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Review

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Pedagogies of Race: The Politics of Whiteness in an African American Studies Course

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This paper evaluates students' arguments for a color-blind society to avoid discussions related to the continued existence of racism in USA culture. Relatedly, this writer finds that as an black woman her status as facilitator in the classroom is directly challenged, on occasion, and that race and gender play a primary role in students' perception of classroom material and how she is perceived. Classroom discussions related to historical texts reveal that structures of domination have slanted perception of black and white people in U.S. culture. Finally, a key to open dialogue about race and racism, primarily for white students, is to explain and demonstrate the invisibility of whiteness or white privilege in American society.

Social Distances of Whites to Racial or Ethnic Minorities

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And

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Prior research on social distance between racial or ethnic groups in the United States has focused mainly on attitudes of white Americans toward African Americans. Extending previous research, this study analyzes social distances of whites to racial or ethnic minority groups by investigating how whites feel about blacks, Asians, and Hispanics. The main hypothesis is that whites feel coolest toward blacks, warmest toward Asians, and somewhat in between toward Hispanics. The 2002 General Social Survey and ordinary least squares regression are used to test the hypothesis. The results indicate that contrary to our hypothesis, whites feel coolest toward Asians, warmest toward Hispanics, and somewhat in between toward blacks. Nativity, religious similarity/ dissimilarity, racial hierarchy and tension, proximity of the country of origin, and group diversity may offer plausible explanations for the unexpected result. This study also examines which types of whites are

more likely to maintain a greater or smaller social distance with the three minority groups. Implications of the findings for race and ethnic relations today are addressed.

Key words: Social distance, whites, minorities, blacks, Hispanics, Asians

Identity and the Legislative Decision Making Process: A Case Study of the Maryland State Legislature

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Both politicians and the mass public believe that identity influences political behavior yet, political scientists have failed to fully detail how identity is salient for all political actors not just minorities and women legislators. To what extent do racial, gendered, and race/gendered identities affect the legislation decision process? To test this proposition, I examine how race and gender based identities shape the legislative decisions of Black women in comparison to White men, White women, and Black men. I find that Black men and women legislators interviewed believe that racial identity is relevant in their decision making processes, while White men and women members of the Maryland state legislature had difficulty deciding whether their identities mattered and had even more trouble articulating how or why they did. African American women legislators in Maryland articulate or describe an intersectional identity as a meaningful and significant component of their work as representatives. More specifically, Black women legislators use their identity to interpret legislation differently due to their race/gender identities.

The *Dear Diane* Letters and the *Bintel Brief*: The Experiences of Chinese and Jewish Immigrant Women in Encountering America

Hong Cai
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This paper employs assimilation theory to examine the experiences of Chinese and Jewish immigrant women at similar stages of their encounters with America. By focusing on the letters in *Dear Diane: Letters from Our Daughters* (1983)*,* and *Dear Diane: Questions and Answers for Asian American Women* (1983), and earlier in the century, the letters translated and printed in *A Bintel Brief: Sixty Years of Letters from the Lower East Side to the Jewish Daily Forward* (1971), this paper compares and contrasts the experiences of Chinese and Jewish women in America. It concludes that, though they have their own unique

characteristics, both Chinese and Jewish women shared many common experiences, such as mother-daughter conflict and identity crisis, and both of them faced a difficult challenge in assimilating into American life.

"For Heart, Patriotism, and National Dignity": The Italian Language Press in New York City and Constructions of Africa, Race, and Civilization

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"For Heart, Patriotism, and National Dignity": The Italian Language Press in New York City and Constructions of Africa, Race, and Civilization" examines how mainstream and radical newspapers employed Africa as a trope for savage behavior by analyzing their discussion of wage slavery, imperialism, lynching, and colonialism, in particular Italian imperialist ventures into northern Africa in the 1890s and Libya in 1911-1912. The Italian language press constructed Africa as a *sinister*, *dark*, continent, representing the lowest rung of the racial hierarchy. In expressing moral outrage over American violence and discrimination against Italians, the press utilized this image of Africa to emphatically convey its shock and disgust. In particular, Italian *prominenti* newspapers capitalized on this racial imagery to construct a narrative of *Italianness* and Italian superiority in order to combat unflattering depictions of Italian immigrants arriving in the United States.

Exchange, Conflict and Coercion: The Ritual Dynamics of the Notting Hill Carnival Past and Present

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And

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This study investigates patterns of social relationships involving the Notting Hill Carnival. Two theoretical approaches are employed – elementary relations theory and structural ritualization theory – to explain how the carnival has been strategically used in very different ways by various groups to accomplish their objectives. We suggest the Notting Hill Carnival is a special collective ritual event that has played a

crucial role in three quite different structured arrangements involving coercion, conflict, and exchange since its beginning in Trinidad and subsequently in London. Four time periods where distinct changes in the nature of these relationships have occurred are examined: (1) 1800s Trinidad; (2) the Notting Hill Carnival from 1965-1970; (3) the Notting Hill Carnival from 1971-1989; and (4) the Notting Hill Carnival from 1990-present. This study contributes to the existing literature by focusing on how ritual and these types of relationships are intertwined in the production of the carnival. Implications of this research and possible directions for future research are also discussed.

"We Are Joined Together Temporarily" The Tragic Mulatto, Fusion Monster in Lee Frost's *The Thing with Two Heads*

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In Lee Frost's 1972 film *The Thing with Two Heads*, a white bigot unknowingly has his head surgically grafted onto the body of a black man. From that moment on, these two personalities compete for control of their shared body with ridiculous results. Somewhere between horror and comedy, this Blaxploitation film occupies a strange place in interracial discourse. Throughout American literature, the subgenre of tragic mulatto fiction has critiqued segregation by focusing on the melodramatic lives of those divided by the color line. Most tragic mulatto scholarship has analyzed overtly political novels written by African American writers from the Reconstruction Era or Harlem Renaissance, and examining these overtly political texts has produced valuable ways to understand American racism's harsh reality. Beyond this focus on reality, however, *The Thing with Two Heads* is a valuable contribution to the field of tragic mulatto studies because its focus on the fantastic plot of a black/white conjoined twin provides opportunities to theorize race in ways that more reality-bound works cannot. This article explores how this horror-comedy articulates different discourses regarding interracialism, conjoined twins, and monstrosity in ways that reveal much about American ideas about race, selfhood, and identity.

The Possibilities of Asian American Citizenship: A Critical Race and Gender Analysis

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Conventionally, citizenship is understood as a legal category of membership in a national polity that ensures equal rights among its citizens. This conventional understanding, however, begs disruption when the histories and experiences of marginalized groups are brought to the fore. Equal citizenship in all its forms for marginalized populations has yet to be realized. For Asian Americans, rights presumably accorded to the legal status of citizenship have proven tenuous across different historical and political moments. Throughout U.S. history, "Asian American" or "Oriental" men and women have been designated aliens against whom white male and female citizenships have been legitimized. These categories of inclusion and exclusion—"citizen" and "alien"—are mutually constitutive; members are legitimate only when defined against the exclusion of "others." Citizenship must be conceptualized as a broader set of social and cultural memberships and exclusions beyond political rights and legal status. This article examines how scholarly works engage citizenship formations of "Asian American" women and men. It also asks: Are there modes of citizenship, other than legal status and rights, to explain the experiences and histories of Asian American men and women, as well as provide anti-racist, feminist sites of resistance in the struggle for equality? Four patterns emerge in the analysis of racialized and gendered citizenship discourses with respect to Asian American women and men. First, many scholarly inquiries do *not* complicate meanings of citizenship beyond *legal status* or the universal male referent. Second, examinations in critical race studies and immigration history confront assumptions of citizenship *as legal status* and *rights* through a lens of racialization. Third, works on citizenship that either center women and/or engender its subjects examine culture as a space of *identity* formation and *political activity* and analyze both race and gender. Culture, as either a productive or debilitating site of resistance for Asian American women and men, is also contested. The final theme addresses language education as a realm of citizenship and national *identity* formations with racialized, but not explicitly gendered, implications.

Dressed to Cross: Narratives of Resistance and Integration in Sei Shônagon's *The Pillow Book* and Yone Noguchi's *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl*

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The Pillow Book by Sei Shônagon, Empress Sadako's lady in waiting from about 993-1000, offers rich detail about the meaning and power of dress during the Heian period [794-1185]. Throughout Yone Noguchi's novel *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl* (1902), Morning Glory, a newly arrived Japanese immigrant to the U.S., experiments with a multitude of different identities through clothes. Both narratives appropriate (cross-) dressing as a means of overcoming gender, cultural, and class borders. Shônagon and Noguchi engage in "authorial cross-dressing" to inhabit a social, cultural, and national space onto which they only have a precarious hold. It is especially the portrayal of what Marjorie Garber has delineated as a "category crisis" that links Japanese medieval writing and early fictional accounts by Japanese American authors. This article demonstrates that cross-dressing originates in moments of personal crisis and that its practice is sustained by the anxiety of cultural dislocation. The parallel identified between *The Pillow Book* and *The American Diary*—both texts largely ignored by academia—promises to clarify further early Japanese immigrants' experimentation with their bodies, citizenship, and other markers of identity to create a Japanese *American* subjectivity.

Economic Development at the Cost of Indigenous Land

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The notion of economic development has affected the general welfare of indigenous groups worldwide. The major conflict has been on land ownership claims on which they have occupied for many years and government quest to bring about economic development. The indigenous groups have struggled to retain their lands despite appealing to both customary and international laws. The paper argues as to whether customary law and international law are vital sources for indigenous land claims. It also presents empirical cases to land claims while making these arguments within the context of economic development.

Ethnicity and Financial Exclusion: How Fringe Banking has taken hold in Ethnic and Immigrant Neighborhoods

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The latest FDIC survey (2012) on Americans excluded from regular banking services reported that between 8% and 20% of American households have either little or no relationship with a bank, savings institution, credit union, or other mainstream financial service providers. The only option for these customers, many of whom are ethnic minorities and immigrant communities, is to turn to AFS – Alternative Financial Services—the official name of fringe banking. Fringe banks like Ace Cash Express, EZLoans, or Mr. Payroll deliberately target the low- to moderate-income inner-city residents, often because these neighborhoods have become deserted by regular banks, making it difficult for these groups to apply for loans, credit cards, and mortgages. The American banking industry has indeed become polarized between banks in the top tier of the system who cater to the wealthier and less risky customers located in the affluent suburbs, and a market of second and third tier outlets, ranging from pawnshops and payday lenders to check-cashing outlets and cash-and-carry agencies. These outlets practice usurious interest rates and are booming today in the wake of the recent financial meltdown.

Keywords: credit, fringe banking, payday lending, pawnshop, ethnicity, financial exclusion, discrimination, redlining

Aesthetic and Social Community: Multicultural Poetry and the Anthologizing of Poems

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Scholars from various disciplines have explored the concept of multiculturalism from the perspectives of citizenship, recognition, representation, tokenism, constitutionalism, and other vantage points, with politics and education receiving most of the attention.[1] While many efforts have been made to explore these aspects of multiculturalism, its significance in poetry, particularly in poetry's composition and critique, has not been duly taken into account. Multicultural poetry designates a critical abstraction in which poetry is classified by relation to a communal culture, history, or customs. In this definition, multicultural poetry is therefore inclusive of poetry written by ethnic minorities, women, non-mainstream religious practitioners, and members of other communities. To maintain a focus, this article delimits its discussion to poetry's relationship with ethnicity

and probes the interplay between aesthetic and ethnicity in three sections—Mainstream Poetry Anthologies: Tastes, Schools, and the Issue of History, Multicultural Poetry Anthologies: Situated Poetry and Group Poetics, and Ethnopoetics as a Choice. This article suggests that ethnopoetics, or ethnic group poetics, is a choice of the literary and social communities engaged in artistic creation. Moreover, this article argues that multicultural poetry makes revolutionary changes to the definitions of "aesthetic" and of "poetry."

ARTICLES

PEDAGOGIES OF RACE: THE POLITICS OF WHITENESS IN AN AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDIES COURSE

Regina V. Jones
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> . . .the habit of ignoring race is understood to be a graceful, even generous, liberal gesture. To notice is to recognize an already discredited difference. To enforce its invisibility through silence is to allow the black body a shadowless participation in the dominant cultural body.
>
> Toni Morrison

Since the election of President Obama I have received an increase in color-blind assertions from some students who argue that race is no longer an issue. Hence, we are all alike. When I begin to discuss institutional racism I am told that they "young folk" do not recognize racism and have friends from a variety of ethnicities. My courses focus less on individualized racism and more on the systemic nature of racism. Convenient racial blindness is an expedient position for white students and other members of the dominant culture. Too many African American students are silent about or unaware of the dominant influence of white supremacy in scholarship and culture. According to some students racism is somehow a relic from the older generation which they refuse to dust-off. Ironically, my students seem to find racial discourse a repugnant African American studies course exercise in a university, where the majority of the students are white, working to middle-class, who commute to a socioeconomic and racially segregated area in Midwestern urban area USA. Morrison's opening epigraph generally encapsulates my classroom experience from many white students in my courses who are ignorant or prefer to be silent about broader racial issues facing people of color. I have had a few white students tell me that coming to the university provided them their first up-close experience interacting with African Americans. The putative nature of racism in American society suggests that many white students rarely had, or have, to be cognizant about issues of privilege and what it means to be white in America. Yet,

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the inveterate practice of systemic racism reinforces an alterity concerning people of color, simultaneously granting a sociopolitical impunity for whites who can justify or ignore the cruel tyrannies visited on oppressed sectors. In the following paragraphs, I introduce a framework to guide a researcher in a pedagogical process of opening discussion about race and racism in a classroom where white students predominate and many are uncomfortable participating in dialogue about race at least when led by an African American woman. This framework rejects practices where an instructor attempts to detach or make invisible her/his racial and cultural positions which generally become apparent to those who listen during lecture.

When the subject of racism is introduced students want to assure themselves, others in the class, and their black woman instructor about their friendships with other people of color, if white, or with whites, if they are people of color, and each other. Hence in their circle of friends the color of one's skin is meaningless. I appear to be the race ogre forcing their recognition of race and racism as experienced by people of color. As a black woman instructor I am aware of perceptions and reactions of students to me as a facilitator and the annoyance and discomfort of the subject matter for some students. Who and what I am and do has an impact on the tone and direction of students during the semester. Regardless of the content area professors of color are received quite differently than white males and in some cases white females. There are a number of studies—psychological, sociological, and educational—indicating that black women in higher education are viewed as less positive and less competent (Parks and Kennedy 2007, Jones 2004, Harlow 2003, Gasman 2009, Milner 2007, E. B. Brown 2008, L. Brown 2008, Ransby 2008). Often when race, racism, or gender are the subjects for discussion black women are disregarded as conversant because our statements, insights, and responses are dismissed as angry and confrontational despite our education, scholarship and epistemologies (Fordham 1993, Milner 2007, Lorde 1984). Some students seem annoyed that I continue discussions focusing on race in a course where African American is part of the title. It is frustrating for a facilitator to be stereotyped and dismissed by the participants. However, as poet, feminist, critic Audre Lorde (1984, 118) observed "refusing to see difference makes it impossible to see the different problems and pitfalls facing us." In their ethnographic study of eighteen feminist college professors about meaningful dialogues about race and gender Maher and Tetreault (1993) indicate "the race and gender of the teacher, as well as the make-up of the class, will affect the intellectual focus; in our observation, the class which included a majority of students of color and had an African-American teacher fostered different dialogues about race and racism than one that was predominantly

white." Lorde (1984, 124) asserted "Women responding to racism means women responding to anger; the anger of exclusion, of unquestioned privilege, of racial distortions, of silence, ill-use, stereotyping, defensiveness, misnaming, betrayal, and co-optation." Race—like class and gender—is a social and cultural construct, not a biological fact, used to misrepresent, exploit, degrade, silence and dehumanize people of color concurrently its construction reinforces white supremacist practices; racism, likewise, is a consciousness where one must be persistent to end its ever present grasp.

Historian Leslie Brown finds that "education and the academy have changed dramatically since the 1960s, but they have not been transformed" (2008, 267). As mentioned previously a black woman's experience in the academy is quite different than a white male's. This point is also vividly illustrated by Roxanna Harlow in her study on the effect of race on college professors' experiences and emotions where she reveals that "76 percent of the black professors reported that students questioned their competency, qualifications, and credibility" (2003, 352)[1]. Significantly, she reports "most white professors did not mention challenges to their competency, an indication that they did not need to constantly prove and project intellectual authority" (359-360). Harlow stresses that the label of 'angry black woman' is a perception of black women who spend time doing serious work in the classroom and not living up to the expectation of being a "motherly" figure; consequently, "students may interpret their seriousness or businesslike approach within the framework of stereotypical images of black femininity: that is, that black women are angry and have an attitude" (2003, 357). Being categorized as "angry" by students is an antagonism that I have had to face as a knowledgeable speaking black woman and I understand that it is also an attempt to silence or discredit issues relative to an accepted understanding of history, culture and identity. A woman of color must anticipate resistance and on occasion hostility from students. Students need to know that "people of color are not white people with pigmented or colored skin" (Milner 2007, 389).

My courses satisfy a cultural requirement for graduation but they are not required. They may be the last time that some white students publicly address issues of race and racism directly, with individuals to whom they are unrelated and socially unfamiliar, so it is important that

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[1] Black women's experiences in the academy is discussed by many scholars: Elsa Barkley Brown, "Bodies of history," *Telling Histories: Black Women's Historians in the Ivory Tower,* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2008): 215-227. Barbara Ransby, "Dancing on the Edges of History, but Never dancing Alone," *Telling Histories: Black Women's Historians in the Ivory Tower,* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 2008): 240-251. Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*, (New York: Routledge, 2000).

they do so through class participation and in writing. Students must be active participants in their learning; to that end their voices need to be heard. "Working with white students on unlearning racism," bell hooks maintains "one of the principles we strive to embody is the value of risk, honoring the fact that we may learn and grow in circumstances where we do not feel safe, that the presence of conflict is not necessarily negative but rather its meaning is determined by how we cope with that conflict" (2003, 64). A classroom discussion concerning race and racism make some students uncomfortable perhaps boxed in and confined within the boundaries of racial propriety unable to articulate issues associated with race, racism and what it means to be anti-racist. In an attempt to alleviate a sense of captivity and establish a sense of community among all members of the class on the first day I greet them individually and have students activate their voices in small groups, immediately. Personal interaction helps establish a level of comfort and trust among other members in our learning community. By the time we become involved in readings and dialogues about race many students—of color and white—reveal racist or prejudicial beliefs and comments made in their communities or by family members. A student once announced that her father had been an office holding member of a KKK organization in state when she was a child. Students often feel the need to discuss individual rather than the systemic or institutional levels of race and racism.

To move beyond the "we are all the same" classroom didactic offered by some students, regarding race and racism, I prohibit the "liberal gesture" of ignoring race and use African American literature and critical race theory specifically focusing on the pedagogies of whiteness to enable frank discussions about race and the systemic nature of racism in our country and culture. To discuss race is risky and uncomfortable for many, perhaps most, of the participants. The academic practice of color-blind and culture-blind approaches "can potentially lead to the dangers of exploitation and misrepresentation of individuals and communities of color" (Milner 2007, 392). The un-naming or invisibility of whiteness appears to be a "gentlemen's agreement" to which our culture acquiesces. When the influence of whiteness is made visible it makes some students uncomfortable. Other women or men of color must be specified—African American, Arab, Asians, Latinas, American Indians, West Indians, East Indians, Blacks, etc. It is essential to expose the invisibility of whiteness—that whiteness is the standard and people of color must be ethnically identified in research, academia, politics, culture and so on.

In her research about the ideologies of invisibility Margaret L. Andersen demonstrates that "there is increased recognition of 'diversity in American society' and, yet there is also a persistent belief among privileged groups that race does not matter. This belief keeps people blind to

the continuing differences in power and privilege that characterize U.S. society, making it difficult to generate public support for programs designed to reduce inequality" (2001, 190). From a psychological perspective, researchers Elizabeth R. Cole and Abigail J. Stewart (2001) argue against the strength and centrality of difference between races and genders because one group is presumed to be superior or "normal" (294). They argue that ". . .research on differences [is] more likely to cause harm and produce distorted and partial findings,. . ." (295). Although he details how to discuss racial issues in a present-day classroom, Grant (2003) advises instructors that for some students who are uncomfortable with racial discourse ". . .strive to steer discussions away from differences to decrease emotional tensions within the classroom. Stressing commonalities tends to be beneficial to discussants, especially on matters of race, culture and religion." The kind gesture to avoid discussions of social injustice connected to race and racism depoliticizes and ignores white supremacy in favor of a romanticized social order that ignores the institutional degradations that people of color continue to suffer.

Sociologists Douglas Hartmann, Joseph Gerteis, and Paul R. Croll (2009, 404) ask the question "is whiteness in America as hidden as it would seem?" In their study, an assessment of whiteness theory, they maintain that whiteness is a position of privilege from where white folk look at themselves, others and society and it involves cultural practices "that are usually unmarked and unnamed" (406). When it comes to the sociopolitical environment—in employment, education, housing, and finances, for example—white privilege is invisible. In other words, whiteness is the norm people of color are expected to meet in mainstream North American society where underlying stratums operate to disempower them. Ideally in mainstream society, where diversity is the exterior ideal, meritocracy is the way individuals rise through the ranks. Yet, when it comes to employment the ability to network and be familiar with individuals in professions can determine, in some cases, who gets hired. Hence, achievement is sometimes overlooked because "it's not what you know but who you know." As they go about their day-to-day activities whites, generally, do not have to think about race. People of color are made to be cognizant of race. In the classroom, students seldom ponder the disparity and discrimination of the public educational systems. In my Midwestern urban commuter university the majority of students are white and, the majority of students matriculating in area city grade schools are African American who will probably never sit as university students because of a segregated underperforming educational system.

Generally, when students think about African American studies, Chicano studies, American Indian studies, Asian American studies, they

may think of victims or exceptional people of color who seem to make important cameo appearances in history while often seemingly being subordinate to the larger historic events. Such haphazard placements in history or literature too often fail to detail how they have influenced and contributed to history, literature, politics, business, social justice and so on. Moreover "individuals from various racial and ethnic backgrounds may find it difficult to even recognize the salience, permanence, effects, and outcomes of racism because race and racism are so deeply rooted and embedded in our ways and systems of knowing and experiencing life" (Milner 2007, 390). Although we celebrate Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Day as a national holiday many students only know King from his "I Have A Dream" speech and the fact he was assassinated. Too many students, for example, have told me that "I Have a Dream" is the extent of what they were taught in grade school regarding Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. However, to understand the positioning and achievements of people of color one needs to see the animus of whiteness; in other words, the acceptance of its sociopolitical influence while simultaneously being invisible to those influenced by it. Students reading Frederick Douglass' 1845/2002 *Narrative*, wanted to concentrate on Douglass' coming of age and overcoming the odds where the other enslaved folk were just accepting of their conditions. For many, Douglass' enslavement like those of other blacks in his narrative was just an accepted part of our history and certainly something that is unacceptable today. To open discussions about race I introduce the sociological perspective of whiteness theory.

Building on the pioneering work of Ruth Frankenberg, sociological researchers Hartmann, Gerteis and Croll (2009, 406) created research based on three measurements that also represent the core assumptions of the field: "'whiteness' is a location of structural advantage, of race privilege, "second, it is a 'standpoint,' a place from which white people look at themselves and others, and at society. Third and most importantly, 'whiteness' refers to a set of cultural practices that are usually unmarked and unnamed." For many students there appears to be incredulity attached to studying race—they would much prefer to focus on related issues of gender, class or any other "isms" rather than race. Racial issues, as applied to people of color, are sometimes dismissed as simply identity or victim politics. Frederick Douglass was born enslaved but he fought and escaped his bondage; he made a choice and somehow white patriarchy is perceived as having had limited influence, for some students. However, when color-blind ideology is presented with the prominence of white privilege in conjunction to the terrorisms of antebellum slavery discussions often white students move to the "wouldn't you admit things *have* changed" (for African Americans)? Clearly, looking for a positive response we have moved away from "we are all the same."

"Whites may be able to see and understand the ways that blacks and others have been disadvantaged by the racial system, but they tend instead to attribute their own success to individual effort and hard work"—meritocracy. (Hartmann, Gerteis and Croll 2009, 408). For a more effective pedagogical framework and to ease tension and reinforce the invisibility of whiteness we continue with our critical discussion of historical literature.

For many students Frederick Douglass' 1845 *Narrative* is their first experience reading a complete historical document written by a formerly enslaved individual. Douglass craves literacy, an end to his brutal enslavement, and offers an eloquently detailed description of his barbaric reality of growing into manhood during antebellum slavery. Although most students read it with early twenty-first century stereotyped sensibilities they are quite comfortable discussing what they see as the simple motivations and mind sets of the black enslaved and white enslavers. The enslaved, regardless of gender, are perceived as compliant, docile, ignorant, victims who haplessly accepted their servile fate while enslavers are viewed as cruel, southern masculine beings who followed the dictates of their sociopolitical environments. The enslaved are generally viewed by most members of the class as tragic black victims who accepted their fate not at all resistant to their oppression or oppressors. The general rule of thumb seemed to be that without collective armed struggle, or some continued physical uprising the enslaved recognized and accepted their fate. To encourage critical scrutiny, I asked if students think the enslaving whites saw themselves as evil/bad individuals? Overwhelmingly, most of the white students saw them as products of their environment—there was one white, female student who adamantly refused to go along with such a justification, maintaining they were well aware that they were benefiting from and abusing human beings. The reason for this question is one that I will return to later. During the semester each student is required to ask at minimum six thought provoking questions that has to do with race, gender, class or their intersections—questions that are not clearly answered in our texts. Through Douglass' eyes students embrace and feel redemption for the "angelic" character, Sophia Auld, who begins to instruct him about the alphabet. In that instance, folk view Auld as bravely embodying heroic characteristics by turning her back on laws against teaching slaves to read, seeing young Douglass as brute property, and in general the dehumanization of the institution of slavery by granting him fundamental tools for freedom. When she is discovered by her husband and he explains the dangers of literacy for a slave and an enslaver she immediately stops and appears to feel betrayed by young Douglass. Yet, in that seminal moment as Douglass listens to her husband detail why literacy will forever unfit slaves for bondage he "understood the pathway

from slavery to freedom" (Douglass 2002, 364). Auld would be a truly heroic character if after she understood the magnitude of her act she continued to defy her husband and society by continuing to teach Douglass rather than becoming irritated and vigilant trying to make sure he curtailed all literary pursuits. Douglass' eloquence causes some students to have a difficult time imagining him as property. Although he is articulate some students assume aspects regarding the ethnicity of unnamed individuals. Students identify with particular characters but in doing so they often posit racial and class qualities.

As an escaped fugitive, Douglass (1845/2002) thanks abolitionists Mr. David Ruggles and Reverend James W. C. Pennington, for example. An appreciative Douglass (1845/2002) writes, "I was relieved . . . by the humane hand of Mr. David Ruggles, whose vigilance, kindness, and perseverance, I shall never forget. I am glad of an opportunity to express, as far as words can, the love and gratitude I bear him" (423). The commonly accepted assumption was that the established, literate, resistant and revered Ruggles and Pennington were white males according to their magnanimous gestures and abolitionist politics. One white (graduate) student who prepared a power point presentation on that specific portion of the *Narrative* identified the men as white and obviously thought that there was no need to explore their race. Their confidence and status as men and prominent members of society meant they were white males, at least in the mind of this student and apparently the rest of the class. Douglass did not identify Ruggles and Pennington as black, Negro or other and this becomes a complicated aspect of the invisibility of whiteness; the assumption here was that the abolitionists lived lives of advantage and were generally believed to be Northern whites by many students. Scholastically the unwritten rule (gentlemen's agreement) when discussing, writing or documenting people of color in any form (oral or written) is that they must be identified unlike whites who are considered the standard/invisible. Consequently, "whites' racial identities tend to be less visible than those of individuals from other racial groups, and whites are less likely to see ways that they have been actively advantaged by being white" (Hartmann, Gerteis and Croll 2009, 405). This position was accepted, by a show of silence, by the remaining members of the class and not wanting to discredit the student's work I waited until the next session to discuss the accomplishment of the two men and offer a brief power point presentation with their images attached. The student presenter who had been rather vocal up to that point during the semester afterward was reluctant to speak during class sessions. Such moments become key in exposing biases and critical instincts not just for the individual presenting the material but all members of the learning community who consciously or unconsciously accept, in this case, that action,

kindness, bravery and class placement, are indicative of a particular race. The classroom incident occurred, I believe, because Douglass (1845/ 2002) revered and complimented the men, as leaders, without specifying or qualifying them as Negro, black, or colored.

The influence of epistemological racism is just as apparent in the comments of African American students. Black and Latina students are more often eager to discuss race and racism perhaps because they are more accustomed to its' practice and comfortable with an African American woman facilitating the class. In a discussion of Pauline Hopkins serialized novel, *Hagar's Daughter*, a black female student instinctively and comfortably characterizes two of the mulatto characters (Aurelia and Jewel) as having "good hair." Although "good hair" is a common description in the black community it can be confusing to others. Further, if there is "good hair" one can surmise its antithesis exists. The student defined "good hair" as "hair like white peoples'—straight." Afterward I pointed out, that hair is a delicate issue for many black women.[2] "Indeed, black women's ideas about hair represent how they negotiate complex identity politics" (Banks 11). What is invisible in this hairy cultural sidebar is the Euro-American influence on beauty norms; when it comes to natural/beautiful hair it should offer no resistance or curl and flow and women get added points for blonde hair. Hence "bad hair," according to dominant culture, is the natural short, dark, course, kinky, nappy, or braided hair of black women. On April 4, 2007 on the *Imus in the Morning Show*, Imus referred to the Rutgers University women basketball players, on air, as "nappy headed ho's" and the insult was continued by sports announcer Sid Rosenberg who commented "The more I look at Rutgers, they look exactly like the Toronto Raptors" [a men's basketball team] (Chiachiere 2007). One is taken aback by how comfortable the white men were in offering their crude public observations of the young African-American women athletes. Nevertheless, that easy outburst characterizes the disdain that black girls and women face daily and substantiates why a young black woman would characterize hair as "good" or "bad." The majority of the white students were baffled about "good hair" and unaware of the painful reality that many black women face in a culture that embraces and normalized white standards of beauty—that is an issue for another semester. Systems of domination make it acceptable

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[2] There are a number of books examining relationship of black women to their hair and beauty: Ingrid Banks, *Hair Matters: Beauty, Power, and Black Women's Consciousness* (New York: New York Univ. Press, 2000); Ayana D. Byrd and Lori L. Tharps, *Hair Story: Untangling the Roots of Black Hair in America.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001); Tiffany M. Gill, *Beauty Shop Politics: African American Women's Activism in the Beauty Industry.* (Illinois: Univ. of Illinois Press, 2010); Althea Prince, *The Politics of Black Women's Hair.* (Canada: Insomniac Press, 2009); Susannah Walker, *Style and Status: Selling Beauty to African American Women, 1920-1975.* (Kentucky: Univ. Press of Kentucky, 2007).

to promote long, blonde, straight hair as sexy or beautiful and kinky or course hair as ugly; and also make white men feel comfortable enough to publically denounce African American female college athletes as "ho's" or masculine. These are not just thoughtless public descriptions or badly behaved white men but manifestations of civilizational racism.[3] In 2011, Japanese evolutionary psychologist Dr. Satoshi Kanazawa's online *Psychology Today* article maintained that blacks have more testosterone and thus black women are less attractive than other women (Lennard).

Good hair versus bad hair, laudable characters assumed to be white, possessors of beauty, or beliefs that generally it is whites who encouraged the helpless and downtrodden people of color typify the beliefs of many students and are examples of the invisibility of whiteness in American culture. There is an unspoken racial ranking/perception that influences most students. Students will not recognize the privileging and invisibility of whiteness as a problem if they are not made aware of it. Legal scholar Patricia J. Williams (1995, 18) writes: "it is useful to attempt to unravel the degree to which powerful negative stereotypes of race and gender play against one another, first in negotiating the subtle, sometimes nearly invisible boundaries of social life, of citizenship, and of entitlement; and then, ultimately, in dictating the very visible limits of the law itself." Students' responses are mixed and after class many students confess a variety of incidents where they witnessed racist actions at work. One reoccurring in-class narrative usually conveyed by white female students who waitress and are characterized as racist by black patron(s) or employee(s) unjustifiably, they believe. After they tell their side of an event it appears they want me to tell them that they are not racist. In a discussion about the outcomes of 1954 court case Brown v. Board of Education, on race, and universities Williams (1995) remembers:

> It's hard not to be defensive, of course—talking about race in any other posture is extremely difficult. I recently guest-lectured in the class of a constitutional law professor who was teaching disparate impact cases (cases that consider what if any remedies might correct the racially disparate impact of rules that on their face are race-neutral). As I spoke about shifting demographics and the phenomenon of "white flight," the class grew restless, the students flipping pages of newspapers and otherwise

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[3] The racial politics of beauty is analyzed by Victoria M. Bañales, "'The Face Value of Dreams': Gender, Race, Class and the Politics of Cosmetic Surgery," *Beyond the Frame: Women of Color and Visual Representation,* (New York: Palgrave 2005): 131-152 and Naomi Wolf, *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty are Used Against Women,* (New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1991).

> evidencing disrespect. Afterward, the two or three black students congratulated me for speaking so straightforwardly, and for using the words "black" and "white." I later asked the professor: How is it possible to teach cases about racial discrimination without mentioning race? "I just teach the neutral principles," he replied; "I don't want to risk upsetting the black students." (And yet it was clear that those most upset were the white students.) (36).

The praxis of "neutral principles" is another example of invisibility of whiteness and how the institutionalization of racism is able to continue systemically—it is not clearly addressed in schools or classrooms. One of the reasons it is not addressed in schools is because many educators do not want to acknowledge the sociopolitical norm of "whiteness" and its concomitant relation to privilege and oppression.

In Richard Wright's (1966) novel, *Native Son,* Bigger Thomas intentionally murders his black girlfriend Bessie Mears and not white Mary Dalton, whom he kills accidently. The in-class discussions always centered on Bigger's brutal slaying of Mary rather than his heartless assassination of Bessie. Bigger was viewed as a victim of society from the slums through an existentialist lens. Likewise Bigger's misogynistic violence and subsequent punishment clearly established whose body and "shadowless" corpse embodied power; which Wright performs for a reader when Bessie's corpse is brought into court as evidence to support his conviction of Mary's murder. Both the fictional Bigger (Wright 1966) and the actual Douglass (2002) are viewed as unfortunate and fortunate blacks who made choices in tough situations while whites are decent hardworking individuals who do not make the rules just live by them and succeed. Some want to view the conditions of Douglass (1845/ 2002) or Thomas (Wright 1966) as self-created. The involvement of whites becomes minimal unless they can be seen as heroic and embraceable or resolute villains easily discarded without the collective white race being implicated in their actions. This view is also reinforced with a tradition of Hollywood cinema and television where whites save downtrodden people of color or are assisted by faithful companions of color— *Dances With Wolves* (1990), *The Last Samurai* (2003), *The Lone Ranger* (television series 1949-1957), *The Green Hornet* (television series 1966-1967), *Tarzan* (1920s-2000s)—or white women using educational expertise and innocence to reach resistant/victimized underprivileged students of color in ghetto schools—*Up The Down Staircase* (1967), *Dangerous Minds* (1995), and *Freedom Writers* (2007). Courage, morality, strength, and intellect are attributes of white heroes and heroines on the large and small screen who demonstrate to people of color and global audiences

how to triumph in dangerous situations. People of color can provide support and be co-stars who follow the lead of white heroines and heroes. Such visual scenarios entertain and inform global audiences about race in America and more specifically the socioeconomic and psychological environment of people of color. Rarely are stories globally promoted from a heroic point of view from American people of color.[4] The character Bigger Thomas, for some, becomes a typical image of a young African American male.

While folk could debate the racist influence involved in Bigger's violence, community and family; he is the villain because of his violent acts. Incidental to Bigger and his community is white privilege which we never directly discussed in class. In "How 'Bigger' Was Born" Wright (1966) finds "the Bigger Thomases were the only Negroes I know of who consistently violated the Jim Crow laws of the South and got away with it, at least for a sweet brief spell. Eventually, the whites who restricted their lives made them pay a terrible price. They were shot, hanged, maimed, lynched, and generally hounded until they were either dead or their spirits broken" (xi). One's initial view of Bigger has to do with the intersection one's race, gender, class and age. When students set their sights on discussing people of color from the "victim" position there appears to be a clear separation or invisibility related to the influence of white privilege. It is important to acknowledge the prodigious influence of white supremacy what it means to be white and put whiteness in an historic and sociopolitical academic frame—what some researchers refer to as "whiteness theory" (Hartmann, Gerteis and Croll, Andersen 2001, Maher and Tetreault 1993, Milner 2007). A simultaneous understanding of the prevalence of white supremacy can offer another consideration or view of people of color. Wright (1966) contrasts the underprivileged black Thomas family with affluent white Dalton family. Students will point out racist characters or actions and ignore how racism operates institutionally. Wright (1966) describes Bigger as a "product of a dislocated society; he is a dispossessed and disinherited man; he is all of this, and he lives amid the greatest possible plenty on earth and he is looking and feeling for a way out" (xx). Some students are able to clearly see Bigger as violent and victim but not see systems of domination that dispossessed and disinherited him.

As a black woman some of my color blind students feel the need to critique me as fair, at the end of the semester—how many of my white

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4 The wide ranging impact of the racist portrayal of people of color in media are detailed in: Clint C. Wilson II, Félix Gutiérrez and Lena M. Chao, *Racism, Sexism and the Media: The Rise of Class Communication in Multicultural America,* 3rd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2003); and in studies edited by Darnell M. Hunt, *Channeling Blackness: Studies on Television and Race in American* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2005).

male colleagues are rated on fairness? Previously I asked students if they thought enslavers were evil/bad? As mentioned previously, without hesitation students offer their insights and explain why. Looking at the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s white students have a clear response about the behavior of whites during that time frame. However, when it comes to systemic racism today in education, labor, legal system, hiring practices, business, and so on they want to disregard what people of color are saying and maintain that "things" are getting better. Of course the riposte is "for whom?"

The insistence that "things" are getting better reminds me Martin Luther King, Jr.'s (1963) "Letter from a Birmingham Jail." He addressed it to southern religious leaders who believed King and the other protesters were "extremists" who pushed too hard to abolish racial segregation and needed to be patient—just "wait." He hoped that they would understand the plight of the Negro, and informed them "we who engage in nonviolent direct action are not the creators of tension. We merely bring to the surface the hidden tension that is already alive" (King 1963). It is my goal to bring to the surface the invisibility of whiteness and the impact of systemic racism on people of color.

