in Armenian American literature. The stylized cadences of ritual appropriately veil the characters, especially the women, yet their human predicaments permeate the narrative and we are made to see that Marina's life is taut with sexual and cultural givens.

In other works of fiction such as Peter Sourian's *The Gate* (1965), the very insignificance of the Armenian American women characters suggests their minimal impact on the historical irrationalities that shredded Armenia. Dominated by Armenian men who neither understand nor control the ambiguities that stalked them from Turkey to America, the novel's few women are either flaky non-Armenians or devitalized ethnics. The males, on the other hand, are crazed by a peculiarly Armenian obsession, the drive for a self-justification that rests on recapturing their lost Eden. Unable to interact naturally and compassionately with women, they are fueled by the stereotypical "masculine" excess of rigid thought cut off from intuitive insight. At their most extreme, they exemplify the revolutionary mania that

helped drop Armenia into the Turkish maw in 1915. From the perspective of this discussion, the novel's lack of strong female characters is linked to its vision of Armenia as a mirage whose color and shape reflect individual passions. For as the actual Armenia recedes in memory, it becomes either an abstraction ("Armenia, what was Armenia? How could one grasp it? It was everything, yet it was not in the air, not in a room, like a chair or a table,"[7]) or a fossil set in the amber of imagination, the only unifying ideal in a post-Holocaust fragmentation. Ultimately, *The Gate* hinges on a—perhaps unintended—irony: the future of the land, that diamond-hard archetype of the Armenian woman, only underlines the plight of these diminished women.

Life in America only accentuated the paradoxical position of Armenian women, ironies that surface in the literature. Generally perceived by the men in Old Country idioms, the women were expected to follow through according to norms of the past. But there is increasing documentation of a deeper truth: these women were often more suited to the rigors of American life than their husbands.[8] The ethos of American independence sanctioned an increasingly assertive attitude among the women, stimulated impulses that had been forced into dormancy under the combination of patriarchy and Ottoman rule. This new strength begins to surface in Richard Hagopian's 1952 novel, *Faraway the Spring.* Hagopian, who along with Varandyan and Saroyan, belongs to the earlier generation of Armenian American writers, typically plays with the tensions that pull at immigrant life; his characters fight to escape the culturally inherited sadness that traps them. In *Faraway the Spring,* the mother of the Dinjyan family secretly thwarts her husband's traditional authority by getting a part-time job washing dishes for Protestant church socials. But her innocent intention to supplement a subsistence income her husband keeps squandering backfires when one of the Protestant men makes a pass and frightens her into quitting. Though the novel relies too heavily on miracles to decide plot, its depiction of Maryan's circumscribed life draws upon a well-defined pattern in Armenian women's lives in America. As described by Richard La Piere in his seminal study, "The Armenians of Fresno County," the Old Country traits bred into the women persisted into the first generation, as this young Armenian's testimony indicates:

> I have come to the conclusion that the Armenian girl will stick with you longer and put up with more than American girls. The Armenian girls have been brought up to believe that the man is the boss of the household and that marriage is a sacred thing not to be revoked, and, for better or worse, a woman must stick with her husband. And stick they do. Likewise from their earliest years they are

> taught cooking, sewing, and all the other essentials which one would like to have in a wife and which one so seldom finds in one now. They are taught the value, indeed the virtue, of economy and will save with a man. Economy is something which is apparently looked down upon in this country.[9]

As a summation of Armenian American expectations in 1930, when immigrants and their offspring were still sorting out Old and New World mores, these remarks strike us with their forthright self-satisfaction. They indicate how pivotal the wife's prescribed role was to the affluence Armenians achieved within a generation in this country. On the other hand, not all young Armenian men wanted such pliancy, and unless the woman was daring enough to marry an *odar* ("non-Armenian"), she risked the contracted life of a *doun-mena* (lit., "stay-at-home").

Finally bursting through these limitations is the mother of Peter Najarian's *Voyages* (1971). Although the father-son relationship controls the thematic weave, we find here a portrait of an Armenian American woman sensitively attuned to her identity and needs. Her awareness of her historic condition suggests that here we finally have a more truthful portrait of a real woman. Like other young women who survived the massacres, the protagonist's mother has been raised in an orphanage and is eventually brought to America to marry a man she's never seen before. Once married, though, she doesn't fall into the expected pattern, sublimating her independence to duty. Listening to an *oud* solo by another woman survivor, she admits the emptiness of her situation:

> . . . a *taxim* bubbling, flowing from her nimble fingers as if to form that long embroidery she had been weaving in her heart since her father and brother were murdered. And the tears down my face were not for her alone but my own loss and the nine years I never knew joy, never waved a tambourine about my head without shame as if there were something sinful in being happy, I had not learned how to be happy: where was *kef* for the orphan without a home, that dumb donkey who never learned how to love her husband because he was forced upon her?[10]

Out of this fierce honesty, she enables herself to break one of the strictest of Armenian taboos: she leaves her husband, divorces him, and with her son sets up a home alone in the middle of an alien country, giving herself time to reclaim her personhood before marrying Petrus, the man she actually loves. Though Melina is in many ways a typical Armenian mother (symbolically sending food in bottles and plastic bags with her son wherever he goes), in a deeper sense she has not acted normally:

> "I was different. You think I don't understand when you say 'I'm different., Ma, I'm not like other Americans'? Why do you think I don't tremble like other

> mothers when their sons go out with Italian or Irish girls? Petrus remembered his father's house and it meant everything to him, but what did it mean to me, *Armenian*, except that it made me an orphan?"[11]

Though Melina's question—"What does it mean, *Armenian*?"—is critical for all members of this ethnic group, the women have had to formulate a distinctive answer.

Turning to William Saroyan's work, we still don't discover a sustained commitment to depicting believable Armenian American women despite glimers of sensitivity to the lives around him. In general, Saroyan's fiction often sacrifices characterization to the demands of his worldview or his embittered alienation. But the plainest expression of his attitude toward Armenian women outside his own family is that he just didn't care much about them. His ethnic alter-egos mirror his own predilections for unhappy liaisons with non-Armenians, women who inevitably betray his naive faith in them. When he does focus on his family members, he assigns his mother and grandmother roles in a Saroyan myth where their earthiness, pragmatism, and hard work assuage his insecure psyche. Thus, his grandmother inevitably appears as the Old Country *barav*, the old woman whose rugged voice and contours match the rocky Armenian terrain. His widowed mother, conversely, incarnates the same dutifulness toward family and work values that we find in Hagopian, steadily feeding her children a diet of wholesome Armenian food and anchoring their lives in that microcosmic melting pot of Fresno, California. But bound by his own need for self-justification, Saroyan never frees these women to tell their complete stories. As a result, he obscures the sources of his mythic self-image as a defiant son of an ancient race.

By contrast, Michael J. Arlen in *Exiles* and *A Passage to Ararat* does pursue his heritage to its legendary sources in Armenia. The first volume of this pair poignantly sets the scene for the revelation of the second. As Arlen peels away the sophisticated masks his Armenian father and Greek mother wear, we see how their lack of commitment to a *place* has bedeviled their lives and how their rejection of tradition leaves them dessicated expatriates. Particularly in the case of the father, anger and impotence burn under the suave exterior, he has rejected his given name and his ethnic identity at the cost of cheapening his talent. In *A Passage to Ararat,* Arlen solves the riddle of his father's anguish, placing it in its final context; as his guide through Soviet Armenia vehemently insists: "Fatherland, father, It is the same thing. . . . Your father was an Armenian. . . . You must repsect him."[12] The value of Arlen's record lies in his skillful proof of that

equation, fatherland equals father, and of his discovery that ethnicicty can mold human identity itself. But here too, Melina's question dogs us: what relevance does Arlen's insight have for the Armenian woman? Does fatherland equal mother? Is there room to push this question even further: does motherland equal father?

Without belaboring any of this in the abstract, we can address the issue of women's roles in Armenian American literature from the alternate perspective of Arshile Gorky's visual art. Though his creative medium was not literary, Gorky's copious letters articulated the challenges facing the ethnic artist in America. In one such letter, written in 1943 to his sister, he complains:

> Mother's Armenian eyes they call Picasso's, Armenian melancholy they term Byzantine and Russian. And if I correct them and say, "No, dear sirs, you are in error for these are Armenian eyes," then they look at you strangely and say that such corrections are merely exaggerations of "small-nation chauvinism."[13]

Indeed, Gorky's burden as an artist was his faultless eye: he knew the cost of bearing a refined yet little-known aesthetic tradition from Asia Minor into the amorphous milieu of American art. As letter after letter insists, to the end of his life he cherished the integrity of his ethnic and artistic descent: "Every artist has to have tradition. Without tradition art is no good. Having a tradition enables you to tackle new problems with authority, with solid footing."[14] Accordingly, he used his native traditions as a searchlight for personal exploration, and the elegant line and stripped down forms that became his signature symbolized his commitment to an evolving aesthetic: "For me great art derives from complexity, from the clash of many new and opposing ideas."[15] Alchemizing his Armenian heritage, his bitter experience as an immigrant, and his experiments with contemporary art by his voracious creative will, Gorky pioneered abstract expressionism. As the artist Robert Jonas states in an interview with Gorky's nephew, Gorky broke through cubism and surrealism independently of European influences: Inspired by the fantasies and dream images of his native land, he opposed "the utilitarian, logical, rectilinear way of life in the United States. His Armenia is free-flowing."[16]

Jonas' comments are noteworthy for at least two related reasons. First, by indulging his love of the fantastic and thereby projecting a fully realized interior cosmos onto the canvs, Gorky fulfilled what Joseph Frank identifies as a central task of modern literature, "transmuting the time world of history into the timeless world of myth."[17] This iconography also encoded and enshrouded the emotional nuances of Gorky's personal life, enabling him to transcend subjective and objective time. This achievement is largely due to

Gorky's sensitivity toward the feminine dynamics of his native culture, as Jonas' diction makes clear. Thye "free-flowing" and vibrant shapes and colors that squirm and burst through Gorky's paintings convey unabashed sexual sophistication, a direct legacy of a childhood spent in Eden before the Fall.

Not surprisingly then, this foremost Armenian American artist has depicted one of the most indelible images of an Armenian woman in this century. The portrait of "*The Artist and His Mother,*" which Gorky completed only after a decade of preliminary studies, offers a haunting view of a mother and son on the verge of separation, restating the artist's bond to Mother Armenia herself. In its stripped-down focus, the painting is also an icon of modern art, where "the dimension of historical depth has vanished form the content of the major works," leaving the work free to exert archetypal power.[18] As art critic Harry Rand describes the painting, the mother and son present themselves as objects of meditation, isolated "from the flow of any circumstance."[19] This notion of "presentness" leads the viewer to considerations beyond Rand's intent. For not only does the picture's content express a son's love for his mother, but its stylistic innovation enacts an artist's gratitude toward his first teacher. Whatever he knew of Armenian art and history, Gorky had initially learned from his mother, a woman whose direct gaze, open features, and composed figure embody a secure, culturally grounded self-image. As an example of Gorky's love of essence, responsive to yet now bound by historical and aesthetic traditions, the portrait is an emblem of organic art: using the past as the backdrop for the "clash of new and opposing ideas," it honors its sources as it extends them.

Returning to the central concerns of this paper after this brief exploration of Gorky's art enhances our sense of the possibilities open to Armenian American writers. The fact is that Armenian American life pulses with all the urgency and drama of a Gorky abstract. Yet much of the literature is stalled at standard departure points—massacres, deportations, orphanages, immigration woes, and the filtering into American life—or picking over typical ethnic motifs such as grape harvests in the San Joaquin Valley, Turkish coffee breaks in Boston, or aging in the factories of the Midwest. Seldom do writers take advantage of the exciting and painful oppositions that make this country a vortex of relentless social evolution; seldom do we see how Armenian men and women actually interacted, changed, and grew under the heat of the Fresno summer during the Depression, working with or grating against other ethnic groups such as the Mexicans, Japanese, and Finns; never do we find a psychologically satisfying account of a

mother carrying the group memory of rape, abduction, and slaughter into life in the "free" society and then casting shadows of her fear or her triumph onto the second and third generations.

To sum up then, echoing earlier generations of observers, we note the materials of an absorbing literature scattered about the Armenian American landscape. But as they continue to gather and shape these materials, Armenian American writers could learn from the daring of Gorky's art, innovation nurtured by the masculine *and* feminine energies of his native land. For this survey suggests, one of the telltale weaknesses of Armenian American literature, the undistinguished character of the women, is subtly yet unmistakably linked to the unleavened state of the literature in general. There is more to tell of how these women have lived, stories that will suggest the complex interweaving of culture and gender.

Notes

[1]Hapet Kharibian, "Home in Exile," *Ararat*, No. 52 (1972), pp. 3-8.

[2]Leon Surmelian, "The American Writer of Armenian Birth," *Ararat*, No. 19 (1964), p. 53.

[3]Siamanto, "Prayer to Anahid on the Feast of Navasart," in *Anthology of Armenian Poetry*, trans. Diana Der Hovanessian and Marzbed Margossian (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), pp. 138-40.

[4]Armenian men were shot first because they posed a greater potential threat to the Turks, whereas women, children, and the aged were—ironically—denied a quick death.

[5]Richard Tracy La Piere, "The Armenian Colony in Fresno County, California," diss. Standofrd 1930, p. 167.

[6]Emmanuel Varandyan, *The Well of Ararat* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran, & Co., 1938).

[7]Peter Sourian, *The Gate* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1965), p. 204.

[8]Recent informal surveys of Armenian American women in the Boston area substantiate what many within the community have suspected all along: a stronger tradition of female authority within the home than has been overtly acknowledged. Although this tradition doesn't overturn the bulk of power held by the father, it balances our views of women's roles both in the Old Country and in America. See Arlene Voski Avakian, "Armenian-American Women: The First Word . . ." (Working Paper for the Women and Ethnicity Project, Brown University, March 1983).