The Departments of Justice and Education, on December 2, 2011, issued new guidelines charging educators to be creative in finding ways ". . .to reduce racial segregation, which has been increasing nationwide" (Dillon 2011, A1) . Attorney General Eric H. Holder affirms "diverse learning environments promote development of analytical skills, dismantle stereotypes and prepare students to succeed in an increasingly interconnected world" (Dillon 2011, A1). In some diverse learning environments underrepresented students empirical knowledge is too often disregarded, rendering them voiceless, because it does not coincide with the norm that is being represented. For example, in a course where students were being told how women during World War II began to work outside the home a black female student interjected that black women have labored continuously in this country. Curtly her white male professor responded "I was talking about white women." This insensitive response is another reason why white students and students of color need ethnic studies courses. What other academic venue regularly articulates, recognizes and legitimizes the histories, literatures, cultures, and challenges that people of color continue to face here and globally.

Students from under-represented groups as well as those from the dominant culture are somehow encouraged to view ethnic studies or courses that focus on people of color as subversive, less academic, involving lower academic expectations, an easy 'A,' a liberal venue where people of color with un-American sensibilities can whine or complain about the problems of America, or having limited significance to later

professional positions. In an extreme 2010 case, Arizona state schools chief Tom Horne was successful in outlawing ethnic studies after Arizona Governor Jan Brewer signed into law an ethnic studies ban. Horne believed "ethnic chauvinism" was being promoted in a Tucson school district where the Mexican-American studies program that taught "Latino students that they are oppressed by white people. Public schools should not be encouraging students to resent a particular race, he said" (Cooper 2010). The influence of white supremacy is apparent in the governor's act and Horne's statement. Nevertheless, 56 percent of the school population in question is made up of Hispanic grade school students (Cooper 2010). Arizona law seems to be an ideal example of critical race theory—"that the people who expressed the law had their own subjective perspectives that, once enshrined in law, have disadvantaged minorities and caused to continue racism" (legal definition). Students and the general population must push the boundaries of propriety and discuss the reality of how race and racism continue to impact the lives of all individuals in the United States.

There is a Kenyan proverb that states "Until the lions have their own historian, the tale of the hunt will always glorify the hunter" (Leslau 1985). For people of color American public educational institutions continue to convey a blatantly biased history that ignores, misrepresents, snubs and discounts people of color while consistently and subtly privileging white supremacy. "Racial discrimination is powerful precisely because of its frequent invisibility, its felt neutrality. After all, the original sense of discrimination was one of discernment, of refinement of choice, of value judgment—the courteous deflection to the noble rather than the base" (Williams 1995, 107). Williams finds "racism inscribes culture with generalized preferences and routinized notions of propriety. It is aspiration as much as condemnation; it is an aesthetic. It empowers the familiarity and comfort of the status quo by labeling that status quo 'natural'" (107). When students refuse to acknowledge racial differences we fail to understand more intimate forms of our culture, our history, our knowledge, our communities our world and ourselves. To avoid discussions of racial difference and reinforce a classroom world where only commonalities is an idealistic approach to our current existence is impracticable. To allow such passivity in a classroom, particularly in an ethnic studies course, is to deny the continued systemic impact and presence of racism, sexism, classism and other systems of domination woven throughout our social and political systems.

I want to awaken students to a link between the searing pains of racism found in the literature of nineteenth and twentieth centuries to the harsh realities of racism in twenty-first century America where, hopefully, students will become agents for change, or at minimum they ac-

tively recognize institutional racism. The housing market collapse began in poor black and Latino communities and had a great impact on women.[5] Awareness of ethnic studies and the impact of white supremacy on our culture and in our history could, in an ideal world, prevent future bankers from targeting people of color and women for financial failure, stop educators and bureaucrats from outlawing ethnic studies because whites are not portrayed as heroes, or stop a company from succumbing to the whims of small group who do not want to see a reality show featuring Arab Americans.

The Euro-American experience in many American classrooms is a standard that converts people of color into exceptional visible participants or victims in history, culture, literature and so on. Making people of color visible when it comes to studies about urban violence, welfare violations, illegal aliens, crime, for example, is a standard that contributes to many students' views that race is a subject to be avoided. "The assumption that 'whiteness' encompasses that which is universal, and therefore for everybody, while 'blackness' is specific, and therefore 'for colored only,' is white-supremacist thought. And yet many liberal people, along with their more conservative peers, think this way not because they are 'bad' people or are consciously choosing to be racist but because they have unconsciously learned to think in this manner" (hooks 2003, 39). There continues to be a common level of discomfort when discussing race in the classroom. Nevertheless, my major semester goal is for students to recognize, acknowledge and give voice to the existence and meaning of whiteness just as people of color are recognized and identified. Every individual should know that, much like the literature we read, race and racism continues to be a systemic twenty-first century problem, one that is harmful to all people.

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[5] Facts about the banks and mortgage companies complicity in the mortgage crisis and personal stories regarding the impact of the recent mortgage disaster on women and people of color can be found in Anita Hill, *Reimagining Equality: Stories of gender, race, and finding home,* (New York: Beacon Press, 2012).

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SOCIAL DISTANCES OF WHITES TO RACIAL OR ETHNIC MINORITIES[1]

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Social distance has been studied by researchers since Emory Bogardus (1925) first developed the social distance scale almost nine decades ago. Social distance refers to "the grades and degrees of understanding and intimacy which characterize pre-social and social relations generally" (Park 1924). As social distance increases, people tend to distance themselves from members of another racial or ethnic group or exclude them from their lives (Yancey 2003). An examination of social distances between different racial or ethnic groups in the United States can help better understand racial and ethnic relations, conflict, cooperation, and alliance.

Previous research on social distance almost exclusively focuses on the social distance between blacks and whites. Results are mixed. Often based on indirect measures of social distance, many studies suggest that the social distance of whites to African Americans has decreased over time, even though ethnic prejudice has not vanished (e.g., Firebaugh and Davis 1988; Schuman et al. 1997; Steeh and Schuman 1992). Today whites are more willing to live in the same neighborhood with African Americans, to accept interracial marriage, to report having a black person as a close friend, and to vote for a black president (Alba, Rumbaut, and Marotz 2005; Healey 2004; Jaynes and Williams 2000; Ladd 2002; Yancey 1999). Findings from existing studies indicate improvements in school and residential integration of blacks. For example, the percentage of whites who object to sending their children to schools where the majority of students were black decreased from 67 percent in 1958 to 34 percent in 1990; the percentage of whites who would definitely move out if blacks moved into their neighborhood in great numbers also declined from 50 percent in 1958 to 18 percent in 1990 (Schuman et al. 1997). Steeh and Schuman (1992) reported that over the last 25 years, white adults "have become steadily more supportive of black advancement on

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most, although not all, issues" (340). However, "thermometer ratings," a direct measure of social distance developed by Schuman et al. (1997), contradicts claims that whites' social distance to blacks has gradually decreased. In Schuman et al.'s study, whites were asked to place African Americans on a scale from 0 to 100, indicating how "warm" or "cool" they feel toward them. Interestingly, scores about blacks have hardly varied over the past forty years. "The rating in 1964, when whites were first asked to rate blacks, was sixty, and in 1994 it was sixty-one" (Schuman et al. 1997: 187).

Despite the substantial increase in Hispanic and Asian populations in the United States, there is little research on social distances of whites to Hispanics or Asians. Consequently, there exists basically no direct evidence of social distances between whites and these two groups. A lack of knowledge about the social positions of non-black minorities prevents a fuller understanding of the social positions of not only non-blacks but also blacks (Yancey 2003).

Furthermore, there is a paucity of comparative analysis on the relative order of whites' social distances to racial or ethnic minorities using direct measures of social distance. Existing studies seem to point to the greatest social distance between whites and blacks. For instance, Yancey (2003) argued that "the possibility of assimilation, or a thinning of their racial identity, is stronger for Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans than for African Americans" (83). Blacks experience less assimilation "much more likely due to external rejection than to any internal preference for segregation" (Yancey 2003: 80). Studies of residential segregation (e.g., Massey and Denton 1987, 1993) have consistently found that black-white residential segregation is the highest, followed by Hispanic-white, and Asian-white segregation. Additionally, the composition of Asians and Hispanics in neighborhoods does not matter much to whites, but African American composition matters (Emerson, Chai and Yancey 2001). Statistics on interracial marriage suggest that whites tend to oppose marrying blacks, but are less concerned about marrying Asians or Hispanics (Yancey 2003). However, these existing studies do not employ a direct measure of social distance.

Additionally, there is inadequate research on what types of whites tend to keep a greater or smaller social distance to minority-groups. Whites "differ significantly in the ways that they think about and act toward these racial others" (Feagin and O'Brien 2004: 96). Socioeconomic status, region of residence, age, gender, and personal experience with a particular minority group are often identified or hypothesized as markers of whites associated with their social distances to minorities. Some studies maintain that white Southerners, older whites, and whites who have less contact with minority groups tend to be more prejudiced

and maintain a greater social distance to minorities (Brink and Harris 1966; Campbell 1971; Feagin and O'Brien 2004; Jaynes and Williams 2000; Schuman et al. 1997; Tuch and Martin 1997). But the effects of some other factors, such as gender and income, are less clear. There are other predictors of social distance that have not been explored.

In an effort to expand the existing literature, this study examines the relative order in social distances of whites to African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans by investigating how white Americans feel toward these three minority groups. The study attempts to answer two research questions: First, what are the differences between whites and major racial or ethnic minorities including African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans in social distance? Second, what kinds of whites are more likely to maintain a greater or smaller social distance to the three minority groups?

The next section reviews theoretical perspectives on group differences in social distance and proposes hypotheses to be tested. The description of the data and methods follows. Finally, results will be presented and discussed.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

Several theoretical perspectives are relevant to our understanding of social distances between whites and racial or ethnic minority groups. The assimilation theory proposed by Robert E. Park (1937), as well as its variant by Milton Gordon (1964), suggests that racial/ethnic relations go through progressive and irreversible cycles, eventually leading to the assimilation of minority groups into the mainstream culture and the disappearance of cultural and ethnic differences. As a result of diminished ethnic cultures, social distances of whites to racial and ethnic minorities should also decrease and eventually disappear.

The cultural pluralism perspective suggests relative equality between groups. Two distinct cultures are not expected to merge as assimilation theories predict, but rather remain distinct and coexistent (Yancey 2003; Yang 2000). This theory assumes that minority groups will preserve their own traditions, languages, customs, and lifestyles, while also sharing a number of traits with the dominant group (Herring and Amissah 1997; Patchen 1999; Yang 2000). According to this perspective, there should be no clear preferences by whites. Social distances between whites and all racial minority groups should be similar, and members of the dominant group supposedly feel favorably toward all minorities. Both the assimilation and cultural pluralism perspectives suggest that social distances of whites to minority groups either do not exist or are insignificant.

On the contrary, some theories argue for the inevitable existence of social distances of whites to racial or ethnic minority groups. The theory of caste system is one example. This theory analogizes race relations in the United States – especially relations between whites and blacks - to relations between different castes in India (Beteille 1990). Merton (1941) asserted that African Americans occupy the lowest social position and represent the lowest racial caste. European Americans, on the other hand, occupy the highest social position and constitute the highest racial caste. Along the line of the caste system perspective, Healey (2004) pointed to a great stability in rankings of different groups by whites. For decades, rankings remain as follows: groups from Northern and Western Europe tend to be ranked by whites as the highest, followed by groups from Southern and Eastern Europe, with other racial or ethnic minorities situated close to the bottom of the hierarchy. Similarly, James Geschwender (1978) introduced the "color-gradient" system. He stated that lighter-skinned groups are ranked higher and experience far less discrimination than members of darker-skinned groups. The color-gradient theory acknowledges the existence of social distances. In this study, Asian Americans are perceived as having lighter skin than Hispanics. Therefore, according to the system of color-gradient, whites should maintain the least social distance to Asians, followed by Hispanics and blacks.

Conflict theories are also pertinent to the analysis of social distance. These theories are based on the premise that "economic forces are at the root of ethnic antagonisms" (Herring and Amissah 1997: 125), suggesting that relations between different racial and ethnic groups are determined by subordination, exploitation, and resource inequalities (Herring and Amissah 1997). Conflict theories imply that social distances between whites and minority groups are greater than those between minority groups themselves. Furthermore, whites supposedly reject all minority groups and vice versa. Another perspective to consider is the alienation thesis. Glazer (1993) argued that assimilation does not happen equally for all groups, especially not for African Americans. Statistics of intermarriage and residential or school segregation support Glazer's claim that compared to Hispanics and Asians, blacks remain the least assimilated minority group. As a result, African Americans might be more alienated by the dominant group than other racial and ethnic groups. Similarly, according to Yancey (2003), the alienation suffered by African Americans is of a different level than alienation suffered by Hispanics and Asians. As a result, African Americans are destined to remain an "outcast race" (Yancey 2003: 13). The alienation thesis recognizes the existence of social distances and would predict smaller social dis-

tances between whites and non-black racial minorities and a greater so-
cial distance between whites and blacks.

   Rejecting the order-oriented theories and following the line of the
conflict-oriented theories, we argue that social distances exist between
whites and racial or ethnic minorities. Specifically, we hypothesize that
whites feel "coolest" toward African Americans, "warmest" toward
Asian Americans, and somewhat "warm" toward Hispanics. This hypoth-
esis is based on several considerations. One consideration is the prevail-
ing group image. Whites often refer to Asian Americans as "a model
minority" (Takaki 1989), which despite all prejudices and discrimination
succeeds economically, socially, and educationally (Schaeffer 2010).
This attitude supposedly contributes to a smaller social distance of whites
to Asians. Feagin and O'Brien (2004) asserted that whites often associate
Asian Americans with intelligence and education and deem both Asian
and Hispanic Americans as hard workers. This also indirectly implies
smaller social distances between these two groups and whites, compared
to blacks. In contrast, whites' negative perceptions of African Americans
tend to prevail, especially when it comes to socioeconomic success
(Bobo, Kluegel and Smith 1997). Whites tend to think of blacks as "less
intelligent, more violence prone, lazier, less patriotic, and more likely to
prefer living off welfare than whites" (Bobo and Kluegel 1997: 118).
Some researchers have concluded that while blacks are likely to be open
to interaction with other groups, "the desire for social distance from Afri-
can Americans is generally greater than the desire for social distance
from virtually all other groups on virtually all fronts" (Herring and Amis-
sah 1997: 142).

   Group conflict is another consideration. Historically, group conflict
between whites and blacks has been the most severe. Blacks were the
only minority group enslaved, and extensive discrimination against them
continued even after slavery was abolished. Frequently, white-black con-
flict is elevated to violent confrontation. Examples from the past are
lynching of blacks by whites after the Civil War and Reconstruction,
riots of white workers against blacks, or hostile sentiments through hate
speeches by Ku Klux Klan (Yang 2000). As a consequence of historical
events, there might be greater tension in the present relationship between
whites and blacks than between whites and Asians or Hispanics. Ethnic
conflict between whites and these latter two groups has been somehow
less severe.

   Furthermore, group differences in socioeconomic status can account
for variations in social distance. Based on the 2000 Population Census,
Asian Americans fared better in terms of all socio-economic indicators
than both Hispanics and blacks. Asians tended to have a higher level of
education (U.S. Census Bureau 2003a), a higher occupational status

(U.S. Census Bureau 2003b), a higher income (U.S. Census Bureau 2005), and a lower poverty and unemployment rate (U.S. Census Bureau 2003c). All of these reduce the social distance of whites to Asians.

The initial contact situation between different racial groups might have an influence on present social distances. Blauner (1972) distinguished between "most colonized" and "most immigrant" minorities. This perspective proposes that initial contact can have an impact on the contemporary situation of a particular group, with most colonized minorities currently having a more disadvantageous situation. According to Blauner's theory, Asians and Hispanics among the most immigrant minorities, and blacks are among the most colonized minorities, which could also account for the greater social distance between whites and blacks.

What kinds of whites are more likely to have a greater or smaller social distance to minority groups? We expect that whites with a higher socioeconomic status, such as a higher education, a higher occupational prestige score, and a higher family income, tend to maintain a smaller social distance with the minorities than whites with a lower socioeconomic status. According to Campbell (1971), intellectual growth contributes to more positive racial attitudes. Similarly, Noel (1971) argued that a higher education level is associated with a more liberal way of thinking. Weil (1985) pointed to the consistency of research in reporting the positive relationship between higher educational attainment and social or political tolerance. Schuman et al. (1997) found that education of whites has a significant effect on promoting liberal racial attitudes. If more educated whites are on average more liberal, they also might be less prejudiced and more likely to accept people of different races or ethnicities. Therefore, we hypothesize that more educated whites tend to maintain a smaller social distance with minorities than less educated whites. The higher level of education results in a better job and a higher occupational prestige. Therefore, the effect of occupational prestige on whites' social distances to minorities is anticipated to be the same as that of education.

Existing research presents inconclusive results regarding the effect of income on social distance. Campbell (1971) found very little variation in racial attitudes of whites with different income levels. According to Schuman et al. (1997), the impact of income level on racial attitudes toward blacks might vary with the kind of questions asked. For example, "higher income is positively related to willingness to vote for a black candidate, but it is negatively related to support for special programs to advance the economic position of blacks" (1997: 230). Assuming that higher income is associated with higher education, and higher education

with more liberal attitudes, it is anticipated that income is inversely related to the social distance of whites to minorities.

Some demographic characteristics of whites are expected to have an influence on social distances. One of these characteristics is gender. Few studies examined the effect of gender on racial attitudes. For example, Schuman et al. (1997) found that white women tend to be less conservative on most racial policy issues than white men, with the exception of more intimate racial contact, such as intermarriage or support for schools where the majority of students are black. Johnson and Marini (1998) concluded that white women are more likely to approve of interracial contact and consider it more desirable than white men. Therefore, it is anticipated that white men maintain a greater social distance from minorities than their female counterparts.

Self-employed whites are more likely to face competition from minority business owners than white employees. Asian Americans tend to be successful small-business owners (Schaefer 2010). The success of self-employed Asians presents potential economic competition with self-employed whites. According to Bobo and Hutchings (1996), in terms of economic and job competition, whites feel the most threatened by Asians, and the least by blacks. This leads to the expectation of a greater social distance between self-employed whites and minorities than that between white employees and minorities.

Noel (1971) argued that white Southerners are less liberal in their racial attitudes because their racial socialization is different from socialization of white non-Southerners. Middleton (1976) stated that in the 1960s, residents of the South were more prejudiced against blacks than those living in other regions, regardless of their psychological characteristics, socioeconomic status, and the degree of urbanization or ethnic composition of the region. According to Wilson (1996), the gap in racial and ethnic prejudice between Southern whites and whites in other regions has narrowed over time, but regional differences in white attitudes remain. The West, the Northeast, and to a lesser extent the Midwest, are more liberal than the South. Tuch and Martin (1997) found that Southern whites "are the least likely to endorse policies intended to ameliorate racial inequality" (1997: 173). This leads to our expectation that Southern whites tend to maintain greater social distances from minorities than whites living in other regions.

Protestantism, the most prevalent religion in the United States, reflects beliefs of the dominant group, which normally do not favor racial and ethnic differences. This is reflected by the religious affiliation of major racial and ethnic groups. With the exception of blacks, minorities tend to prefer religions other than dominant Protestantism. Hispanics are largely Catholics and Asians tend to be associated with Eastern religions.

Hence, we expect that white Protestants are more likely to have a greater social distance from minorities than white non-Protestants.

Whites born in the United States do not share immigration and naturalization experience with many Asians, Hispanics, and blacks who were born abroad. In addition, native-born whites tend to claim as just American, and they either lack an ethnic identity or practice symbolic ethnicity (Gans 1979; Waters 1990). As a result, they may be less sensitive to the diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds of minorities. In contrast, foreign-born whites are more likely to retain their ethnicity and practice their ethnic cultures. Thus, we hypothesize that U.S.-born whites maintain a greater social distance to minorities than foreign-born whites.

The Republican Party is often perceived as less favorable toward minorities on several social issues. Blacks largely identify with the Democratic Party, as do Hispanics, with the exception of Cubans. In the 1990s, Asians were more or less evenly divided between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party (Nakanishi 1991), but their political affiliation is currently shifting more toward the Democratic Party. Based on these political orientations, it is expected that white Republicans tend to maintain a greater social distance to minorities than white non-Republicans.

We hypothesize that younger generations of whites are more likely to maintain a smaller social distance to African Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanic Americans than earlier generations of whites. This pattern assumes progressive trends and a gradual decline in social distances of whites to all minorities over time (Schuman et al. 1997). Researchers often point to progress in racial attitudes of whites toward blacks (Campbell 1971; Firebaugh and Davis 1988; Schuman et al. 1997). Limited evidence exists in support of liberalization of whites' racial attitudes toward Asians and Hispanics. However, according to Wilson (1996), social distances of whites to these two minorities are also declining. While it is expected that whites' social distances to all minorities have decreased, the rates might vary across different groups. The decline in whites' social distance to blacks may be smaller than that to Asians or Hispanics.

DATA AND METHODS

Sample

Data from the 2002 General Social Survey (GSS) are used to test the proposed hypotheses, because the 2002 GSS is the only sample that contains information on social distances of whites to minorities. The analysis is restricted to white respondents only because the study focuses on social distances of white Americans to racial or ethnic minorities. In addition, only the respondents who provided valid responses to the de-

pendent variables on feelings toward racial/ethnic minorities (discussed below) are selected for analysis. The data were weighted so that only one adult per household was included in the sample. After the restrictions, the sample size is 1,851 for all three dependent variables.

The data set used in this analysis has several advantages. The 2002 GSS is a nationally representative sample of U.S. non-institutionalized, adult population aged 18 or over, and it allows for the generalization of findings to the U.S. population. To our knowledge, no other recent nationally representative sample provides information on social distances of whites to minorities, which makes this sample unique. In addition, it includes many demographic, socioeconomic, and attitudinal variables. The large sample size permits the use of many explanatory variables and insures the reliability of statistical estimates.

Despite these merits of our sample, some limitations should be acknowledged. Social distance can be measured by different indicators, but our sample only contains measures related to feelings toward racial or ethnic groups. Another limitation is the unavailability of some variables in this particular year, such as variables measuring direct contact between white Americans and minorities. These limitations notwithstanding, this large representative sample remains the best data set available to study social distances between white Americans and racial or ethnic minorities.

Variables and Measurements

Variables used in the analysis are summarized in Table 1. Means and standard deviations of the variables are included. Medians are included for ordinal variables. The three dependent variables used in this study are 9-point scale measures, indicating the differences in feelings of white Americans toward racial and ethnic minority groups (1 indicates feeling "warmest", and 9 feeling "coolest"). The dependent variables are based on the following three questions: "In general, how warm or cool do you feel toward African Americans?", "In general, how warm or cool do you feel toward Asian Americans?", and "In general, how warm or cool do you feel toward Hispanics?" No question about feelings toward Native Americans or Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islanders was asked in the GSS data; hence, we cannot examine feelings of whites toward these minority groups in this study.

Previous research indicates that most independent variables used in this study directly influence social distance. Several demographic variables are included in the analysis. Sex is a dummy variable with 1 indicating male and 0 female. Similarly, religion is a dummy variable with 1 for the designated category Protestant and 0 for the reference category non-Protestant. We used a set of dummy variables for region of respon-

TABLE 1
DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF VARIABLES USED IN THE
ANALYSIS, WHITE AMERICANS AGED 18 OR OVER,
2002 GSS

Variable	Mean	Median	S.D.
Dependent Variables			
Feelings toward African Americans (9-point scale)	3.62	4	1.96
Feelings toward Asian Americans (9-point scale)	3.67	4	1.96
Feelings toward Hispanic Americans (9-point scale)	3.59	4	2.01
Independent Variables			
Male	0.48	—	0.50
U.S. born	0.93	—	0.25
Self-employed	0.12	—	0.33
Protestant	0.51	—	0.50
Republican	0.34	—	0.47
Region			
South	0.31	—	0.46
Northeast	0.27	—	0.44
Midwest	0.21	—	0.40
West	0.21	—	0.41
Years of schooling	13.59	13.00	2.90
Occupational prestige score	44.49	44.00	13.85
Family income (23-point scale)	17.20	18.00	5.01
Generation			
G.I. Generation	0.14	—	0.34
Silent Generation	0.11	—	0.32
Baby Boomers	0.39	—	0.49
Generation X	0.23	—	0.42
Generation Y	0.13	—	0.33

S.D. – Standard Deviation

dents' residence – Northeast, West, and Midwest, with South as the reference category. Country of birth is dummy coded 1 for born in the United States and 0 for born outside the country. Socioeconomic characteristics are represented by the variables education, occupational prestige, and total family income. Education is measured by years of schooling. Family income is measured by a 23-point scale, with income under $1,000 as the lowest category and income of $110,000 or over as the highest. Occupational prestige score is a 100-point scale with a higher score indicating a higher prestige of respondents' occupation. We used self-employment status as a measure of entrepreneurship and potential economic competition, and this variable is dummy coded 1 for the self-employed and 0 for employees. Political party affiliation is also a dummy variable with 1 indicating Republican and 0 non-Republican. Finally, to measure generational differences in social distance, we created a set of dummy variables for generations using the cohort variable. The G.I. Generation is the oldest in the sample, including individuals born in 1936 or earlier, and is used as the reference category. The Silent Generation includes individuals born between 1937 and 1945. The Baby Boomers

include individuals born between 1946 and 1964. The Generation X includes individuals born between 1965 and 1976. The Generation Y includes individuals born since 1977 (Jones and Fox 2009).

Methods and analytical strategies

We first compared the means of the three dependent variables to see how whites felt differently toward the three minority groups. We then did a correlational analysis to examine the initial relationships between the predictor variables and the dependent variables. Finally, we conducted an ordinary least squares regression (OLS) analysis. The emphasis of this analysis is to compare the constants of the regression models in order to ascertain the differences in whites' feeling toward the three minority groups controlling for all predictors and to test what types of whites are more or less likely to have cooler feelings toward Asians, Hispanics and blacks. The OLS regression model is appropriate since the dependent variables, albeit ordinal, have a large number of categories (9).

RESULTS

Descriptive and Bivariate Analysis

As shown in Table 1, the means of the dependent variables indicate that on the 9-point scale, white respondents felt coolest toward Asians (3.67), followed by blacks (3.62) and Hispanics (3.59). These results contradict what was expected, but the differences are small. Standard deviations for the dependent variables vary between 1.96 and 2.01, indicating lower variation of scores in feelings of whites toward Asians and blacks and greater variation in whites' feelings toward Hispanics. Since the median scores are higher than the means in all three measures, the distribution of all dependent variables is somewhat negatively skewed, with few extremely low scores indicating very warm feelings of whites. Possible effects of skewness were tested by creating a scatterplot and by log-transforming the dependent variables, but no significant impact on regression results was detected.

The mean of a dummy variable can be interpreted as a percentage after multiplying it by 100. Table 1 shows that there were a lower proportion of males (about 48 percent) than females. An overwhelming majority of them (93 percent) were born in the United States. Most of the respondents were employees, and about 12 percent were self-employed. The majority of the respondents (51 percent) were Protestants. About one third considered themselves to be Republican. About 31 percent of all respondents lived in the South, about 21 percent lived in the West and the Midwest respectively, and 27 percent resided in the Northeast. The respondents on average had above 14 years of schooling. The average

occupational prestige score was approximately 45 on the 100-point scale. The mean for family income was about 17, meaning that on average respondents' family income was between $35,000 and $39,999. Baby Boomers (39 percent) constituted the largest generation compared to other generations.

Table 2 shows the bivariate correlations between all pairs of variables used in the analysis. The three dependent variables are correlated with one another highly, suggesting that whites had very similar feelings toward racial or ethnic minorities. The significant positive correlations between the male dummy variable and all three dependent variables indicate that white men tended to feel cooler toward all three minority groups, especially blacks, than white women. Whites living in the West were less likely to feel cooler toward minorities than those living in other parts of the country, but there was no significant difference between whites in the Northeast and those living elsewhere. Whites in the Midwest felt cooler toward Hispanics than whites in other regions, but not toward other groups. The difference between white Republicans and white non-Republicans was not significant. As anticipated, white Protestants tended to feel cooler toward minorities than their non-Protestant counterparts. Native-born whites felt cooler toward Hispanics than foreign-born whites, but not toward other groups. Consistent with our hypotheses, education, occupational prestige, and family income all reduced negative feelings toward all three minority groups. Self-employment increased negative feelings toward Asians and blacks, but not toward Hispanics. There was no significant difference between whites of the Silent Generation or white Baby Boomers and other generations in feelings toward minorities. Whites of Generation X tended to feel significantly warmer toward Asians and Hispanics, but not toward blacks. In addition, whites who belonged to Generation Y harbored less cool feelings toward Asians and blacks than other generations. The results indicate no multicollinearity problem.

Multivariate Analysis

For each dependent variable, we tested a number of nested regression models. Based on the comparison of coefficients of determination (R^2), the model incorporating all explanatory variables (the full model) was determined to be the best fitting model for all three groups. Because of the space constraints and for more effective presentation, only results of the best fitting model are presented (Table 3).

To assess the overall feelings of whites toward the three minority groups, we compared constants of the full regression model for Asians, Hispanics, and blacks presented in Table 3. The results indicate that, controlling for all explanatory variables, whites felt warmest toward Hispan-

TABLE 2

CORRELATION MATRIX FOR VARIABLES USED IN THE ANALYSIS, WHITE AMERICANS AGED 18 OR OVER, 2002

	Feelings about Asians	Feelings about Hispanics	Feelings about Blacks	Male	Midwest	West	Northeast	Republican	Protestant
Feelings about Asians	1.000	.794**	.783**	.104**	.014	-.081**	-.015	.001	.063**
Feelings about Hispanics	---	1.000	.746**	.115**	.047*	-.097**	-.031	.020	.077**
Feelings about Blacks	---	---	1.000	.161**	.037	-.064**	-.038	.028	.053*
Male	---	---	---	1.000	.014	-.028	-.009	.043	-.008
Midwest	---	---	---	---	1.000	-.262**	-.307**	-.085**	-.200**
West	---	---	---	---	---	1.000	-.318**	-.021	-.104**
Northeast	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.000	-.023	.037
Republican	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.000	.192**
Protestant	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Born U.S.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Education	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Prestige	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Income	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Self-employed	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Silent Generation	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Baby Boomers	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Generation X	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
Generation Y	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

*pd.05   **pd.01   ***pd.001

TABLE 2 CONT.

	Born U.S.	Education	Prestige	Income	Self-employed	Silent Generation	Baby Boomers	Generation X	Generation Y
Feelings about Asians	.044	-.184**	-.135**	-.080**	.055*	.026	.018	-.063**	-.053*
Feelings about Hispanics	.089**	-.153**	-.101**	-.065**	.040	.019	.002	-.073**	-.026
Feelings about Blacks	.041	-.155**	-.106**	-.055*	.048*	.022	-.005	-.045	-.057*
Male	-.016	-.026	-.017	.012	.037	.003	-.032	.015	.007
Midwest	-.030	.027	.034	.031	-.024	.000	.013	-.008	-.020
West	-.138**	.051*	.021	.000	.049*	-.012	-.035	.025	.001
Northeast	.103**	-.044	-.095**	-.024	-.053*	-.014	-.023	-.007	.091**
Republican	.053*	.105**	.080**	.135**	.078**	.049*	.033	-.024	-.068**
Protestant	.119**	-.044	-.006	-.039	.046*	.059*	.021	-.085**	-.093**
Born U.S.	1.000	.021	.015	.018	-.007	.023	.012	-.072**	.022
Education	---	1.000	.495**	.345**	.047*	-.004	.078**	.061**	-.060**
Prestige	---	---	1.000	.312**	.037	.016	.073**	.020	-.170**
Income	---	---	---	1.000	.092**	.019	.217**	.019	-.172**
Self-employed	---	---	---	---	1.000	-.002	.109**	-.058*	-.111**
Silent Generation	---	---	---	---	---	1.000	-.285**	-.198**	-.136**
Baby Boomers	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.000	-.441**	-.303**
Generation X	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.000	-.211**
Generation Y	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	1.000

*pd.05 **pd.01 ***pd.001

TABLE 3

ESTIMATES OF OLS REGRESSION MODELS PREDICTING WHITES'
FEELINGS TOWARD ASIANS, HISPANICS, AND BLACKS, 2002 GSS
(STANDARD ERRORS IN PARENTHESES)

Predictor	Asians		Hispanics		Blacks	
	B	β	B	β	B	β
Constant	5.418***		4.682***		4.953***	
	(.313)		(.322)		(.312)	
Education	−.089***	−.132	−.078***	−.112	−.079***	−.117
	(.018)		(.019)		(.018)	
Occupational Prestige	−.011**	−.079	−.008*	−.054	−.009*	−.064
	(.004)		(.004)		(.004)	
Family income	−.008	−.021	−.005	−.011	−.001	−.003
	(.010)		(.010)		(.010)	
Self-employed	.307*	.051	.221	.036	.229	.038
	(.137)		(.142)		(.137)	
Male	.380***	.097	.433***	.107	.598***	.153
	(.089)		(.091)		(.088)	
Region (ref.=South)						
Northeast	−.241*	−.055	−.305*	−.067	−.264*	−.060
	(.118)		(.121)		(.117)	
Midwest	−.071	−.014	.088	.018	.054	.011
	(.131)		(.135)		(.131)	
West	−.407***	−.085	−.446***	−.091	−.306*	−.064
	(.128)		(.131)		(.127)	
Republican	−.006	−.001	.052	.012	.097	.023
	(.097)		(.100)		(.097)	
Protestant	.099	.025	.170	.042	.079	.020
	(.095)		(.098)		(.095)	
U.S. born	.290	.038	.626***	.079	.294	.038
	(.177)		(.182)		(.177)	
Generation (ref.= G.I. Generation)						
Silent Gen.	−.143	−.023	−.293	−.046	−.280	−.045
	(.179)		(.185)		(.179)	
Baby Boomers	−.194	−.048	−.336*	−.081	−.367*	−.091
	(.144)		(.148)		(.144)	
Generation X	−.428**	−.093	−.553***	−.116	−.485**	−.105
	(.155)		(.159)		(.154)	
Generation Y	−.613***	−.104	−.527**	−.087	−.706***	−.120
	(.177)		(.183)		(.177)	
R² (adjusted)	.063		.062		.065	
F	9.246***		9.087***		9.578***	
N	1,851		1,851		1,851	

*p≤.05 **p≤.01 ***p≤.001 (one-tailed test)

ics (4.682), coolest toward Asians (5.418), and somewhat in-between toward blacks (4.953). These suggest that whites maintained the least social distance with Hispanics, followed by blacks and Asians. Although the differences are relatively small, these results contradict our hypothesis about the least social distance of whites to Asians and the greatest social distance of whites to blacks.

The comparison of the means in Table 1 and the constants in Table 3 for all three groups (Figure 1) reveals that without controlling for the

predictor variables, the differences between whites and the minority groups in the feelings scales were quite small; however, controlling for the predictors, the differences increased significantly, but the order remained the same.

FIGURE 1
COMPARISONS OF MEANS AND CONSTANTS FOR THE THREE
DEPENDENT VARIABLES

	Feelings toward Asians	Feelings toward Hispanics	Feelings toward Blacks
Mean	3.670	3.590	3.620
Constant	5.418	4.682	4.953
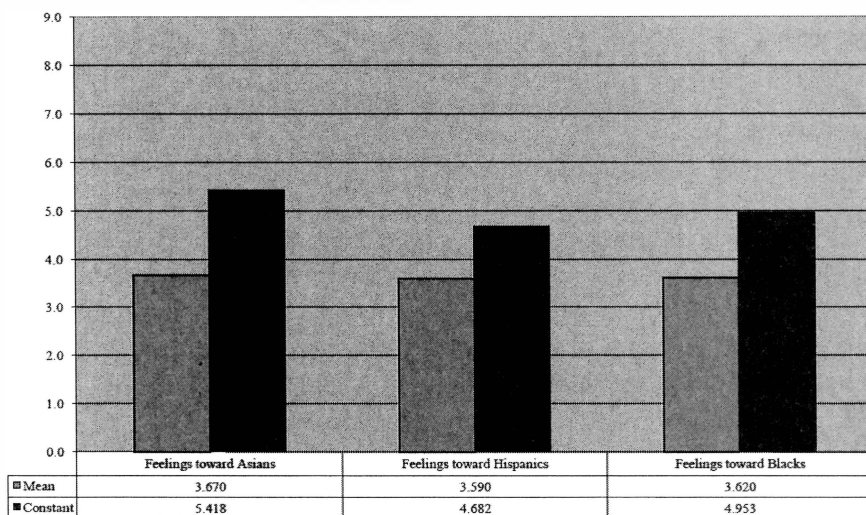
To answer our second research question, we turn to the specific regression coefficients in Table 3. As hypothesized, controlling for other variables, a higher level of education is negatively associated with cooler feelings of whites toward all three minority groups. Also anticipated, occupational prestige reduces the cooler feelings of whites toward all three minority groups, holding other variables constant. The effect of family income is in the expected direction but does not reach statistical significance at the .05 level. The effect of self-employment status is expectedly positive, but significant at the .05 level only for Asians.

Among the basic demographic variables, the effect of gender on the dependent variables is highly consistent with our hypotheses. White men tend to feel significantly cooler toward all three minorities than white women. Our hypothesis about regional differences is partially supported. Whites living in the West and the Northeast feel on average significantly warmer toward all three minorities than Southern whites, but whites living in the Midwest do not differ significantly from Southern whites in this regard.

We find no significant difference between white Republicans and white non-Republicans in feeling cool toward all three minority groups

after holding other predictors constant. Nor do we detect a significant difference between white Protestants and white non-Protestants. Being born in the U.S. only significantly increases the cool feelings of whites toward Hispanics, but not toward blacks and Asians.

Coinciding with our hypothesis, the results indicate that the younger the generation, the warmer the feelings of whites toward minorities, although the differences between the Silent Generation and the G.I. Generation are not statistically significant at the .05 level for all three minority groups and the difference between the Baby Boomers and the G.I. Generation is also insignificant for Asians at the .05 level.

A comparison of standardized regression coefficients (â's) indicates that education is the most important predictor of feelings of whites towards all three minority groups. The effects of occupational prestige are also consistent across models.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The most important finding of this study is that in terms of whites' feeling toward minority groups, social distance is the smallest between whites and Hispanics, followed by between whites and blacks and finally by between whites and Asians. This finding contradicts our hypothesis about the least social distance of whites to Asians and the greatest social distance of whites to blacks. How do we explain this unexpected result? We offer several plausible explanations.