[9]La Piere, p. 254.

[10]Peter Najarian, *Voyages* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971), p. 62.

[11]Ibid., p. 58.

[12]Michael J. Arlen, *A Passage to Ararat* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1975), p. 135.

[13]"The Letters of Arshile Gorky," ed. Karlen Mooradian, *Ararat*, No. 48 (1971), p. 29.

[14]Ibid., p. 33.

[15]Ibid., p. 27.

[16]Ibid., p. 48.

[17]Joseph Frank, "Spatial Form in Modern Literature," in *The Widening Gyre: Crisis and Mastery in Modern Literature* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers Univ. Press, 1963), p. 60.

[18]Ibid., p. 59.

[19]Harry Rand, *Arshile Gorky: The Implications of Symbols* (Montclair, New Jersey: Allanheid, Osmun and Co., 1980), p. 29.

Critique

"Between Shadow and Rock . . . " discusses how this ethnic literature reflects the place of women in Armenian American society. Few works are published by Armenian women. When women appear in Armenian novels of fathers and sons, they are often foils or narrowly portrayed in terms of stereotypes (e.g. loving mother, dutiful wife). Various themes recur in this ethnic genre: political upheaval and violence, the loss of homeland and the stress of immigration to the United States. Such themes call attention to the subordinate position of Armenian American women and their limited scope in society. Male characters expect women to offer psychological support and to suffer silently, to demonstrate qualities which represent a lost homeland such as endurance and fertility and to reject pressure in the U.S. to modify traditional behavior.

What is the relationship between ethnic identity and a woman's sense of who she is? Bedrosian shows that the two types of group awareness, attention to culture and homeland and a woman's sense of gender, do not necessarily complement each other. Male figures in Armenian American literature often think about being oppressed and alienated because they are members of a unique cultural group. However, the treatment they receive does not appear to make them more conscious of the subordinate position of women. Not surprisingly, the essay suggests that some female characters consider their ethnic legacy a burden which prevents them from being who they choose.

Rigid roles, which limit the choice of work, education and female-male behavior, can make ethnic women prisoners of their culture.

Conflict exists between ethnic identity and gender identity in many cultural groups. Conflict weakens the ability of people to join together and take action on issues which affect unique cultural groups and women. Do women from different ethnic groups in the U.S. share ideas about being women and being part of a special culture as well? Cross-cultural comparative studies of how women in ethnic literature deal with their sex and culture could clarify such a question. Are women less subordinate to men in some types of ethnic literature than in others? Is there a common set of assumptions about women in different ethnic works which foster the notion of a second sex? One problem with such literary enquiry is that Armenian women writers are few. Female persona can be foils or symbols and can say less about women than about a male writer's perception of women.

"Between Shadow and Rock . . . " suggests that women in Armenian American literature who are aware of ethnicity and gender have a multiple sense of consciousness. They see experience through at least two frames of reference and thus are able to be both female and ethnic. Can one sort of consciousness be layered over another so that one aspect of a woman's sensibility, say gender, takes precedence over but works in concert with ethnicity? Or do women have a simultaneous sense of ethnicity and gender which is coordinated in terms of certain types of events, pressures, and relationships?

Joe Rodriguez
San Diego State University

Critique

This is a generally competent and perceptive analysis of the stated topic by a writer who is certainly a feminist and evidently an Armenian American woman herself. The basic theme of the paper, to quote the writer, is that "nowhere in Armenian American writing do we find a detailed and sustained reflection of a three-dimensional Armenian woman," and that on the whole this is due to "the unleavened state of [Armenian American] literature in general." She reaches these conclusions through examination of recent Armenian American writing, most of it by men—to whom, not incidentally, she primarily attributes the unbalanced treatment of Armenian women. Certainly it is clear from her citations that Armenian American women have been assigned a traditional, subordinate, and compliant role.

But some questions concerning the analysis do arise:

Is the study extensive enough to be considered comprehensive? The writer cites only a handful of Armenian American works by men *or* women. Surely a more intensive search would reveal more. Of course whether this would alter the conclusions is debatable.

Is Armenian American literature really in the "unleavened state" the writer believes it is? Most critics feel that it is well-developed and among the more notable examples of an ethnic literature. If, however, by "unleavened" the writer means that male-female elements have not been fully integrated there is more validity to her judgement.

Does the writer perhaps focus too narrowly on the Armenian woman in the traditional family looking back to the "lost Eden" of the pre-1915 period? The usual progression is that by the third generation or so ethnic groups—including their writers—are entering the "mainstream" of American life. Might not a clearer and more complete image of the modern Armenian American woman emerge through examination of how she fares in literature not necessarily related to the classic Armenian themes of adversity and suffering?

Finally, the writer should be encouraged to work toward amelioration of the conditions in Armenian American writing she deplores by depicting in her own writings the Armenian American woman as she believes she truly is, and by encouraging her ethnic sisters to do the same. This may be the key to helping the Armenian American woman to emerge from "between shadow and rock."

Orville W. Taylor
Clearwater Beach, Fla.

Critique

Female characters, drawn from a sampling of Armenian American writing, are examined for clues to the breadth of their individual and group experience in this brief literature review. The author early concludes that the range of experience and personality available for examination in such an overview is extremely limited. The bulk of the review is then given to a presentation of possible historical and cultural explanations for the typical flat, narrow, and slightly negative portrayal.

People of a harsh, mountainous land, the Armenians have borne not only the challenge of geography, but also the rigors of repeated invasion, war, and conquest. Out of this matrix the heroic vision of the mythical goddess Anahid rises to challenge the tepid portraits of her 20th-century daughters. To explain away this contemporary quietude, the author argues the survival value of filial obedience and adherence to a strictly patriarchal cultural code. The instinctively obedient behavior characteristic of many of the women described in the quoted passages has adaptive significance in the family fortress of an embattled people.

As the author points out, this pattern of female subservience has been common to other neighboring Mediterranean cultures as well. One might argue, indeed, that it is normative for the vast majority of world cultures, and that only the exceptions to this situation are remarkable. In the Armenian instance, it is the intensity of domination that is worthy of note, not the pattern of subjugation itself. Ruled by a brutal Ottoman Empire, reflected in a harsh patriarchy at home, the individual woman was deemed worthless save as a breeder of sons and bearer of services. Ironically, the passage selected to illustrate the ideal, other-worldly, superhuman qualities of the goddess is cast in just these traditional terms. The goddess is urged to bear a son who will be an invincible leader for his people. Rather than save her people through her own power, the goddess is assigned a secondary role—to become the mother of hope, not hope itself.

One obvious reason for the secondary role assigned to women in Armenian American literature is that it is a male genre. Armenian men, writing from a position of painful struggle with issues of domination and justification, have simply not noticed the struggle of the women at their sides. Saroyan, probably the best known of the recent writers, is engulfed with identity issues, and, relating *to* women in a variety of superficial ways, fails to relate *from* them any sense of their story, or of the essence of their struggle.

When we move from literature to the other artistic streams flowing from Armenian life, the depiction of women becomes more human, more whole. Gorky, in the author's illustration, perhaps best exemplifies this desireable balance, but scenes from music or dance could have been sketched to make the same point. The women are neither missing or mute, as the literature would have us believe.

While Armenian American literature is strangely silent as to the strengths of the traditional woman, it would be unwise to pass too lightly over the accuracy of the depiction of subordination, or of its cultural utility. As immigrants rooted in Old World customs, the women played a pivotal role in enabling their fathers and husbands to rapidly acquire financial standing through thrift. Their subordinate orientation reinforced the male's ability to sacrifice present comfort for future gain.

A hint of the power of the women's untold story is found in Najarian's *Voyages* (1971). An immigrant, constrained by an arranged marriage, the mother of the protagonist nevertheless is sensitive to her needs and her identity. She allows herself to become angry enough at her restrictions to break free, to find herself and to establish a new relationship based on choice.

Personal exploration does indeed pose a significant danger to the old order. Rifts such as those experienced by this woman are not inevitable, however. For some couples and families mutual exploration and establishment of identity can be a highly adapative mechanism, empowering their growth in new contexts. For all immigrant groups, the question of what to leave behind and what to hold fast to of the old culture must be addressed. For the Armenian man's immigrant experience, that process has been eloquently witnessed to by Saroyan, Sourian, and others. The chorus has been moving, powerful, and instructive, but comprised of only male voices. What we must hear now, if the record is to be truthful, is the woman's story as well, spoken in her own words.

Linda M. C. Abbott
California School for
Professional Psychology

The "chief journal in the field
of African literatures." —*Book Forum*,

Research in African Literatures
The University of Texas Press
Journals Department
P.O. Box 7819
Austin, TX 78712

Rates: Individuals $20; Institutions $30. Foreign - add $3 postage.
Texas residents add 5% state sales tax.

Cultural Differences in American and Southeast Asian Children's Psychosocial Development

Jacqueline Ulmen Zbaracki

Observance of Southeast Asian parents and their preschool children during English as a Second Language (ESL) classes suggests that rethinking commonly held developmental phenomena in psychosocial development may produce insight into Southeast Asian culture and childrearing, middle class American culture and childrearing, and child development in general. Because it meets the needs of parents, the Des Moines Area Community College offers child care with ESL classes for refugees in the Ames, Iowa, area.[1] This article is based on observations from nearly five years of experience in the refugee nursery school with parents and young children. Children's ages range from two weeks to seven years of age. Most were newly arrived in the United States, with little or no English ability.

Erik Erikson's classic work on psychosocial development, *Childhood and Society*[2], provides a rough framework for cross cultural comparisons. He suggests three processes govern psychosocial development: 1) the somatic (or physiological and mental makeup inherent in the individual), studied in the discipline of biology; 2) the ego (or organization of expression in the individual), studied in psychology; and 3) societal (or organization into groupings of geographic and historic coherence), studied in the social sciences. National characteristics or identities arise as childrearing is adapted to the needs of the society. Erikson is careful to illustrate the effect of interaction of all three processes on individual psychosocial development as he describes childhood in two American Indian tribes, Hitler's childhood, Russian childhood, and white American childrearing. Because we live in America and because most child development research is conducted on white middle class American children, research results are applied to all groups as if they were developmental somatic and ego processes with little cultural influence.

While Erikson comes from the psychoanalytic tradition and believes early experience can have effects much later in life, Jerome Kagan suggests early experience need not have these long-lasting results.[3] This exploratory article is not concerned with the early experience controversy, but rather with the immediate effects of childrearing practices. The intent is to raise questions, not provide answers.

Erikson suggests that each person experiences eight distinct "ages" of psychosocial development through life, with each age resulting in either a positive or negative attitude. Behavioral phenomena at the first three ages involving children at preschool and beginning school age are focused here. Both Southeast Asian and American children show the same developmental ages, but behaviors differ.

AGES

Infancy

Mothers create a sense of trust in their children by providing sensitive care of the baby's individual needs and a firm sense of personal trustworthiness within the trusted framework of their culture's life style. Erikson compares middle class white systematic regulation of functions and impulses in earliest childhood with Sioux Indian culture, which holds a child should be permitted to set the pattern. Southeast Asians appear close to the Sioux Indian approach.

Childrearing practices for Southeast Asians are different from white middle class Americans in feeding, sleeping, crying, physical contact, use of toys, and group belonging. The practices involved in caring for infants—feeding, sleeping, and crying—clearly illustrate cultural differences. Middle class Americans stress a regulating type care while Southeast Asians practice a flexible and permissive attitude. American baby care experts such as Benjamin Spock[4] and T. Berry Brazelton[5] agree on feeding schedules where the baby receives enough milk—breast or bottle—to last approximately four hours with maternal and family convenience as scheduling factors. In contrast Southeast Asian mothers feed their babies—whether breast or bottle—at the first whimper. Small four ounce bottles are used for many months. For example, mothers often bring two bottles for the baby for the two hour ESL training period or come down to nurse the baby during the break. Spock discusses fat babies under bottle feeding, but breastfed Southeast Asian babies are just as chubby as their bottle-fed counterparts. Food is always available to them to accept or reject.

Sleep patterns illustrate similar differences. Brazelton[6] and Spock

both suggest easing children into sleeping patterns around the family schedule with the security and quiet of bed. Southeast Asian babies, however, remain with the group, collapse when tired, and revive again to be part of the group. One mother of seven became quite upset when she found her sleeping infant in the crib room. When she brought him back to class, she said in very broken English that her child should always be with the group—he would be frightened on waking alone.

Infant crying is another behavior which appears to have cultural determinants. Erikson quotes older Sioux Indian women as saying babies learn to cry "like a white baby" and, "they teach their children to cry" when middle-class American customs are followed. Indeed, infant crying receives a good deal of attention from both Spock and Brazelton who agree it is a normal need of infancy, but may be handled and minimized by scheduling and maturity. Today much concern is directed to teaching American mothers to recognize their infants' states of responsiveness. When their needs are met, Southeast Asian babies do not cry while at the refugee nursery school. Babies, parents, and older children all have an expectation of quiet, content babies, an expectation which must be met to build trust. The staff is learning that if American childrearing beliefs are put aside, fulfilling the expectation is not difficult: moving at the first whimper and anticipating needs does prevent crying.

Physical contact, group belonging, and use of toys are early social practices which differ among cultures. Whereas American babies are taught to amuse themselves and to learn that they can control their environment, one or another family member holds the Southeast Asian baby most of the time. A fussing American baby is given another toy, a change of environment, or music. A fussing Southeast Asian baby is jiggled, played with, or soothed. People may use toys to entertain Southeast Asian babies, but they have little importance or appeal alone. Although the American baby has a regulated place in the family, the Southeast Asian baby is in the hub of activity.