One possibility lies in the nativity of these particular minority groups. Because of different national cultures and social environments, the foreign-born are normally perceived as much more different from the natives, regardless of race or ethnicity, thereby leading to an increased social distance. The majority of Asians in the United States are foreign-born. According to the 2000 U.S. Population Census (U.S. Census Bureau 2003d), about 69 percent of all Asians were born outside the United States in that year. Asians are the only predominantly foreign-born group. Hence, this may largely explain the greatest social distance of whites to Asians. Nativity also explains the smaller social distance of whites to blacks, because an overwhelming majority of blacks are U.S. born and only about 6 percent of blacks were born abroad according to the 2000 U.S. Population Census (U.S. Census Bureau 2003d). However, nativity does not help in understanding why the social distance of whites to Hispanics is the smallest, since about 40 percent of Hispanic Americans are also foreign-born. Hence, other factors must also be at work.

Religious similarity or dissimilarity may partly explain the unpredicted finding. Most Hispanics, like whites, are Christians, including about 70 percent of Catholics (Schaefer 2010). Additionally, Hispanic Americans tend to shift away from Catholicism in favor of Protestantism

(Hunt 1998). This religious similarity may in part account for the least social distance of whites to Hispanics. In contrast, the majority of Asians are non-Christians. This religious dissimilarity, therefore, increases their social distance from whites. The fact that a large majority of African Americans are Protestants—about 82 percent according to a 1990 national survey (Kosmin and Lachman 1993), largely Baptists and Methodists—partly explains the smaller social distance of whites to blacks.

Racial hierarchy and tension may partly explain why whites' social distance to blacks is in the middle. In terms of nativity and religious similarity, whites' social distance to blacks should be the smallest since the majority of blacks are native-born Protestants. Nevertheless, blacks rank low in the racial hierarchy and have greater tensions with whites. The outcome is an increased social distance between whites and blacks, although not to the extent of white-Asian social distance. This suggests that nativity and religious similarity play more important roles than racial hierarchy and tensions in social distances measured by feelings of closeness.

The geographic proximity of the country of origin might offer another explanation. Hispanics generally originate from countries less distant to the United States than Asians. As a result, whites may be more familiar with Hispanic cultural backgrounds than Asians'. Hence, proximity might help to explain why social distance between non-Hispanic whites and Hispanics is smaller than that between non-Hispanic whites and Asians.

The diversity of Asians might also help to understand the greatest social distance of whites to this particular group. In spite of whites' assumption of homogeny, Asians are very diverse (Wong et al. 1998). Asian groups "differ from each other in language, customs and culture, physical appearance and . . . in the ways in which they have entered American society" (Healey 2004: 189). Asians also do not share a common religious or political orientation. In addition, Asian groups differ greatly in their socioeconomic status. According to the 2000 Population Census (U.S. Census Bureau 2003a, 2003b, 2005), Asian Indians fared the best in terms of major socioeconomic indicators, even better than whites, while Cambodians and Laotians fared the worst, even worse than Native Americans and Hispanics. Hispanic groups also do not think of themselves as one entity, and their diversity cannot be overlooked (Healey 2004). However, they still retain more common characteristics than Asians, such as religion, language, cultural traits, and with the exception of Cubans, also socioeconomic status. These common characteristics might contribute to the smaller social distance of whites to Hispanics. The devastation of African ethnic cultures by slavery and the racialization of Africans into a homogeneous group in the United States may also

bring to light why white-black social distance is smaller than white-Asian one.

The unexpected finding about the relative social distances between whites and the three major minority groups has important implications for race and ethnic relations today. The finding suggests that social distance in particular, and race and ethnic relations in general, are more complicated than what people normally believe. It may or may not be true to claim that white-black social distance is the greatest, depending on how social distance is measured. In terms of residential segregation and intermarriage, this claim may have merit. However, in terms of feelings of closeness it may be invalid. In fact, Asian Americans may be the most alienated, perhaps because of their "perpetual foreigner" image. The common experiences among many Asian Americans, and especially Asian immigrants, of being sidelined, ignored, and unrecognized or under-recognized in their daily life may vindicate the finding of the greatest social distance of whites to Asians. It may also be problematic to assert that African Americans are at the bottom of the racial and ethnic hierarchy today in terms of major socioeconomic indicators and political power. In fact, Native Americans and Hispanics, on average, fare worse according to recent census data on socioeconomic indicators and political representation.

Our findings also suggest that social distance cannot be explained by any single characteristic. For example, if color alone were to determine social distance, the greatest social distance would exist between whites and blacks. If alienation were the only determinant, we would also find the greatest social distance between whites and blacks. If social distance were based entirely on socioeconomic status or group image, then the analysis would show the smallest social distance between whites and Asians. In fact, none of these occurs. Thus, multiple determinants must be considered to fully understand social distance.

This study also reveals that whites with a higher socioeconomic status are in general more likely to maintain a smaller social distance to the three minority groups. In particular, whites with a higher level of education and a higher occupational prestige score tend to maintain a smaller social distance to the minorities than whites with a lower level of education and a lower prestige score. Family income works in the same direction, but does not attain statistical significance after controlling for other variables. These results suggest that increasing socioeconomic status is a way to reduce social distance between whites and minorities.

We also find that consistently white men tend to maintain a greater social distance to all three minority groups than white women. Whites living in the West and the Northeast tend to keep a smaller social distance to all three minority groups than Southern whites, but there is no

significant difference in social distances to minorities between whites in the Midwest and Southern whites. On the other hand, being Republican or being Protestant does not make a significant difference in social distances of whites to minorities, respectively. Being native born increases whites' social distance to all three minority groups, but significantly only to Hispanics. Similarly, being self-employed significantly increases whites' social distance to Asians, but not to blacks or Hispanics. The results also reveal a general tendency that younger generations of whites are more likely to keep a smaller social distance to the minorities than older generations of whites, raising hopes of racial or ethnic integration and harmony for the future.

Future research may extend the current study along several lines. Keep in mind that feeling about minority groups used in our study is only one of the measures of social distance. If other measures of social distance are available, they should be used to further test our hypotheses. Future research should also incorporate other possible determinants of social distance, if possible. Furthermore, it is important to study changes in social distance between whites and minorities over time when longitudinal data become available.

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IDENTITY AND THE LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING PROCESS: A CASE STUDY OF THE MARYLAND STATE LEGISLATURE[1]

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Both politicians and the mass public believe that identity influences political behavior. This was clearly seen in the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections as well as Justice Sotomayor's confirmation hearings, during in which the country engaged in conversations about the utility and/or bias of racial and gendered identities in political decision making. Identity as a factor within political governance was depicted as a prejudice or a narrowing of ideas that produces biases. Signaling that we are not living in a "post racial society," the idea that identity shapes political decision making is most often discussed in respect to those with marginalized identities. Yet White, Protestant, heterosexual, and middleclass males are marked as identity free (Puwar 2004). As a result, the use of identity as a factor in political decision making is frequently relegated and confined to the scholarship on race and ethnicity or women and politics. Identity, however, is salient for all political actors not just minorities and women legislators.

Contrasted with the public discourse around identity's inclusion in politics is scholarship that positively links identity to enriching political discourse. Scholarship on women and minority legislators consistently indicates that member characteristics/group identity influences legislative behavior (Rosenthal 2000; Swers 2002; Mansbridge 1999; Fenno 2003). The inclusion of previously excluded minorities and women into state legislatures over the past forty years has led scholars to examine the legislative influence and impact of minority legislators (Bratton and Haynie, 1999; Smooth 2001, 2006; Fraga et al,. 2005; Tate 1991, 2003; Swain 1993). While the United States has witnessed an increase in the number of women and minority legislators, little is known about the impact of their identity on legislative decision making process.

I define identity to include one's somatic indicators, background, life experiences, and social positioning. Identity, for my purposes here, also includes self-affiliation and categorization by others as a member of a racial and gender group. Identity is subject to personal and political interpretation as well as meaning often time resulting in political implications that are not transparent or fixed. While identity is a social construction - socially produced and reproduced, it has strong political and cultural allegiances that make identity a social fact. Identities such as race, gender, class, geographic region, kinship, sexual orientation, nationality, and disability coupled with morals, values, beliefs and traditions are guiding factors that organize the social world (Sanchez, 2006). These social factors comprise one's experiences and form ones identity. "Identities reference our understanding of ourselves in relations to others, they provide their bearers with particular perspective on shared social world" (Alcoff et al., 2006, 97). Identity is distinctly tied to one's experience as "experiences are based on the objective location of people in society. Experiences are rather disguised explanations of social relations and can be evaluated as such" (Alcoff et al., 2006, 4). Thus it is important to both frame identity as more than just one's race or gender as well as include how one's experiences are informed by their race and gender.

In examining the ways in which identity influences legislative decision making, I compare accounts of representation by African American[2] women and men state legislators as well as White women and men state legislators. Because research has largely focused on race *or* gender (Simien 2006), I pay specific attention to Black women legislators, who at the intersection of race and gender, employ their race/gender identities in the legislative decision making process. Thus, the term race/gender reflects the political construction of the constitutive racial and gendered identities of Black women as well as the systems and societal structures that are simultaneously raced and gendered. While I focus on Black women and men legislators as well as White women and men legislators, it is likely that other important markers of identity such as other races/ethnicities, disability, class, generation, sexual orientation, etc. may intersect in meaningful ways for them as well as other legislators.

Intersectionality is an inclusive theory where scholars can take account of multiple, subordinated subject positions such as race, gender, class, ethnicity and language status. Additionally, intersectionality theory purports those relevant categories of difference are mutually constituted both analytically and experientially. Intersectionality helps to

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2 Throughout the article I use the terms "Black" and "African American" interchangeably. I capitalized "Black" because "Blacks, like Asians and Latinos, and other 'minorities' constitute a specific cultural group and, as such, require denotation as a proper noun" (Crenshaw, 1988, 1332).

expand the necessity of descriptive representation, meaning when an elected representative belongs to the same social or demographic group as his or her constituents (Pitkin 1967). "Descriptive representation becomes critical when inherent differences are recognized in terms of identity and shared experiences rather than ideas and opinions" (Phillips 1995, 6). As a result, differences in identity and lived experiences based on social location are strong criteria for descriptive representation. As a result, I am interested in understanding the nuances of identity to locate the ways in which legislators bring identity to bear on legislative decision making.

I pay special attention to the combined racial and gendered identities of legislators to examine if the Maryland state legislators have a nuanced understanding of how the multiplicity of their identities may be included in the legislative decision making process. I include a myriad of empirical examples to illustrate that the influence of identity can be seen in the legislative decision making process. The data shows that many Maryland state legislators include aspects of identity in some factor in legislative decision making. This finding is significant as it illustrates that identity plays a consistent role in legislative decision making as legislators' inclusion of identity does not just appear on voting days or on race or gender specific legislation. Furthermore, unlike previous scholarship on legislative decision making, this essay illustrates that legislators include identity as a factor. I find that Black women Maryland state legislators are more likely to include an intersectional analysis based on race and gender in the legislative decision making process than Black men, White men, and White women legislators. This article offers an intervention into scholars understanding of legislative behavior by arguing that identity is a factor that legislators include in the decision making progress.

IDENTITY AND LEGISLTIVE DECISION MAKING

The majority of legislative decision making studies focused primarily on legislators during a time in which representatives were overwhelmingly White and male. Not only are gender and race rarely considered, but the idea of identity as a mediating force in decision making had not been articulated during the time in which much of the previous literature was written. It is possible that identities based on race and/or gender and/or some other politically-relevant category influence legislative decision-making.

Various theories - such as informational, partisanship, institutional, identity-based - on why legislators make the decisions they do, assumes that legislators are rational actors. Most existing models of legislative decision making do not account for the role that intersectionality plays in

representation. The dominant literature on legislative decision making does not include identity but instead posits that a host of external pressures influences legislative decision making (Bauer, Pool, and Dexter, 1963; Huber, 1989; Fiorina 1974; Kingdon, 1989; Matthews and Stimson 1970; Wolman and Wolman 1977). This type of literature has led Mayhew to conclude that scholarship has failed to provide a concrete link between who legislators are and what they do (1974). Legislative decision making scholarship that does not include identity can be best organized around models of necessary factors for effective legislative decision making. Succinctly, the scholarship reviewed above contends that representation representatives behave the way they do because of external pressure.

Perhaps Mansbridge's discussion of gyroscopic representation, the idea that "representatives look within for guidance," (2003, 520) is closest to the idea that descriptive characteristics can provide predictability of how a legislator will act above and beyond party identification. This theory of representation purports that legislators include internal factors in their representational capacities. In gyroscopic representation, representatives place their attitudinal identity with their constituents to derive from their own experience conceptions of interest and principles to serve as a basis for their action. However, unlike Mansbridge's contention that a legislator's own principles and beliefs guide representational actions, I contend that identity influences representatives' legislative decision making. Identity foregrounds experiences that lead legislatives to develop their policy preferences as well as their principles and beliefs. Even theories that explicitly focus on the role of identity fail to appreciate the dynamism and nuances within identity or the multiplicity of a race/gender identity.

While we know that identity impacts political representation, we have little knowledge on how representatives' identity impact their legislative decision making process. Furthermore, much of what we know about the effects of legislators identity's on the legislative decision making process is based on only minorities or women. This study is the first to use a comparative analysis of how Black women and men as well as White women and men use their identity in the legislative decision making process for both Whites and Blacks and men and women. Thus this study seeks to examine if an expressed commitment to identity influences legislative decision making. Next, do Black women, Black men, White women, and White men talk similarly or differently about race and gender in the legislative decision making process? This article examines *how* legislators articulate the relationship between identities and the way legislators bring their identity to bear on legislative decision making.

CASE SELECTION AND METHODS

Due to the small number of African American women serving in state legislatures across the country, I chose to study the Maryland state legislature because of its comparatively high number of African American women state legislators during the 2009 legislative session (20, distributed among 15 delegates and 5 senators). The Maryland legislature is highly professionalized (high salary, large staff, longer session) and is comprised of part-time representatives who dedicate an annual ninety-day period to law making. Maryland's political culture is regarded as akin to that of a business because individual legislators broker deals and orchestrate political favors (Elazar 1972). While the party structure is highly organized, legislators have the ability to act as individuals, especially in policy areas in which they have specialized knowledge (Smooth 2001). Maryland's short legislative session requires a structure that facilitates lawmaking at a relatively quick pace because lawmakers have only 90 days to act on over 2,300 pieces of legislation, including the state budget. As a result, Maryland has a highly organized committee structure, and leaders in both chambers are responsible for assigning other members to serve on committees.

The General Assembly includes 47 senators and 141 delegates elected from 47 districts. The multi-member districts are comprised of four representatives—one senator and three delegates. The multi-member district structure is ideal for examining the effects of race and gender identity on legislative decision making, since many of the legislators represent the same constituency – which is particularly true of the African American Maryland state legislators as they represent majority Black districts located in Baltimore City, Baltimore County, or Prince George's County, MD[3]. As a result, I can differentiate constituent wishes as a

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[3] According to the 2010 Census, of the 5,773,552 residents in Maryland, 29 percent are African American, 58 percent are White, 5 percent Asian, and 8 percent Hispanic. The African American women legislators represent districts with a majority, or near majority, of Black constituents. They primarily represent districts in Baltimore City, Baltimore County, and Prince George's County (a suburb of Washington, DC). According to the 2010 Census, Baltimore County is 64 percent White, 26 percent Black, 5 percent Asian, and 4 percent Hispanic. Its population is 805,029. While Baltimore County is considered suburban, the towns and municipalities closest to Baltimore City, located in Baltimore County, resemble inner cities. The 2010 Census counted 620,961 Baltimore City residents. Demographically, Baltimore is a majority-minority city with 63 percent Blacks, 29 percent White, 2 percent Asian, and 4 percent Hispanic. Baltimore City is commonly spoken of as having two sections: east and west. East Baltimore is a largely Black community with low-income neighborhoods. West Baltimore is more diverse, its population ranging from middle- to upper-class African American neighborhoods, low-income White neighborhoods, Jewish neighborhoods, and pockets of Black poverty. Baltimore City has also enjoyed two African American women mayors: Sheila Dixon (2007-2010) and Stephanie Rawlings-Blake (2010-present).
As of 2010, Prince George's County, MD, has a population of 863,420 and is the wealthiest county with an African American majority in the United States (Howell 2006; Chappell 2006).

factor in legislative decision making from other internal factors, such as identity, that drive legislators' behavior.

The data for this project comes from fifty one in-depth, semi-structured and open ended interviews that I conducted with Democratic[4] Maryland state legislators during the 2009 legislative session. Weiss (1994) claims that interviews enable researchers to learn about the settings and people that may be unfamiliar and thus provide a window to understanding social processes in more depth. Legislators were faxed and emailed with a letter of request to interview on university letterhead. The letter broadly outlined the project and asked legislators to talk about the decision making process during a fifteen minute interview. The in-person interviews were conducted March 11, 2009 to March 20, 2009. Additional phone interviews were conducted through June 30 and July 2, 2009. However, the majority of the interviews took place in person in the Maryland state legislature. All interviews were on the record and lasted between eleven minutes to an hour[5]. The majority of the interviews were twenty minutes. I took detailed notes on every interview. The interviews were conducted in various legislative settings to provide for the legislator's schedule and accessibility. Most interviews were conducted in the legislator's office; however several were conducted in committee meeting rooms and a few were conducted with legislators as they walked to or from meetings.

I conducted interviews with all twenty of the African American women serving in the Maryland legislature. In addition to the African American women legislators, I also interviewed a convenience sample of their Democratic colleagues based on gender and race. Interviews were conducted with five White women, thirteen Black men, nine White men, one Latina, one Latino, and two Asian American women[6]. During the interviews, legislators were asked a set number of questions that covered their district characteristics, legislative history, institutional influence,

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The county is currently 19 percent White, 64 percent Black, 4 percent Asian, and 15 percent Hispanic. Fifty-four percent of the county's firms are owned by African Americans and the median income is $70,647. The county is devised into five sections: North County, Central County, the Rural Tier, the Inner Beltway, and South County. The Inner Beltway is majority African American, Central and North County have a large population of Blacks as well. Bowie, the county seat located in Central County, is 48 percent White.

[4] Because all the African American women legislators were Democrats, I only interviewed members of this party. This allowed me to control for partisan ideologies often associated with a legislator's race and gender, thus avoiding distortions caused by partisan politics that might undermine the reliability of comparisons made along racial/ethnic and gendered lines. Controlling for party identification also allowed me to highlight intragroup differences.

[5] While I informed the legislators that their interviews were "on the record," I have removed names from the quotations due to the candid nature with which some legislators engaged me in conversation.

[6] Because of their small numbers in the Maryland state legislature, I have removed other legislators of color from this analysis.

policy preferences, perception of identity and politics, and two specific bills: Religious Freedom and Protection of Civil Marriage and Financial Exploitation of the Elderly. Legislators were asked to explain the role that identity plays, if any, in the legislative decision making process. Because the interview questions provided for open ended answers the legislators were able to express themselves and narrate their stories to me.

This study utilizes qualitative techniques rather than quantitative methods in order to fully investigate the nuances in how identity mediates the legislative decision-making process. Additionally, quantitative techniques are "devised to reveal uniformities of behavior are by design insensitive to difference, treating anything that deviates from the norm as an outlier or anomaly" (Hawkesworth 2003, p. 532). Sophisticated statistical methods are insufficient to examine the interaction effects of race, gender, and generation since they require large data sets. Standard social science methodological techniques that attempt to isolate the effects of gender by controlling for race/ethnicity by controlling for gender are at odds with any effort to trace the complex interactions of race and gender in an organization (Spellman 1988, 103). Next, dummy variables assume static categories of analysis that do not reveal the multi layered effects of intersecting identities that are embedded within categories such as race or gender. This explanatory variable fails to acknowledge the complexity within categories (Junn and Brown, 2008).

In the sections that follow, I provide legislators' narratives on the impact of identity on the legislative decision making process. All legislators were asked "Do you think your identity plays a role in the legislative process? If so, how?"[7] This open ended question allowed the state legislators to narrate their experiences in their own words and permit adequate answers to complex issues. Lawmakers were able to answer in detail and can qualify and clarify responses, permit creativity, self-expression, and richness of detail to reveal the legislator's thinking process and frame of reference.

IDENTITY AND LEGISLATIVE DECISION MAKING

African American Women State Legislators

The Black women legislators in this study invoked multiple identities, often simultaneous and intertwined identities, in explaining how identity plays a role in the legislative process. This indicates that for Black women legislators' race, gender, and other relevant categories of difference are often mutually constitutive. Almost all of the Black women interviewed claimed that there are times when identity influences legislative decision making.

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[7] See Appendix for interview protocol

The African American women in this study invoked identity in two distinctive ways to explain its role in the legislative process. For example, repeated comments from legislators illustrated that they prioritized a particular part of their identity, depending on the legislative context. Other Black women legislators asserted that they cannot prioritize aspects of their identity. These legislators were unable to parse the components of their identity. For example, a Black woman delegate claimed that there are times when parts of her identity influence how she interprets legislation:

> It [identity] probably contributes to but is not the only factor in how I feel about legislation. It would be difficult for me to tease out which parts of me because I am a Black woman and I am from the Midwest, I'm a mother. So which part of me is it that? (African American woman delegate, 12 March 2009, personal interview)

This delegate's response indicates that she uses an additive approach to understanding her identity. The additive model—one that posits that race and gender are mutually reinforcing—theorizes that two or more disadvantaged identities can be brought together if the subject experiences two or more distinct forms of discrimination in tandem (Gay and Tate 1998; King 1988). This African American woman delegate recognizes the importance of using her identity, when applicable, in the legislative process. She stated that she draws on different aspects of her identity in the legislative decision making process, but sees her identity as a sum of multiple parts, not one based on interlocking identities.

In articulating the trilogy of race, class, and gender as social locations that inform her identity as well as her experiences, another Black women legislator reported that her positionality is more or less salient depending on context. This Black woman delegate concurred:

> Absolutely, absolutely. [Identity matters] because I have a different experience. If I did not bring my experience here I don't think I would be doing a service to the entire state of Maryland. I don't make decisions based on my race and gender, I bring an understanding that's reflected of my race and gender. . ..[In certain situations] I feel my gender more here or my race more here or my class background there. (African American woman delegate, 20 March 2009, personal interview)

Here, this delegate also uses an additive approach to including her identity in the legislative decision making process. This delegate indicates that she sees her experiences as filtered through her identity. She draws on these experiences in her legislative work. Her response prioritizes

one identity over another but incorporates the multiplicity of identity in some aspect. These women favor an additive approach to politics; they view the totality of their identity as composed of separate and individual parts that combined to make them who they are.

Racialized Gender Politics

Next, indicating that a gendered perspective is necessary to fully understanding the legislative decision making process for African American state legislators, I heard recurring statements from legislators on the differences of both style and substance between Black men and women legislators. A Black woman senator argues that Black women display some dissimilarity in legislative style to Black men which is based on gender difference.

> I don't think we (i.e. African American men and women) view legislation completely differently from one another. I think this is the issue, I think Black men in many instances - in terms of the legislative process - see the same things that we do but they are not as vocal or outspoken as Black woman are. (African American woman senator, 18 March 2009, personal interview)

This African American woman senator illustrates how belonging to two identity groups is useful in the state legislature. Providing an example of how Black women senators were more vocal on discussing racial disparities in criminal sentencing codes, this African American woman senator presented an example of Fraga et al's (2005) theoretical advancement of strategic intersectionality. This Black woman senator's combination of both her race and gender positions her to build cross-group coalitions which consequently enabled her to obtain greater levels of legislative success. Because of her gender, she may be viewed in a more favorable or less hostile/confrontational than their co-ethnic men around issues that disproportionately effect Black men. Further, Fraga et. al. argue that women's feminine attributes soften them and makes them more approachable than their co-ethnic males. Perhaps the Black women legislators, like the Latinas in Fraga and colleagues' study, were allowed a space to discuss racial disparities that their male counterparts were unable to.

Another Black woman delegate agreed that her identity brings a different viewpoint to legislating than those of her colleagues. As a result of her identity as a Black woman, she emphasizes that she can see things differently because of her experiences than her male colleagues of all races. "If I was a White male who may be a little chauvinistic, I would have a different viewpoint as opposed to a female of color. As a Black woman, you can relate to more people who are different from you as opposed to someone that were of another particular gender. So yes, my

identity influences how what do in Annapolis – how I legislate." (African American woman delegate, 16 March 2009, personal interview)

Identity influences several aspects of political representation for the Black women legislators in this study. These Black women legislators articulated that identity influences their understanding of legislation as well as demarcates differences between how Black men and women view legislation. African American women legislators in the Maryland state legislature in 2009 combine both race and gender in their understanding of identity, which is similar to some tenets of Black feminism. Because race and gender are salient identities, which are often interwoven, for Black women it is likely that the this group of legislators cannot parse out their gendered identity, or are reticent about describing it in feminist terms without placing their actions in a racialized tone as well. This does not mean that Black women are not feminists; indeed, the Black women legislators express their gender identity in intersectional terms, noting specifically that their racial identity is inseparable from their feminist identity (Hurtado 1996).

African American Men State Legislators

In contrast to the African American women representatives, Black male legislators interviewed for this study frequently said that a gender identity is not salient in their decision making processes. When asked if their identity played a role in how they interpret legislation, the overwhelming majority of male African American legislators said that they relied solely on a racialized construction of identity. Specifically, the Black male legislators said that they do not think about gender in the legislative decision making process. One Black man delegate said "gender, no not as much. I'm kind of like a gender neutral person" (personal interview, 11 March 2009). Similarly another delegate said "I think gender has very little to do with how I interpret legislation" (African American man delegate, personal interview, 19 March 2009).

An African American male delegate provided an example of why gender does not influence his legislative thinking.

> My race [influences my legislative decision making] more than anything else. I think race trumps gender. Although a lot of Black women didn't see it that way they were jumping up and down for Hilary Clinton and not Barack Obama [during the 2008 Democratic primaries]. But anyway, race influences how I interpret legislation. (African American man delegate, 13 March 2009, personal interview)

These statements reflect that maleness is the unmarked gender category, the norm against which women are compared. This social construction[8] of gender reflects patriarchy and male privilege and a prevailing notion of Black male dominance within the African American community. The above quotes by the Black men state legislators in this study do not think in gendered terms illustrates the dominant role that maleness plays in society, even by men who are disadvantaged by their race. Additionally, these statements signal silences around conversations of gender differences among African American legislators as Black men legislators in this study do not view gender a salient identity.

Non-Gendered Racialized Identity

Both male and female African American legislators interviewed for this study articulated race as a governing structure through which they view the legislative decision-making process. They did not interrogate the construction of race but instead relied on the tangible effects of race in American society by working on legislative goals to benefit 'the Black community.' For the legislators in this study, there is a distinct Black community as well as certain proscribed notions of what it means to be Black. As a result, the legislators in this study view some aspects of their legislative agenda as distinctly helping African Americans.

African American legislators of both genders feel a commitment to represent the Black community, but it is only the Black men legislators in this study who refer to a solely racialized identity to articulate the ways in which identity mediates representation. For example, one Black man delegate finds that his very legislative purpose is centered on race. "I'm here to clearly represent the African Americans" (Black man delegate, personal interview, 16 March 2009). Black legislators in this study said that they bring a racialized understanding to the legislature because they have experienced struggles based on racial discrimination. This quote also exemplifies that race is a predominant identity for African American male legislators in this study. For example, one Black man delegate observed:

> Yes [identity plays a role in the legislative process] because there is an understanding in the Black community that it will be very difficult for someone in the White community to understand. So there is a need for the Black Caucus in that regard to legislate on Black issues. How can you truly understand what's happening in our

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[8] The locations, discourses, and material relations that are historically, socially, politically, and culturally produced that are intrinsically linked to systems of domination (Frankenberg 1993)

> community if you don't know it, you haven't walked it?
> I'm not going into any Jewish community and say, "I
> understand exactly what you been through" because that
> would be a lie. And they can't come into my community
> and say I understand exactly what you are going through
> because that would be a lie. (African American man
> delegate, 19 March 2009, personal interview)

While African Americans are better off politically and economically today than they were in the past, studies indicate that Blacks still view racism as impeding their success to achieve full parity in American society (Hochschild,1995; Schuman et al, 1997; Smith et al, 2000; Sigelman and Welch, 1991). As a result, White racism dictates Blacks' experiences as well as outlook on social phenomena. A Black male delegate suggests that Blacks' experiences with racial discrimination cause African Americans and Whites to view the world differently. In detailing his experiences with racial discrimination in Annapolis, this African American male legislator explains that he believes he was racially profiled for driving an expensive car near the statehouse. This example, among other personal experiences with racism, leads him to believe that race based discrimination produces different experiences for Whites and Blacks which leads to different legislative priorities for legislators of different races.

> Yes, I do view things differently from Whites. It's based
> on your environment and your surroundings and I bring
> that effect to legislation. They don't understand that
> "driving while Black" versus their driving while White,
> and they don't understand that "the Man" is going to pull
> me over. (African American man delegate, 20 March
> 2009, personal interview)

African American men legislators in this study comment on race devoid of gender when discussing the ways in which identity matters in the legislative process. Race identification may act as a first lens through which issues are evaluated in relationship to the hierarchy of interests, which prioritizes race over gender in the Black community (Mansbridge and Tate, 1992). A shared history of past and present race based discrimination – slavery, Jim Crow, de jure segregation, literacy tests, grandfather clauses, lynching, poll taxes, White primaries, discriminatory practices such as steering and blockbusting by realtors, redlining by banks and loan companies, de facto segregation, and racial profiling – have reinforced African Americans' strong reliance on racial identification (Dawson, 1994). While there is racial solidarity with their co-racial/

ethnic men, minority women also struggle against patriarchy and sexism from their men.

IDENTITY MATTERS . . . SOMEHOW

White women and men state legislators

White men and women legislators interviewed for this study did not make explicit claims based on identity. Instead, they frequently posited that identity matters but were not ultimately convinced that it played a role in the legislative decision making process. A very small number of White legislators of both genders make use of their racial identity in the legislative decision making process differently than Black state legislators. Their racial categorization as White went without mention. In line with Ruth Frankenberg's (1993) contention that Whites do not see themselves as raced, none of the White state legislators in this study said that their racial and gendered identities were salient factors in the legislative decision making process. Namely, the categories of White, male, and middle-class are not contested categories of identity. Instead, those are neutral positions to which all others are compared. As a result, the majority of White legislators in this study did not make explicit reference to their racial or gendered identity as a factor they include in legislative decision making. Thus there is no analog to the claims of racial identity in mediating legislative behavior for Whites as there are for Black members of the Maryland legislature.

When asked about identity, the White women and men legislators in this study predominately replied that it operates as an unknown or intangible variable that may or may not influence legislative decisions. For example, one White woman delegate observed "I'm sure it does. It must. Everyone's identity must have an impact on legislation. But for me, I'm not sure what it is" (White woman legislator, personal interview, 18 March 2009). Without mentioning race and/or gender, the White legislators agree that identity influences the legislative decision making process. For example, a White man delegate suggests "all of things are part of who you are, so, to the extent that they make up who you are of course they are going to have an influence on how you see the world. Legislation is how you see the world" (White man delegate, personal interview, 12 March 2009). Similarly, a White woman delegate finds that experience matters in the legislative process. "Yeah, I think for all of us our practical experience and what you bring to this job absolutely makes a difference" (White woman legislator, personal interview, 20 March 2009). The White legislators rarely detail how his or her identity matters in racialized or gendered terms.

However, there are two White legislators who made explicit connection to their racial and gendered identities when asked how their iden-

tity may influence the legislative decision process. One White male delegate notes that he cannot escape his Whiteness or class status. Additionally, this White male delegate does not place a direct connection to his identity and experiences to the legislative decision making process, but acknowledges his racial and class status have impacted his life experiences.

> Certainly I can't separate the way I view things from the experiences that I have had. To the extent that the experience that I have had are related to those identity factors then it's connected, not a direct connection. But I can't escape my own Whiteness and I can't escape my own middleclass upbringing. (White man delegate, 14 March 2009, personal interview)

This legislator's recognition of his own identity is telling, as he is the only White legislator to make direct mention of his race. Only one White woman delegate explicitly mentioned her gender as impacting her legislative decision making process. When asked if her identity affects the considerations she brings to legislation this delegate said that her identity as woman matters in the legislative process. "I've always had a statement 'all bills are women's bills.' But, I would say that because I'm a woman, I obviously have bias towards fairness with women's issues" (White woman delegate, personal interview, 17 March 2009). She was the only delegate to directly mention her identity as a factor in why she champions gender and women's issue bills. As a White woman, she may be able to see her gender as more salient because she is advantaged by her race. The other White women legislators interviewed for this study did not express a rhetorical commitment to women's issues[9]. The Black and White male legislators do not explicitly mention women's issues either. This finding further strengthens arguments in the women and politics literature that illustrates that women legislators are more likely to represent women's interests.

Rather than citing race or gender as salient identities, other White legislators in this study contend that their profession chiefly influences their legislative decision making. For example, a White woman delegate noted that she believes "we all bring our own individual perspective but, for instance I work a lot on family law and domestic violence legislation because I practiced family law" (White woman delegate, personal interview, 19 March 2009). This White woman legislator directly connects

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[9] The exception is a long time feminist delegate who was one the first women to be elected to the Maryland state legislature. Her discussion of women's issues is within the context of domestic violence legislation as a feminist cause.

her policy preferences to her profession as a family lawyer[10] yet she does not connect her gender to these traditionally women's interest. Likewise, another White woman delegate who is also an attorney insisted:

> I would venture to guess you can't divest yourself entirely of your background in making those decisions. Certainly my work experience definitely makes a difference in the way I see and my ability to see certain aspects of legislation. (White woman delegate, 11 March 2009, personal interview)

A White man delegate and fellow attorney additionally explained:

> I simply think it's based on professional experience. I'm an attorney. Your past observations and legislative history in review of the law [matter in legislative decision making]. (White man delegate, 18 March 2009, personal interview)

These above quotes by three White state legislators in this study indicate that their profession as attorneys carries weight in their decision making process. Indeed, knowledge of the law impacts the development of public policy. This connection is closely related to the dominant legislative decision making literature that posits that legislators relay on policy experts, themselves or others, to influence their position on a policy (Kingdon 1989; Poole and Daniels, 1985; Poole and Rosenthal, 1991).

Two White legislators in this study said that identity, in any form, does not influence their legislative decision making. For example, a White man delegate said "I hope not" (White man delegate, personal interview, 18 March 2009) while a White woman delegate said "I don't think so, no" (White woman delegate, personal interview, 11 March 2009). These were the only legislators who outright said that identity does play a role in the legislative decision making process. But taken as a whole, the White legislators in this study illustrate that African American legislators are more likely to use their racial and gendered identities to assist in the legislative decision making process.

CONCLUSION

While Black legislators interviewed for this study believe that racial identity is relevant in their decision making processes, White members of the Maryland state legislature had difficulty deciding whether their identities mattered and had even more trouble articulating how or why they did. The differences in the data are striking. In this regard, the state-

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10 Perhaps this is White woman delegate's profession is directly tied to her gender and class as women lawyers were traditionally steered to family law practices.

ments provided by legislators in this study offer an important intervention for the literature on legislative decision making to show that legislators often include identity as a factor in the legislative process.

The majority of White women and men legislators in this study agree that identity impacts the legislative decision making process yet are unable to articulate precisely how race, gender, or an intersectional approach is useful to them. In addition, the White women and men legislators interviewed for this project referenced their professional identity as a factor in the legislative decision making process. Black women or men state legislators in this study did not mention their profession as a factor that influences legislative decision making. This finding points to a difference in the literature since Black women and men legislators do not mention profession by means of policy specialization as a factor they include in legislative decision making (Witko and Friedman, 2008). While professional identity leads to experiences that may influence legislative behavior, the Black women and men legislators in this study do not highlight its role in legislative decision making. Perhaps African American women and men legislators see race as fundamental to their identity, and Black women see race/gender as a critical component of their identity, however professional occupation is not explicitly connected to legislative decision making for Black legislators in this study. White legislators may not be as invested in a racialized identity because Whiteness is an unmarked and unnamed category in America (Frankenberg 1993, Doane and Bonilla-Silva, 2003). As a result, these legislators may identify with an occupational identity since acknowledging Whiteness would entail critically reflecting on the social position of dominance that White people occupy in our society. Finally, both Black men and women legislators agreed that either a racial, gendered, or intersectional identity mattered in the legislative process but only some of the White legislators in this study said that identity did not matter at all.

Specifically, the Black women legislators provided examples of when and how they include identity in legislative decision making through utilizing their experiences to better understand legislation; providing legislative examples that center on race/gender identity on their legislative agenda and/or articulate their legislative priorities. Indeed, taken as a whole the Black women legislators interviewed for this study had the most encompassing view of identity. They expressed a rhetorical commitment to the ways in which identity influences the legislative decision-making process. They also discussed identity in a nuanced manner – either taking an additive approach or an intersectional approach to identity politics.

This essay has demonstrated that the role of identity in representation is readily seen in African American women and men Maryland state

legislators. African American women legislators in Maryland articulate or describe an intersectional identity as a meaningful and significant component of their work as representatives. More specifically, Black women legislators use their identity to interpret legislation differently due to their race/gender identities. Rhetorically, Black women legislators in this study expressed different concerns, challenges, and advantages in the legislative process based on their social positioning. The majority of Black women Maryland state legislators find that the legislative decision making process is informed by both their race and gender. This suggests that race and gender play a profound role in African American women's legislative decision making.

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APPENDIX

Interview Protocol

1) Can you describe your district, your constituents, and the people you represent for me?
    a. Can you talk specifically who the people are in your district?
2) What particular groups or people in your constituency that was particularly important in getting you elected?
    a. Particular groups/people/organizations – not necessarily in your district that were important in getting you elected?
3) Are there people in you district or your constituency who feel a special connection to you? Can you tell me about that?
    a. Who are they?
    b. Why?
    c. Are there people in your constituency that you share a special connection with?
4) Do you think your background/ personal characteristics matters in how your constituency sees you?
5) Do you think your identity matters in how you see/interpret legislation?
6) Do you think your identity plays a role in the legislative process? If so, how?
7) In general, do you believe identity effects or matters in the legislative process?
8) What pressures, if any, do you feel your personal identity brings to bear on legislative decision making?
9) Thinking of where you consider yourself within this body where would you place yourself on a scale from 1-7? Where 1 is at the margin of power and 7 is at the center, where do you feel you fit into this body?
    a. Why?
10) How did you come to your position on this policy (HB 1055 or SB 565 - Religious Freedom & Protection of Civil Marriage Act)?
    a. How did you decide whether you were for or against it?
11) How if any, did your background/personal characteristics and experiences that influenced the position you took (will take) on HB 1055 or SB 565 (Religious Freedom & Protection of Civil Marriage Act) preferences?

12) How, if any, did your identity (specifically – tailored to reflect the legislators racial and gendered make up) matter in this (HB 1055 or SB 565 -Religious Freedom & Protection of Civil Marriage Act) policy context?

13) Do you represent marginalized groups?
   a. If so, what are those groups?