Both cultures establish a sense of basic trust in their children but in different ways. Southeast Asian adults anticipate and immediately act to fill babies' wants. Most American babies are on the path of independence by fitting into routines and amusing themselves. Current American research[7] and popular child care books[8] about infant attachment reflect a cultural concern for establishing the basis for infant trust.

Although Southeast Asian babies are trusting and secure with any member of their family (which is usually extended and has numerous

members), they express great fear of white Americans, beginning earlier than the six to eight months found in the attachment literature. While individual differences are great, infants seem to recognize differences earlier and take time to accept white Americans—it can take children weeks to feel secure enough to remain without crying. Even then, the appearance of new Americans produces the fear reaction again. In a room with several American caretakers one frightened little boy first allowed the two blond Americans to care for him—it appeared the polarity of the difference made them recognizable. After they are secure, infants grasp at American noses and hair as if exploring the differences. The fear expressed by these very young children is so great it raises questions as to a biological origin in the distrust of another race, perhaps as a protective, survival mechanism.

Toddler

Erikson believes this is the age at which children become aware they have a choice and enjoy exercising it. He states firmness must protect the child from an untrained sense of discrimination at the same time the child exercises new abilities. American childrearing pushes the child to greater maturity at this age: independence from the mother, verbal restraints, attempts to reason with the child (who is now talking), and toilet training. Southeast Asian children are still babies at this age; much time is spent holding and playing with them (continuing early infancy practices), demands on the children are few, and there is little or no attempt at toilet training. Young children enjoy the older children and adults as they imitate and participate with them. Older children are caring and helpful to the younger. In American society much concern is expressed in research and popular media for developmental problems. Attachment, fathering, concern about effects of maternal employment on children, discipline, toilet training, sibling rivalry, and the "terrible two's" are American phenomena which do not appear to surface in Southeast Asian childrearing. For Southeast Asians the toddler age is a time to enjoy the new abilities of babies and laugh good naturedly at demonstrations of immaturity.

During the toddler age, American children are developing a sense of possession. Toys and material objects are important to the children and to their caretakers as means of development. Cognitive development is seen as dependent upon experience and activities.[9] People remain the focus of Southeast Asian children who appear affectionate and eager to please.

Both cultures foster autonomy in their children but in different ways. Americans stress independence, ownership, and the beginnings of control. Southeast Asians allow children freedom to explore the immediate social and physical world with few restrictions.

Preschool

At this age children add to autonomy the quality of initiative, or undertaking tasks with energy and active direction. The child is eager and able to work cooperatively, profit from teachers, and imitate ideal prototypes. American children now move quite readily outside the family to playmates, nursery school, and kindergarten. The challenges of new experiences and greater socialization provide the base for American nursery schools and kindergartens; children have a strong sense of their possessions, independence, and competition, and part of the child's task is to learn to share, play cooperatively, and take the view of the other person. Child development research interests show social development concerns for pre-school children. Research is in areas such as play behaviors, role taking, development of altruistic behavior, discipline, locus of control, and moral development. Southeast Asian children appear to have few problems in social development; being group members is central to existence in their culture.

Erikson suggests that on entering school, dangers await minority group Americans who enjoyed a more permissive early childhood. Southeast Asian children are no exception. Four-year-olds are very attached to their families and it is difficult to separate mother and child. Children cry relentlessly, and mothers, who are accustomed to keeping their children happy and content, are visibly upset and unable to control the situation. Whether there is an innate self preservation instinct called into action when faced with people of another race, whether the familial attachment and security are that strong, or whether a combination of the two is at work are questions to be answered by research.

The routine, regularity, and lack of freedom in schools after being accustomed to more or less having control can also present problems for Southeast Asian children. Children repeat kindergarten not for lack of English ability but for immaturity. Girls especially appear to have problems and react with "babyish" behaviors. In Southeast Asian culture four to six year olds often assume a responsible role in child care and helping their mothers. Evidently children move naturally into initiative and industry by their desire to imitate older siblings and adults and by their desire to please. Middle class

American culture teaches children initiative by regimentation and regulation of activity (which is part of adult American life) rather than by assigning family responsibility.

Because they are good group members, the Southeast Asian children in the Ames center do not possess the American competitive spirit. These children share and help each other, but winning, possessing, and being singled out do not have importance. They have an obvious awareness of the feelings of other children which one does not observe in American children.

Again, both groups develop initiative, but behavioral results differ. However, at this age problems can result because Southeast Asian children do not behave as middle class Americans.

DISCUSSION

Childrearing customs exist because they work for specific cultures; they produce competent, effective adults. Through different childrearing practices both middle class Americans and Southeast Asians reach a normal result for their culture. Following are some specific considerations in contrasting the cultures.

The realization that all babies do not cry in the same manner as American babies suggests reexamination of certain basic assumptions. Are the babies temperamentally different? Are cries of American babies not being read correctly? Are feeding methods causing problems? Does the personality of American adults cause them to rebel at the constant demands of infants? Does nuclear family organization require infant adaptation? Some of the questions could be researched; for others there may be no answer readily available. Crying, in this instance, is culture specific, the recognition of which raises questions about middle class American infant care.

What is the function of American infant toys—substitute care giver, cognitive development, a combination of the two, an introduction into the culture? Personal reaction to the realization that toys or "things" could be substituting for people was disgust at the materialism and guilt at introducing this aspect to children. On closer consideration is this perhaps a good way to introduce Southeast Asian children to another culture, especially one into which they will have to find a place, as long as the children are content, happy, and secure? Could this short exposure to different childrearing add another dimension to the lives of the children?

What is the role of fear in a child's life? Fear is a primary emotion

but ethical considerations make it almost impossible to research. Attachment behaviors have been researched in relation to fear[10] but the primary consideration has been the mother-child relation and the child's security. Observing Southeast Asian children's reaction in strange situations makes one quite aware that fear is an extremely powerful emotion which needs to be overcome before children can move on to other tasks. The children in the Ames center not only manifest an extreme fear reaction before six to eight months but older children, two-years to four-years of age, also show extreme reactions.

That fear is a primary motivation necessary for survival is recognized in physical dangers; an infant fears being dropped or falling. Experience with young infants of another race and culture raises the question of whether the same survival instinct is present in stranger anxiety, especially in the intensity with which it sometimes presents itself in Southeast Asian children. Individual differences in reaction to white Americans raise the question of causes of fear. An answer without careful research is unlikely. If the roots of fear are self-preservation, prejudices could be understood in another way.

What exactly is "spoiling" a baby? Are Americans in reality extremely authoritarian in dealing with their children? American concerns with discipline and "spoiling" young children are in direct contrast to the easy going approach of Southeast Asians. Discipline for Southeast Asians appears to rise out of the child's desire to please and to be one of the group. Rather than exert authority and demand conformity, the expectation is that the child will obey. Mothers state they ask of their children what they expect at the particular age and watch closely to be sure children are able to fulfill the expectations. The success of the method suggests American childrearing practices demand too much maturity from very young and preschool children and too little family responsibility from school-age children.