14) What is your relationship with marginalized communities? (LGBT, incarcerated, drug users, etc.)
   a. How close to feel to
   b. Are there active LGBT groups in your constituency?
   c. Do you feel responsibility to represent the LGBT community?
   d. Did the LGBT community play an active role in your election

15) What is your relationship with the elderly community?
   a. How close do you feel to the elderly?
   b. Are there active elderly groups in your constituency?
   c. Do you feel a responsibility to represent the elderly community?

Demographic Questions

16) What year were you born?
17) What is the highest level of education you have achieved?
18) What is your religious preference
19) Would you describe yourself as a born-again or Evangelical Christian?
20) Please indicate your combined family income
   a. Less than $20,000
   b. $20,000 - $40,000
   c. $41,000 - $60,000
   d. $61,000 - $80,000
   e. More than $95,000
21) What is your racial/ethnic background?
   a. White
   b. African American/Black
   c. Asian
   d. Hispanic
   e. Native American
   f. Multi-cultural
22) What is your political ideology?
   a. Extremely Liberal
   b. Liberal
   c. Slightly Liberal

        d.   Moderate, Middle of Road
        e.   Slightly Conservative
        f.   Conservative
        g.   Extremely Conservative
        h.   Don't Know, Haven't Thought

23) What is your marital status?

24) Is there anything that you would like to add

Additional Framing Questions

1) What would you rank amongst your top legislative accomplishments and why?
   a. What are your biggest legislative priorities?

2) What are the significant political events that have shaped your politics?

3) What legislative issues do you have a personal interest? Why?

4) Do you think your background/ personal characteristics such as race, gender, class, generation, etc. matters in how your constituency sees you?

5) Do you think your background/personal characteristics such as race, gender, class, generation, etc. matters in the legislative decision making process?
   a. How do these characteristics play a role in agenda setting and your policy priorities?
   b. If yes, can you give me a legislative example of where your identity mattered?
   c. How do these characteristics play a role agenda setting and your policy priorities?

6) If you were born of a different race, gender, generation, and/or class, how different would you be?
   a. Do you believe that difference would play a role in how you legislate?
   b. Which personal traits manifest themselves in congressional behaviors?

7) Do you think different groups of legislators (such as racial/ethnic minorities, women, etc) bring different things to the legislature?
   a. What are the specific differences?
   b. Can you tell me a story that illustrates those differences?

8) Among your colleagues do you think that ethnicity, race, gender, class, etc. effects bill sponsorship, legislative priorities, and their decision making?

9) Do you see differences between male/female, women of color, and/or racial/ethnic minorities and majorities' legislative agenda?
   a. What are they?
   b. When are you most likely to be aware of those differences?
   c. Can you tell me a story that illustrates those differences?
10) How important to you is it that you represent the interests of people with similar backgrounds or personal characteristics to yours?
11) In general, do you believe identity effects or matters in the legislative process?
12) Can you provide a legislative example of a time you believed your identity may have influenced your understanding of a particular bill?

THE *DEAR DIANE* LETTERS AND THE *BINTEL BRIEF*: THE EXPERIENCES OF CHINESE AND JEWISH IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN ENCOUNTERING AMERICA

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Especially influenced by feminism, post-structuralism, and post-ethnic theories and methodologies, women's/gender studies has developed a multifaceted and ever-changing discursivity in recent decades. Research on race, gender and ethnicity provides scholars with a rich site on which to discuss the meaning of such important concepts as "race," "subjectivity," "sexuality," "body," "class," and "religion." Since the passage of new immigration laws in the 1960s, this has been especially pronounced by an influx of a large number of immigrants into the United States. Studies of immigrant women involve a broader context of relevant research. As scholar Donna Gabaccia argues, studies of immigrants, ethnics, and women share "common roots in some ways" and there has been a flowering research on immigrant women since the 1970s.[1] This "intersectional" study of immigrants is also echoed in scholar Justin Allen Burg's recent research, in which he points out the importance of studying immigrants by combining race, class, gender, and social space together.[2]

The study of minority women is often related to the study of entire ethnic groups. In other words, the study of how immigrant women assimilate, adjust or even resist American society and culture is ingrained in the study of the immigrant minority group. The results of such studies often apply to the study of women/gender and, consequently, they benefit one by expanding one's vision and deepening one's understanding of the specific characteristics that different immigrant women groups possess.

Although one seldom lumps the study of Chinese and Jewish women together because of their different ethnic backgrounds and times of arrival in the United States, they share many common experiences. For example, both groups of women immigrants encountered difficulties dur-

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[1] Donna Gabaccia, "Immigrant Women: Nowhere At Home?," *Journal of American Ethnic History*, 10 (Summer 1991): 61-87.

[2] Justin Allen Berg, "Race, Class, Gender, And Social Space: Using an Intersectional Approach to Study Immigration Attitudes," *The Sociological Quarterly*, 51(Spring 2010): 278-302.

ing the process of adapting to American society and culture. Although different in many other aspects, such as immigration history, language, culture, traditions, and customs, both Chinese and Jewish American women expressed similar frustrations, anxieties, and hopes while immigrating and adapting to American life. In this context, a comparative study of Chinese and Jewish women enables one not only to restore the ignored voice in history, but also, more important, helps one to map out the common territories of their immigrant lives.

It was a coincidence that while assimilating to American life, both Chinese and Jewish women immigrants received advice in a question-and-answer format. The advice column of the *Jewish Daily Forward*—*Bintel Brief*—and the book for young urban Chinese women—*Dear Diane: Questions and Answers For Asian American Women* (1983)—offered guidance in adjusting to America. Although some of the writers of the *Bintel Brief* letters are new immigrants, more and more second- and third-generation writers contribute letters over time about their experiences growing up in the United States. Likewise, the writers of the letters in the *Dear Diane* book are mostly young urban second-generation Chinese American females. In both cases, the questions and answers, from different perspectives, provide scholars with an opportunity to study how race, gender, ethnicity, and culture play a role in their adaptation and assimilation to American life.

In the context of globalization, a consideration of transnationalism is helpful in analyzing the immigrant experiences of Chinese and Jewish American women. In her study of new immigrants, scholar Deborah Dash Moore finds that the resumption of immigration which brought a large number of immigrants mainly from Asia and South America to the United States has produced new models of migration theory, of which the most notable is the concept of transnationalism, "which in turn has raised anew questions about the children of immigrants, the second generation."[3] As a social movement, transnationalism grew out of the enhanced interconnectivity between people and the loosening boundaries between countries. The term transnationalism was coined by Randolph Bourne in his essay *Trans-National America* (1916) to describe a new way of thinking about relationships between cultures. According to Bourne, "America is coming to be, not a nationality but a trans-nationality, a weaving back and forth, with the other lands, of many threads of all sizes and colors."[4] To some extent, transnationalism has designated a

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[3] Deborah Dash Moore, "At Home in America?: Revisiting the Second Generation" in *Immigration, Incorporation and Transnationalism*, ed. Elliot Robert Barkan (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2007), 143-154.

[4] Randolph S. Bourne, "Trans-National America" in *World War Issues and Ideals: Readings in Contemporary History and Literature*, eds. Morris Edmund Speare and Walter Blake Norris (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1918), 348.

recent shift in migration patterns, where a point of departure and a point of arrival have turned into an ongoing movement between two or more social spaces. Indeed, facilitated by the advancement of technology and business on a global scale, immigrants have increasingly developed strong transnational ties to their home countries, thus bringing the social space and geographical space together.

In a historic context, however, assimilation theory is useful in viewing young urban Chinese and Jewish American women's experiences. One of its main points is that the distinctive culture of a minority will eventually erode and the minority's cultural values, social institutions, and ethnic identity will eventually give way to those of the dominant group.[5] As early as 1926, one of the earliest assimilation theorists, Robert Ezra Park, advanced his theory of assimilation. He put forward the theory of a race relations cycle from "contacts," "competition," "accommodation," and eventually "assimilation."[6] Later in 1961, in his article "Assimilation in America," Milton Gordon greatly enriched and redefined the theory of assimilation. He argues that previous theories of "Anglo-conformity," "melting pot," and "cultural pluralism" were concepts too idealized to be acceptable paradigms. Instead, Gordon argues that assimilation should be viewed more broadly and comprehensively. According to Gordon, assimilation is by no means a single phenomenon. Rather, it involves many different types. The three most important are: cultural assimilation, structural or social assimilation, and marital assimilation.[7] Cultural assimilation refers to the minority group's acquisition of the cultural characteristics of the dominant group and structural assimilation looks at social interaction among individuals of different ethnic and racial backgrounds. In addition, marital assimilation involves intermarriage among different ethnic or racial groups.[8] Gordon's theory was further developed by other scholars, such as Herbert Gans and Neil Sandberg, who predicted increasing assimilation in a sequence of generational steps.[9]

In his 1995 article "Revisiting Assimilation," Russell Kazal examines comprehensively the history and the enduring influence of assimilation theory. In doing so, he finds that after the collapse of the idea of an Anglo-Saxon "core" American society in the 1960s, to which everyone

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[5] Norman Yetman, "Patterns of Ethnic Integration in America," in *Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity in American Life, 6th Edition*, ed. Norman Yetman (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1999), 229.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Ibid., 238-239.

[9] Herbert Gans, introduction to *Ethnic Identity and Assimilation: The Polish-American Community: Case Study of Metropolitan Los Angeles*, by Neil Sandberg (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974), vii-xiii.

was presumed to assimilate, there was an urgent need for scholars to redefine assimilation.[10] In 2003, Richard Alba and Victor Nee, for the first time, substantially analyzed the characteristics of current immigrant assimilation since Stanley Lieberson's 1980 *A Piece of a Pie* made a systematic comparative study of immigrant assimilation. In their book, Alba and Nee define assimilation as a form of ethnic change. In other words, they believe that assimilation is "the decline of an ethnic distinc-tion and its corollary cultural and social differences."[11] Accordingly, they suggest, the traditional European immigration pattern has given way to a new mass immigration pattern beginning in the late 1960s. In con-trast to the old immigration pattern, "the new immigrants hail predomi-nantly from the developing societies of Latin America, Asia, and the Caribbean Basin."[12] By comparing the experiences of immigrants to the United States in the late nineteenth century (from Europe and East Asia) and twentieth century (from Latin America, Asia, and the Caribbean Ba-sin), Alba and Nee find that assimilation is still a continuing pattern in shaping the immigrant experience.[13]

The book *Dear Diane: Questions and Answers For Asian American Women* was a response to the appearance of young Asian women immi-grants in the 1960s and 1970s. It appeared in 1983 in three editions: English, English-Chinese, and English-Korean. In the Chinese and Ko-rean language editions, the title reads *Dear Diane: Letters From Our Daughters*.[14] The *Dear Diane* book was a collective enterprise. The pub-lisher was Asian Women United (AWU) of California, an organization founded in 1976 by a group of Asian American women in the San Fran-cisco Bay Area with a mission to "explore the many facets of Asian American women's experiences and varied cultural heritages through publications and video productions."[15] The *Dear Diane* project was also launched by AWU under the leadership of its director, Elaine Kim, the co-founder and former president at AWU. The writer, Diane Yen-Mei Wong, who was the former Chinatown Youth Director and Commis-sioner of the Office of Asian American Affairs in the State of Washing-

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[10] Russell Kazal, "Revisiting Assimilation: The Rise, Fall, and Reappraisal of a Concept in American Ethnic History," in *Majority and Minority*, ed. Norman Yetman, 303.

[11] Richard Alba and Victor Nee, *Remaking the American Mainstream: Assimilation and Contemporary Immigration* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2003), 11.

[12] Ibid., ix.

[13] Ibid., x.

[14] Diane Yen-Mei Wong, *Dear Diane: Questions and Answers For Asian American Wo-men* (Oakland, California: Asian Women United of California, 1983) (English Edition); Diane Yen-Mei Wong, *Dear Diane: Letters from Our Daughters* (Oakland, California: Asian Wo-men United of California, 1983) (Chinese Edition). They are abbreviated as the *Dear Diane* book or letters in this article unless specified otherwise.

[15] Asian Women United (AWU), "Asian Women United of California," accessed March 31, 2011, http://www.asianwomenunited.org/.

ton, wrote all the answers to the letters from Asian-American women, primarily young Chinese and Korean women.

Between 1980 and 1981, AWU surveyed over 600 immigrant and American-born Chinese and other Asian American female students in San Francisco Bay area high schools, colleges, and universities. In her book, Wong provides answers to the questions that these young urban female immigrants and students asked concerning their hopes, dreams, and the problems they faced in their daily life and work. One of the purposes of this project launched by AWU, according to Elaine Kim, was to help young Asian women to better adjust themselves and fit into an American way of life. As Kim states:

> We are presenting these letters to you as an attempt to facilitate better and better communication and understanding between Asian parents and daughters, particularly in immigrant families, where anguish and confusion often results when cultures and customs collide.[16]

The *Bintel Brief* letters were originally printed by the newspaper *The Jewish Daily Forward*, which was founded in 1897 to serve Eastern European Jewish immigrants, and in the process, help them adjust to American society. As Issac Metzker argues, the *Jewish Daily Forward* contains "a true epical history of the Jewish mass immigration and the immigrants' adaptation to life in this country," and is "the biggest, most influential Yiddish newspaper in America."[17]Although the newspaper had been primarily a workingman's newspaper, on January 20, 1906, the *Forward* began publishing a personal-advice column. Soon, with "the personalized tone and human interest reporting of the Yiddish press," the *Bintel Brief* evolved into "a trademark of the newspaper" and "an authority on urban living."[18] Ever since then, many scholars and researchers have written about the *Bintel Brief* letters, but Metzker's *A Bintel Brief* with a *Forward* by Harry Golden, is the most thorough.

Different than the *Dear Diane* letters, which are letters collected only from Asian American women in the early 1980s, *A Bintel Brief* contains letters published by the *Forward* since the early twentieth century. The *Bintel Brief* letters are written by both Jewish women and Jewish men. Referring to the *Bintel Brief*, Abraham Cahan, the editor of the *Jewish Daily Forward* wrote in his 1920 memoirs the following:

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16 Elain Kim, introduction to *Dear Diane: Letters from Our Daughters,* by Diane Yen-Mei Wong (Oakland, California: Asian Women United of California, 1983), 3.

17 Isaac Metzker, ed., *A Bintel Brief: Sixty Years of Letters from the Lower East Side to the Jewish Daily Forward, Vol. One* (New York: Behrman House Inc., Publishers, 1971), 11.

18 Andrew R. Heinze, *Adapting to Abundance: Jewish Immigrants, Mass Consumption, and the Search for American Identity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 153.

> People often need the opportunity to pour out their heavy, laden hearts. Among our immigrant masses, this need was very marked. Hundreds of thousands of people, torn from their homes and dear ones, were lonely souls who thirsted for expression, who wanted to hear an opinion, who wanted advice in solving their weighty problems. The 'Bintel Brief' created just this opportunity for them.[19]

Cahan's words clearly show that Jewish assimilation or adaptation to American life was not an easy process. Jewish immigrants suffered heavily from loneliness and family separation. They were eager to tell people their stories and get "advice in solving their weighty problems." In some sense, the birth of the *Bintel Brief* was a natural outcome of Jewish immigrants' encountering America.

Although the *Dear Diane* book differs from "*A Bintel Brief*" in many significant ways, such as its influence, history, and readership, both of them show that Chinese and Jewish immigrant women experienced similarities in their immigrant life, and they share some characteristics in their acculturation, adaptation and resistance to contemporary American culture.

For the sake of this study, I focused on the fifty letters carried in the English-Chinese *Dear Diane* book and decoded them on the basis of their problems of relationships encountered in family, school, and work. I also selected fifty letters from Metzker's *A Bintel Brief* that best demonstrate Jewish women's similar experiences to those of the Chinese young women during their Americanization. In my selection, I paid special attention to some comparable items, such as age, gender, and relationship problems both Chinese and Jewish women encountered. Although I focus on the second-generation women's letters from both books, to achieve a broader comparative view, my selection also includes letters from the first-generation women because their questions often concern the same problems the second generation experienced.

As Table 1 shows, of all the letters, those mentioning family relationships occur most frequently. For example, in the *Dear Diane* letters, as many as 76 percent of the letters discuss relationships with parents. Letters discussing relationships with peers comprise 20 percent. Fewer of these letters concern relationships with teachers and school work. Similarly, according to Table 2, most of the *Bintel Brief* letters address the parent-child relationship. They comprise as much as 32 percent. The letters mentioning the husband-wife relationship comprise 22 percent. "In-law relationship" letters comprise 18 percent. Together with another 8

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[19] Metzker, *A Bintel Brief, Vol. One*, 13.

percent of letters discussing relationships with relatives, 80 percent of the letters are about family issues. Like their Chinese counterparts, Jewish American women also show a concern over relationships with peers, although they only comprise twelve percent.

TABLE 1 FREQUENCY BY STATUS OF PARTICIPANTS
OF THE *DEAR DIANE* LETTERS

Party Involved	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Parent/Child	38	76
Peer	10	20
Teacher	2	4
Total	50	100

TABLE 2 FREQUENCY BY STATUS OF PARTICIPANTS
OF THE *BINTEL BRIEF* LETTERS

Party Involved	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Parent/Child	16	32
Husband/Wife	11	22
In-law	9	18
Peer	6	12
Relative	4	8
Society	4	8
Total	50	100

As Tables 1 and 2 show, though the parties involved are peers, relatives, and society, most of the letters are written about the parent-child relationship. A close reading of these letters reveals that they are predominantly about family relationships: the parent-child relationship or the husband-wife relationship. Similarly, Tables 3 and 4 indicate that these immigrant groups have other categories of problems, the dominant ones are still the parent-child relationship and identity problems.

TABLE 3 FREQUENCY OF CATEGORIES OF MAJOR PROBLEMS
IN THE *DEAR DIANE* LETTERS

Problem	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Parent/Child	24	48
Identity	23	46
Sex-Orientation	1	2
Sibling Relationship	1	2
Drug	1	2
Total	50	100

TABLE 4 FREQUENCY OF MAJOR PROBLEMS
IN THE *BINTEL BRIEF* LETTERS

Problem	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Parent/Child	17	34
Identity	14	28
Marriage Problems	9	18
Hardship	6	12
Loneliness	4	8
Total	50	100

The difficulties between first-generation immigrants and their daughters, who are mostly American-born and have grown up in the United States, are the most frequently displayed in the mother-daughter relationship, and it is true for both Chinese and Jewish American women. For example, a Chinese daughter expresses her feelings about her parents' being assertive and bossy in their relationship:

> Dear Diane:
> At school, teachers tell us to ask questions and to challenge what they say. At home, though, it's just the opposite. Whenever I offer an opinion that is different than what my folks think, they say I'm rude and disobedient. I suppose that I can remain silent in front of them, but isn't there a way that I can express my opinions without them raising the roof?
> Opinions Not Wanted[20]

In her answers, Diane Yen-Mei Wong writes:

> Dear Opinions: When you are raised in two cultures—Western and Asian—you must often walk a thin tightrope. Going back and forth between the assertive-style

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[20] Wong, *Dear Diane: Letters From Our Daughters*, 13.

> Western way of communication and the more passive-style traditional Asian way can be very frustrating. It's not an easy thing to do! Don't let anyone tell you otherwise.
> There are some steps you can take to minimize the number of times you get rebuffed. First learn to read your parents' moods. . ..
>
> Second, explain to them that if you disagree, you don't mean to upset them or sound disobedient. Rather, you are trying to learn more through discussing it with them. Third, there are many different ways to assert opinions. If you make your parents feel that their way of thinking is wrong, they're going to be defensive and argumentative. . .. Tell your parents, "I understand what you're saying, but how about this?" Then present your own view—not as the correct answer, but merely as another suggestion.
> You may sometimes feel like you are talking to a wall, but who knows, there may be someone listening on the other side![21]

In the above letters, although there are issues over which parent-child conflicts arise, the most important are the problematic parent-child communication and the clash of different cultural values and traditions. One can see most clearly how this conflict played out in the first example. On the parents' side, they are heavily influenced by Chinese culture. In Confucianism, showing filial piety towards one's parents is a standard by which parents judge a child good. This cultural value automatically puts parents in an authoritative and domineering position in the parent/child relationship. Thus, if the child challenges what his/her parents say or think, the child will often be regarded as "rude" and "disobedient." This cultural thinking often makes parents assertive and dominating and the child "polite" and "obedient" in the parent-child relationship.

From the child's perspective, however, the parent-child relationship is unequal and hierarchical. As the daughter complains in her letter, at school, she receives an American education which encourages her to challenge what her teachers say. But at home, if she questions her parents, she is regarded as "rude" and "disobedient."

Growing up and educated in American culture, which values the concepts of equality, democracy, individualism, and opportunity, this daughter has become Americanized—that is, she has become culturally

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[21] Ibid.

assimilated to mainstream American values. She tries to be informal, casual, and free as a result of American cultural influence. She seeks equality with her parents in the parent-child relationship. She even calls them "my folks" in her letter. Although there is no way of telling whether her parents would be able to read their daughter's letter, they might not like to hear their daughter call them "my folks" instead of "my parents." Also, it might be equally hard for them to accept their daughter as their equal.

The writer's responses deserve special attention. A close reading of them reveals that Wong encourages this young woman to embrace American political and cultural values, such as equality, freedom, and independence. Although she recognizes the difficult situation in which one is raised in two cultures—Western and Asian—she does not want this young woman to give up. Instead, throughout her responses, she insists that this young woman should not fear to talk with her parents and even if it does not work, "who knows, there maybe someone listening on the other side!" The advice offered is positive and encouraging in tone by American standards. It seems that it is reasonable, according to the editor, for the second-generation women to identify themselves with American culture and values and resist traditional Chinese parenting culture. As a whole, Wong's responses are considerate, understanding, and instructive.

Likewise, a Jewish mother also expresses her disappointment with her two sons and one daughter:

> Worthy Editor:
>
> I consider myself a progressive woman who thinks there should be no difference between Jews and Christians. . ..
> Now, however, when my daughter has fallen in love with a Gentile, I have become one of those mothers who interferes because I am against this match. I am not one of those fanatic parents who warn their children that they will disown them because of it, but I'm trying with goodness to influence my daughter to break up with the boy. My daughter argues with me: "why? You always used to say that all people are equal." She is educated, she knows how to talk to me, and often I have no answers to her arguments. But I feel this is no match for

> my daughter. Her friend comes here often, and as a person he appeals to me, but not as a husband for her. . ..
>
> Respectfully,
> A Mother[22]

The editor's answer is as follows:

> Answer:
> You yourself answered everything in your letter, and our opinion is the same as yours. Your daughter should also understand that the match is not a good one. But she is infatuated with the young man. And when one is in love, then all the sensible arguments are worthless.[23]

The above letter expresses the mother's anxiety about her daughter's falling in love with a "Gentile" (a person of non-Jewish faith) and her daughter's ignoring her advice. However, the different intergenerational perspectives on interethnic relationship play a significant role in the Jewish mother-daughter relationship. As the letter reveals, the mother-daughter conflict is mainly triggered by different ethnic viewpoints. Although the mother in the letter considers herself a "progressive woman who thinks there should be no difference between Jews and Christians" and believes that "as a person he appeals to me," this does not mean that she can accept this appealing Christian man to be her son-in-law.

Obviously, the Jewish American mother cannot accept the differences between Jews and Christians in her life. To some extent, she still harbors negative opinions of Christians in her heart. Her own religious commitment makes her oppose her daughter's marriage with the Christian man. However, on her daughter's side, she is fully aware of the meaning of the pursuit of happiness. Also she is more tolerant than her mother of religious differences. Growing up under the influence of American culture, this daughter does know how to argue with her mother. To achieve her own happiness, the daughter even attempts to persuade her mother to agree with her decision. Unfortunately, even if she is unable effectively to answer her daughter's arguments, the mother still does not give up her ideas and would try "with goodness to influence my daughter to break up with the boy."

The Jewish American mother's letter shows that when Jewish immigrant women encounter America, intergenerational conflicts are unavoidable. For the Jewish mother, it is unbearable to accept the "boy" as her son-in-law, simply because he is a Christian. For the daughter, however,

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[22] Metzker, *A Bintel Brief, Vol. One*, 149-150.
[23] Ibid., 150.

marriage with a Christian is an acceptable form of assimilation to American life.

This letter contrasts with the *Dear Diane* letter above in that the Jewish daughter is more independent and free in speech and behavior. Despite her mother's resistance, for example, the Jewish American daughter insists that she should still continue her relationship with the Gentile and to justify it, she uses her mother's words "All people are equal," which essentially reflect American democracy and equality. However, the young Chinese American woman cannot be free to do so since in Chinese culture, it will be considered "rude" and "disobedient" for children to do so to their parents. The two letters above suggest that, though both the young Chinese and Jewish women are educated in American culture and both feel restricted by their own ethnic culture, comparatively, the young Jewish American woman still has more freedom and independence than her Chinese counterpart. Thus, it can be inferred that the young Chinese woman has experienced greater difficulty arising from her own ethnic culture than the Jewish American woman during her assimilation or adaptation to American life.

Noticeable with this letter is the editor's answer. While reading it, one can feel the strong tone of the editor's approval of the Jewish American mother's opinion. By saying "our opinion is the same as yours," the editor conveys to the mother his empathy but points out the futility of opposing the daughter, since as he advises, love will dominate. Yet, it indicates that, since this letter was written in 1928, Jewish immigrants also encountered similar generational problems as did second-generation Chinese Americans and to a large extent, the problems are often a result of conflicting cultural and ethnic values. This was especially so when the second-generation immigrants came of age.

Aside from the dominant parent-child conflicts, the identity problems are another concern for the young Chinese and Jewish American women. For example, in the *Dear Diane* letters, as many as twenty three out of fifty mention identity problems, comprising 46 percent of the total. As compared with Chinese women, only fourteen Jewish American women talk about their identity crises, comprising 28 percent of the total. However, identity problems occupy second place both in the Chinese and Jewish women's letters and this shows that during their assimilation to American life, neither the young Chinese nor Jewish women find it easy to identify themselves as "pure" Americans. For example, the following two examples indicate:

> Dear Diane:
> When I was little, my parents tried to force me to learn
> Chinese, but I always resisted. I guess that I was too

concerned about being 100% American like all my friends.

Now that I'm 25, I realize that maybe I should've listen to my mom a little more. I've never been able to share my feelings with my parents or talk with my grandparents. Since they are getting older, I feel like I'm missing out on all of what they have learned.

I've decided to take language classes myself, but I just wanted to encourage other young people to try to maintain their family's language. Don't succumb to the pressures that I felt about trying to be American.
Going To Be Bilingual[24]

Dear Editor,

I am writing you, with my dear husband's permission, about the resentment we feel over our daughter-in-law, and I ask your advice. . . . Our daughter-in-law was never too friendly toward us, but we overlooked a great deal. A short time ago, when my husband and I went there, she suddenly announced that she wanted us to visit our grandchildren only once in two weeks, and that we should avoid coming to them on weekend when they have guests.

I didn't know at first what my daughter-in-law meant, but she explained that, as her children were growing up, she didn't want them to learn from us to speak English with a Jewish accent. Our dear daughter-in-law wasn't even ashamed to tell us that we didn't fit in with her group of friends who were real Americans, while we were foreigners.
It's true we're not American-born (we came to this country over forty years ago) and our English is not "perfect," but we are very hurt by our daughter-in-law's remark. I answered her then that in our youth we had no time to learn the English that was spoken in high society because we had to work hard to raise a college-educated husband for her. I told her my husband often had to work overtime in order to be able to send our son to college, to make him a professional man. . ..

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[24] Wong, *Dear Diane: Letters From Our Daughters*, 39.

> We ask you, is this right? Should children act this way?
> What can we do, dear Editor, since we miss our
> grandchildren so? We are hurt and want to know
> whether we must obey these rules laid down by our
> daughter-in-law. Please answer soon.
> With heartfelt thanks,
> Grandma and Grandpa[25]

From the above examples, one finds that the younger generation of Chinese and Jewish women has an identity crisis. The young woman in the first example refuses to learn Chinese in order to be "100% American" like all her friends. In her eyes, to achieve and maintain this American identity, she should not learn Chinese. In this sense, the Chinese language becomes a benchmark by which one can be judged as an American or not. But when she grows older, this young woman begins to feel as if she had missed out on what her grandparents and parents had learned, so she decided to take Chinese language classes herself. From this example, one can see that the identity is fluid and changing with the daughter's growing up.

Indeed, on the one hand, the younger generation of Chinese American women was born and grew up in the United States. Most of them can get a good school education, and they desire to be the same as their American counterparts. In other words, they want to assimilate socially and culturally into American mainstream culture. On the other hand, because of their parents' cultural and ethnic differences, they are still inevitably linked to their family lineage, heritage, and tradition. They are still Chinese Americans.

Likewise, the second example indicates that growing up for Jewish American women also challenges their sense of identity. Although the *Bintel Brief* letters do not mention ethnic/racial differences as often as their Chinese counterparts, this does not mean that Jewish women take it for granted that they are true Americans. Actually elements, such as religion and language, play a role in Jewish women's acculturation, assimilation, or even resistance to American society and life. From the daughter-in-law's reaction to her parents-in-law in this example, one sees maintaining her or her children's American identity is worthwhile even if it means alienating her parents-in-law from her family.

The two example letters mentioned above show a dilemma in the young Chinese and Jewish American women's efforts to assimilating to American society and culture. On the one hand, since they were born and grew up in America, they would like to be treated like real Americans not foreigners. But the older they grow, the more they realize that they

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25 Metzker, *A Bintel Brief*, 204-205.

are still hyphenated Americans. This is particularly true for Chinese American women. As compared with Jewish American women, the Chinese have another hindrance in their assimilation process: their physical differences.

However, to gain and keep their American identity, the younger generation must break away from the influence of their parents' culture. Just as occurred when Jewish daughter-in-law distinguished with her parents-in-law above, such treatment inevitably engenders more family conflicts and crises.

In the *Bintel Brief* letters, marriage problems rank the third highest out of all the categories involving Jewish American women. Although few of the English *Dear Diane* letters directly address marriage problems because of the Asian American women's younger age, several letters express concerns with intermarriage.
For example, one letter writes:

> Dear Diane:
>
> My mom always told me as I was growing up that when white boys look at you, they're thinking no good of you and that I should avoid them at all costs.
> I'm 19 and have just met my Chemistry Lab teaching assistant. He has blond hair and the most beautiful blue eyes. He's got the kind of personality that I have found only in Caucasians, and not in Asians. I like him a lot, but I'm also very conscious of what my mom told me about whites. Maybe he just finds me exotic. What should I do?
> Loving Chemistry[26]

In her responses, Wong writes:

> Dear Loving Chemistry:
> Beware of relationships that are based only on physical characteristics or on a stereotyped personality. You say that you have just met him, so you don't know very much about him and what he is like on the inside. Yet, you say he has characteristics that Asian guys don't. You're not only treating Asian men on the basis of a stereotype, but you're also doing it to your instructor. Neither what your mom said about whites nor what you have said is necessarily true.
>
> What may be even more dangerous is that your instructor may do the same to you, and see you only as a stere-

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[26] Wong, *Dear Diane: Questions and Answers For Asian American Women*, 53.

otypical Asian American woman—exotic and mysterious. If he does anything more to you than that, you may find this type of relationship a bit shallow and boring in the long run.

Instead of making broad generalizations about Asian men, or snap judgments about blue-eyed blonds, take your time and give each man a chance to show you his true colors.

Don't jump into this relationship solely on the basis of your body chemistry![27]

Similarly, a *Bintel Brief* letter to the editor:

Dear Friend Editor:

We've live through a lot, and now we face another problem.

My husband and I are not religious, but we lead a traditional Jewish life. Therefore, it was a blow for us when our daughter, without telling us, married a non-Jew. When she came to tell us what she had done, she kept promising us that she and her husband, who is a learned man, planned to keep some of the Jewish tradition in their home. We were angry with her, but since we didn't want to become estranged from our daughter, we accepted the inevitable.

. . . .

Not long ago I was at my sister's home and I was told that since my daughter's husband is not Jewish, they cannot make a *brith [ritual circumcision]*. We don't know if this is so, but we, and especially our daughter, are very upset. She hopes to have a son and wants him to be named for her grandfather, who was a religious man and whom she loved dearly. Our non-Jewish son-in-law is not religious, but she loves our daughter very much and wants to do everything he can to make her happy.

I ask you not to delay giving us your answer because the time is short.

With thanks and respect,

B.R.[28]

The editor replies:

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[27] Ibid., 53-54.

[28] Isaac Metzker, *A Bintel Brief: Letters to the Jewish Daily Forward, 1950-1980, Volume Two* (New York: The Viking Press, 1981), 87-88.

> Though the "Bintel Brief" column doesn't print letter about this type of problem, we will make an exception in your case, which shows the confusion in Jewish life today. We don't give advice on religious matters because, first, we don't know all the details, and second, there are, thank goodness, enough rabbis here who can handle these questions. Therefore, it would be advisable for you to consult a rabbi about this. Finally, we want to note that many children of mixed marriages are very disturbed when they grow up, because when they are asked whether they are Jews or Christians, they don't know what to answer.[29]

Both letters concern the issue of intermarriage, though the difference is that the young Chinese American woman likes a white man because of his physical beauty, while the Jewish American daughter married a non-Jew against her parents' wishes. In regards to their daughter's attitude toward a man of another ethnic group, it is surprisingly similar yet there is a marked difference between the first-generation and second-generation Chinese and Jewish immigrants. For example, the first generation still has close connections to their homeland and culture and do not encourage their daughter to marry somebody from a different ethnic group. In the Chinese mother's case, she is assertive saying that white men are no good and her daughter should stay away from the white teaching assistant; in the Jewish American mother's case, though she and her husband are not religious people, Jewish tradition and culture do not accept outmarriage. Since their daughter has already married, they have to "accept the inevitable." Both cases reflect that neither Chinese nor Jewish culture, religion, and values encourage exogamy and this is most evident among first-generation immigrants.

It is also surprising to find that the editors' responses share almost the same characteristics—caution and warning. For example, in Wong's responses, though she seems to be objective about making an assertive statement about whites, she uses the words "Beware of relationships that are based only on physical characteristics or on a stereotyped personality" and "Don't jump into this relationship solely on the basis of your body chemistry!" to warn the young Chinese woman that her love for the white man might be an illusion and won't last long, therefore indirectly supporting her mother's words about whites. In the *Bintel Brief* editor's answer, this "cautious" tone is more clearly demonstrated. The editor first points out that the *Bintel Brief* column does not print this kind of letter because it shows "the confusion in Jewish life today." Then the

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[29] Ibid., 88.

editor refuses to give any advice on religious matters but at the end of his answer, the editor's word: ". . . many children of mixed marriages are very disturbed when they grow up, because when they are asked whether they are Jews or Christians, they don't know what to answer." This sounds more like a warning rather than advice. So it is reasonable to believe that, in providing answers, perhaps both editors identify strongly with their own ethnic group and thus answer the questions from a mixed perspective involving their own ethnic culture and American culture.

Although the women writers in the *Dear Diane* and the *Bintel Brief* letters are different in some respects, such as their different ethnic backgrounds and times of arrival, the Chinese and Jewish American women share more commonalities with each other in their encounters with America. In other words, the process of Americanization has affected them and their families in a similar way. First of all, the generational parent-child problems exist in both cases. In the *Dear Diane* and the *Bintel Brief* letters, it is either the daughter who complains about the relationship with her parents—usually her mother—or the mother who shows dissatisfaction with her daughter. Such conflicts pervade almost every aspect of their lives. Usually these generational problems arise from different cultural influences on the parts of parents and daughters.

Second, due to cultural, ethnic, and religious influences, the conflicts expressed in both groups of letters cannot be avoided and resolved. The older generation has been strongly influenced by their ethnic cultures and traditions so much that, though they live in America, they cannot give up their traditional cultures and practices. In other words, cultural, structural and marital assimilation is more difficult for them than for their children. Rather, they would like their daughters to inherit and pass on their own ethnic cultures to the third or the fourth generations.

However, since the younger generation of women was born and raised in America, most of them can get a better American education than their parents. They want to treat their parents in the way that a "real" American treats his or her parents, that is, with a truly equal, free, and independent spirit. This spirit can often lead to a direct conflict with first-generation parents. Neither of the two parties gives in to each other.

Lastly, letters from both Chinese and Jewish American women reveal a sense of identity crisis. As both groups of letters of the generational conflicts reveal, the younger generation of women often identify themselves more as American than their parents do, but they feel lost when they find that their American identity is neither recognized by mainstream society nor by their parents. Therefore, assimilation for young Chinese women and Jewish women is by no means taken for granted.

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"FOR HEART, PATRIOTISM, AND NATIONAL DIGNITY": THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE PRESS IN NEW YORK CITY AND CONSTRUCTIONS OF AFRICA, RACE, AND CIVILIZATION

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A day after the brutal lynching of eleven Italian immigrants in New Orleans in 1891, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* published a front-page letter to the editor signed only by the name Marchese. A resident of Massachusetts, Marchese expressed outrage over the cruel work of the mob in New Orleans and added that his hometown of Springfield commiserated with the victims. Moreover, he expressed particular shock over how this could happen in a "civilized" nation such as America. Echoing a sentiment that prevailed throughout the Italian American press, Marchese concluded that the barbaric act of lynching might be expected in Africa *tenebrosa* (*dark*, *murky*), but not in the United States.[1] In a letter to *Cristofero Colombo*, another New York Italian American daily, reader Alberto Dini went one step further by maintaining that "not even the savage population of Central Africa would approve of such a disgraceful action."[2] For the Italian language mainstream press in general, the line between African *savagery* and American *civilization* had become blurred: "But where are we? The only difference now between the free sons of America and the savages of Africa is that Americans have yet to become flesh eating cannibals."[3] In a scathing indictment of American lawlessness, African *savagery* was held as the standard against which to judge American society. In response to Dini's letter, the *Cristofero Colombo* asserted "at least cannibals respect the laws of primitive tribal justice so that a massacre like this would have been avoided."[4]

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[1] *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, March 16,1891; After the lynching of 3 Italians in Hahnville, Louisiana in 1893 a letter written to *Il Progresso* from a man in New York City echoed almost verbatim the sentiments of Marchese's letter. Again, the word *tenebroso* was used to describe the African continent. Ibid., July 30,1893.

[2] *Cristofero Colombo*, March 18,1891. An article in *Cristofero Colombo* expressed outrage and surprise that such an atrocity "would happen in a 'civilized' nation such as America . . . . if it had occurred in Africa this type of savagery would be more understandable." Ibid., March 20,1891.

[3] *L'Araldo Italiano*, August 11,1896.

[4] *Cristofero Colombo*, March 15,1891.

Influenced by contemporary attitudes in Italy that exalted *italianita* by degrading the darker other, including southern Italians, Italian language newspapers in New York City remained quite comfortable with a racial hierarchy that positioned Africa as the lowest rung on the racial ladder. The image of Africa became a convenient trope for Italian language newspapers wrestling with their own questions of Italian American identity in a new and often inhospitable country that frequently doubted Italian racial fitness. Examining the African American press, Eric Vogel stressed that "a periodical analyzed as a cultural production creates an ideal stage for examining society. . .In this way, the press gives us the chance to see writers forming and reforming ideologies, creating and recreating a public sphere, and staging and restaging race itself."[5] During mass immigration, Italian language newspapers emerged out of necessity to fill a crucial void in the lives of an ever-increasing stream of settlers. Whether reporting on events in Italy, organizing subscription drives for Italian earthquake victims or memorials to Italian heroes, publishing employment advertisements, or information about labor organization, the Italian language press catered to its consumers and offered a life vest for many Italians grasping for normalcy in their new environment. Italian language newspapers played a pivotal role in this process by forging an Italian racial identity centered upon the exalted civilization of an Italian national past wiped clean of sectional discord and questionable racial character.[6]

For Italian immigrants negotiating a harsh, nativist environment, the pages of mainstream newspapers in New York City became a site for identity formation as editors and journalists put forth a fledgling notion of Italian identity that had only recently emerged out of post-unification Italy. Reacting to American violence against Italians, especially instances of lynching, Italian language newspapers propped up Italian civilization in stark contrast to the *savage* barbarism of American mob violence. Frequently New York's Italian language press constructed Africa as a primitive, *savage* continent, the polar opposite of European,

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[5] See Todd Vogel, Ed., *The Black Press: New Literary and Historical Essays*, (Rutgers University Press, NJ: 2001), 2-3.

[6] For more on the role of the Italian immigrant press, and the immigrant press in general, see: Robert E. Park, *The Immigrant Press and Its Control* (Harper and Brothers Publishers, New York: 1922); Humbert Nelli, "The Role of the Colonial Press in the Italian American Community of Chicago, 1886-1921" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago: 1965), 48. See also Rudolph Vecoli, "The Italian Immigrant Press and the Construction of Social Reality,1850-1920" in *Print Culture in a Diverse America*, James P. Danky and Wayne A. Wiegand, Eds.,(University of Illinois Press, Urbana: 1998); Christiane Harzig and Dirk Hoerder, Eds., *The Press of Labor Migrants in Europe and North America, 1880s – 1930s* (Publications of the Labor Newspaper Preservation project, University of Bremen: 1985); Sally Miller, Ed., *The Ethnic Press in the United States: A Historical Analysis and Handbook*, (Greenwood Press, CT: 1987).

western societies and often employed the phrase *continente Nero* (black continent) or *Africa tenebrosa* (murky, dark Africa).[7] Even radical Italian language newspapers appropriated this imagery, most forcefully to criticize those southern Italian immigrants whom they viewed as gullible and ignorant fools swindled by Catholic clergymen.

For mainstream newspapers, however, their portrayals of Africa as the *savage*, black continent, served multiple goals. Although utilizing such harsh rhetoric served to inflate their own sense of civilization and emerging Italian identity, Italy's colonial ventures in northern Africa in the 1890s and again in 1911-1912 would have a crucial impact on expediting the process. And, after suffering a bitter defeat to Ethiopia at Adowa in 1896, Italian success in Libya became even more important to sustaining an emerging Italian racial pride. Writing in 1922, Sociologist Robert Park maintained that mainstream newspapers such as *Il Progresso* served to break down the "local and provincial loyalties with which immigrants arrived, and a substituted a less intense but more national loyalty in its place." Implicit in this process, Park stressed, was the importance of the press in fostering, or creating, a hybrid identity, "neither American nor foreign, but a combination of both."[8] It would be this rhetoric of Italian civilization, often constructed in opposition to African savagery and championed by *prominenti*-owned newspapers that would inform how the Italian language press in New York City socially constructed categories of race, color, civilization, and identity.

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In the late 19th and early 20th century American civilization became a topic of intense debate in the Italian language press as Italian immigrants faced negative perceptions, discrimination, and violence upon their arrival. Much like American contemporaries, Italian language newspapers subscribed to a hierarchical notion of race and designations of *civilized* and *savage* nations littered the pages of mainstream and radical newspapers. However, during this period Italian language newspapers consistently employed the image of Africa as the most appropriate way to convey savagery. For the Italian language mainstream press, in particular, dark Africa, or *Africa tenebrosa*, became a useful vehicle, a familiar language, to channel disappointment and outrage over American mistreatment and negative portrayals. "How can they be the most civilized people in the world if they lynch people," asked *Il Progresso*, "lynching only occurs in uncivilized nations . . . . And if it is a civilized nation, she [America] has a duty to educate the barbarians from the

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[7] *L'Eco d'Italia*, March 5,1896; *L'Araldo Italiano*, March 10,1896; *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, March 16,1891.

[8] Quoted from Park, 79;84;87.

South."[9]   Unlike their own claims supporting Italian colonial ventures
into Africa, mainstream newspapers attacked American imperial claims
of bearing the *white man's burden*. Indeed, the press ironically mocked
American missionary excursions into China and central Africa in light of
the *uncivilized* behavior directed at Italian immigrants in the United
States.[10] Perhaps the harshest contemporary criticism "demoted" Ameri-
can civilization to a racial classification akin to African. In 1899, main-
stream *Il Progresso* declared "why do they say they[Americans] have to
send people to civilize the barbarians in the Philippines when we have
white *Matabeli* here in the United States." The word *Matabeli* is derived
from the root word Matabeleland which is contemporary Zimbabwe. In
this example, the uncivilized actions of Americans contradict their sup-
posed mission to *civilize* Philipinos. However, by juxtaposing racial sig-
nifiers and giving the "savage" a white face, use of the term "white
Matabeli" raised questions as to whether *Il Progresso* believed Ameri-
cans could ever be completely equivalent to "uncivilized" and "black"
Africans.[11]

In addition to New York's mainstream press, Italian language radi-
cal newspapers also embraced the familiar language of racial hierarchy,
in particular the image of Africa *tenebrosa*. Whether inveighing against
capitalism, southern Italian ignorance, religion, or *prominenti*, the radical
press, much like its mainstream counterpart, often expressed its scorn
and disappointment through comparisons to *savage* Africa. For example,
in the anarchist *La Questione Sociale* an article entitled *Ancient and
Modern Cannibalism* lamented the exploitive character of capitalism by
juxtaposing modern nations with primitive societies. "We are worse than
the savages because we have a keenly developed intellect and should
know better . . . . in the so called civilized countries and especially in
those we inhabit the form of savage African cannibalism does not exist
. . . . however, many people are still killed by the thousands in different
ways every day.[12] Radical papers often employed the image of African
savagery even when condemning race based theories of oppression. In
1916 the socialist *Il Proletario* sarcastically chided a Boston clergyman
for promoting race purification theories. The paper added that the Rever-
end was fortunate his comments had a forum such as America "which is
the land of the cowboys and where civilization is on par with the barbari-
ans of equatorial Africa." Ironically, this example illuminates the facile
manner in which the press could criticize racial hierarchy by simultane-
ously sustaining the image of *primitive* Africa to convey America's de-

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9 *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, July 29,1899.
10 Ibid., March 16,1891.
11 Ibid., August 5,1899.
12 *La Questione Sociale*, October 27,1906.

scent into *savagery*.[13] Similarly, many other examples utilized language likening American capitalism to "savage beasts from central Africa"[14] or "conquistadors of savage Africa."[15]

Perhaps the radical press' most compelling narrative compared southern Italians to African *savages*. Framed within the context of the *sovversivi's* virulent anticlericalism, immigrant religious traditions and rituals, such as public processions venerating local patron saints or *madonnas*, usually bore the brunt of *sovversivi* scorn. Italian immigrant feasts were described as festivals of "superstition, prejudice, and ignorance—a celebration of darkness in the middle of so much light, civility and progress."[16] Further, southern Italian immigrants were portrayed as "savage people from the backcountry of Calabria and Sicily—without shoes, with long hair resembling witches more than human beings. . . . "[17] The radical press' critique illuminates how easily the civilization of southern Italians could be questioned and marginalized. In addition to condemning priests and *prominenti*, *sovversivi* took aim at mainstream Italian language newspapers such as *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* and *Bolletino della Sera*, criticizing them for their support of a "feast organized by a mass of criminals."[18] For example, ridiculing Italian immigrants and the mainstream newspaper *Il Bolletino della Sera*, the anarchist *La Questione Sociale* stated that "Italians above all people believe in miracles as if they were in the Middle Ages. . . . it is a conflict between ancient barbary and modern civilization."[19] From their perspective, some of the blame could be attributed to an infantile trust in priests that permeated southern Italian actions. The anarchist *La Questione*

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[13] In addition to outright comparisons associating *savage* Africans with southern Italians, for example, there was also the tendency to use Africans metaphorically in order to illuminate a point. For instance, in an article criticizing the *prominenti*-owned Italian language press in New York, *Il Proletario* maintained that these newspapers were vehicles for exploitation and prostitution and exclaimed in disgust that *prominenti* newpapers were full of such grotesque nonsense that "not even a Zulu would accept it." *Il Proletario*, October 28,1916.

[14] *La Questione Sociale*, November 26,1904. After the fatal shooting of Giovanni Bazzani, a young Italian boy who mistakenly trespassed onto a farm in Clinton, Indiana, *La Questione Sociale* used this "unpardonable crime" to outline the evils of private property in the United States. In its outrage, *La Questione Sociale* complained, "Is this how American farmers defend their property? These crimes are so atrocious that they would horrify and disgust even savage beasts from central Africa."

[15] See *Il Proletario*, June 2,1911. *Il Proletario* commonly referenced Africa as *savage*. For example, in one article critical of police on horseback, the newspaper stated that officers resembled the "conquistadors of savage Africa." *Il Proletario*, March 1,1912.

[16] Ibid., July 19, 1902.

[17] Ibid., July 21,1900. Mainstream newspapers used similar images of "barefoot" natives to convey the primitiveness of Africans. See *L'Eco d'Italia*, March 26, 1896; *L'Araldo Italiano*, March 20, 1896.

[18] *Il Proletario*, July 21,1900.

[19] See *La Questione Sociale*, July 25,1903; See also similar comments regarding the medieval aspects of the Feast of La Madonna del Carmine from Paterson, New Jersey—a vibrant anarchist Italian colony. *La Questione Sociale*, July 27,1907.

Sociale explained that this behavior was not unique to Italians, but had also been exhibited by the Zulu tribes of Africa.[20]

Much like its opponents in the mainstream Italian language press, the socialist *Il Proletario* remained quite conscious of the perception and image of Italian immigrants. To radicals, "ignorant, illiterate, superstitious southern Italian immigrants" had become an easy target for swindling priests and the *prominenti* who supported them. And, according to the Italian language radical press, spectacles such as religious feasts and processions were a clandestine ruse designed to divest the Italian working class of its wages. Every summer the religious feast held at Our Lady of Mt. Carmel in East Harlem elicited attention from socialist and anarchist newspapers and served to re-enforce existing images of *civilization* and *savagery*. Embarrassed and frustrated over the behavior of their countrymen and women, Italian radical newspapers excoriated southern Italian immigrants for their gullibility and ignorance. *Il Proletario* asked incredulously if the "orgies and fantasies of the *pelli rosse* (*redskins*) or the *ottentoti* (*Hottentots*) could be any more inferior to the sad spectacle our Italian colony has offered us the last few days?"[21]

"THE HEARTS OF IMMIGRANTS BEAT IN UNISON WITH THAT OF MOTHER ITALY"

Although the emergence in specific and meaningful ways of an Italian identity within the pages of Italian language mainstream newspapers was predicated upon constructing a civilized Italy, it also owed much to the persistent image of a black, African other. Since the Italian language press so frequently associated what was considered *uncivilized* or *savage* with Zulus and Hottentots, it was unsurprising that Italians perceived themselves as quite the opposite. And, for immigrant arrivals who did not possess a strong sense of nation, or *Italian-ness* upon arrival, the Italian government's late nineteenth and early twentieth century colonial wars with African countries served as a graphic example of this perceived racial hierarchy.

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20 Ibid., September 30, 1905.

21 *Il Proletario*, July 21, 1900. *Pelle rosse* (*redskin*) was a frequently used term for Native Americans in both the mainstream and socialist press. *Ottentoti* derived from the Italian word *ottentotto*, meaning *Hottentot*, and referred to the language of the Khoiskhoin peoples of South Western Africa and Namibia. It was an oft used marker to distinguish *savage* from *civilized* in the Italian language press during the period of mass immigration. In 1915, *Il Proletario* used the same comparison to condemn Americans for their violent behavior towards African Americans. "This attack was in defense of property ownership and the victims were Black, however, the 'civil' people of society will say it was perpetrated 'without racism, without prejudice and was inspired by the highest sense of humanitarianism. If this is civility I would prefer to associate myself with the Hottentots of the Congo." See *Il Proletario*, September 4, 1915.

Coming out of Italian unification in 1860, Italians wrestled with the task of constructing a unique Italian identity from the fractious provincial and regional identities that had dominated its history. Compared to European neighbors, Italy suffered from high illiteracy rates, low educational achievement, infrastructure problems, and low political participation that rendered the task of nation building rather bleak. However, using the state and the military as the means through which to consolidate power, Italy's bourgeoisie—held together by a common language and literature—used the language of patriotism to mold a nationalistic history connecting post-unification Italy to a distant past. According to John Dickie, the proliferation of racial stereotypes related to the problem of the *mezzogiorno* (Italian South) must be viewed within the context of upper class and elite Italian anxiety over the probability of creating a successful nation state after unification.[22] Indeed, a critical theme informing nationalistic and patriotic attitudes disseminating within Italy's elite classes revolved around the emerging concept of the south as a region marked by backwardness and criminality, savagery and darkness. Fused with these perceptions was the *mezzogiorno's* negative connection to Africa, especially central Africa, as the ultimate image of darkness and savagery. One of the many factors creating "imagined communities," to borrow Benedict Anderson's phrase, is positing a normative value to one's version of nation by employing definitions of what it is not. During the late 19th and early twentieth century imagined constructions of Italian identity and Italian nationhood emerged simultaneously with alternate constructions of a backward, criminal, and *African* South.[23]

Following the example of other European states in the late nineteenth-century, Italy embarked on a colonial path into Africa. This was fueled by a belief that not only could European *civilization* deliver Africa from *savagery*, but African conquest would solve domestic problems as well. For the recently unified Italian nation, the "scramble for Africa" served to awaken political and popular consciousness about people of color and highlighted issues of national prestige, foreign diplomacy, and

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22 See John Dickie, *Darkest Italy: The Nation and Stereotypes of the Mezzogiorno, 1860-1900* (St. Martin's Press, NY: 1999), 1-23. See also Gabriella Gribaudi, "Images of the South: The *Mezzogiorno* as seen by Insiders and Outsiders," in Robert Lumley & Jonathan Morris, Eds., *The New History of the Italian South: The Mezzogiorno Revisited* (University of Exeter Press, London: 1997); Vito Teti, Ed., *La razza maladetta: origini del pregiudizio antimeriodionali* (Manifestolibri, Rome: 1993); Claudia Petraccone, *Le due civilta'* (Laterza, Rome-Bari: 2000).

23 See Dickie, 18; Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: Reflection on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism *(Verso, NY: 1983).*

domestic overpopulation.[24] Quarrels with France over colonial posses-
sions, trade agreements, and control of the Western Mediterranean
caused Italy to come to the imperial table later than France and England.
The French occupation of Tunis in 1881, in particular, was a heavy blow
to Italy, both in prestige and national interests, especially since more than
9000 Italians settlers lived there as compared to only 200 French. In an
attempt to protect her interests and prevent isolation in world power
politics, Italy signed a defensive alliance with Germany and Austria-
Hungary known as the Triple Alliance. Although the alliance provided
some sense of security, it did not give Italians the sense of pride and
glory that many hungered for.

In its effort to carve a niche for itself on the African continent, It-
aly's initial interest centered on the Red Sea around the port of Massawa
which she occupied in 1885. By 1890, Italy had established a protector-
ate over Ethiopia (Abyssinia) and pushed further inland linking their Red
Sea possessions of Massawa and Assab to form Eritrea; Italy also began
the conquest of Somalia, which formally became an Italian colony in
1905. According to Martin Clark, "Italian colonialism was not founded
on any need to secure raw material supplies . . . . it was the agricultural
crisis of the mid-1880s and the need to export social problems that un-
derlay it, together with a frustrated desire for self-assertion."[25] Indeed,
some of the greatest enthusiasm was to be found in the South, where the
pervasiveness of agrarian misery and overpopulation made the idea of
emigration to foreign territories under the Italian flag attractive.[26] How-
ever, disputes between Empereor Menelik and the Italian government
over Italian claims of a protectorate over Ethiopia, as well as campaigns
to prevent the French from gaining a foothold in the region, resulted in
the eruption of hostilities between Italian forces and Menelik's indige-
nous army. By the late 1890s Italy had become embroiled in a very
expensive colonial war in Africa.[27]

Having had already experienced a bitter colonial defeat at Dogali in
1887, the battle of Adowa in March 1896 proved to be the most humiliat-
ing and enduring for the Italian military. Despite retaining the territories
of Eritrea and Somalia, Adowa was a crushing blow for a nation attempt-
ing to claim colonial glory and honor by colonizing Africans. Mass-
produced pamphlets containing songs and poems were sold and circu-

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[24] For a more thorough discussion of the European quest for colonies in Africa in the late
nineteenth century see Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa: White Man's Conquest of
the Dark Continent From 1876 to 1912* (Avon Books, New York: 1991).

[25] Martin Clark, *Modern Italy 1871-1982* (Longman, New York: 1984), 47.

[26] Christopher Seton-Watson, *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism,1870-1925* (Methuen &
Co. Ltd., London: 1967), 118.

[27] For a fuller discussion of Italian colonialism into Africa in the late nineteenth century,
see Clark, 46-48; 99-101; Seton-Watson, 98-182.

lated widely throughout the country in the aftermath of Adowa as the bitter defeat remained imbedded in the collective consciousness of Italians. One particular pamphlet *Vittoria Italiana in Africa (Italian Victory in Africa)* focused upon the period before Adowa as if to deny the defeat ever occurred. Instead, the epic poem described the honor and valor of Italian soldiers as they battled the "wicked and nasty" African soldiers. The image conveyed was that of the *savage* African who engages in military subterfuge that other *civilized* nations, such as Italy, would not employ in battle. Produced for mass propaganda, these kinds of pamphlets created a negative image of the African that seeped into the popular mind.[28]

Despite the disappointing outcome for many Italian immigrants, Italy's attempts to colonize Ethiopia in the 1890s functioned as an important element in community-formation within immigrant enclaves.[29] For instance, during the Ethiopian campaign Italian immigrant organizations, such as *Il Comitato Italiano* in Baltimore, Maryland, dispersed leaflets to areas as far West as Denver, Colorado, to champion the cause of the homeland. Addressed to *connazionali (countrymen)*, the leaflet stated that "although there is support in Italy, we here in the United States want to assert our solidarity with our brothers across the great ocean . . . . our sentiments are so strong we need to assert ourselves as Italians."[30] Throughout the campaign, which had begun in January 1896, such manifestations of support for Italian victory over African forces appeared to be ubiquitous within the Italian immigrant communities from Lawrence, Massachusetts to Chicago, Illinois.[31] Italian immigrants inaugurated new ethnic organizations that began by "saluting the heroic Italian soldiers in Africa and the hope for a deserved victory."[32] A group of Italian women in Chicago organized within the ethnic community a collection drive spe-

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[28] Pamphlet, "Storia della Vittoria Italiana in Africa e disfatta di Ras Mangascia," (Tipografia Adriano Salani, Viale Militare, Firenze: 1910). The illustration depicted an African man dressed in tunic, with braided hair held in place by metal rods, and protruding teeth.

[29] According to Stefano Luconi, "stimulating a sense of nationalistic identity out of a military defeat. . .was rather difficult." However, despite the "shame" of losing to Menelik's indigenous forces, the emergence of a nascent national identity cannot be underestimated, nor dismissed, solely predicated upon the eventual negative outcome (from the Italian perspective). Indeed, the prevalence of rhetoric seeking to avenge the loss at Adowa during the Libyan campaign was proof of the effects that campaign had on identity formation in Italian immigrant communities. See Stefano Luconi, "The Impact of Italy's Twentieth-Century Wars on Italian Americans' Ethnic Identity" *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 13: 465-491, 2007.

[30] Leaflet, Connazionali, January 21,1896, ASMAE, Ambasciata di Washington, busta 107, fascicolo 14, "Mobilitazione di italiani negli S.U. per la campagna d'Africa,1896."

[31] Francesco Marrocco to Consul General, New York, April 17,1896, Carlo Ginocchio to Italian Ambassador in Washington, D.C., April 2,1896, ASMAE, Ambasciata di Washington, busta 107, fascicolo 14, "Mobilitazione di italiani negli S.U. per la campagna d'Africa,1896."

[32] Consul General of New York, April 17,1896, G.B.Rosasco to Italian Ambassador in Washington D.C., ASMAE, Ambasciata di Washington, busta 107, fascicolo 14, "Mobilitazione di italiani negli S.U. per la campagna d'Africa,1896."

cifically for the war with Ethiopia, the proceeds of which were sent directly to Italy's Queen Margherita.[33] Italian American men were sufficiently inspired to offer their lives in the war against Africa. In Colorado some wrote letters to the Italian Ambassador in Washington requesting permission to send volunteer soldiers to fight in Eritrea.[34] In New York, one Italian captain was recruiting men to fight in the name of the Italian Ambassador until it was discovered that he was not authorized to do so.[35] Perhaps the most symbolic example of the nationalist sentiment provoked by the African campaign is the letter sent by V.A. Scaletta in 1896. Having served in the Italian Cavalry in 1867, Scaletta asked the Italian Ambassador in Washington if he could be accorded the honor of serving as a simple soldier in the Italian war effort in Africa.[36] Although the Italian Embassy politely refused all considerations for Italian American volunteer soldiers, not to mention a retired officer, such overtures illustrated the range of enthusiasm for Italian colonial aims in Africa.

Through all of this, however, the Italian language mainstream press remained instrumental in fomenting fierce national support and making the African campaign a *cause celebre* within Italian American communities. Newspaper owners such as Carlo Barsotti fostered a collective sense of Italian patriotism and fidelity to *la patria* most immigrants had never experienced.[37] Mainstream newspapers in New York City justified Italian aggression in Africa on the basis of Italian *civilization* and coverage of the war frequently defended Italian colonial initiatives for that reason. According to *L'Eco d'Italia*, "success in civilizing the African and suppressing the inferior race will hopefully benefit the civilized world . . . . Black, obscure Africa is almost coming into the light. European civilization will be imported by love or by force—with religion or

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[33] C.Pierorazio, Chicago, Ill. to Italian Ambassador, Washington, D.C., ASMAE, Ambasciata di Washington, busta 107, fascicolo 14, "Mobilitazione di italiani negli S.U. per la campagna d'Africa,1896."

[34] Italian Consul, Denver, CO., to Italian Ambassador, Washington, D.C., February 14,1896, ASMAE, Ambasciata di Washington, busta 107, fascicolo 14, "Mobilitazione di italiani negli S.U. per la campagna d'Africa,1896."

[35] Archangelo Pagani, Director of Agency for the Employment of Both Sexes in New York City, to Italian Ambassador, Washington, D.C., ASMAE, Ambasciata di Washington, busta 107, fascicolo 14, "Mobilitazione di italiani negli S.U. per la campagna d'Africa,1896."

[36] Professor V.A. Scaletta, Montreal, Canada, to Italian Ambassador, Washington, D.C., ASMAE, Ambasciata di Washington, busta 107, fascicolo 14, "Mobilitazione di italiani negli S.U. per la campagna d'Africa,1896."

[37] Even efforts to raise funds for the war effort became competitive ventures as Barsotti's *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* indicted rival paper *L'Araldo Italiano* for allowing an Italian committee from Baltimore to fundraise through their newspaper. *L'Araldo Italiano* responded by accusing Barsotti, owner of *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, of embezzling contributions from his constituents. See *L'Araldo Italiano*, March 11,1896; *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, March 19,1896, March 22,1896.

with the machine gun. Civilizing the inferior races is not a question of
sentiment, it is a necessity that the civilized races cannot ignore."[38] In *Il
Progresso*, Leopoldo Franchetti, an Italian politician who had helped ex-
pose terrible conditions in Sicily and supported colonization of Eritrea by
Italian peasants, warned "to abandon the Italian colonies was impossible.
The great benefit would be in creating an Italian race on the other side of
the sea—a democratic society made up of proprietary farmers."[39]

After Italy's costly defeat at Adowa in 1896, Italian Americans
feared that losing to an African army would not only damage Italian
prestige internationally, but exacerbate the existing negative perception
of Italians held by many Americans. Therefore, although Adowa did not
produce the victorious result desired by the nascent immigrant commu-
nity, the mainstream press continued to depict Ethiopia with racially in-
formed and bitter characterizations. For instance, various newspapers
described victorious Ethiopians as "barbaric cannibals who eat raw meat
and do not wear shoes"[40] *L'Eco d'Italia* vividly described the physical
attributes of Menelik, the Ethiopian emperor who led the war against
Italy, and emphasized his "flat nose with large nostrils, a mouth that is
too large along with large teeth that protrude outwards and are very visi-
ble as soon as he opens his fat lips. . ."[41] The Italian language main-
stream press also directed some bitterness toward European countries
that had assisted African nations with military aid. *L'Eco d'Italia* la-
mented that through military assistance to African nations European
countries such as Russia and France had violated custom and degraded
them. "Russia and France have broken the usual agreement that Euro-
pean nations do not help these kinds of barbarians . . . . it was understood
that European nations went there to bring civilization and progress and
that is what Italy is doing."[42] While incredibly humbling and unsuccess-
ful, Italian colonial efforts in Africa during 1896 provided Italian immi-
grants in the United States an opportunity, albeit briefly, to uplift the
Italian race. It is not at all inconceivable that the rhetoric of Italian civi-
lizing missions in Africa ameliorated immigrant self-consciousness, as
well as informed a concerted effort to impress American detractors who
questioned the racial suitability of Italians. Only fifteen years later,
events in North Africa would provide Italians in New York City with
another opportunity to bask in the *civilized* glory of the Italian race and
nation.

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[38] *L'Eco d'Italia*, March 5,1896.

[39] *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, June 17,1891.

[40] *L'Eco d'Italia*, March 26,1896; *L'Araldo Italiano*, March 20,1896.

[41] *L'Eco d'Italia*, April 9,1896.

[42] Ibid., April 30,1896.

After the prospect of colonizing Ethiopia ended abruptly with the defeat of the Italians at Adowa in 1896, an opportunity to avenge this disaster emerged when Italy invaded Tripoli at the end of 1911. As it did in the late nineteenth century, the recently unified Italian Liberal State felt the need to assert itself on the stage of geo-political imperialism. Although part of the Triple Alliance with Austria-Hungary and Germany, the Italian leaders were aware of their nation's relative lack of power and wealth compared to its neighbors. Therefore, late to the table of territorial acquisitions, Prime Minister Giovanni Giolitti resuscitated the Italian campaign for Africa by targeting one of the only remaining areas of Africa to which Italy might possibly lay claim. Although Libya was a desert and not very fertile, one of the primary motivations of the colonialists was the hope that this new colony would provide an area of settlement for the vast number of poverty stricken southern Italians. Italian nationalists hoped that once Libya was an Italian possession, the tide of southern Italian migration would be re-routed closer to home rather than continuing their journey to New York or Buenos Aires. In 1905 Italy had begun a policy of peaceful economic penetration into Libya and slowly created an uncomfortable situation for the Ottoman Turks who ruled the territory. Creating a situation where Italian business interests would seem to need protection, it was the apparent assassination of two Italian officials working in Tripoli in the fall of 1911 that set off a military conflict. Despite the fact that the war remained at a stalemate for months, Italy achieved its aim by default. Benefiting from the Ottoman Empire's increasing weakness, in July 1912 the Turks and Italians negotiated a peace settlement. With the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne On October 8, 1912, Italy formally annexed Libya.

Reflecting the growth of the Italian immigrant community, Italian language mainstream newspapers, specifically dailies such as *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, *Bolletino della Sera*, and *L'Araldo Italiano*, had matured significantly from their infancy in the 1890s. By 1911 the mainstream press in New York City had combined circulations of over 200,000 copies and enjoyed a much wider readership among Italian immigrants in New York City, as well as outside New York. In addition, proprietors such as Carlo Barsotti at *Il Progresso* and Frank Frugone at *Bolletino* had established themselves as community leaders within the Italian colony of New York City. The Italian War over Libya became vehicle for *prominenti* to offer a version of Italian identity wiped clean of negative stereotypes and racial unfitness. In line with patriotic Italian journals such as *Tribuna Illustrata*, Barsotti and Frugone, along with the paper's editors, interpreted the Libyan conflict as a means to attain respect, not only internationally, but in a more immediate sense, domestically and locally.

On September 28, 1911, *Bolettino della Sera* ran three row headline that shouted "40,000 Italian soldiers headed to Turkey—Italian ultimatum to Turkey blows today." Only two days later the headline read "Tripoli Ours."[43] *Bolletino's* coverage was not unlike other Italian language mainstream dailies during the conflict that draped their front pages with news about the War, Italian soldiers, and international reaction. This coverage lasted for several months and created an opportunity for Italian language newspapers to build upon the virtues of Italians, the narrative of Italian *civilization*, and more broadly, the continued construction of an Italian racial identity. The mainstream press was keenly aware of past military failures in North Africa, particularly, the defeat at Adowa in 1896. Frequent allusions to Adowa rationalized the defeats as a function of weak national will, while others referenced how these perceptions remained misguided. Either way, Italy's defeat only fifteen years earlier to Ethiopian forces remained fresh. Although the failed colonial venture in Ethiopia in the 1890s rallied a nascent nationalism among immigrant Italians, the bitter defeat to Menelik's forces certainly stung those Italians in the United States who hoped to gain a measure of respect from imperialist ventures abroad. Military action in Libya in 1911 and 1912 served as a chance for redemption within an emerging nationalist narrative aimed at a disjointed immigrant community, as well as a skeptical American public.

Unsurprisingly, Italy's motives in initiating military actions in Libya were portrayed as noble and unselfish. Some rationales went as far as implying that Italy was a reluctant aggressor, only becoming involved out of patriarchal obligation to reconstitute a fatherless family.[44] *Il Progresso* declared "Italy's glorious tricolor flag" would "open the eyes of faraway people in a new era of redemption. It's not the cannon that pushes Italy in Tripoli, but the voice of conscience that brings us to the land of Mohammed to bring a new civility, providence will guide this patriotic action and vile are the people that try to stop the glorious sons of Italy. . ."[45] *Bolletino della Sera* agreed stating that "every honest person who knows the situation has to credit the Italians in that Italy does not ask for glory in victory over Turks, but simply wants to end the brutality and protect justice and its people."[46]

Intense coverage of the Libyan conflict littered the pages of Italian mainstream newspapers and offered editors and owners a ready-made opportunity to assert Italian *civilization*. Although northern Africans had

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[43] *Bolletino della Sera*, September 28, 1911, September 30, 1911.

[44] *L'Araldo Italiano*, September 29, 1911. *L'Araldo* retold the apocryphal conversation between an Arab and an Italian in Tripoli: "it's already known, as one Arab said to an Italian, we are like a family without a father."

[45] *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, October 15, 1911.

[46] *Bolletino della Sera*, October 6, 1911.

sometimes been distinguished from central Africans, in this instance the mainstream press facilely depicted Africans in Tripoli as *savage* and neatly viewed the region as part of Africa *tenebrosa*.[47] Along with descriptions of Turks as "barbarous" people who represented a "black spot" on human progress, Italian language mainstream newspapers perceived the conflict as a battle between *civilization* and *savagery*, Islam and Christianity, light and darkness.[48] For example, citing the proximity of Tripoli to the island of Sicily as a prime and obvious factor, in the Italian government's interest in the area, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano* remarked that the city "remained in the hold of medieval barbarism."[49] *Bolletino della Sera* added that "there has never been a more favorable occasion to redeem European civilization and put an end to the orgies of Turkey that consist of slaughtering Christians."[50]

To Italian language editors and owners, the reaction of the American and many European newspapers to the outbreak of hostilities in Libya served as an occasion to defend Italian honor and define Italian civilization.[51] In one instance, *Il Progresso* took great umbrage at American newspapers, and in particular a London newspaper that published a cartoon lampooning the Italian colony, and in particular Sicilians in Libya as a band of criminals. Sensitive to negative depictions of southern Italians as prone to criminality, *Il Progresso* seamlessly conflated their defense of Italians within the context of African colonization stating "that it was high time for the world to stop printing nonsense about Italians in general and Sicilians in particular."[52] Italian language newspapers interpreted Italy's invasion of Libya as proof to Americans that Italy, and by extension, Italian immigrants belonged within the pantheon of *civilized* nations and peoples. To that end, Italian language mainstream newspapers closely monitored American press coverage and frequently updated its readers with translations of American newspaper articles supporting Italian colonialism in Africa. In one instance, multiple newspapers swiftly praised the work of *New York Evening Journal* writer, Arthur Brisbane, for defending Italian actions in Libya. Almost as if to convince themselves, rather than Americans, *L'Araldo Italiano* insisted that "without a doubt, with this war American sympathy will be with Italy, that is, with intelligence and civilization against barba-

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[47] *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, October 15, 1911; October 8, 1911; *Bolletino della Sera*, October 7, 1911. *L'Araldo Italiano* stated that "the European colony of Libya is like a loose flap of the mother country on the black continent." *L'Araldo Italiano*, October 9, 1911.

[48] *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, Oct 15, 1911.

[49] Ibid., September 29, 1911.

[50] *Bolletino della Sera*, October 7, 1911.

[51] See examples in *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, October, 2, 1911; October 17, 1911; *L'Araldo Italiano*, October 1, 1911.

[52] *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, October 2, 1911

rism. . ."[53]   American responses that questioned Italy's motives and methods in Libya only served to frustrate and anger Italian language mainstream editors and owners. In an article titled, *Civilization and Chivalry of the Italians*, the author is confused as to how American journals could possibly defend *savagery* over *civilization*. Highlighting differences between western, *civilized*, and Christian nations from Muslim countries, *Il Progresso* reminded western newspapers of Turkish massacres in Armenia and added "the difference between Italian civilizations is that we treat all people the same way."[54]

Mainstream owners and editors interpreted events in Tripoli within the context of an emerging collective identity as Italians informed by an *italianita* generated from their experience in the United States. And, as they had done in the past, they took the lead in stoking, and in many respects creating, a collective Italian racial consciousness. *L'Araldo Italiano* described the jubilant displays of Italians whose excitement and pride over the Italian conquest sent the paper's editions, along with its evening journal, *Il Telegrafo*, flying off the newsstand. Reflective of the importance and reach of the immigrant press within Italian colonies, *L'Araldo* stated "whoever has a newspaper— and everyone has one in the Italian community—reads aloud the latest news to everyone."[55] By March readers could see full-page advertisements peddling the latest illustrated editions of the "true and complete history of the Italian and Turkish War."[56] Akin to Columbus Day celebrations and exhortations to have Italian language taught in New York City schools, proprietors such as Barsotti organized subscription drives to collect money in support of Italian soldiers and their families. One such drive in *Il Progresso* in December of 1911 pointed to the "colonies meritorious charity to the race" and listed the names of donors who were instrumental in "renewing the ancient glory of Rome" in their support of Tripoli's conquest.[57] *L'Araldo Italiano* also ran a public subscription drive urging Italian immigrants to support the cause with the headline: "For Heart, Patriotism, and National Dignity."[58] Quick to point out the fervency of the New York City Italian colonies in support of the Tripoli invasion, newspapers

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[53] See *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, October 2, 1911; October 7, 1911; October 11, 1911; Both *L'Araldo Italiano* and *Bolletino della Sera* prominently noted, as if to suggest the imprimatur of legitimacy, that the *New York Evening Journal* was part of William Randolph Hearst's publishing empire. See *Bolletino della Sera*, October 6, 1911; *L'Araldo Italiano*, October 6, 1911; Quote is from *L'Araldo Italiano*, October 1, 1911.

[54] *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, October 17, 1911.

[55] *L'Araldo Italiano*, October 1, 1911.

[56] *Il Telegrafo*, March 14, 1912.

[57] *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, December 17, 1911.

[58] *L'Araldo Italiano*, November 22, 1911.

reported that the "hearts of immigrants beat in unison with that of the mother Italy."[59]

Although loathe to admit it, *prominenti* sought to capitalize on this moment of conquest, especially during this crucial period, by tracing Italy's invasion of Tripoli as part of a legacy of imperialist conquest directly stretching back to ancient Rome. With headlines such as "Viva Italia!" articles laden with jingoistic language celebrated how military conquest would serve as redemption for Italians, and by extension Italian immigrants.[60] *L'Araldo Italiano* positioned this battle neatly within the context of Roman history and proudly asserted that Italian soldiers were" fighting with heroism in their blood against a horde of marauding barbarians." *Il Progresso* urged the Italian military to "re-conquer what used to belong to Rome."[61] Some contended that now Italy's position was stronger than in the past. According to *Bolletino della Sera*, "for centuries. . .the Italian people and the great people of Rome had soldiers trying to civilize Africa. So the civilized world should applaud Italy of today, stronger, better and more noble than ancient Rome for proposing to civilize Africa and transform its desert into fertile land."[62] Italian mainstream newspapers' differentiation between Italian *civilization* and African *savagery*, neatly incorporated Calabrians, Neopolitans, Sicilians, and all other provincial Italian immigrants into a collective identity that could stretch its lineage back to the Roman empire: "the people from the Italian Alps, crowned with glory to the great and 'noble Sicily from the Adriatic to the Tyrrhenian sea littered with superb destinies where Galileo kept his head bowed on the sacred work has responded with a great patriotic fervor of the Italian Red Cross appeal in favor of families dead and wounded in the fighting in Roman Tripoli."[63]

"Viva l'Italia!" declared *L'Araldo Italiano* as they reveled in the glory of Italy's attempt to bring "light" to the evil Ottoman Empire. However, addressing this historically fragmented community of New York Italians, *L'Araldo*, cautioned that in this anxious moment, it was imperative to transcend differences and "only be Italian." The paper fervently hoped that success in Tripoli would erase the "gray vision. . .of Adua in front of our eyes and in our soul."[64] Consistent with *prominenti* efforts to smooth over historical divisions among Italian immigrants, coverage of colonial ventures into Africa served multiple purposes. Por-

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59 *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, September 30, 1911.

60 *L'Araldo Italiano*, September 30, 1911; Also see *L'Araldo Italiano*, September 29, 1911; *Il Telegrafo*, October 18, 1911; October 23, 1911.