Are childrearing methods intended to fill specific cultural needs of children applied without analyzing cultural differences? A concern for children's socialization is reflected in contemporary child development research. Most American preschool and kindergarten curricula stress social development. For example, preschool children's behaviors at play are topics of interest. Contemporary researchers see cooperative play emerging in late preschool years.[11]

In the Ames center, Southeast Asian children demonstrate more and earlier cooperative play. If concurring research verifies this observation it could mean the play development observed is the behavioral result of socialization practices, which do not apply to all children.

The group social experience of Southeast Asian children may accelerate cooperative social development. If so, preschools and kindergartens accepting these children must consider their needs and where efforts are best directed.

Although observation of children from the two cultures reveals many differences, their development lies on a continuum. Socialization offers the widest spread of differences with American children at the individual independence end and Southeast Asian children at the group belonging end. Using kindergarten age children the two groups offer somewhat the following contrast. The independent middle class American child has need to develop skills with other people whereas the group oriented Southeast Asian child must learn to work alone and be self motivating. The challenge lies not only with the individuals trying to find the "middle ground" but with all who will work with children in helping them adjust to different cultures as well as their own. Colleges and universities, as the training ground for those who work with many cultures and societies, have a special responsibility to prepare people with the skills necessary to recognize similarities and differences, essentials and nonessentials, and thus help all to become understanding members of American society.

Notes

[1]The Iowa Department of Public Instruction is currently funding the refugee English as a Second Language (ESL) program under a Project 310 Grant titled "A Whole Family Approach to Teaching English as a Second Language." Further information of the program is available from Bill Johnson, Director of Adult Education, Des Moines Area Community College, Ankeny, IA 50021.

[2]Erik Erikson. *Childhood and Society.* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1963).

[3]Jerome Kagan. *The Nature of the Child.* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).

[4]Benjamin Spock. *Baby and Child Care.* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1976).

[5]T. B. Brazelton. *Infants and Mothers.* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969).

[6]T. B. Brazelton. *On Becoming a Family.* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1981).

[7]J. Bowlby. *Attachment.* Attachment and Loss Series, Vol. 1 (New York: Basic Books, 1969); M.D.S. Ainsworth. "The Development of Infant-Mother Attachment." *Review of Child Development Research,* Vol. 3. B.M. Caldwell and H.N. Ricciuti, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973) 1-94.

[8]Brazelton, *On Becoming a Family*; M.H. Klaus and J.H. Kennell. *Maternal-Infant Bonding.* (St. Louis: Mosby, 1976).

[9]B.L. White. *The First Three Years of Life.* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975).

[10]M.D.S. Ainsworth. "The Development of Infant-Mother Attachment." *Review of Child Development Research*, Vol. 3. B.M. Caldwell and H.N. Ricciuti, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973) 1-94.

[11]Alicia Loraine Dunn. *Relationships Between Measures of Convergent and Divergent Thinking and the Play Behaviors of Preschool Children.* Unpublished Master's Thesis. (Ames: Iowa State University, 1983).

Critique

Zbaracki's thought provoking discussion suggests one way in which the Southeast Asian, now American, community can enhance our understanding of a world view entirely different from our own and the ways in which it is taught. Their insistence on keeping the young baby, toddler, and pre-schooler in the company of affectionate adults demonstrates their belief in human beings as integral members of a community (or extended family group) first and foremost. Familial bonds in a foreign setting such as the American Mid-west could be seen as one way to give new born children a sense of an ethnic self esteem, a specific Southeast Asian history, and a degree of protection from the alienation and commercial materialism that afflicts middle class American children at comparable ages.

Learning to share and to care for other people in a closely knit communal environment is an assurance of an individual's and a group's survival. Ethnic American communities such as Afroamerican, Hispanic, and American Indian have known and have practiced this belief in childrearing as a defense against racism and its resultant poverty. When compared to these groups, Southeast Asians would appear no different in this one respect. Middle class American childrearing practices are in a constant state of flux, however. As more and more balanced discussions and comparative studies are completed (such as the one Zbaracki has started for us here), cross cultural borrowing beneficial to everyone will take place.

Alice Deck
University of Illinois

Critique

Zbaracki's article is a pleasure to read because its style reflects the major theme of comparing the childrearing practices of two cultures. It is informative enough in detail to relate directly to the supportive literature. The author clearly shows her concern for the issues she raises and her empathy and dedication to her colleagues and the Southeast Asians with whom she works. She states her objective for the article and smoothly pleads her case for the need to understand the problems refugee Southeast Asians face in rearing their children in a strange land filled with strange faces and strange customs.

Although Zbaracki would like to exclude the early childhood experience controversies that abound in the literature of child development from her article, she raises these issues by asking if there exists an innate self-preservation instinct in Southeast Asian infants that would account for her observations of their strong stranger anxiety responses to white Americans. She also suspects that strong familial attachment may also be at work in producing strong separation anxiety in these children. Zbaracki also suggests a connection between the two postulates in producing the twin anxieties. An extensive literature on attachment bonding, separation anxiety, and stranger anxiety that may provide some explanation for the questions she raises does exist.

Attachment of the child to the primary caretaker, usually the mother, and eventually to other persons within its sphere is a gradual development over the first years of the child's life that ideally leads to a sense of security and trust in self, surroundings, and other persons. Attachment enables the child to acquire the knowledge and skills needed to function as a self-reliant, mature adult capable of forming stable relationships. If no bond is formed in early life, the adult is likely to be unstable and anxious.

As the infant becomes clearly attached to the caregiver in the last six months of the first year, infants often protest the impending or actual departure of the caregiver. The child is not easily comforted by another person and demands the return of the caretaker. This complex of behaviors, separation anxiety, is a clear developmental stage in the infant. Separation anxiety is often greatest in those infants most closely attached to their mothers, have been the least exposed to strangers, and whose mothers have always been close at hand.[1]

Stranger anxiety appears in many infants about the same time as

does separation anxiety. It appears as early as three months and usually disappears after two years of age. Its expression seems to depend upon the degree of proximity of the infant to the caretaker, the particular identity, behavior, and proximity of the stranger. Cross cultural studies have shown that strongly attached infants react strongly to strangers *and* they have shown the opposite reaction.

> Fear is not the common response nor normative behavior . . . the term "fear of stranger" obscures the richness and variety of the infant's and the child's behavior. It allows no room for the interest and pleasure he often accords new people.[2]

G. W. Bronson notes the reasonableness of such a duality for adaptation and survival. The child extends the boundaries of what is known while avoiding hazards of the environment. Bronson concludes, ". . . any classification of early behavior based solely on their presumed adaptive functions must be regarded as tenuous."[3]

From what information is presented in this article, I conclude that the Southeast Asian children are especially sensitive to strangers and to separation from their mothers and that the two behaviors are linked. This sensitivity does not, however, place their behavior outside the range of known limits. Rather, because of their unique upbringing, they are firmly attached to and responsive to their mothers and other close caregivers. Their responsiveness indicates that they have learned to be fearful because they have been taught to be fearful, albeit unknowingly.