61 *L'Araldo* Italiano, November 22, 1911; *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, September 30, 1911.

62 *Bolletino della Sera*, October 6, 1911.

63 *L'Araldo Italiano*, November 22, 1911.

64 Ibid., September 30, 1911.

traying Italy's motives as noble and benevolent, Italian language main-stream newspapers defended military aggression with paternalistic rationales resonant of the white man's burden. Graphically differentiat-ing Italian and Christian civilization from the Turk, African, and Muslim *barbarians*, *prominenti*, such as Barsotti, utilized aggression against an African *other* to explicitly contrast civilized Italians from *savage* Afri-cans. Italian immigrants were thus bombarded with patriotic and nation-alistic rhetoric and images attempting to replace immigrant insecurities with Italian racial pride. *Prominenti* interpreted military ventures within the most glorious example they could conjure: the Roman Empire. In the process, the glory of Rome would serve as an instrumental force in healing the emotional and political wounds still lingering from the humil-iation at Adowa. Consistent with subscription drives to honor Italian he-roes such as Columbus and Dante, or efforts to have the Italian language taught in New York City schools, proprietors such as Barsotti and Frugone tapped into the glory of Rome as a strategy in identity formation well before Benito Mussolini's rise to power in the 1920s. With an eye toward an American audience, as much as the Italian immigrant commu-nity, the *prominenti* press perceived and transmitted military dominance of an African country, not only as evidence of Italian *civilization*, but as a venture that was seamlessly rooted in the newly imagined Italian past. Instrumental in these appeals to immigrant patriotism and national pride was the construction of an image of Africa as dark, primitive, and *savage*.

EXCHANGE, CONFLICT AND COERCION: THE RITUAL DYNAMICS OF THE NOTTING HILL CARNIVAL PAST AND PRESENT[1]

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This study investigates patterns of relationships in the Notting Hill Carnival, an annual ritualized event. Specifically, we utilize two theoretical approaches in an integrative manner – elementary relations theory and structural ritualization theory – to better understand how the carnival has been strategically used in very different ways by various groups to accomplish their objectives. We suggest the Notting Hill Carnival is a collective ritual event that has played a crucial role in three quite different structured arrangements since its inception in London (and previously in Trinidad). In doing so, we bridge quite different theoretical approaches for analyzing social dynamics. Thus, our study contributes to the existing literature as we utilize these two perspectives to analyze how culture, ritual, and power have been intertwined in the production of the Notting Hill Carnival.

The Notting Hill Carnival is the largest street festival in Europe with approximately two million in attendance annually. The event, which was first held in London in 1965, takes place in the Notting Hill area in north Kensington on the August Bank Holiday. The carnival creates a festival atmosphere, characterized by masquerade, sound systems, dancing, and so forth (Melville 2002). Indeed, the Notting Hill Carnival may be described as celebratory. As Cohen (1983:102) states:

> The loud beat, the music of the calypsonian, and the vigorous dancing -all accompanied by heavy drinking and smoking – go on for hours and induce an intense state of ecstasy and mirth among participants, who become so carried away by the spirit of the occasion that they lose track of the prescribed route and wander around the narrow streets until well into the night.

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[1] A version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, Las Vegas, 2011.

While the Notting Hill Carnival emerged in London during the mid-1960s the roots of this tradition date back to Trinidad in the 1830s. Prior to the abolishment of slavery, carnival was only celebrated by white elites. Hence, Blacks could only observe the event. After emancipation, however, berated slaves controlled carnival, using it as a way to celebrate their freedom. Be that as it may, opposition to the event was evident. "Official opposition to Carnival has been a consistent feature of its history both in Trinidad and in Britain" (Jackson 1987:215).

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Research regarding the Notting Hill Carnival focuses on collective memory, the social construction of reality, and periods of transformation. In regard to collective memory, some research indicates that Notting Hill Carnival participants converge and take part in the annual festival due to similarities or shared qualities involving ethnicity. This sense of ethnic similarity has survived because of collective memory. This holds especially true today as the carnival is managed by members of Black British culture who base the festival largely on group memory. Connerton (1989) observed that images of the past legitimate present action. Thus, collective memory and knowledge of the past play a major role in helping to perpetuate this ritualized celebration.

The social construction of reality is another widely accepted approach in sociology and this concept relates directly to the Notting Hill Carnival. Cohen (1982) has explored the dramatic processes underlying rituals, ceremonies, and other symbolic activities in the social life of the carnival, focusing on how the relationships between the people become associated with a body of values and norms and a set of beliefs and practices. Carnival participants often make political statements by ridiculing the ruling class in an attempt to modify power relationships.

Finally, the Notting Hill Carnival reflects periods of transformation. The mobilization of West Indians in the Notting Hill community led to the development of carnival as an exclusive gathering. Today, the Notting Hill Carnival is a multicultural event. However, while the event has changed over time, it continues to express political and ideological concerns that involve conflicting groups and views, especially those involving race and racism (see Jackson 1987).

Our study examines the Notting Hill Carnival in a different manner. While informed by the valuable insights and contributions of the three aforementioned approaches often used to study this event the present investigation focuses on how the ritual of carnival is at the center of very *different* types of social relationships among various kinds of groups. Hence, we emphasize how cultural phenomena such as collective rituals are shaped by and in turn influence the structural relationships that form

among groups and the various qualities that define those relationships such as differences in power, economic gain or loss, and social inequality.

From our perspective the Notting Hill Carnival may best be thought of as an annual ritualized event. It is a social ritual that attracts large numbers of people and provides symbolic and emotional gratification to its participants. It has also been a ritual that has changed through the years and has impacted both individuals and the wider community in many different ways. To better understand and study these developments we draw upon two theoretical/research programs. The first one - structural ritualization theory – provides a theoretical framework for conceptualizing the Notting Hill Carnival as a social ritual and understanding some of the ritual dynamics which define this social practice. The following discussion provides an introduction to structural ritualization theory and the concepts of strategic ritualization and special collective ritual events.

STRUCTURAL RITUALIZATION THEORY

Structural ritualization theory (Knottnerus 1997, 2005, 2009, 2010. 2011) focuses on the role rituals play in social life, especially in the formation, reproduction, and alteration of social structures. Central to the theory is the concept of ritualized symbolic practices (RSPs) which refer to action repertoires that are schema-driven. RSPs involve common forms of social behavior in which people engage in standardized and repetitious actions when interacting with others. Occurring in either sacred or secular contexts, RSPs are based on cognitive frameworks and involve regularly engaged in actions that possess meaning and express symbolic themes.[2]

Strategic Ritualization

One useful concept within structural ritualization theory is "strategic ritualization." This idea emphasizes how social rituals can play a central role in social life and sometimes are carried out in a deliberate and purposive manner. Thus, "agents can strategically engage in ritualized practices and actively foster the reproduction or transformation of social structures for various purposes including self-aggrandizement"

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[2] Research employing structural ritualization theory includes Bhandari, Okada, and Knottnerus 2011; Guan and Knottnerus, 1999, 2006; Lin, Guan and Knottnerus 2011; Knottnerus 1999, 2002; Knottnerus and Van de Poel-Knottnerus 1999; Van de Poel-Knottnerus and Knottnerus 2002; Knottnerus and Berry 2002; Knottnerus, Ulsperger, Cummins and Osteen 2006; Minton and Knottnerus, 2008; Mitra and Knottnerus, 2004, 2008; Sell, Knottnerus, Ellison and Mundt, 2000; Sarabia and Knottnerus 2009; Thornburg, Knottnerus and Webb 2007, 2008; Ulsperger and Knottnerus, 2007, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2011; Varner and Knottnerus 2002, 2010.

(Knottnerus 1997:275). Stated another way, people may utilize or manipulate a system of ritualized practices in order to create certain outcomes. Four types of strategic ritualization have been identified. They include: ritual legitimators, ritual entrepreneurs, ritual sponsors, and ritual enforcers (for a discussion of these concepts see Knottnerus, Van Delinder, and Edwards 2011).

Another concept used to examine strategic ritualization is "program of ritualized symbolic practices" which is defined as "a collection of RSPs strategically used by a group or individuals such as group leaders to achieve certain objectives" (Knottnerus, Van Delinder, and Edwards 2011:80). This concept emphasizes how programs of ritual practices may differ in type, frequency, and so forth. As such, these ritual programs may vary in their complexity. Research has begun to examine the various ways groups have constructed and strategically used ritual programs.

While several studies have been conducted using these ideas, structural ritualization theory does not focus on the nature of relationships that occur between groups and how groups may strategically use rituals (and programs of ritual practices) to create certain outcomes which contribute to the formation and perpetuation of these structured relations. Of particular interest is how special collective ritual events such as the Notting Hill Carnival may be strategically used by people, e.g., the carnival's organizers, participants, the wider community, or elites and agents of social control in the wider community. To more fully address this issue we draw upon another approach: elementary relations theory. However, let us first define what we mean by special collective ritual events.

Special Collective Ritual Events

One recent development in structural ritualization theory focuses on the analysis of special collective ritual events and their effect on actors (Knottnerus 2010). Several features distinguish this type of occurrence. First, this type of event is clearly separated from everyday behaviors. That is, it represents a distinctive social activity. Second, these events take place in a regularized manner. As Knottnerus (2010:41) states, special collective ritual events are "usually engaged in on a periodic basis whether that involves, for instance, a set time schedule or their staging being connected to other social developments (e.g., a military celebration marking the completion of basic training or a pep rally preceding a ball game)."

In addition to occurring in a regularized manner, special collective ritual events involve stylized activities. These include one or more activities or practices in which people engage "in behaviors that are quite recognizable due to their definitive form or style (e.g., marching, danc-

ing, singing, praying, speech-making, making vows, or oaths)"
(Knottnerus 2010:41). Finally, special collective ritual events involve
multiple actors. While it is generally believed that these events are en-
gaged in collectively, the number of people involved can vary. In addi-
tion, the possibility exists that an event may be engaged in by a single
individual. It is possible that a person who is totally isolated from others
(e.g., a lone researcher in an arctic station) may celebrate the event and
perform some version the ritual in a modified form.

Because the Notting Hill Carnival exhibits all of these of character-
istics it may be considered a special collective ritual event. Moreover a
preliminary review of evidence indicates that this collective ritual event
has over time involved various patterns of relationships between differ-
ent groups. To better analyze this issue we draw upon another approach
which has given formal attention to some of the major types of structural
relationships that develop among individuals and collectivities: elemen-
tary relations theory.

ELEMENTARY RELATIONS THEORY

Elementary relations theory is based on the knowledge that social
relations are found in every society and these relations can be repre-
sented by a series of typologies presented by Willer. As Willer
(1999:23: see also Willer and Anderson 1981; Willer and Markosvky
1993) states:

> At the core of Elementary Theory is a 'modeling proce-
> dure' that is used to build models for properties inside
> the actor, like preferences and beliefs, and for properties
> outside the actor, like social relations and social struc-
> tures. These are theoretic models for actors in relations
> in structures, and they begin with simple elements,
> 'sanctions' that are connected to generate preferences,
> beliefs, and relations.

Willer (1999:25) also suggests that "sanctions are paired in social rela-
tions because each actor's decision affects the other's preference state."
We utilize elementary theory to determine whether and how the types of
relationships, identified in elementary theory, occur in the Notting Hill
Carnival.

Three key types of relations are identified by Willer (1999). They
include: a) coercion, b) conflict, and c) exchange. Coercion represents a
relation in which "one actor has a negative sanction and the other has a
positive sanction. The actor with the negative is the coercer and the actor
with the positive is the coercee" (Willer 1999:27). Moreover, the coercer
may threaten coercees with a negative transmission in order to ensure a

positive response from the coercee. Thus, if the coercer's threat is successful, and the coercee sends the positive, the coercer will not send the negative. Yet, if the coercee fails to respond with the positive, the coercer will administer the negative.

The conflict relation also involves agreement and confrontation but takes a different form. As Willer (1999:27) argues:

> In conflict, because the two transactions are negative, neither actor benefits when the sanction of the other is transmitted. Therefore, agreements are concerned with the conditions under which no sanctions flow. When an agreement is not attained, the relationship is in confrontation and both actors transmit their negatives.

Exchange relationships develop when both actors benefit. Stated somewhat differently, while agreement and confrontation are both important to exchange relationships, both actors benefit when sanctions are sent and an agreement is reached in regard to the number of sanctions sent by each actor (Willer 1999).

In the present study we analyze whether and to what extent the Notting Hill Carnival is involved in coercive, conflictual, and exchange relations. Further, we identify and analyze four time periods where distinct changes in the nature of these structured relationships have occurred. They are: a) 1800s Trinidad; b) the Notting Hill Carnival from 1965-1970; c) the Notting Hill Carnival from 1971-1989; and d) the Notting Hill Carnival from 1990-present. The development of these categories initially emerged out of the preliminary analysis of various written materials related to the Notting Hill Carnival and were subsequently confirmed with the much more extensive formal analysis employing concepts from elementary theory (and structural ritualization theory).

We include the beginning period of the Trinidad carnival (1800s) since this festival provides the roots for the Notting Hill Carnival. However, for the purposes of the current study it is not necessary to analyze the entire history of carnival in Trinidad. While the Trinidad carnival is important as it represents the foundation of the London carnival our primary focus for this study is the Notting Hill Carnival. In this regard it is worth noting that the participants in the current Trinidad carnival continue to protest against similar poor economic and social conditions as participants did in the 1800s (Bereton 1985). Moreover, Jackson (1987) points out that the songs sung in Trinidad during the 1830s exhibit a number of similarities to the songs sung today. Participants during the 1830s – 1890s sang songs that were critical of their former masters. Jackson (1987) contends that today the songs remain critical because people continue to protest against inadequate economic and social condi-

tions. As a result, we do not believe an analysis of the entire history of the carnival is necessary for the current investigation.

In sum, we suggest that structural ritualization theory provides the framework for understanding the Notting Hill Carnival as a ritualized symbolic practice. Further, the concept of strategic ritualization demonstrates the various ways ritual behavior may be conducted in a purposive manner, i.e., how rituals such as carnival may be used to produce certain outcomes. Additionally, we contend that the Notting Hill Carnival represents a special collective ritual event as it possesses each characteristic of such events. Finally, we argue that this annual ritual event involves various patterns of relationships which we focus on here to determine the extent to which these patterns exist in the Notting Hill Carnival.

Our analysis is, therefore, grounded in an integration of elementary relations theory and structural ritualization theory. Key concepts from both perspectives are linked to explain in a more comprehensive manner the social dynamics surrounding carnival. Indeed, such a bridging or integrative exercise enhances our ability to better understand the significance of this social event over an extended period of time.

METHODS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

To investigate the social relationships involving the ritualized practice of carnival, we employ content analysis. Numerous written materials were analyzed including academic sources (i.e., books, articles, and so forth), newspaper articles, photographs, archival documents, and oral histories.

A large amount of data was collected at the Kensington & Chelsea Community History Group (i.e., HISTORYtalk) in London by the first author. Certain materials such as oral history interviews as well as some archival material were obtained at the main location of the history group. The remaining materials were collected at the Kensington Central Library. These materials are the property of the Kensington & Chelsea Community History Group, but are housed at the library. The use of content analysis allowed us to collect data in an unobtrusive manner. Further, this method allowed us to obtain detailed evidence (including historical information) that we would be unable to collect through observations alone.

Data were analyzed according to the types of social relationships outlined in elementary theory (i.e., coercion, conflict, and exchange). Specifically, we identified both manifest and latent content as they relate to social relationships and the special collective ritual event of the Notting Hill Carnival. That is, we identified content which revealed obvious associations to the typologies outlined in elementary theory. In addition, we identified latent content or the underlying meaning contained in the

documents that provided evidence either supporting or refuting the existence of a particular type of social relationship in the Notting Hill Carnival (see Babbie 2004).

The following discussion provides a presentation and discussion of the findings, focusing on each time period selected for analysis. Data from archival and other relevant sources are presented and discussed.

FINDINGS

TIME PERIOD #1

The social relationship of coercion is clearly visible in Trinidad prior to the 1830s. The data reveal that prior to the abolition of slavery in 1834 carnival was only celebrated by white elites; that is, the black population was only permitted to observe the event (Jackson 1987). Thus, as reported by carnival scholars:

> In Trinidad, during the days of slavery, Black people (slaves) were forbidden to play musical instruments and wear costumes, apart from when the traditional imported European carnival took place, six weeks before Easter. On those occasions their participation was limited to providing entertainment for their masters (www.thecarnival.tv/info).

Although freed slaves were permitted to engage in celebrations following emancipation, the social relationship between the black and white populations was dominated by conflict. Hence, carnival represented a political event which highlighted numerous social problems such as racism as well as political and social inequities and tensions (Jackson 1987). Carnival became a place where freed slaves could highlight some of these issues.

> Consequently, slaves would dress like their masters or make masks to resemble their masters, distorting images and features if they regarded their masters as particularly evil or ridiculous. These celebrations of freedom provided the only opportunity for Black people to express their feelings about their [former] slave masters and they quickly developed the art of costume making, creating fantastic costumes which satirized their situation as Africans, transported to the Caribbean as slaves (www.thecarnival.tv/info).

So too, participants protested against poor economic conditions (Bereton 1985). As a result, official opposition to Carnival by the government and other elites grew. Even in 1833 a municipal ordinance was

passed banning the use of drums in public areas. As Jackson (1987:215) states "official opposition to carnival has been a consistent feature of its history both in Trinidad and Britain." Furthermore, additional sanctions were applied in the following years. For instance, in 1846 the governor of Trinidad forbade the wearing of masks in the street. Then, in 1858 masquerade was banned. Finally, in 1895 cross-dressing was prohibited (Jackson 1987).

In discussing the efforts by those in power to suppress carnival, Gutzmore (1993:210) provides a succinct and accurate summary:

> The Trinidad carnival which is part of the history of the Notting Hill Carnival, started off as a mode of cultural expression by, initially, white people, in Trinidad. Extraordinary efforts went into trying to suppress the carnival in Trinidad in the last and present century. . .from the 1830s in fact, they brought in legislation cutting out carnival jollification on the Sunday when it was supposed to take place.

TIME PERIOD #2

The initial period of the Notting Hill Carnival in London involved a type of social exchange. Hence, "it was at this stage that the carnival was first held on the streets in the form of a multicultural English carnival procession" (www.listentotheworld.net).

Carnival, a tradition from Trinidad, was originally designed to bring people together, a chance for people to meet with each other (Oral History Interview 2001). Thus, during the early years the Notting Hill Carnival was not a contentious event. As Gutzmore (1993:215) observed:

> The Notting Hill Carnival started within the framework of culture –it was a cultural event. What it emphatically did not start as was potentially challenging culture. It never looked, until recent years, as a piece of expression by the black masses that could challenge in significant ways the state or its police. And so, for the first several years of its life, the Notting Hill Carnival was left alone.

Gutzmore then goes on to state that:

> When the steel band came to the Notting Hill Festival in 1964, nearly every West Indian as well as local white people, came onto the streets in celebration, song and dance enthused by the infectious renditions of popular songs or pan. For the first time Black people could express themselves freely on the streets of Notting Hill in appreciation of the music and togetherness and remi-

niscing of the carnivals back home (www.thecarnival.tv/
info).

In addition, he contends that the reason the Notting Hill Carnival
was left alone during these early years is that it was controlled by the
whites. Providing further clarification of this point Hulls (1997:8)
argues:

> Carnival has been celebrated by the ruling class as well
> as by the common people. The ruling classes have uti-
> lized it as a means to maintain the status quo as a safety
> valve, granting liberty and dissipation to the masses for a
> few days per year, but no longer.

Hence, carnival provided an emotional outlet for working-class people;
that is, it gave them the ability to protest (to a certain degree) against
such conditions as poor housing and other problematic social conditions
(Jackson 1987). As Jackson (1987:216) observes:

> During the 1960s the festival enabled the working class
> residents of the area to mobilize against bad housing
> conditions, opposing urban renewal and protesting about
> the construction of the M40 flyover. After the arrival of
> a large Afro-Caribbean ('West Indian') population in the
> 1960s, Carnival began to take on its contemporary form
> and range of associations.

In essence, through such collective actions and the overall
celebratory quality of the festival, participants could give voice to their
sentiments and vent their feelings. In return (from the perspective of the
dominant groups concerned with maintaining order in the community
such as political elites, police, lawmakers, and so on) social and political
stability was preserved. Stated more formally this give and take between
different groups in the community involved a social exchange in which
both parties benefited albeit in different ways.

TIME PERIOD #3

From 1971 to 1989, the social climate involving the Notting Hill
Carnival was one of conflict (more precisely the transition to the third
period occurred between approximately 1970 and 1975). During this
time, carnival began to experience problems. Indeed, Gutzmore (1993:
208) argues "the Notting Hill Carnival is perhaps the most spectacular of
those cultural events that actually led to violent confrontation between
the black communities and the state." So too Carver (2000:36) states
that the problems began after 1973 with the local people:

> The context of the carnival, mobilizing the local working
> class, could not help but give it a political context. By
> the 'seventies,' the carnival had become an almost en-
> tirely West Indian event. . .Its identity became entwined
> with the situation of West Indians in Britain, who saw
> themselves as the victims of a white authoritarian
> culture.

The result was "problems with police, local authorities, many people not
wanting carnival, others rebelling" (Oral History Interview 2001). As
Gutzmore (1993:216) suggests:

> Problems began when carnival was viewed as mass cul-
> ture. But particularly Capital Radio was used on the
> scene of the 1975 carnival. . .Naturally five hundred
> thousand people, or thereabouts, attended the carnival.
> Once that happened, five hundred thousand people –
> they weren't all blacks – even a quarter million black
> people – in those streets, the police were terrified out of
> their tiny little minds, they really were. Once that hap-
> pened, the carnival entered the domain of threatening
> culture, because it was then mass culture, active mass
> culture and it had therefore to be suppressed, or
> controlled.

The same author (1993:214) also notes how such tendencies were al-
ready in place before this time period:

> I've already mentioned what the police did in 1958; but
> throughout the 1960s, and early 1970s, blacks were sys-
> tematically brutalized in Shebeens and house parties and
> so on; the Mangrove restaurant was constantly harassed
> up until the period of the demonstration which led to
> those arrests and the trial that is now famous as the Man-
> grove Nine Trial. . .So that, although I say there were no
> major moves by the state at suppressing major elements
> of culture, there were moves against all the small mani-
> festations of black culture, the culture of the black
> masses. . .It should be noted that the British state also
> attacked and destabilized the political organizations of
> the black masses in this period.

During this third time period, the carnival became a contentious
event. According to the Notting Hill Carnival Organizational Review
(1988:1) several issues played a role in creating the hostile environment.

> The growth of carnival has made it a contentious event.
> As with any very large gathering of people there are con-

> siderable problems of noise, congestion, litter and dam-
> age. Safety and security are major concerns – there have
> been no fires but street crime has been a running sore.
> At the same time, for the majority of participants, carni-
> val is an enlivening and happy time, the result of months
> of dedicated industry in preparing the costumes and mu-
> sic. Because of the problems there has been antagonism
> or ambivalence towards the event.

Further, the report suggests that another problem concerning public safety relates to how this issue is handled. Thus, if handled improperly the conflict may escalate, causing one or both sides to engage in negative actions toward one another. On the other hand if they adopt a "hands off" approach in an attempt to avoid provocation, they risk not being able to adequately control crime (Notting Hill Carnival Organizational Review 1988). Stated somewhat differently, the police face conflicting demands.

In regard to this time period, 1975 appears to represent a major turning point in the Notting Hill Carnival. As Gutzmore (1993:219) states:

> But there was a long battle following the 1975 carnival,
> for the preservation of carnival itself, and for the reten-
> tion of it on the street. That battle involved some very
> weak leadership on the part of the carnival committee,
> while on the other side were some groups that were al-
> ready discredited as racist. . .The state proper as repre-
> sented by the police was a different matter altogether.
> They also had the major disadvantage that the local
> council had, namely that they had no legal basis on
> which to seek a ban by the home secretary. So all they
> were able to do was to try, by brute force, threats and
> restrictions, to force the black community off the streets
> for carnival in 1976. But they also offered the 'carrot'
> before they came with the 'stick.' Their carrot was that
> money could be made out of the carnival. The council
> agreed.

Carter (1986:221) succinctly describes the situation:

> The 1976 carnival was a watershed in relations between
> black people and the police, marking the transition from
> a period of when 'cultural diversity' and harmonious
> race relations were still the stated goal of public policy
> to a period in which the brute fact of institutional racism
> could no longer be disguised.

Still another suggests:

> Carnivalists regarded the 1976 carnival riots as a protest on different levels. First of all the protest was directed against over policing at that carnival. Secondly and more indirectly the protest was directed against the socio-economic situation. . .The riots were a general protest against white authority, similar to the carnival riots in Trinidad in the 1800s, when the British colonists threatened to ban carnival there (Hulls 1997:100).

Others also concur:

> In 1976, however, the festivities were interrupted on the last day. Young blacks harassed by a police presence numbering 1,600 defended themselves against arbitrary police arrests. The large police presence was 'justified' by shady allegations of mass out-breaks of petty crime by young blacks in the crowds. But, this was no excuse for the massive police presence. The young blacks, people with good memories, knew that police were there for the express purpose of terrorizing them. Mass arrests of young blacks is so commonplace, the police so hated, that the police force of the entire country had only a couple of dozen black police officers (www.libcom.org/ history/1976-the-notting-hill-carnival-riots).

Additionally:

> The Notting Hill riots were a collective reply by the young black community to years of police repression. They were not race riots but anti-police riots by (mostly) unemployed, low paid, young blacks, the people at the bottom of the economic and social scrapheap (www.libcom.org/1976-the-notting-hill-carnival-riots).

The 1970s and 1980s were clearly characterized by conflicts between various groups including the police and the black population, as well as between whites and black ethnicities (Jackson 1987). As Jackson (1987:216) notes:

> Carnival can be said to have assumed a more clearly Trinidadian identity in the early 1970s as the polarization between blacks and whites increased in a period of rising unemployment and intensifying social conflict. Carnival began to be used as an organizing mechanism for protest and opposition.

So too, Melville (2002), argues that the carnivals of the later 1970s and 1980s can be described as a period of tension with frequent conflicts. As Melville (2002:34) states:

> The carnivals of 1975 and 1976, in particular, were marked by confrontation between black youth and the police. Tensions had always been there. With some justification, black Londoners regarded the British police as forces of arbitrary oppression.Throughout the 1970s, the use of heavy-handed tactics such as the suspicious persons laws meant that there was scarcely a single black person in London who had not been stopped and searched by police, many numerous times. This, combined with frankly idiotic police containment tactics, made confrontation 'inevitable'.

During the 1980s, black residents experienced racism and other forms of social inequality (Cohen 1993). They dealt with such treatment by organizing opposition; that is, they organized marches and increased participation in the electoral process in local politics (Cohen 1993). While carnival continued to be an intense event, the period of 1980 to 1986 also represented the strengthening of cultural homogenization. Cultural homogenization, in the case of the Notting Hill Carnival, refers to a consolidation of cultural practices. According to Cohen (1993:45) "the period of 1980 to 1986 saw the integration of the mobile bands and the stationary sound systems, and the rise of the stall holders as effective agents of cultural homogenization."

In addition to race, issues of class and status further exacerbated the conflict relationship. For instance Smith (1984:371) points out:

> The dramatized assertions of ethnicity need not be a conscious attempt to demand or secure political and economic rights. Indeed, for the general public, it is often merely a pragmatic means of reducing the perceived risks of daily life. However, there is a struggle for power endemic to all forms of human relationships, and within the inner-city, much of this struggle takes place over the symbolic rewards of prestige or status – for there is little else to win.

Contributing to the conflict was the carnival of 1989, deemed by many the "police carnival" (Hulls 1997). According to one participant, the 1989 Carnival was different from many carnivals in the past (Oral History Interview 2001). As this individual observed:

> The police started to actually interfere with the masquerade bands. They would try and stop people leaving the

bands and going to the toilet. They would throw barriers across the road and stop bands moving forwards and backwards, threatening people with arrest and all kinds of things (Oral History Interview 2001).

Finally, additional evidence points to a conflict relationship during the 1980s. In this regard La Rose (1990:9) notes:

The British government cannot destroy carnival. It is an internationally known event. But it can be completely controlled and licensed. . .Carnival 1989 was under total police control. The police want carnival to start at 11:00 A.M. and finish at 7:00 P.M. No bands will be allowed in after 11:00 A.M. We want the carnival festival to end at 11:00 P.M. like a pub or local council hall or any other place of public entertainment. . .The police must not treat carnival as a public order problem. It's a cultural festival.

In sum a wide array of data reveals that during this time period the police viewed the carnival as a public safety problem which directly contributed to the conflict relationship. According to the Notting Hill Organizational Review (1988:1, 2):

For the police, carnival is a public safety headache planned to meet the conflicting demands of the 'hands off' approach to avoid provocation and the 'hands on' approach to control crime. This is against a background where police/black relations have never been good, and, at times, are openly hostile. . .Underlying these tensions is both real and perceived racism or, at least, misunderstanding.

Further, according to the review, "the carnival has remained predominantly a minority event which to date, despite its huge attraction of tourists and nationals alike, continues to face opposition from politicians and residents" (Notting Hill Organizational Review 1988:5).

TIME PERIOD #4

The social relationship between the black population and dominant whites from 1990 to the present can best be described as conflict accompanied by an underlying social dynamic involving exchange. Hence, confrontation and conflict continue to take place, yet the carnival is also viewed as an important ritual event.

The carnival takes place over the last Sunday and Monday in August, and parades, processions and music at-

tract a throng of visitors and celebrants. It is no surprise that during its existence the celebrations have been the cause both of community cohesion and community disharmony (www.cengage.co.uk/shone3/students/cases/nottinghill.pdf).

Moreover, according to Gutzmore (1993), confrontation and violence have taken place at carnival in relation to several aspects of the festival such as cultural venues and practices, among others. As he argues, "the Notting Hill Carnival is perhaps the most spectacular of those cultural events that actually led to violent confrontation between the black communities and the state (Gutzmore 1993:208)."

Further, according to one interviewee, racism continues to represent a serious issue in Britain:

> The sense of the black community, black people and blackness and so on is not, as it is today, a black for describing Caribbeans or even Africans – it characterizes non-whites who are feeling that they are having a bad, difficult time in racist Britain, and have to ban together to resist injustice, but also to engage with the white community, yes, to transform it, to grab it in a way that's better. . .To enjoy themselves or to educate them about oppressions of people in U.K., that kind of stuff (Oral History Interview 2003).

And issues of crime have played a role in the conflict relationships between the black and white populations.

> The way in which the carnival is currently perceived has been shaped more by crime figures than its positive social and economic contribution to London's economy and cultural dynamism. . .The history of the Notting Hill carnival and the reason for its existence are firmly rooted in the ideals of freedom, unity and community empowerment. And yet so much of the language and debate about the carnival has been centered on how the event should be 'contained" (Notting Hill Carnival: A Strategic Review, 2004). However, the spirit of carnival as a very special collective event remains strong. Carnival will never die. The question is: what kind of carnival will we have in Britain? For the past 15 years there has been an unrelenting struggle by the British state to stop carnival being a day when the people have the freedom of the streets for masquerade, artistic celebration and enjoyment. In recent times the Home Office and the Met-

> ropolitan Police have eased up a little on attempts to ban carnival altogether (Association for a People's Carnival 1991:1).

So too another interviewee observes:

> Carnival can be a tremendous unifier, a tremendous educator, can be used in so many positive and constructive ways, but I don't think, because again the sort of politics or personalities that sometimes are involved, that is allowed to happen (Oral History Interview 2003).

Thus, while conflict continues to remain a part of the social relationship, carnival has continued despite such discord. As Melville (2002:1) suggests, "yet all in London's multicultural garden is no celebration of a pre-existing harmony, but an attempt to found a multicultural community, sometimes in the face of extreme adversity." Or as another participant observed, "carnival has a very bright future and it's too late to stop it now because people will not stop. It's too important to the Caribbean people and to London now and to everybody to stop it" (Oral History Interview 2001).

And some contend that the attitude among the police has improved as they have become more enlightened. As a result they now work well with the community (Oral History Interview 2001). Finally, as one participant stated:

> You can't kill the carnival you know. History has taught us you can't stop the carnival, once you let it out there's no turning back. . .That spirit permeates everybody. . .I think the future of Notting Hill Carnival is here to stay, what else would you put in its place? London's biggest tourist attraction, rooted in the culture. But conflicts must be lessened and it must be accepted as a national cultural experience. Carnival started off with the need to liberate the slaves but it has developed for everybody to take part in it, whole society involved. Class structures are broken down, everybody is united (Oral History Interview 2001).

Thus, we find that various groups now benefit from the staging of this collective ritual event ranging from the strengthening of collective ties among the varied participants and its historic importance to Caribbean people to the economic gains brought to the wider community due to the large numbers of tourists and locals who attend.

DISCUSSION

Willer (1999) argues that elementary theory is based on the basic assumption that social relations are found in every society and these relations can be represented by distinct typologies. As previously stated, we suggest that the social relationships of coercion, conflict and exchange are found in the four time periods presented dealing with the enactment of the special collective ritual event(s) of the Trinidad Carnival and later the Notting Hill Carnival in London.

According to Willer (1999:27) coercion represents a relation in which "one actor has a negative sanction and the other has a positive sanction. The actor with the negative is the coercer and the actor with the positive is the coercee." If the coercer threatens coercees with a negative sanction and the coercees provide a positive response, the coercer will not send the negative sanction. We contend that during the first part of time period #1 (prior to the 1830s in Trinidad) the social relationship was a coercive one as slaves were prohibited from participating in the event. Conflict did not appear, therefore, because the slaves provided the desired positive response by not attempting to participate. Moreover, the coercive relationship served as a means for preserving the social order. Hence, by excluding certain individuals from participating in the event the social hierarchy was clearly defined and reinforced.

During the second stage of time period #1, the social relationship is best described as one of conflict. The conflict or confrontational relationship involves a situation in which both actors threaten to and/or do transmit negative sanctions. Agreements occur when no sanctions are carried forth. During the second phase of time period #1, carnival participants (i.e., newly freed slaves) began to openly voice numerous concerns about social problems including political inequities. This was viewed by the elite as a negative sanction directed toward them. As a result, those in power transmitted negative sanctions toward the freed slaves in the attempt to prohibit certain behaviors that were an integral part of the carnival experience. Hence, the relationship was one of conflict as the carnival continued despite opposition and contention. Each side produced negative responses to one another creating a conflict relationship as outlined in elementary relations theory.

In time period #2 (1965-1974) the social relationship between the minority and dominant groups in the collective ritual event of the carnival was characterized by exchange. According to Willer (1999), exchange relationships develop when both actors benefit, i.e., are rewarded. During the second time period, carnival provided an emotional release for participants; that is, it allowed the masses to have a few days per year to protest against poor social conditions while engaging in an enjoyable collective experience (Jackson 1987). Thus, the carnival was an event

that allowed people to express their frustrations over a two day period while the dominant group maintained its power. While nothing tangible was exchanged between the groups, each side clearly benefited. Stated another way, certain social arrangements were upheld or preserved. Hence, the festival provided an emotional release for participants, providing an internal gain to this group. The relationship also served to uphold the social and political order of the larger community, i.e., maintained the status quo. More specifically, the white elite maintained control. This may help to explain why the Notting Hill Carnival was left alone for the first few years. As Gutzmore (1993:215) observes:

> The police participated, incidentally, in the Notting Hill Carnival for all of those years, and they got enormous propaganda out of its reassurance to the black community that they were nice people, although we know differently; reassurance to the great white public that they were nice people – and we know differently. Specifically, the question has got to be asked, why was it that the carnival didn't look threatening for its first eight years? Let's say it started in 1966. The reason is that it was organized in the early days by white people.

Time period number three is marked by a very salient conflict relationship. During the 1970s, carnival participants protested against the poor socioeconomic situation that young blacks had to cope with in Britain (Hulls 1997). Thus, carnival was a mechanism for protest (Jackson 1987). Further, "carnival can be said to have assumed a more clearly Trinidadian identity in the early 1970s as the polarization between blacks and whites increased in a period of rising unemployment and intensifying social conflict" (Jackson 1987:216). As a result the dominant group began to transmit negative sanctions toward carnival participants and the black community. For instance the 1976 carnival riot is considered to be a watershed event in the history of conflict between the black community and the police. Hence, carnival "entered the domain of threatening culture, because it was then mass culture, active mass culture and it therefore had to be suppressed or controlled" (Gutzmore 1993:216).

The 1980s also represented a time of conflict. According to Cohen (1993) members of the Notting Hill community's black population fought against racism through organized marches and increased political participation. However, measures were taken by those in power to contain and control the celebration. As a result the threat of violence remained present.

The final time period (#4) may be described as a time of conflict along with a relationship of exchange. Thus, while carnival was still viewed by some as threatening it continued to be a large and important

part of London's culture. According to the Association for a People's Carnival (1991:1) "for the past fifteen years, there has been an unrelenting struggle by the British state to stop carnival being a day when the people have the freedom of the streets for masquerade, artistic celebration and enjoyment." However, in recent years, there has been less of an effort to ban carnival. While conflict continues, so has carnival (Melville 2002). More specifically, the exchange relationship is evident as the ritualized festival increasingly represents a cultural event and an attempt to bring about a multicultural community. Although conflict continues to exist, the carnival is an important event to Caribbean people and many others. In return, it attracts tourists and that is beneficial to London (Oral History Interview 2001).

CONCLUSION

The Notting Hill Carnival is a special collective ritual event that has played a crucial role in three quite different structural arrangements since its inception in London and previously in Trinidad. Utilizing elementary relations theory (and structural ritualization theory) we analyzed the various social relationships the Notting Hill festival has been a part of. Further, employing content analysis we found that these three types of social relationships occur to varying degrees in four distinct time periods.

First, the social relationship of coercion is present prior to the abolition of slavery in Trinidad followed by a conflictual relationship which dominated during the period following emancipation. The major structural relationship during the second time period which marked the beginning of the Notting Hill Carnival in London involved a process of social exchange. Finally, the last two time periods involve conflict relationships with social exchange also playing an important role in the final period.

Rituals take varied forms, can have very different consequences, and can be involved in very different social processes. Quite often they are important social events that unite people. However, a ritual event is not only an integrative endeavor; it can also be a part of different types of group dynamics and relational arrangements. Here we find quite vivid evidence of how collective ritual events have been used by agents in quite varied ways resulting in very different structural relationships.

This study and its findings are relevant for several reasons and have a number of implications. To begin with while other studies have been conducted of the Notting Hill Carnival (some of which we have drawn upon) they tend to focus on the role of collective memory, the social construction of the carnival and sense of community among participants, or transformations in the event in recent years. Our approach differs from these other important studies in that we focus on how this ritual

event is a part of and impacted by the wider web of structural relations within which the carnival occurs (the larger metropolitan community, other groups in contact with the event and its participants, and so on). And we take a broad historical approach directing attention to the last half century and also the origins of the carnival in the 19th century.