The literature abounds with examples of primary caretakers eliciting both positive and negative reactions in their children. J.L. Gerwirtz writes that

> mothers play a direct role in determining the child's response to strangers, a bearded man, or someone of a different race, who approaches. The mother can give many signals, for example, with a sudden movement, draws the infant closer. Such movement may have already become associated by the baby with negative events, so that the child comes to associate avoidance response with strangers. This is particularly true of first child mothers, who are often ill-at-ease when their young infant is held by a stranger and often takes back the baby as soon as possible. [4]

The learned expectancies infants have about what is appropriate behavior on the part of people are profound. As infants grow older they "may have developed more idiosyncratic expectations about what is appropriate behavior, and it becomes harder to meet these expectations."[5] Given the stresses of immigration on Southeast Asian refugee adults, it is no wonder that mothers may not be at ease with strangers.

I suggest that a major effort of socialization with Americans be undertaken with the Southeast Asian adults. Changes in the children's behavior can be used to evaluate the effort. The alternatives do not appear hopeful: returning to the homelands; establishing autonomous settlements in this country; making drastic changes in existing educational systems. Ultimately, the Southeast Asians must be responsible for the well-being of their own children in this country, whatever that means in terms of changes in childrearing practices.

Dennis Stewart
Davis, California

Notes

[1]M.D.S. Ainsworth. "Mother-Infant Interaction." *Culture and Infancy*. P.H. Leiderman, S.R. Tulkin, A. Rosenfeld, ed. (New York: Academic Press, 1977) 140-143.

[2]H.L. Rheingold. "General Issues in the Study of Fear." *The Origin of Fear*. M. Lewis, L.A. Rosenblum, ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974) 255.

[3]G.W. Bronson. "General Issues in the Study of Fear." *The Origin of Fear*. M. Lewis, L.A. Roseblum, ed. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1974) 255.

[4]J.L. Gewirtz. *Determinants of Infant Behavior IV*. B.M. Foss, ed. (London: Methuen, 1969) 275.

[5]G.A. Morgan, H.N. Ricciuti. "Infants' Responses to Strangers During the First Year." *Determinants of Infant Behavior IV*.B.M. Foss, ed. (London: Methuen, 1969) 272.

The Editor Notes . . .

Explorations . . . reaches another milestone—after relegating reviews to its own issue and directing poetry to literary magazines—perfect binding. The decision to move to perfectly bound issues of the journal was made by the Executive Council at the 1984 June Symposium. Here it is, and I hope you like it. Please note, however: Although our publisher has promised to provide this service at "cost," the editor must have comments from you in order to justify the additional expense. Last year in this column (Vol. 7, No. 1), I noted with sadness the demise of *Minority Voices* because the publishers could not maintain operating costs. I remain cognizant of the fate of many journals that depended on the goodness of institutions for their continuation. *Explorations in Ethnic Studies*, however, depends upon dedicated volunteers, subscriptions, and your membership in order to flourish. We are particularly grateful to those persons who contribute beyond their membership fees as patrons of the Association.

NAIES remains unique, because it is inclusive, and its reverence for communicating across boundaries is a major philosophical underpinning. The Executive Council remains steadfast in pursuing the ideals of social justice, regardless of economic and political climate, and this issue of the journal is dedicated to you because you make the Association a reality.

Many painstaking hours and more people than you would imagine are involved in the development of an issue of the journal, but I want to single-out a special individual for praise regarding this one. I offer my heartfelt thanks to Sharon Millard of the English Department at Iowa State University, who expertly transcribed the interview with Peter Nazareth. Without her capable assistance, both Goan literature and the observations of the refugee nursery school would not have graced these pages before July.

Charles C. Irby

Contributors

Linda M.C. Abbott is Dean for Student Affairs and Director of Development and Minority Affairs at the California School of Professional Psychology, Fresno.

Margaret Bedrosian is a Lecturer in English and Comparative Literature at the University of California, Davis.

Alice Deck is Assistant Professor of English and Afroamerican Studies at the University of Illinois, Urbana.

Vagn K. Hansen is Chairman, Division of Social Sciences, at Delta State University, Cleveland, Mississippi.

A. William Hoglund is Professor of History at the University of Connecticut, Storrs

Luis L. Pinto is a Professor of Languages at the City University of New York, Bronx.

Joe D. Rodriguez is a member of the Chicano Studies Department at San Diego State University and serves on the Executive Council.

Daiva K. Stasiulis is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Carleton University, Ottawa

R. Dennis Stewart is currently devoting time to Farmtrek in Sacramento.

Orville Taylor is Emeritus Professor of History at Georgia College and happily retired at Clearwater Beach, Florida.

Delo Washington is Associate Professor of Ethnic Studies at California State College, Stanislaus.

Jacqueline Ulmen Zbaracki is mother of six children. She is also Head Teacher at the Refugee Pre-school in Ames, Iowa, Child Development Consultant for the Des Moines Area Community College, and Temporary Instructor in Child Development at Iowa State University, Ames.

INDEX, Volume 7, 1984

Author	Title	Number/Page(s)
Abbott, Linda M.C.	"Ethnicity and Empowerment: Implications for Psychological Training in the 1980s"	1:1-11
Bedrosian, Margaret	Critique of "Change in American Indian World Views Illustrated by Oral Narratives and Contemporary Poetry"	2:40-41
Brito, Silvester J.	"Change in American Indian World Views Illustrated by Oral Narratives and Contemporary Poetry"	2:27-37
Carpenter, Linda J.	Critique of "Women, Religion, and Peace in an American Indian Ritual"	1:32-33
Champion, Ernest	Critique of "Women, Religion, and Peace in an American Indian Ritual"	1:34-35
Cortese, Anthony J.	Critique of "Ethnicity and Empowerment: Implications for Psychological Training in the 1980s"	1:12-15
Dawkins, Cecilia E.	Critique of "Ethnicity and Empowerment: Implications for Psychological Training in the 1980s"	1:11-12
Deck, Alice	Critique of "Women, Religion, and Peace in an American Indian Ritual"	1:35-37
Forbes, Jack D.	"The Use of the Terms 'Negro' and 'Black' to Include Persons of Native American Ancestry in 'Anglo' North America"	2:11-23
Hadley, Lee	"The Lone Ranger Lied: Tonto Wasn't Real"	2:1-5
Herrnstadt, Richard	Critique of "Perception and Power Through Naming: Characters in Search of a Self in the Fiction of Toni Morrison"	1:54-55
Herzog, Kristin	"Women, Religion, and Peace in an American Indian Ritual"	1:16-32
Hunnicutt, John M.	Critique of "The Use of the Terms 'Negro' and 'Black' to Include Persons of Native American Ancestry in 'Anglo' North America"	2:23-25
Irwin, Ann	"White Like Me: A Problem or Plus"	2:5-10