In doing so the current study conceptualizes carnival as a special collective ritual event and emphasizes how a social ritual such as this can endure over significant periods of time, may spread to other cultures, and can change in terms of its structural relations and dynamics. Contrary to the not uncommon assumption in the social sciences that rituals are social events that are fixed and static we argue that rituals can be dynamic and possess the potential for change.

Furthermore this investigation stresses how ritual events such as the Notting Hill Carnival can be strategically used in very different types of relationships. While some research in recent years has demonstrated how ritual practices can be used in strategic ways and may be intimately linked to the use of power and differences in power among groups (e.g., Kertzer 1988; Lane 1981; Petrone 2000; Edwards and Knottnerus 2007, 2010; Knottnerus and LoConto 2003; Knottnerus, Van Delinder and Edwards 2011) this issue deserves much more extensive study. Elementary relations theory provides a useful conceptual framework for distinguishing some of the different ways phenomena such as rituals can play a crucial role in social dynamics and the structuring of society. Research of this sort helps to counter the implicit if not explicit assumption made by various social scientists that the main role rituals play in social life is to contribute to the preservation of existing social arrangements, i.e., rituals essentially involve traditions and customs that are fundamentally conservative in nature.

Preliminary evidence from this study along with field observations (by the first author) also suggests that carnival has become a quite prominent event in London and elsewhere. From the perspective of structural ritualization theory this festival could be considered a highly ranked RSP. According to the theory various factors (i.e., salience, homologousness, repetitiveness, and resources) influence the overall rank or strength of a RSP. This is an issue that could be formally investigated in order to determine whether and to what degree this is the case. Such research would also include an analysis of the various symbolic themes expressed through this potentially highly ranked ritual. This analysis could then be linked to the findings of the present study to provide a richer and more comprehensive understanding of how the ritual dynamics of the current carnival are impacting structural relationships and arrangements (e.g., are symbolic themes stressing racial/ethnic group interests and pride or multicultural identity and cooperation evident

which might in turn impact the nature of the relations between ritual participants and the police, political decision-makers, or the media). Finally, attention could be given to the organizational base of the carnival and how this facilitates the production of this collective ritual event.

In closing, the Notting Hill Carnival provides compelling evidence of how rituals can have multiple consequences and can be used in many ways to construct different social relations. Hopefully the present study will provide the foundation for subsequent studies of the ritual dynamics of this particular event as it continues to evolve. More generally research of this type could be directed to other similar ritual events, i.e., carnivals and festivals, throughout the world. In doing so we should gain an enhanced appreciation for how these kinds of social rituals can play an integral role in the structuring of group relations and how individuals and groups are affected in different ways by their enactment.

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"WE ARE JOINED TOGETHER TEMPORARILY" THE TRAGIC MULATTO, FUSION MONSTER IN LEE FROST'S *THE THING WITH TWO HEADS*

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Jack Moss (Rosey Grier) lies in a hospital bed, sedated and recovering from grueling surgery. His drowsy eyes flutter open and fall upon his reflection in the mirror. The black man discovers the head of a white man, Dr. Maxwell Kirshner (Ray Milland), attached to his shoulder. His terrified hands poke and prod the growth until Kirshner growls, "Take your hands off of me!" Moss demands an explanation, asking the head where the rest of its body is before the doctor simply explains, "We are joined together temporarily." So begins the turning point of Lee Frost's *The Thing with Two Heads*, the 1972 blaxploitation horror film featuring a monster with two heads: one black, one white.

The film arrives at this point after Dr. Kirshner, a racist surgeon, begins battling terminal cancer. With only a few weeks to live, he devises a plan to transplant his head onto another body, but the only available one belongs to Jack Moss, a black convict on death row. After doctors successfully graft Kirshner's head onto Moss, these drastically different personalities drag their shared anatomy in opposite directions. While in control of the body, Moss escapes from prison and tries to prove his innocence. While Dr. Kirshner has control, he tries to turn himself into the police and remove Moss's head. This two-headed man fuses separate persons but also segregated races in a kind of conjoined twin mulatto.

Despite, or perhaps precisely because of, this campy premise, the film offers serious consideration of the relationship between conjoined twins and mulattoes. Throughout history, both have been considered monstrous. The former has challenged notions of individuality while the latter has challenged ideas about race, and analyzing the similarities between conjoined twin and mulatto monster discourses can reveal much about American assumptions about normative anatomy as well as normative monoraciality. Despite its flaws, *The Thing with Two Heads* occupies a special place in American discourse because it articulates the ways in which conjoined twins and mulattoes resemble each other as monsters that defy notions of personal and racial selfhood in the United States.

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CONTEXT

Before exploring how this film fits into the context of tragic mulatto discourse, it would be valuable to first explore the history of this trope. The tragic mulatto stereotype has largely been a literary one with novels written by all kinds of writers—African Americans, whites, anti-racists, and bigots, various thinkers using the multiracial character to either defend or challenge racism. To a certain extent, in American literature and scholarship, a type of subgenre has emerged, a sort of tragic mulatto literature that, regardless of an author's racial identity or political purposes, focuses on black-white biracial protagonists.

From Charles W. Chesnutt's *The House Behind the Cedars* (1900) to James Weldon Johnson's *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man* (1912) to Nella Larsen's *Passing* (1929), there has emerged a kind of canon of tragic mulatto literature, and in scholarly works from Judith Berzon's *Neither White Nor Black* to Werner Sollors' *Neither Black Nor White Yet Both*, certain texts have garnered attention while others fell by the wayside. Regarding tragic mulatto literature, the most respected and analyzed works have been by African American writers from either the Reconstruction Era or the Harlem Renaissance writing for overtly political reasons, using the melodramatic plights of biracial characters to condemn racism. What has emerged as the informal catalog worth scholarly attention is also dominated by relatively realistic story worlds: political subjects in American society grappling with racial constructs and the confines of white supremacy. These sentimental works might stretch the bounds of plausibility, but they rarely bend the limits of reality itself. They may feature exaggerated versions of human characters and sensational depictions of multiracial life—extraordinary circumstances that do not reflect the struggles of real multiracial Americans—but they do not venture into the intentionally bizarre.

With the relative realism of tragic mulatto literature, any horror text dealing with multiraciality becomes extraordinary. An essential characteristic of the horror genre that distinguishes it from all others is that it takes possibility to fantastic lengths. The rules of physical existence no longer apply because the dead can walk, humans become wolves, and ghosts haunt houses. Such works seem to employ these supernatural elements to terrify audiences, using the impossible to horrify viewers and readers, but to belong to the horror genre it is not enough for a text to merely frighten audiences. Simple sight gags, jumping out of the bushes, or a screeching bus can do that. To go beyond temporary fright to paralyzing horror, texts must present more than a physical threat; they must *present* what Noël Carroll calls a "cognitive threat" that compromises more than a person's sense of physical safety (34). They must undermine a person's sense of the world, everything she assumes to be true,

the very foundation of her individual knowledge as well as her culture's conceptual foundations. In this regard, horror, by its very character, *must* stretch reality, must explore the ridiculous to achieve its purposes. To be horror, these texts must not represent reality as it is; they must consider what it could be.

Therefore, horror, to a certain extent, does not have to back up its underlying premises with realistic credibility. Its fictions are speculative, dealing with possibilities rather than plausibilities, and, for this reason, they are especially ripe for theoretical examination. Horror scholars have continually shown how this "ridiculous" genre exposes society's deepest anxieties, values, and fears more than "serious" genres. For example, Philip Brophy's notion of "horrality" noted how these films combined horror and humor as a fruitful site for theoretical exploration precisely because they did not attempt to be realistic. Robin Wood has argued that horror films expose "the return of the repressed," unveiling the horrors a society would like to disavow. Like a patient of psychoanalysis lying on a couch may provide "truer" information by relaying her unconscious dreams than by articulating her conscious thoughts, American culture may reveal itself more honestly through incredible genres like horror than more serious ones like literature.

In the case of tragic mulatto fiction, scholars that analyze "serious" works could benefit from making room for more ridiculous ones. Beyond the pursuits of authors during the Reconstruction Era or the Harlem Renaissance, horror films of the 1970s have the relative luxury of theoretical speculation. While writers like Chesnutt, Johnson, and Larsen wrote with a greater sense of urgency for audiences that required realistic settings, characters, and plots, the horror directors of the 1970s wrote with a greater sense of speculation for audiences that were willing to suspend their disbelief to an unparalleled extent.

Therefore, horror texts, by the very aspirations of their character, enjoy a degree of freedom other kinds do not. Those works that consider biracial issues have the opportunity to explore the contradictions of American racial discourse in ways other mulatto literature cannot, because, freed from the confines of political expediency or literary plausibility, the horror genre can investigate the possibilities of race in ways no other genre can. At the same time, precisely due to their ridiculousness, because of their silly plots and laughable premises, essentially because their surrealism often reveals things about reality, these texts may also jokingly expose the truest aspects of American racism.

To see the degree to which humorously absurd horror films may reveal seriously penetrating truths about race relations in the United States, we need to look no further than *The Thing with Two Heads*. A movie about a black convict and white racist sharing a body certainly fits

the bill of a ludicrous text, but to consider the possible significance of this film, in addition to understanding its position in tragic mulatto literature, we must first examine its position in the subgenre of blaxploitation horror film. Largely produced between 1969 and 1976, blaxploitation films targeted African American audiences to an unprecedented extent. Notable films include hits such as *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (Van Peebles 1971), *Shaft* (Parks 1971), and *Superfly* (Parks 1972).[1] Most of these movies dealt with urban strife, poverty, and crime, but, in 1972, the genre expanded beyond the confines of gritty realism with William Crain's *Blacula*. Rather than focus on cops, drug dealers, and pimps, this film rewrote the *Dracula* tale by placing an African American vampire (William Marshall) in contemporary Los Angeles. Following *Blacula*'s success, a string of "African-Americanized" horror films were released including *Blackenstein* (Levey 1973), *Abby* (Girdler 1974), and *Dr. Black, Mr. Hyde* (Crain 1976).

As part of the exploitation industry, these films were produced cheaply and, without the hope of gaining wider viewership, confronted unpopular issues. As part of the blaxploitation industry targeted mostly for African American audiences, these films explored racial issues that films made for whites often avoided. As horror films, they inserted unrealistic elements into otherwise realistic narratives, exploring black reality in ways other films had not. In "Blaxploitation Horror Films: Generic Reappropriation or Reinscription?" Harry M. Benshoff notes the ways in which films from this genre used the monster as "an allegory for the historical experience of African Americans" (38). Throughout horror films, monstrosity often erupts as a result of fusing disparate elements. Many Blaxploitation horror films used their monsters as an opportunity to "play out interesting variations on W.E.B. DuBois's concept of 'twoness' in the African American psyche" (39). Blacula, Blackenstein, and Dr. Black all suffered the internal conflict of monsters that haunted other corners of horror film, but unlike them their struggles were also racial ones as they grappled to unite multiple physical forms into a single monstrous body but also multiple racial identities into a single racial body. In this regard, blaxploitation horror films enjoyed a perfect storm of material conditions and genre expectations that permitted them to consider racial issues in ways other texts could not.

American International Pictures was at the forefront of such films. Created in 1956, this production company focused on low-budget, independent double features for teenagers. Early on, the studio churned out drag racing and beach movies, but, by the 60s, launched into acclaim

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[1] For an interesting source on the ways in which other Blaxploitation films alluded to biracial issues, see Gregory T. Carter's "From Blaxploitation to Mixploitation: Mixed-Race, Male Leads and Changing Black Identities."

with the Roger Corman and Vincent Price remakes of Edgar Allan Poe stories. In the 1970s, they moved into blaxploitation films like *The Mack* (Campus 1973), *Black Caesar* (Cohen 1973), and *Foxy Brown* (Hill 1974). In 1972, they combined their two most lucrative genres of horror and blaxploitation with *Blacula*. Feeding off this success, AIP sought to make another blaxploitation horror hit. Sticking to the *Blacula* success formula, executives did not seek to create a second film from scratch as much as put a black face on a previous horror hit. To do this, the production company turned to their previous release, *The Incredible Two-Headed Transplant*, a 1971 horror film about a mad scientist who transplants the head of a serial killer onto the body of a mentally disabled man. While this film explored the struggle between a murderer and an innocent trapped in one body, producers simply racialized this conflict, placing a black man and a white man in a single body, and *The Thing with Two Heads* was born.

At the helm of this project was Lee Frost, a veteran of exploitation cinema. From nudies to mondo shock documentaries, westerns to blaxploitation, he had nearly a decade of experience and more than twenty films under his belt before 1972. Throughout his genre-bending career, he remained interested in pushing the envelope while challenging audiences, using campiness to make bitter social messages more palatable. For the role of the parasitic head, AIP sought Ray Milland. The Welsh actor began his career under contract with Paramount in 1934 where he played sophisticates, aristocrats, and Brits in romantic comedies. By the 70s he experienced a minor revival playing racist patriarchs in blaxploitation horror films, symbolically carrying with him a kind of elderly, Hollywood-approved, bigot-playing whiteness to his performance in the film. For its star, AIP found quite the opposite in Rosey Grier. The football star enjoyed a distinguished career on the field as part of the L.A. Rams' "Fearsome Foursome." Off the field, he acted on television and film with a recurring role in "Daniel Boone" (1964) and "The Rosey Grier Show" (1969). By the early 70's, he had joined the ranks of a band of athlete-actors brandishing a bold new brand of African American machismo. With the likes of Fred Williamson, Jim Brown, and Jim Kelly, Grier had come to symbolize authoritative, cool, self-possessed blackness. His persona both fed and was fed by the growing Black Power Movement that rejected "safe black" personalities like Sidney Poitier and Nat King Cole. Instead, he rose with a crop that embodied a "buck" counter-stereotype, an emerging symbol in Afrocentric discourse. In these ways, even before a single frame of the film begins to role, these different media personalities bring racial meanings to the film.

FILM

In *The Thing with Two Heads*, Dr. Kirshner, is a brilliant surgeon suffering terminal cancer. The transplant expert denies his fate, spending years developing experiments by which he may survive. After months of research, he develops a process for a head transplant. First, he grafts the head of one gorilla onto the body of another. Second, he allows the gorilla to live as a two-headed animal. Third, after the transplanted head acclimates itself to the host body, Dr. Kirshner removes the original head. Successfully completing this surgery on lab animals, he seeks to overcome his deadly disease by transplanting his head onto someone else's body. Doctors from his transplant institute issue calls for test subjects. In cryptic proposals, they only state that they seek healthy bodies of willing participants who should not expect to survive the procedure. Dr. Kirshner's situation worsens. Growing more and more desperate, he lashes out at colleagues and alienates friends, retreating into his experiments and growing bigotry. He hires Dr. Fred Williams (Don Marshall) to take over the institute after his death, but when the surgeon shows up for his first day and is African American, Dr. Kirshner sends him packing, claiming the position is no longer available.

The doctor's health quickly takes a turn for the worst and he loses consciousness. As Kirshner clings to life, his associates intensify their search for a body donor, but the only one available belongs to Moss, a black convict on death row. Knowing the racist surgeon would find it revolting to have his head grafted onto a black body, the doctors consider passing on the option, but, without any other prospects, they decide to perform the surgery. When Kirshner awakes from the successful surgery, he is pleased, but once he discovers his head attached to a black body, he is infuriated. On the other hand, Moss donated his body thinking it would go to a noble cause, but when he awakes to find he was tricked into eventually dying for a cantankerous bigot, he is enraged. He escapes Kirshner's underground laboratory, overpowers the police, and takes Dr. Williams hostage.

From then on, Moss and Kirshner drag their shared body in opposing directions. While in control of this body, Moss evades the police in hopes of proving his innocence and rescinding his death sentence. To avoid the police, he launches into high speed car chases and shoot-outs. In perhaps the film's most hilarious digression, he even flees in a nearly twenty-minute motorcycle race that pits his dirt bike against dozens of squad cars. In typical blaxploitation fashion, the cunning black lead evades the racist officers. Through masterful jumps, turns, and tricks, he sends the bewildered police into one crash after another, until he both escapes and destroys the entire fleet of police cars in the process.

Once free, he tracks down his girlfriend, Lila, played by Chelsea Brown. She provides the two-headed monster and Dr. Williams with food and shelter while they plan their next steps. As she tries to come to terms with the second head grafted upon her lover's body, Dr. Williams grapples with a decision of his own. Dr. Kirshner tries to persuade him that Moss is a convicted killer who should die. He bribes Dr. Williams, promising to turn the Kirshner Institute over to him if he removes Moss' head. Conversely, Moss insists upon his innocence, telling the transplant surgeon to remove Dr. Kirshner's head so he can have a chance at freedom.

In the end, Dr. Williams becomes convinced of Moss' innocence and agrees to surgically remove Dr. Kirshner from his body. The trio break into a medical supply warehouse for necessary tools when Kirshner takes control of the body, beats Williams unconscious, and calls his surgeon friends to remove Moss' head. In the middle of the surgery, however, Williams rushes in and stops the doctors at gunpoint, snatching the scalpel away, saying, "You wouldn't want to do that, doctor. You'd be killing an innocent man." In the end, Kirshner awakes, a disembodied head sustained by a heart-lung machine, groaning for another body as Moss, Lila, and Dr. Williams drive down the street, singing "Oh Happy Day."

Fusion Monsters

With this plot, what kind of monster does *The Thing with Two Heads* present? Scholarship on monsters has produced its own kind of taxonomy, lists of different types of monsters with their particular and defining characteristics. The best known and most influential is that posited by Carroll in *The Philosophy of Horror.* In this Aristotelian catalog of monster types, he suggests a two-headed monster would best fit into the category of a fusion monster. To understand what a fusion monster means, one must first consider the construction of cultural knowledge. To form conceptual frameworks, cultures create dualisms, dividing the world into mutually exclusive halves. A culture's understanding operates insofar as its people are able to neatly split existence dualistically. According to Carroll, fusion monsters are those that combine opposing attributes into a single body and horrify because they violate dichotomies (43). In a society that divides nature between land animals and aquatic creatures, amphibians become fusion monsters. In another that splits the world between flyers and walkers, people may shriek at the sight of flamingoes. In any case, fusion monsters blur the neat lines societies use to both separate and see the world.

Fusion monsters undermine dualisms in three ways. First, fusion monsters violate physical difference. Fusion monsters physically com-

bine multiple bodies into one, transgressing biological boundaries that supposedly separate individuals (45). For example, Frankenstein's monster contains an arm from one body, a leg from another, and a head from a third. Such creatures horrify because they undermine a culture's physical sense of selfhood. Within a culture that assumes boundary is flesh, that biology is who we are and clearly delineates us from others, fusion monsters horrify because they take the bodies of many and fuse them into the body of one.

In addition to combining multiple physical entities into a single body, fusion monsters also combine multiple psychologies into one. Carroll claims Frankenstein's creation is a fusion figure because the film "presents him as if he had different brains imposed upon him" (44). Here, the fusion monster transgresses psychological divisions to join multiple psyches in one flesh.

A third characteristic of fusion monsters is that they unite multiple souls. According to Carroll, fusion figures require the "ontological categorical ingredients that go into making monsters" (48). For example, he references possession stories like *The Exorcist* where one body houses numerous souls (44). In this film, Regan is horrific because she vomits sludge, contorts her body, and stabs herself, but also because she compromises Western beliefs in a personal soul. Does she have one soul? If she can be possessed, has she lost that soul? To a certain extent, fusion monsters horrify because they force us to face these difficult and confusing questions that complicate our assumptions about ontological identity.

CONJOINED TWIN FUSION MONSTERS

Before considering how the fusion monster in *The Thing with Two Heads* exemplifies these characteristics, it would be valuable to explore him as a conjoined twin. By simply grafting the head of the doctor on the head of the convict, the film conjures up and exploits the deep-seated anxieties that conjoined twins have inspired for centuries. To a certain extent, the film borrows from the intellectual history of conjoined twins to inherit the horror they might induce. Like the siblings joined at birth struggle to make sense of their shared body, Moss and Dr. Kirshner battle while they are temporarily joined together. To consider the cultural meanings of the monstrous "thing with two heads," we should first consider the social significance often linked to its semiotic relative, conjoined twins.

History contains extensive discussions on the nature of conjoined twins as scientists, psychologists, and theologians grapple with the difficulties that the mere existence of these beings pose to cultural assumptions, assumptions fundamental to people's sense of self, individuality, and identity. By challenging these assumptions, conjoined twins pose a

cognitive threat that has horrified philosophers, doctors, and priests as each field in its own way has suggested they are fusion monsters.

First, conjoined twins exemplify fusion monsters because they combine multiple bodies into one. The body supposedly marks the boundaries of personhood, and flesh marks the limits of who one is. "I" ends with my skin, but what about conjoined twins who share flesh? Even as far back as ancient Greece, thinkers struggled with this issue, experimenting with different limit cases, considering what organ one had to share with a twin before they were no longer an individual. From Aristotle to Ambroise Paré, they claimed twins could share hips, livers, or heads and still be two individuals, but if they shared a heart they became one person (Paré 14). Seventeenth-century thinkers, however, claimed conjoined twins could share all matter of limbs, spines, and organs, but could only be considered two people if they had two heads (63). While these arguments had their differences, they shared a fascination with the limits of personhood, the physical boundaries where one self ended and another began.

Second, conjoined twins have horrified people because they fuse multiple psychologies into a single body. Most discourse on conjoined twins fixates on their personality differences. For example, Chang and Eng, the world's most famous conjoined twins, were anatomically joined but psychologically divided. The former drank heavily and fought bitterly while the latter was quiet and long-suffering. Conflicts between these opposed personalities grew so fierce that courts imposed a peace bond to keep them from hurting each other. Stories like this about the psychological differences of conjoined twins fascinated psychologists because they tested the boundaries of personhood by challenging fundamental notions of personality (Pingree 104). Two beings trapped in a single body, each retaining separate opinions, desires, and motivations, fundamentally struck at the core of people's sense of individuality.

Third, conjoined twins have been fusion monsters for religious officials because they violate the boundaries of spiritual personhood. Conjoined twins challenged notions of ontological individuality, forcing Christian leaders to consider if those who shared a body also shared a soul. For example, Lazarus and Joannes Baptista Colloredo were born in 1617 in Genoa, Italy with the latter's apparently inanimate torso growing out of the former's chest. Both were baptized, but this sacramental act did not prevent the *Athenian Mercury* from asking, "How will the '*Two brothers*' arise at the day of judgment?" (qtd. Pender 161). Ultimately, these twins who seemed to combine multiple souls into a single body posed questions theologians found unanswerable.

TRAGIC MULATTO FUSION MONSTERS

While scientists, psychologists, and theologians have treated con-joined twins like fusion monsters because they violate biological, psy-chological, and ontological boundaries on a personal level, American literature has regarded the tragic mulatto as a fusion monster that does the same on a racial one.

Since the colonial era, American legal, scientific, and sociological discourses claimed that blacks and whites were biologically different, articulating those differences most eloquently in the metaphor of "blood." In "Representing Miscegenation Law," Eva Saks notes Ameri-can writers questioned or defended the supposedly biological differences between whites and blacks and found no better way to carry out such interrogations than with the figure of the tragic mulatto, carrier of both black and white blood. In his analysis of such literature, Sollors claims that because tragic mulattoes housed two races in a single body, their "conflict was ultimately believed to be biological, generated by the 'war-ring blood' that was believed to be coursing in their veins" (224). This idea of "warring blood" appears repeatedly in American texts featuring mulattoes. Their white blood propels them to do one thing while their black blood drives them to do another, hurling biracial characters back and forth until their warring blood tears them apart and thrusts them to-wards tragic ends. For example, in William Faulkner's *Light in August*, the mixed-race Joe Christmas's schizophrenic behavior is explained in psycho-racial terms. A torrent of contradictory voices rage through his mind all because of the war between his black blood and white blood: "But his blood would not be quiet, let him save it. . .the black blood drove him first to the negro cabin. And then the white blood drove him out of there, as it was the black blood which snatched up the pistol and the white blood which would not let him fire it" (449). In an American society that assumed whites and blacks were biologically different, the tragic mulatto became a fusion monster that combined bloodlines with tumultuous results.

American discourses also suggested tragic mulattoes were fusion monsters on psychological grounds. Mulatto fiction suggested that bira-cial characters contained two distinct minds, one black and one white. In Elizabeth Boatwright Coker's 1950 novel, *Daughter of Strangers*, Char-lotte Le Jeune's "mixed river" of blood whirls in her brain, giving her a "troubled, uneasy frame of mind" and making her "a stranger to herself" (144). In this literary climate, blacks had one consciousness and whites had another. Sterling Brown noted this much in perhaps one of the most famous quotes from the study of mulatto literature where he notes that American writers used warring blood to explain the mixed race psyche. Through their works, the mulatto is "a victim of a divided inheritance;

from his white blood come his intellectual strivings, his unwillingness to be a slave; from his Negro blood come his baser emotional urges, his indolence, his savagery" (160-161). Presumably, white blood made one intellectual while black blood made one emotional, and the black-white multiracial posed a challenge to racial thinking. Here, the mulatto is not just racially divided; he is also psychologically self-divided.

Thirdly, tragic mulatto fusion monsters ontologically unite races. American writers have represented these problematic beings as owners of a split soul. For example, in Richard Hildreth's 1852 abolitionist novel, *The White Slave*, the mulatto protagonist, Archy Moore, declares that from his black mother he inherits the soul of a slave, but from his white father he inherits a "proud spirit" (7). Here, Moore's conflict is not simply a social, familial, or personal one—it is a struggle cast in spiritual light. Penelope Bullock notes that this example is one of many. In her seminal essay, "The Treatment of the Mulatto in American Fiction from 1826-1902," she claims that in tales of the tragic mulatto, the spirit of his black mother compels him towards servitude while the spirit of his white father compels him towards rebellion (50-51). The tragic mulatto's white soul wars with its black one, paralyzing him with spiritual conflict. Nancy Tischler claims this struggle resembles a theological one where "the black blood and the white blood stage a gory civil war in the mind and body of the mulatto, much as the medieval writer would have had the Body and the Soul battling it out over possession of Everyman" (97). In this way, the tragic mulatto has resembled a fusion monster in an ontological sense. Like a possessed child or a conjoined twin, they have also been represented as housing multiple spirits in a single body.

THE CONJOINED TWIN, TRAGIC MULATTO FUSION MONSTER IN *THE THING WITH TWO HEADS*

While discourses on conjoined twins and tragic mulattoes have both suggested these groups are fusion monsters on physical, psychological, and ontological grounds, the monster in *The Thing with Two Heads* combines both of these kinds of fusion monsters. On one hand, like the conjoined twin, the film's "monster" violates the notion of personal identity, merging the bodies, minds, and souls of two individuals. On the other hand, like the tragic mulatto, this monster disrupts the concept of racial identity by blending the physical, psychological, and ontological characteristics of supposedly different races into a single body.

The first way the film's monster blends these categories is physically, coalescing two people into a single body. The film establishes Moss' body, enormous and fit, as one spatio-temporally discrete entity and Dr. Kirshner's body, crippled and ailing, as another. The narrative continually stresses the physical differences between these bodies. Dr.

Kirshner's weakness dominates the film's beginning. He uses a wheelchair, is carted from one place to another by a chauffeur, and is even unable to perform surgery at the institution that bears his name. Conversely, the film emphasizes Moss' strength. When he first appears walking to the electric chair, he is shown to tower over the guards, officers, and warden who escort him to his death. An inmate yells for him to fight, make them work to kill him. This exhortation accentuates Moss' physical superiority over everyone else in the film, inviting viewers to recognize just how hard orderlies would have to work to kill him if he put up a fight. Once the bodies are fused, Dr. Kirshner contrasts his new body with his old one. As he stretches Moss' fingers and breathes through his lungs, Dr. Kirshner remarks about its strength, power, and vitality. In this regard, the film spends a majority of its first act contrasting the weakness of Kirshner's body with the strength of Moss' before spending the second act stressing their monstrous physical fusion.

As the film transgresses physical differences between individuals, it establishes physical differences between black and white. In a complex relay between collusion and re-appropriation, the film simultaneously perpetuates and mocks racial stereotypes. For example, the physical differences between the two races housed in this body even erupt over something as seemingly insignificant as food. Once Moss, Kirshner, and Williams hide in Lila's apartment, they consider a plan to prove Moss' innocence over a plate of pork chops. Facing the fried food, Kirshner recoils, dismissing it as junk food for the black underclasses. He further racializes his disdain by evoking racial stereotypes when he sneers, "What do you have for dessert? Watermelon?" In this context, the stomach becomes a battleground and the two heads feud over which kinds of racialized food it will digest. Moss continues to eat the pork, declaring his ownership over the body: "It's my stomach!" But Kirshner rebels, spoiling the dinner by puffing a cigarette that forces Moss to belch smoke mid-bite.

Featured on trailers, promotional posters, and publicity ads, this scene of the white head inhaling smoke that the black head exhales becomes one of the film's central showpieces where the thing with two head's physical self-division becomes most ridiculous. At the same time, however, it also becomes one of the moments that best articulate the film's "warring blood" comedy. The film spends great lengths of screen time to explain that Kirshner is able to successfully transplant organs where others fail because of his revolutionary heart-lung machines that filter blood among both bodies long enough to unite them. In these transplants, blood comes from separate individuals, each prone to infection, waiting to reject the other. In this particular two-headed transplant, however, blood also comes from separate races, each prone to different

appetites, opposed preferences, and conflicting dispositions. The thing with two heads fuses the opposed characteristics of two human blood groups, type AB vs. type O, but also the stereotypically opposed characteristics of two racial blood groups, blacks who eat soul food and whites who do not. Like conjoined twins, the thing with two heads must reconcile physical differences between one weak body and one strong one, but, like the tragic mulatto, it must also supposedly reconcile racial differences inherited through warring blood.

The fusion monster in *The Thing with Two Heads* also combines multiple minds into a single body. On one hand, the monster fuses the psyches of two individuals. Moss' central motivation is to prove his innocence, but this valid pursuit never trumps his compassion. He remains concerned about the wellbeing of Lila as well as Dr. Williams, not to mention the bystanders who flee from him in horror. During the motorcycle chase, he places himself in danger to keep other motorcyclists safe. As bigoted officers hurl racial insults at him, he still risks capture and death to disable squad cars without injuring any officers. After the surgery that finally amputates Kirshner's head, even after all the bigoted surgeon's abuse and threats, Moss and Dr. Williams do not kill him. Conversely, Dr. Kirshner's psychological motivation is to dominate his new body. He is ruthlessly selfish, advertising for a body donor without fully explaining the transplant procedure, deceiving unknowing people into forfeiting both their bodies and their lives. If he finds a participant, he plans to take control of the body and kill the donor simply so his "genius" may live on. Once he actually receives a participant who just happens to be African American, his gratefulness does not surpass his bigotry. Rather than appreciating his second chance at life, he spends his time insulting Moss, Lila, and Dr. Williams—the very people who hold his life in their hands. With the sympathetic Moss on one hand and the selfish Dr. Kirshner on the other, the film clearly establishes the thing with two heads as a fusion monster that combines two distinct psychological entities.

At the same time, the film racializes this psychological fusion with stereotypes. It establishes the black mind as sexual and the white mind as intellectual before fusing these opposed psychologies into one body. After dinner at Lila's house where both heads have vied for physical control over their shared anatomy, they retire to the bedroom. As Lila tucks him in, Moss tries to woo her into bed. She pulls away, explaining that she can't get over the two-headed monster he has become. Aroused and persisting, Moss offers to cover Kirshner's head with a pillowcase to which the white head snarls, "Is that all you people ever think about?" With this statement, the use of the essentializing phrase "you people," Kirshner racializes the situation, suggesting that sexual motivation is

something essential to the black mind. Moss seems to validate this stereotype when he declares to Kirshner at this moment, only after Kirshner's head denies him access to sex, "Now, you know you have to go!"

If, as this scene suggests, the film casts sex as the primary motivation of black psychology, how does it racially code white psychology? Interestingly, it is right after this moment, when black masculinity has exerted its sexual power, that Kirshner begins to take control of his new body. After threatening Kirshner in order to keep sexual access to Lila, Moss falls asleep. As Moss snores away exhausted by sexual frustration, Kirshner concentrates his psychological energies, finally making fists with both hands. As he exercises mental power over this physical body, he smiles maniacally. If this scene suggests that African Americans are preoccupied with sex, this moment suggests that whites are preoccupied with domination. Moss seeks physical intimacy with a lover he has not seen for years while Kirshner wishes to control the body so he can kill Moss.

Like the dinner scene, this bedroom scene features prominently in the film's publicity campaign and for obvious reasons. Its overt sexuality functions like a cheap selling point to the young exploitation crowd to which it was marketed. At the same time, the scene hints at the sexual complexity that the two-headed monster presents. What is physical intimacy between two lovers when one has a head grafted onto his shoulders? To accept Moss' invitation, would Lila be consummating her relationship with him alone or with Kirshner as well? Titillation and allusions to ménage-a-trois aside, this bedroom scene is also central to the film because it ludicrously articulates the thing with two head's psychological self-division in racial terms. This fusion monster inherits two blood types but also two different racialized psychologies; its black half pursues sexual pleasure and its white half pursues mental control. Like conjoined twins, this fusion monster must reconcile psychological differences between individuals, a sexual Moss and an intellectual Kirshner. On the other hand, like tragic mulattoes, this fusion monster must also reconcile supposedly psychological differences between races, a lascivious black and an ascetic white.

Thirdly, the thing with two heads combines multiple souls into one body. Kirshner convinces Dr. Desmond (Roger Perry) to perform the two-headed transplant, claiming, "My genius must be prolonged. I want to transplant my head on a healthy body." When Kirshner pleads, "My genius must be allowed to continue. . ..There is no other way for me to live," he evokes a form of Western dualism that conflates the anatomical *brain* with the soul to suggest that his metaphysical being can survive as long as his head does, even if it is transplanted upon another body. With this plea, the doctor suggests that there is some aspect of identity that

transcends the physical, that something of him endures even after the body has gone. His quest to appropriate a new body is based on that assumption, the belief that his genius constitutes his true identity, that his soul will outlive the death of his anatomy.

Like conjoined twins, the fusion monster of *The Thing with Two Heads* houses two souls in a single body, but, like tragic mulattoes, those souls are also racialized. On three separate occasions, Kirshner uses that signature address of racist essentialism, "you people," an insultingly reductive statement that suggests there is such a thing as a black soul exclusive and essential to all black people. But essentialism is not only the tool of oppression. In her oft-cited consideration of "strategic essentialism," Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak claims that oppressed groups often make "a strategic use of positivist essentialism in a scrupulously visible political interest" that actually undermines oppression (214). For example, Dr. Kirshner tries to dismiss the individuality of African American people by clumping them into one racialized monolith, but African American characters insist on their unity by bonding through racial commonality. Upon originally escaping, when Moss first takes Dr. Williams, the only black member of the Kirshner Institute, hostage, he hails him with that signature phrase of anti-racist strategic essentialism, "soul brother," a unifying title that mobilizes blacks to share a spiritual connection against white supremacy. For the bigot, the fear becomes that when he transplanted his head onto a black body, he may have turned his genius black. According to his own logic, he may be one of the souls to which he refers when saying, "You people."

Lila exploits this fear in the dinner scene. When Kirshner gags from eating collard greens, she mocks the blackening of his soul. Using his own racial stereotypes against him, she includes him in the "y'all" when she asks, "What do y'all think about having fried possum and chitterlings for supper tomorrow?" She includes him in the "we" when she says, "And after supper, we can all sit around and sing spirituals." As noted above, American literature has used the discourse of racialized souls to argue that a black spirit dooms one to servitude while a white spirit entitles another to rule. Kirshner benefits from this assumption, suggesting all blacks, all the "you people," share a spiritual disposition towards subservience, but when blacks evoke strategic essentialism—refer to each other as soul brothers, call their cuisine soul food, evoke Negro spirituals, and claim that blacks are spiritually connected in the struggle against white supremacy—the doctor becomes trapped by his essentialist assumptions. The discourse from which he benefited now ensnares him and forces him to fear that as he inhabits a black body he may also have a black soul.

While the above may show how historical discourses on conjoined twins and tragic mulattoes meet in *The Thing with Two Heads*, questions about the film's significance may remain. To consider the film's full import, we must consider the extent to which the most important aspect of fusion monsters is that they reveal something about society. Like all monsters, fusion ones can be read as social symbols, and they horrify audiences precisely because they strike at a group's core values.

In this regard, besides combining multiple biological, psychological, and ontological entities, fusion monsters combine multiple social entities. Such has been the case with discourses concerning conjoined twins. Throughout history, people have interpreted the conjoined twin as a social symbol: two persons struggling in one physical body symbolize two social groups struggling in one political body. During the seventeenth century, Englishmen claimed Lazarus and Joannes Colloredo, the Italian conjoined twins, symbolized Catholic England's struggle with Rome (Pender 157). During the Civil War, Americans claimed Chang and Eng symbolized the struggle between Northerners and Southerners (Pingree). From 17th century England to 19th century U.S., the internal struggle of conjoined twins has symbolized the internal struggles of nations.

Similarly, the internal struggles of fictional mulattoes were used to symbolize the struggle between American racial groups. In the first book-length study of the tragic mulatto, Berzon notes that this literary figure is taken "as the embodiment of social misunderstanding, of the dislocation of modern life, of the search for the father, of the suffering of all mankind, as the conscience of mankind" (80-81). Many writers and readers of American literature have regarded the tragic mulatto in this archetypal way, claiming that the black blood and white blood warring in the mulatto's body symbolized the black and white races warring in the American national body.

The fusion monster in *The Thing with Two Heads* can also be read as a social symbol that articulates the struggles between black and white social groups in the United States during the 1970s. For years before the film's release, the Civil Rights Movement sought to integrate blacks into white society, securing their equality as a minority among the majority, but by the year of the film's release the Black Power Movement had gained authority. Giving up on the hope that American society could ever treat blacks equally, nationalists sought to create a separate society. Some held a Manichean worldview, seeking to reaffirm the beauty of black culture by purging it of all white influence: blacks had internalized racism, and if they wished to rise, they had to cleanse themselves of white thinking.[2] The film articulates this desire to "get the man off your

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[2] For an excellent discussion of the dualistic roots of the Black Power Movement see Cornel West's "Malcolm X and Black Rage."

back" by literally attaching a bigoted white head, the mind spouting ra-
cist ideology, onto the back of the black body that has internalized it.
From the beginning, Moss rebels against the white head's domination.
Upon waking from the surgery, he notices Kirshner attached to him, and
when the doctor tells him "We are joined together temporarily," Moss
grows enraged, thrashing about until doctors anesthetize him. Kirshner
immediately regrets trying to dominate the black man, saying, "How am
I ever going to control him. . .he could kill me!" Similarly, during the
time of the film's release, whites began to see their control over blacks
waning and the emergence of a Black Power Movement that threatened
to consume them. Riots of previous years weighed heavy and fresh on
the minds of many Americans, proof that the reconciliation offered by
the Civil Rights Movement had given way to violent forms of black rage.
In this way, this fusion monster, with all of its physical struggles between
Moss and Kirshner, symbolized national struggles between blacks and
whites.