Myers, Linda Buck	"Perception and Power Through Naming: Characters in Search of a Self in the Fiction of Toni Morrison" 1:39-51
Nakadate, Neil	Critique of "Perception and Power Through Naming: Characters in Search of a Self in the Fiction of Toni Morrison" 1:52-53
Nakadate, Neil	Critique of "The Use of the Terms 'Negro' and 'Black' to Include Persons of Native American Ancestry in 'Anglo' North America" 2:25-26
Palmerhall, Juanita	Critique of "Change in American Indian World Views Illustrated by Oral Narratives and Contemporary Poetry" 2:37-39
Portales, Marco	Critique of "Perception and Power Through Naming: Characters in Search of a Self in the Fiction of Toni Morrison" 1:53-54
Reinhardt, Karl J.	Critique of "Women, Religion, and Peace in an American Indian Ritual" 1:37-38

Titles **Number/Page(s)**

Abstracts from the Twelfth Annual Conference, 1984 ..... 2:42-60

Change in American Indian World Views Illustrated by Oral Narratives and Contemporary Poetry 2:27-41

Ethnicity and Empowerment: Implications for Psychological Training in the 1980s 1:1-15

Index to Volume 6 (1983) 1:58-59

(The) Lone Ranger Lied: Tonto Wasn't Real 2:1-5

Perception and Power Through Naming: Characters in Search of a Self in the Fiction of Toni Morrison 1:39-55

(The) Use of the Terms "Negro" and "Black" to Include Persons of Native American Ancestry in "Anglo" North America 2:11-26

White Like Me: A Problem or Plus 2:5-10

Women, Religion, and Peace in an American Indian Ritual 1:16-38

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION REVIEW

A quarterly studying sociological, demographic, historical, economic and legislative aspects of human migration and ethnic group relations.

VOLUME XVII NUMBER 4 WINTER 1983

TRANSITIONAL LABOR: UNDOCUMENTED WORKERS IN THE LOS ANGELES AUTOMOBILE INDUSTRY

Rebecca Morales

THEMES ON CIRCULATION IN THE THIRD WORLD

Murray Chapman, R. Mansell Prothero

HIGH LEVEL MANPOWER MOVEMENTS IN NORTHWEST EUROPE AND THE ROLE OF CAREERS: AN EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORK

John Salt

THE LABOR SUPPLY OF MALE HISPANIC IMMIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES

George J. Borjas

MIGRANT EMPLOYMENT AND THE RECESSION– THE CASE OF THE IRISH IN BRITAIN

F.X. Kirwan, A.G. Nairn

MARRIAGE MIGRATION, A NEGLECTED FORM OF LONG-TERM MOBILITY: A CASE STUDY FROM ILORIN, NIGERIA

Susan J. Watts

In addition to special topical issues, each issue of IMR contains original articles, documentation, legislative reports, extensive bibliographical services through book reviews, review of reviews, listing of new books and the International Newsletter on Migration (Research Committee on Migration, International Sociological Association).

Subscription rates: U.S. Institutions/1 year $37.50/2 years $74.00/3 years $109.50. Individuals/ 1 year $25.00/2 years $49.00/3 years $72 00. All other countries add $5.00 for each year's subscription. Single copy $9.00 + $2.00 postage and handling.

Cumulative index volumes: 1-10 (1964-1976) Annual indices of published volumes and sample copies available on request.

Center for Migration Studies
209 Flagg Place S.I., N.Y. 10304

Copies of articles from this publication are now available from the UMI Article Clearinghouse.

For more information about the Clearinghouse, please fill out and mail back the coupon below.

UMI Article Clearinghouse

Yes! I would like to know more about UMI Article Clearinghouse.
I am interested in electronic ordering through the following system(s):

☐ DIALOG/Dialorder
☐ ITT Dialcom
☐ OnTyme
☐ OCLC ILL Subsystem

☐ Other (please specify)_____
☐ I am interested in sending my order by mail.
☐ Please send me your current catalog and user instructions for the system(s) I checked above.

Name_____

Title_____

Institution/Company_____

Department_____

Address_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Phone (_____)_____

Mail to: University Microfilms International
300 North Zeeb Road, Box 91 Ann Arbor, MI 48106

Notes for Contributors

Explorations in Ethnic Studies is a multidisciplinary, nonspecialized journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, methodological considerations, theoretical concerns, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. *Explorations* is a forum for the exchange of ideas.

The editorial staff welcomes manuscripts that demonstrate an integration of theory and practice; the staff is equally interested in receiving manuscripts which are exploratory in nature. Contributors should note carefully the following procedures for submissions.

A. Manuscripts must be typewritten, double-spaced (including notes) and are not to exceed twenty pages (including notes).

B. *Explorations* publishes neither bibliographies nor reference lists with articles.

C. Notes must conform to the following pattern:

Book	[1]Tomás Rivera. *Y No Se Lo Tragó La Tierra*. (Berkeley: Justa, 1977) 55.
Journal Article	[2]Orlin Malicher. "A Role for Social Workers in the Consumer Movement." *Social Work*. Vol. 18, No. 1 (January, 1973) 65-66.
Newsletter Article	[3]James H. Williams. "Ethnicity and Human Rights: Raising the National Consciousness." NAIES *Newsletter*. Vol. 5, No. 2 (October, 1980) 19.
Newspaper Article	[4]Jack Slater. "Where Are the Blacks in Ballet?" *Los Angeles Times*. (June 8, 1980) 18.
Article in a Book	[5]Lawrence Kohlberg. "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization." *Handbook of Socialization*. D. Goslin, ed. (New York: Rand McNally, 1969) 347-580.
Thesis/Dissertation	[6]Michael G. Karni. *"Yhteishyra"—or For the Common Good: Finnish Radicalism in the Western Great Lakes Region 1900-1940*. Ph.D. Dissertation. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1975) 115-195.
Multiple Authors	[7]A.K. Bahn, E.A. Gardner, L. Alltop, G.L. Knatterud, and M. Solomon. "Admissions and Prevalence Rates for Psychiatric Facilities in Four Register Areas." *American Journal of Public Health*. Vol. 56, No. 12 (December, 1966) 2033-2051.
Subsequent References	[8]Ibid. (follows immediately) [9]Williams, 20. (otherwise)
Additionally	[10]Informational notes are acceptable.

D. Submit four copies of manuscript with author name(s) appearing on a separate page.

E. Manuscripts received without a self-addressed, stamped envelope will not be returned.

All submissions for *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* are refereed by two or more persons, and it usually takes two months for the readers' reports.

Submit all materials to:
Meredith Reinhart, Associate Editor
NAIES Publications
847 "L" Street
Davis, CA 95616-2104
916/756-3566

Patrons of the Association

Australian Institute for Multicultural Affairs
Black Studies Program, Florida State University
Joanne Brown
Department of Health and Human Services, Kansas City
Phillips G. Davies
Highlights for Children
Institute for Minority Studies, LaCrosse
Pan American University
Society for the Study of Multi-Ethnic Literature in the United States