     While the conjoined twin/tragic mulatto fusion monster in *The
Thing with Two Heads* symbolizes the struggles between black and white
social groups as monstrous, it also symbolizes the necessity of that mon-
strosity, suggesting a kind of symbiotic relationship between white and
black. After the initial surgery that fuses their bodies, Moss and Kirshner
suffer an infection. Dr. Desmond, the operating surgeon, instructs assist-
ing doctors to preserve the black head because they "need all the help
[they] can get from him." Here, Dr. Kirshner's genius depends upon
Moss's anatomy, and white genius relies on the black body. Conversely,
in the film, this monster's black body also needs the white mind. During
the getaway scene, Moss decides to shoot Kirshner's head, but Dr. Wil-
liams jumps in, declaring, "You kill him, you kill yourself!" This long
after the transplant, the black body and the white head have fused and
their lives inextricably depend upon each other. With this image of Moss
and Kirshner assimilating into one physical body, the film suggests the
need for blacks and whites to assimilate into one national body.

     Despite these moments that suggest racial symbiosis, the film's end-
ing ultimately symbolizes the relationship between these two groups as
an antagonistic one that ends with eventual re-segregation. Despite
scenes that emphasize racial hybridity, separation remains the central
motivation of the Moss/Kirshner monster. Throughout their escape, both
heads vie for Dr. Williams's assistance. Kirshner offers him an execu-
tive position at the institute if he will cut off the black head. Kirshner
explains that he still has much to teach the world about transplants, and if
Williams helps him, he will help humanity. Conversely, Moss spends
the entire film asserting that he is innocent, does not deserve execution,
and, therefore, Kirshner has no right to his donated body. Appealing to

Dr. Williams's morality, Moss claims that if he was guilty, he would die willingly, but since he killed no one, he should have a chance to clear his name, a chance Williams must facilitate by amputating Kirshner's head so Moss can live.

In the end, Moss wins Dr. Williams's sympathy. To save the convict's life, the doctor decides to remove Kirshner's head, but as the group breaks into a surgical supply warehouse to retrieve necessary medical instruments, Kirshner finally takes full control of Moss's body and beats the two black men unconscious before retreating to his private laboratory. There, he makes preparations to amputate the black head himself, but just as the scalpel reaches Moss's neck, Dr. Williams bursts in, snatches the blade away, and declares, "You wouldn't want to do that, doctor. You'd be killing an innocent man." The camera cuts away and moments later, Dr. Williams appears on the phone calling Dr. Desmond, telling him to hurry to Dr. Kirshner's house. Dr. Desmond rushes into the room only to find Dr. Kirshner's disembodied head attached to a heart-lung, blood-filtering machine, moaning, "Get me another body, please." While the film suggests that this fusion monster needs both black and white heads, its ending, suggests that amputation is inevitable.

Furthermore, when the credits roll over images of Moss, Lela, and Dr. Williams driving away together smiling, clapping, and singing "Oh Happy Day," the conventions of cinematic formal closure invite the audience to celebrate the amputation of the white head from the black body. Given this conclusion, the conjoined twin/tragic mulatto in *The Thing with Two Heads* symbolizes the antagonism between blacks and whites that only seems to end with the eradication of fusion, the re-individuation of Moss and Kirshner, and the re-segregation of blacks and whites.

The Thing with Two Heads flirts with the idea of racial hybridity, spends a majority of its length exploiting the horror of the conjoined twin/tragic mulatto, but, in the end, the hybridity this fusion monster symbolizes is dismissed. Among the film's endless comedic gags, the only thing meant to be taken seriously may be the desire of the monster's two halves to amputate the other, to re-individuate themselves, and, symbolically, to re-segregate black and white. As Moss eventually wins sole ownership over his body, the film implies that African Americans can break free from white supremacy and amputate the oppressive whiteness that has been grafted upon them. As Dr. Kirshner ends up a disembodied head pleading for another body, the film suggests that whiteness is predatory, a disembodied genius always preying on the bodies of others. In the end, the film suggests that black and white are essentially incompatible essences.

At the same time, *The Thing with Two Heads* mocks essentialist assumptions that blacks and whites are biologically, psychologically, and

ontologically different. The fact that the film was marketed as a horror film suggests that the blurring of the categorical distinctions between blacks and whites is horrific, but the fact that the film functions more like a comedy suggests that this transgression of racial distinctions is also pleasurable. Given how the film treats the conjoined twin/tragic mulatto with such humor, one has to wonder whether its fusion monster is a monster at all. If, as Carroll claims, fusion monsters horrify because they transgress conceptual binaries and contemporary categories increasingly embrace hybrid attributes, then one has to wonder if fusion monsters still horrify. Throughout history, conjoined twins horrified because they united categorically distinct biological, psychological, and ontological attributes that would otherwise individuate people, but in the 21st century where categorical distinction increasingly erodes into hybridity, are conjoined twins still monsters? Throughout American literature, tragic mulattoes horrified because they united categorically distinct physical, mental, and spiritual attributes that would otherwise individuate races, but in the 21st century, are mulattoes still monstrous?

Conjoined twins, mulattoes, and all kinds of fusion monsters might not horrify as much as times past. Carroll's model of monstrosity relies heavily on dichotomous thinking that may have faded slightly. *The Thing with Two Heads* suggests this much because its tone does not resemble that of a conventional horror film. Traditionally, such films employ dark shadows, ominous music, and disturbing monsters to horrify audiences, but *The Thing with Two Heads* features natural daylight, upbeat music, and a "monster" that cracks jokes, smiles, and never poses a real physical threat to any positive human characters. Given these facts, the film employs horror less than what Brophy calls "horrality," an amalgamation of horror and hilarity. He claims that after decades of cliché conventions horror films no longer frighten audiences with suspense. Instead, these movies seek to disgust and titillate viewers by destroying bodies with "a perverse sense of humour" (276). Likewise, Frost's "horror" film seems less interested in frightening audiences than using perverse humor to destroy the individual racial body. In the past, conjoined twins may have horrified because they undermined categorical distinctions necessary for concepts of personal selfhood, and tragic mulattoes may have horrified because they undermined distinctions necessary for concepts of racial identity. Both the conjoined twin and tragic mulatto horrified because they assaulted audiences' sense of themselves. Given *The Thing with Two Heads*' humorous tone, however, one must consider that the fusion monster pleases audiences. Given how this film utilizes horrality rather than horror, one must consider that audiences do not fear as much as invite the conjoined twin/tragic mulatto's assault against their personal and racial selfhood.

With the way that it presents these challenges—exposing racial stereotypes to challenge them and reveling in a transracial body—*The Thing with Two Heads* works as a unique text of tragic mulatto literature. Traditionally, this literary genre has confronted racial, social, and religious themes with a serious tone, using multiracial characters to make political arguments within the realms of realistic plausibility. This horralious film, however, offers a different way to confront these issues, a tone that addresses these social issues with horror and comedy, evoking stereotypes of the tragic mulatto and bending the laws of reality to mock American assumptions about race. For these reasons, *The Thing with Two Heads* should be plucked from obscurity, the confines of the Blaxploitation horror niche, and the shelves of B-movie aficionados to be taken for what it is: a text that, like *The House Behind the Cedars*, *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*, and *Passing*, can offer valuable observations about American racial discourse but, unlike those novels, can use the ridiculous conventions of horror and humor to strike at the truth in ways serious texts cannot.

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THE POSSIBILITIES OF ASIAN AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP: A CRITICAL RACE AND GENDER ANALYSIS

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INTRODUCTION

Conventionally, citizenship is understood as a legal category of membership in a national polity that ensures equal rights among its citizens. This conventional understanding, however, begs disruption when the histories and experiences of marginalized groups are brought to the fore. Equal citizenship in all its forms for marginalized populations has yet to be realized. For Asian Americans, rights presumably accorded to the legal status of citizenship have proven tenuous across different historical and political moments. Throughout U.S. history, "Asian American" or "Oriental" men and women have been designated aliens against whom white male and female citizenships have been legitimized. These categories of inclusion and exclusion—"citizen" and "alien"—are mutually constitutive; members are legitimate only when defined against the exclusion of "others." Citizenship must be conceptualized as a broader set of social and cultural memberships and exclusions beyond political rights and legal status. This article examines how scholarly works engage citizenship formations of "Asian American" women and men.

Othered as perpetual foreigners and "yellow perils," Asian Americans have faced immigration exclusion, detainment, deportation, enforced quarantine, segregation, internment, bars to citizenship, and systemized denaturalization. Americans of Asian descent have been in the United States for over 150 years; yet, they are still culturally stereotyped as foreign and un-American in media and other forms of representation. As early as 1794, Chinese started settling in Hawaii (Okihiro 2001, 9). In the 1850s, Chinese contract labors migrated to Hawaii to work on sugar plantations; at the same time, 20,000 Chinese arrived in California to seek their fortunes in the Gold Rush (ibid 13). Unregulated immigration ended when the Page Act of 1875 effectively halted immigration of "Mongolian" women based upon stereotypes of deviant sexuality (ibid 141). Anti-Chinese sentiment culminated with the Chinese Exclusion Act (1882) which barred entry of the Chinese male laboring class, followed by immigration bars on Japanese (1907), Koreans (1907), Asian Indians (1917), and Filipinos (1932) (ibid 19, 35). The national

origins quota system was not eliminated until the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Ngai 2003, 3). Historically, the U.S. has barred or restricted the immigration of unwanted groups based on designations of race, national origin, gender, sexuality, and class.

The history of citizenship legislation is equally racialized, gendered, and classed. The Naturalization Act of 1790 granted the right to U.S. citizenship only to "free white persons," excluding indentured servants, slaves, and most women (Volpp 2001, 58; Asian Women United of California 1989; 423; U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services 2004). From 1894 to 1952, Japanese were declared ineligible for naturalization (Okihiro 181). Birthright citizenship for Chinese Americans was finally recognized in the *Wong Kim Ark* (1898) decision, even though ten years earlier the Fourteenth Amendment (1888) classified citizens as:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. (U.S. House of Representatives 2004)

This Amendment, however, did not protect women, especially U.S.-born women of Asian descent, from dependent citizenship. In 1907, dependent citizenship extended to include women with U.S. citizenship who were married to non-citizen men, such that these women lost their legal citizenship status (Volpp 59). The Cable Act in 1922 primarily affected women who married Asian men, as it stripped legal status from U.S. citizen women married to men ineligible to naturalize (Bredbenner, quoted in Volpp 59). These women, if racialized as Asian, were then ineligible for naturalization based upon the Naturalization Act of 1790.

Instances throughout history have exemplified the tenuousness of citizenship rights when racially embodied. For instance, the mass internment of Japanese Americans in U.S. concentration camps during World War II is perhaps the most written about subject in Asian American history (Okihiro 100). From 1942-1946, over 120,000 Japanese Americans, of whom two-thirds were legal citizens, were removed from their homes and properties and detained in camps. By labeling this group "enemy aliens," the U.S. government essentially revoked the rights of citizenship for Japanese Americans upon fabricated evidence that they posed risks to national security (ibid 100-127). This history disrupts the assumption that legal citizenship ensures equal rights. If citizenship as legal status can be rendered meaningless, then of what value is this categorization? What

then inscribes individuals as Asian "Americans" as opposed to Asian aliens? In other words, what demarcates Asian Americans as "citizens"? Are there forms of citizenship, other than legal status, that can explain the experiences and histories of Asian American men and women, as well as provide anti-racist, feminist tools of resistance in the struggle for equality?

This critical race and gender analysis explores conceptual models of U.S. citizenship in the context of intersecting dimensions of difference and presents citizenship as sets of social and cultural memberships and exclusions beyond just political rights and legal status. More broadly conceptualized, citizenship serves as a useful tool for analyzing processes of inclusion and exclusion, as well as sites of oppression and possible resistance. This analysis examines formations of "Asian American" women and men through various citizenship discourses. For the purposes of this essay, "Asian American" denotes Asian-raced, gendered, sexualized, and classed persons located within U.S. geopolitical boundaries, in circulation in the nation's cultural imagination, and/or otherwise engaged with migration policies to cross U.S. borders. This definition purposefully casts a wide net of inclusion in recognition of the inconsistencies and incoherencies involved in attempting to operationalize a population as if static through time and across situations. Finally, this analysis examines the varying theoretical and methodological approaches taken by scholars who use citizenship or seek to define citizenship as it pertains to the experiences of Asian American women and men.

The scope of this analysis is limited in the format of material examined. It primarily includes monographs, journal articles, book chapters, and essays in edited anthologies. Non-print materials, as well as government documents, are excluded. It is expansive in its disciplinary scope. It draws from scholarship in the following areas: Asian American studies; women's studies; history; public anthropology; citizenship studies; communication studies; literary studies; education; legal studies; and immigration history.

This essay organizes scholarship on Asian Americans and citizenship around analyses of racialized and gendered citizenships. Two particular scholarly works provide the framework for this paper's organization and analyses. First, Leti Volpp demonstrates the limitations of four predominant citizenship discourses—*legal status*, *rights*, *political activity*, and *identity*—through a lens of Asian American racialization (2001). Texts that discuss citizenship and Asian Americans touch upon one or more of these categories. Analyses through both racialized and gendered lenses suggest the interrelatedness of these four meanings of citizenship. For example, citizenship as the struggle for identity for marginalized groups without legal status and accompanying rights may entail political

activity as a form of resistance. Laura Kang (2002) extends Volpp's critique by conducting a more in-depth analysis of how race and gender intersect in systems of citizenship. She provides an exemplary critique of racialized and gendered citizenship-making processes that leads to her theorization of "Asian American women" as an incoherent construction. Kang's work is significant as most scholarship on citizenship and Asian Americans operate according to assumptions of a universal male referent that often leaves uncritiqued processes of gender and racial formations.[1] The theoretical and conceptual tools offered by Volpp and Kang are used to analyze and organize how different scholarly works approach meanings of citizenship for Asian American women and men.

The following themes emerge. First, a category of scholarship emerges that does not complicate meanings of citizenship beyond *legal status* or the universal male referent. These texts utilize U.S. citizenship for Asian Americans (presumably men) as indices or measures in their studies with the assumption that citizenship rests solely in the legal domain. Second, examinations using Asian American history confront the assumption that citizenship as *legal status* and *rights* equates equality but do not forgo legal status as part of the struggle toward equality. Operating within legal studies and immigration histories, these critiques historically examine the events of World War II and the Cold War. These analyses also primarily use race as a critical lens and make little mention of gender. Third, a number of works focus on culture as a space of *identity* formation and *political activity* as related to processes of citizenship-making. This third category of scholarship includes inquiries that center women and/or gender its subjects. It is through many of these scholars' readings of culture through lenses of race, gender, and labor that connections become most apparent between Volpp's four citizenship discourses. These scholars engage cultural productions that range from the following sources: Asian American and Black feminist literatures; Asian American women's autobiographical narratives and testimonials; the Black press; and ethnographic studies of culture as everyday acts and practices. This third category of scholarship is divided over the role such cultural productions play in achieving a more inclusive idea and reality of equal citizenship, and the texts that do engage women or gender vary in their level of analyses. Additionally, works that view women as formed through racialized and gendered processes are often situated within a transnational context. Finally, a line of scholarship engages language as a domain of citizenship and national *identity* formations with racialized, but not explicitly gendered, implications. These works are particularly

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[1] I use Michael Omi and Howard Winant's concept of "racial formation." They define racial formation as "the sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (1994, 55).

interested in the role linguistic capital plays in shaping the ideal American citizenry within the institution of education. These four patterns emerge from a critical assessment of existing scholarship; however, they are by no means mutually exclusive, rather they are interdependent and can overlap at times.

RACIALIZED AND GENDERED CITIZENSHIP DISCOURSES

The construction of Asian American women and men as (il)legitimate members of the national body can be analyzed through racialized and gendered critiques of various citizenship discourses. In "'Obnoxious To Their Very Nature': Asian Americans and Constitutional Citizenship," Volpp engages four distinct discourses of citizenship and demonstrates their limitations through the critical lens of Asian American racialization with only cursory attention to gender (2001). Alternately, Kang (2002) in "Historical Reconfigurations: Delineating Asian Women as/not American Citizens" primarily focuses on Volpp's first two discourses—legal status and rights—and conducts an analysis of citizenship discourses as both raced and gendered through a theorization of "Asian American women." When synthesized together, these texts are significant as they trace different, yet interconnected, discourses and demonstrate citizenship as an analytical tool that results in an anti-essentialist theorization of "Asian American women."

Volpp's analysis is based upon four categories: legal status, rights, political activity, and identity (58). Citizenship as *legal status* designates individuals as legal citizens according to U.S. Constitution or statute. Citizenship as *rights* is based upon a liberal notion of rights and presumes civil, political, and social rights of citizens as necessary to achieving equal membership in society. These first two discourses frame the citizen as a passive object that is granted rights. The third distinct discourse positions citizenship as *political activity* in the community. Finally, citizenship as *identity* refers to people's collective experiences. These third and fourth discourses assume the citizen to be an active subject with subjectivity (ibid). The author juxtaposes the racialization of Asian Americans with these four discourses. She contends that while it may be more acceptable in the present day to consider Asian Americans as legitimate recipients of formal rights—that is, the first two discourses—it is less acceptable to consider Asian Americans as subjects politically engaged in and able to represent the identity of the American nation (ibid). In other words, even though some Asian Americans may have obtained the documented legal status of "U.S. citizen," they are still not fully considered citizens in terms of politics and American national identity. These latter two discourses are further elaborated upon in the categories of scholarship addressing culture and language education.

Volpp reveals the insufficiency of the first discourse by providing an historical overview of how citizenship as legal status has racially excluded Asian Americans. The U.S. Constitution from its outset provided no racial guidelines for citizenship; however, the 1790 Naturalization Law limited naturalization to "'free white'" aliens and, after the U.S. Civil War, was amended to include "'aliens of African nativity or African descent'" (58). The author discusses the Fourteenth Amendment as a rejection of Judge Taney's opinion in *Dred Scott v. Sandford* (1857) that allowed Blacks citizenship through birth and naturalization. The Fourteenth Amendment, however, still excluded Asians due to naturalization restrictions. She connects this inability of Asian immigrants to naturalize to the maintenance of alien land laws prohibiting Asian immigrants from owning land. According to the author: "The racially defined inability to own property, to naturalize, and to immigrate, created a triple burden that constituted, in opposition to the citizen, the 'alien': one unable to engage in the basic functions of the citizen, and therefore politically powerless" (59). Volpp's historical overview of restrictions to citizenship as legal status continues with the Supreme Court decision in *Wong Kim Ark* (1898) that found the Fourteenth Amendment to apply to Chinese born in the United States. However, she states, "It is doubtful that *Wong Kim Ark* represented any significant shift in the acceptance of the Chinese as citizens" (60). In other words, legitimate birthright citizenship did not lead to the incorporation of Chinese Americans into the national body. Brooke Thomas, as discussed later in this literature review, recuperates some productive value in the *Wong Kim Ark* decision in the struggle of Asian Americans to attain equal citizenship (1998).

Both Volpp and Kang examine the intersection of gender and race in naturalization guidelines; however, Kang focuses specifically on how these federal statutes constitute part of a "genealogy" that constructs certain subjects as "Asian American women" through varied processes of exclusion. Kang structures her argument by reviewing citizenship and naturalization measures throughout U.S. legal and political history, and her analysis of race and citizenship laws cites many of the same legislations as Volpp's piece. In Kang's analysis of racialized and gendered citizenship, she similarly highlights the 1922 Cable Act and its 1930 amendment; however, she delves more extensively than Volpp does into how this legislation created a "clearly racialized division *among* American women" and "denaturalized" the U.S. born Chinese woman from American citizenry (140). Through the course of trying to "(re)narrate Asian American women as an integral definitional other to a normative, legal 'American' citizenship," she became aware of the construction of *this* category. This genealogy of Asian American women consists of:

> modes of exclusion, detention, segregation, deportation, and denaturalization of the Asian female from the U.S. citizenry [that] bring[s] 'Asian American women' into critical relief *not* as a descendant grouping of single origin but rather as a tenuous identification situationally congealed and then too internally differentiated—according to nationality, class, sexuality—through a disconnected, even haphazard jumble of cultural constructions, local and federal legislations, and enforcement mechanisms. (Kang 141-2; emphasis in original)

Kang highlights "Asian American women" as objects of study that are not already formed entities; they are "situationally congealed" through complicated webs of representations, regulations, and enforcements that include processes of citizenship.

Volpp exposes the contradictions in liberal notions of citizenship, such as citizenship as a provision for *equal rights*—the second citizenship discourse. Liberalism frames its subjects as abstract citizens in which citizens have equal claims to equal rights (61). This, however, proves fictitious for racialized subjects, as the U.S. government has historically failed and continues to fail to protect their civil, political, and social rights. According to the author: "Liberal notions of citizenship suppress particular and local differences, separating one's abstract will from the specifics of social conditions, such as the racialized body" (ibid). It supports abstract notions of colorblindness, that rights written into law actually equate substantive rights, without regard to actual historical and structural inequalities. With Kang's argument in mind, citizenship is a liberal myth for subjects racialized *and gendered* as Asian American women. Liberalism is insufficient for understanding the contradictory location of Asian Americans: "While there is no question that American law mandates that Asian Americans be afforded the rights of all citizenry under abstract principles of egalitarian plurality, their racial location still functions to disrupt the enjoyment of full political and social equality" (Volpp 62). Again, the racial *and gender* location of Asian American women functions to prevent their enjoyment of equality.

With regard to her third discourse, Volpp proposes how Asian Americans have historically been prevented from participating fully in citizenship as *political activity*. She shows how Asian Americans have been restricted based upon race from owning property—a right considered instrumental to civic republicanism. Chinese immigrants were characterized as incapable of practicing democratic principles around the late nineteenth century; Japanese Americans were seen as disloyal during World War II; Chinese Americans in the present-day are seen as unscrupulous campaign financiers and government spies.

Finally, the author reviews the fourth discourse—citizenship as membership to a national *identity*—and shows how stereotypes of Asian Americans have precluded such belongings. She cites a contemporary example of popular news media's othering of Asian American public figures as non-American and foreign, including stereotypes of "yellow peril" and "model minority"—both of which continue to operate on assumptions that Asian Americans are incapable of democratic practice. Volpp goes as far as to say: "In fact, 'citizen' and 'Asian' could be said to function as antonyms in the United States context" (66). Identity is posed as particularly salient in citizenship-making processes for Asian American women and men. Most of the scholarly works in this review that analyze aspects of national identity examine cultural productions and language.

This critical race and gender analysis is concerned with how Asian American women and men are produced through citizenship-making processes. Volpp's essay operates through a critical race—though largely genderless—lens, while Kang theorizes citizenship as racialized and gendered through the "genealogy of 'Asian American women'" (Kang 132). Volpp concludes:

> There is a danger to try to define citizenship in isolation from identity, since particularities will determine how successfully such citizenship can be accessed and enjoyed. It is imperative to address all four citizenship discourses if one is truly in search of the guarantee of constitutional citizenship, for only with access to all four forms of citizenship can one be deemed a full citizen. (67)

The four forms of citizenship must be achieved in order for Asian Americans to enjoy the guarantees of full constitutional citizenship. The following sections examine existing scholarship on citizenship and Asian Americans as racialized and gendered discourses that address one or a combination of the following forms of citizenship: legal status, rights, political activity, and identity.

ASIAN AMERICAN "CITIZENSHIP" AS INDICES

One pattern in the literature assumes citizenship as solely Volpp's first discourse—legal status—and utilizes U.S. citizenship in relation to Asian Americans as study indices or measurements. This pattern is divided into two categories: 1) citizenship as legal status is used to characterize individuals as, and to measure traits defining, Asian American, and 2) court rulings deciding citizenship are used to indicate legitimization

processes. Both these categories of scholarship assume or specifically refer to men with little critical analyses of gender.

Asian + U.S. Citizenship = Asian American?

Virginia Mansfield-Richardson's *Asian Americans and the Mass Media* attempts to operationalize "Asian American" in the first content analysis of mainstream media coverage of Asian Americans (2000). She analyzes how 20 of the largest U.S. newspapers cover Asian Americans and issues pertinent to Asian American communities during 1994-1995. She also surveys more than 50 Asian American journalists about their perceptions of media coverage as relevant to Asian Americans and their ethnic communities. In outlining the scope and depth of her study, she defines her use of "Asian Americans." She consults a number of Asian American organizations and finds that most allow members to self-identify, although several of the organizations do not include Middle Eastern Americans. She also details how the *Asian Americans Information Directory* (1992) and U.S. Census differently classify ethnic subgroups. The author contends that no organization or government agency provides a single stable, unalterable definition of "Asian American."

She provides the following points in her study's classification schema that includes both ethnicity and citizenship in defining an Asian American:

1) Having an ethnic heritage with direct descent from any of the Asian American ethnic sub-groups listed in the 1990 U.S. Census or the 1992 *Asian American Information Directory*, and having United States citizenship. For example, a person whose ethnic lineage consists of only relatives of Japanese descent. This includes persons who are of full Asian ancestry and who are adopted by U.S. citizens of any race.

2) Having an ethnic heritage with direct descent from any two or more of the Asian American ethnic sub-groups, and having United States citizenship. For example, if a person's father is of Chinese descent and his or her mother is of Filipino descent.

3) Having an ethnic heritage with any one relative being of an Asian American ethnic sub-group as far back as three generations, and having United States citizenship. For example, this would include a person whose great-grand-father was Indonesian, but all other relatives since were Caucasian. Any person with a combination of mixed races with an Asian American

> ethnic sub-group going back three generations would
> be included in this category.

4) Immigrants (which include refugees) with Asian or
   Pacific Islander heritage, or heritage that is included
   under numbers one, two or three of these definitions,
   who are living in the United States. (16)

The first three categories demand that individuals possess a certain legal
status, that of U.S. citizenship, to be considered Asian *American*. The
fourth category, however, does not rely upon this legal designation.

The author explains the fourth classification, as it seems contradictory to consider an Asian immigrant without U.S. citizenship an Asian
American. The fourth category is as follows:

> Asian, Southeast Asian, Near Asian or Pacific Islander
> who has been living in the United States for several
> years (sometimes most of his or her life), but who has
> not changed his or her citizenship to that of a U.S. citizen, is very Americanized and has many of the same attitudes, personal identifications and experiences of
> prejudice as a person born in the United States of parents
> who are Asian, or some racial mix thereof which includes Asian heritage. (17)

This explication supplants legal status as the marker for being "American" and hinges the fourth criterion upon what it means to be an "Americanized" Asian—as having the "attitudes, personal identifications and
experiences of prejudice" of U.S. citizens with an Asian heritage. This
Americanization is an interesting substitution for the legal status of U.S.
citizen as a criterion for being Asian American. Is this then how Asian
Americans can be defined—by being "Americanized" and having certain
"attitudes," "identifications" and "experiences of prejudice?" She explains further, however, that often the only criterion that matters is if a
"person is perceived as being Asian by other people within a community
which results in some form of insult or prejudice, whether intentional or
not, against that person" (17). In other words, being externally labeled as
"Asian" trumps the author's complicated elaborations and prior criterion
that prioritize an internal cultural development and identification or legal
status. Is this then what it means to be Asian American—an external
calling out as Asian that results in insult and prejudice? The author's
attempt to operationalize the definition of Asian American reflects the
insufficiencies of citizenship, in its legal sense, as a measure of "Asian
American."

Philip Q. Yang's "Sojourners or Settlers: Post-1965 Chinese Immigrants" also relies on U.S. citizenship as a legal designation to define

who and what is Asian *American* (1999). The author explores indices and measures for determining the settlement orientations of post-1965 immigrants from China. Numerical data, as well as historical records and memoirs, support the sojourner hypothesis for the majority of Chinese entering the U.S. before the passage of the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. This hypothesis conceptualizes Chinese immigrants as sojourners, meaning they arrive in America with the intention to return to China after accumulating savings. However, he seeks to disprove this hypothesis for post-1965 Chinese immigrants. It is assumed these immigrants are permanent settlers even though very little empirical evidence exists (63). The author seeks indices and measurements related to settlement orientations. The significance of this is that the legal notion of citizenship is used to disrupt the binary of "sojourner" and "settler" and, by implication, the constructed binary of Asian American and Asian alien. He also hypothesizes that the settler orientation is more likely for female Chinese immigrants as opposed to their male counterparts. He bases this hypothesis upon the belief that women reap greater benefits from settlement, such as "job opportunities, personal freedom, and more equal status for women than for men" (67).

Yang ultimately demonstrates that post-1965 Chinese immigrants are not "sojourners" but permanent settlers; he refutes the "perpetual foreigner" stereotype that negatively affects the status and political representation of Chinese Americans and, in general, Asian Americans. On the other hand, the now empirically supported perception of post-1965 Chinese immigrants as "settlers" shapes this group as ". . .an integral part of American society. They are here to stay, to relish the opportunities offered by their adopted country, and to contribute to the building of an even better America" (86). Yang never seeks to disrupt the legitimacy of the sojourner versus settler binary. Though the author attempts to incorporate gender and socioeconomic status into his analyses, he utilizes these dimensions of identity and difference as little more than variables that determine settlement decisions. In addition, he makes no mention of transnational migrants, perhaps because to do so would disrupt the sojourner-settler binary. He utilizes citizenship as legal status and, in turn, a measure of settlement orientation within a limited framework. Even by empirically demonstrating that the majority of post-1965 Chinese immigrants are oriented towards settlement, this study does little more than refute a stereotype by replacing it with its uncomplicated foil. It is this dualism that needs disruption and complicating. While Mansfield-Richardson's attempt to operationalize "Asian American" results in contradictions and discrepancies that are due less to a flaw in her research design than to the reality of its actual complication, Yang's usage of "acquisition of citizenship" as an indicator of national identity is limited in its

research question and design and, consequently, strays from Asian Americanist intents to disrupt dualisms and hierarchies.

ASIAN AMERICAN "CITIZENSHIP" AS LEGITIMIZING WHITE DOMINANCE

In scholarly research that uses legal citizenship as indices or measurements, citizenship is used as an indicator of legitimization processes. One such example is Susan Olzak and Suzanne Shanahan's "Racial Policy and Racial Conflict in the Urban United States, 1869-1924" (2003). This study considers court rulings that deny U.S. citizenship to Asian Americans as legitimizing white dominance in America that consequently lead to increased rates of violence against Asian Americans. By tracking data on racial conflict events during this time period, the study finds support for its hypothesis: "Laws and rulings legitimating white dominance over nonwhites increase the rate of violence against Asian and African American minorities" (486). They ultimately explain that court rulings on citizenship that reinforced racial boundaries increased the rate of racial conflict events involving white Americans and Asian minorities. Citizenship is used as a historical indicator for legitimization processes that operated in political and legal realms and that maintained racial barriers and white dominance over Asian minorities.

In "Race, Nation, and Citizenship: Asian Indians and the Idea of Whiteness in the U.S. Press, 1906-1923," Hemant Shah employs the conventional legal notion of citizenship (1999). The racialized de-legitimization of Asian Indians as possible U.S. citizens is framed as the endgame in the U.S. press' agenda to racialize Asian Indians as non-white. The author conducts a textual analysis of printed press news coverage of Asian Indians from a central California daily newspaper and a national prominent newspaper from 1906—the year Asian Indians first applied for citizenship—to 1923—when Asian Indians were declared ineligible for naturalization by the U.S. Supreme Court (1999). He extracts five major themes found in the analysis of 156 stories on Asian Indians. The second most common theme, "Immigration and naturalization," is relevant. Shah notes that coverage of the 1923 Supreme Court case, that revoked Bhagat Singh Thind's U.S. legal citizenship based on his not being "White," actually sidestepped the "racial logic of exclusion" (260). The press reported rationale other than racial exclusion. This was the press' means of sidestepping issues of American racism and scapegoating Asian Indians as supposedly unwilling to assimilate. The guise of America as founded upon equality and fairness was maintained by the press' skewed coverage. In Shanahan and Olzak's and Shah's research, citizenship is used in its conventional legal sense as an indicator of insti-

tutional processes, such as the press and court rulings, that legitimized racialized membership in a nation-state.

MYTH OF CITIZENSHIP AS LEGAL STATUS AND RIGHTS

Volpp's and Kang's critique of citizenship discourses explodes assumptions of abstract citizenship. Synthesized together, they demonstrate how citizenship as legal status and rights has been differentially applied to subjects through different moments in time and through processes of racialized and gendered exclusions. The scholarly works examined in this section also confront color-blind assumptions of abstract, liberal citizenship through a racialized, though not gendered, lens. In addition, one particular text challenges the assumed meaningless of citizenship as legal status in the struggle towards equality.

In conversation with Volpp's four citizenship discourses, Eric Yamamoto, Margaret Chon, Carol Izumi, Jerry Kang, and Frank Wu, in *Race, Rights and Reparation: Law and the Japanese Internment*, impressively dispel the notion of citizenship—as legal status and rights—as uncomplicated by race (2001). However, they pay little attention to gendered processes of citizenship. In addition, they touch upon political activity as it documents the Asian American community's fight for reparations from the U.S. government. Citizenship as identity is touched upon; however, it is not theorized in ways similar to other scholarly works, specifically those that examine Asian American cultural production.

Yamamoto et al contend that the internment of 120,000 Japanese American citizens and legal permanent residents during World War II resulted from legalized racial discrimination and not from viable national security fears. They demonstrate how race was central to the government's decision during World War II to restrict the civil liberties of this marginalized group (15). Moreover, they show how legal processes construct Asian Americans as particularly raced and othered. The term "historical race" refers to the historical experiences of Asian Americans as outsiders, in contrast to white Americans who are assumed to "belong" legitimately in the United States (13). Furthermore, the racialization of Asian Americans nullifies notions of an abstract citizenship accorded through legal status. The authors demonstrate that the formal legal status of Japanese Americans as American citizens was rendered meaningless through supposedly legitimate legal and political processes.

This dis-identification with national identity is a theme throughout most of these reviewed texts, including Mae M. Ngai's *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and The Making of Modern America* (2004). This text is a historical study of race and U.S immigration policy and practices during 1924 to 1965. Her research fills a knowledge gap in immigration

historiography. Most immigration scholarship focuses on the periods pre-1924 and post-1965; however, the author deems 1924-1965 significant as it marks the start and end of the national origins quota system. Established by the Johnson-Reed Immigration Act (1924), the quota system set forth a "new ethnic and racial map based on new categories and hierarchies of difference" and "articulated a new sense of territoriality, which was marked by unprecedented awareness and state surveillance of the nation's contiguous land borders" (3). Not much scholarship addresses how this system of immigration restriction and, by implication, restrictions on naturalization and citizenship, actually functioned (3).

As Yamamoto et al discuss "historical race," Ngai suggests the concept of " 'alien citizens'—persons who are American citizens by virtue of their birth in the United States but who are presumed to be foreign by the mainstream of American culture and, at times, by the state" (2). Ngai looks at the "alien citizenship" of Japanese Americans and Chinese Americans during World War II and the Cold War and focuses on the Denationalization Act (1944) that enabled a citizen to voluntarily renounce citizenship. This act resulted in 5,000 citizenship renunciations by Japanese Americans. Scholarship on internment and renunciation treats its subjects as necessarily coerced or in a state of mental instability to renounce citizenship. This, according to Ngai, is the result of other scholars projecting their own valorizations of formal citizenship onto the renunciants (198). Instead, she suggests other explanations: 1) dual nationalisms that may be 2) equally weak loyalties to the U.S. and Japan and/or 3) the result of pragmatic decisions to avoid resettlement out of the concentration camps during the war and the white American hatred outside the camps (200). This suggests an acknowledgement of the myth of citizenship as legal status and rights. A renunciation of a legal status that apparently holds no value is not much of a loss, especially when faced with an uncertain future.

The notion of citizenship as only legal status must be disrupted; however, it must not be foregone as part of the struggle towards equality. Brooke Thomas, in her article "China Men, United States v. Wong Kim Ark, brings together legal and literary analyses to offer a slightly different rendition of how the Supreme Court's decision in Wong Kim Ark (1898) was productive for Asian Americans. While Volpp sees Wong Kim Ark as a limited victory for Asian American citizenship in the legal sense, Thomas sees the decision as significant in vision—it rejects racial exclusions to birthright citizenship and privileges Chinese Americans as citizened subjects. Through an analysis of Wong Kim Ark and Louis Althusser's concept of "subject," she puts forth citizenship as a lens through which subjectivities can be expanded. She discusses Maxine Hong Kingston's model of citizenship from China Men—that belonging

to America involves the reconstruction of multiple subjectivities and identities territorially bound within the United States. This is important with respect to *Wong Kim Ark* as birthright citizenship accorded to Chinese Americans allowed for dual citizenship. Though the author concedes the *Wong Kim Ark* decision does not articulate a universally inclusive citizenship, she still holds birthright citizenship as significant. If citizenship is to be viewed as a lens for understanding multiple subjectivities and identities that interact within territorially-defined spaces, then the acquisition of legal citizenship as a result of the *Wong Kim Ark* decision is meaningful.

ASIAN AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP AND CULTURE

Scholarly works that examine culture for meanings of citizenship for Asian American men and women mostly address Volpp's third and fourth form of citizenship—political activity and identity. Examples of cultural productions span literatures, autobiographical narratives, testimonials, cultural events, and everyday acts and practices. These literatures conflict over the usefulness of cultural productions and representations in achieving, what Volpp would term, the "guarantees of Constitutional citizenship" for Asian American men and women. Many of these works use citizenship and culture to center Asian American women and men, or to examine processes of racial and gender formations, in their analyses. The following texts are divided into two sections: 1) works that consider culture as a promising site of resistance and 2) those that consider culture debilitating. For those texts that uphold culture's potential, there is a subset of scholarship that foregrounds culture as everyday acts and practices within a transnational context.

"CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP" AS PRODUCTIVE SITE OF RESISTANCE

Lisa Lowe's seminal text, *Immigrant Acts*, presents Asian American culture as a site for an embodiment of an alternative citizenship (1996). In conversation with Volpp's four forms of citizenship, Lowe specifically expands upon discourses of political activity and identity. She dispels the liberal assumption of abstract, color-blind citizenship as inclusive of Asian American men and women by providing a history of immigration exclusion acts from the mid-nineteenth century to the increasing transnational gendered labor of the present day. She elaborates on the significance of culture in forming the citizen:

> Citizens inhabit the political space of the nation, a space that is, at once, juridically legislated, territorially situated, and culturally embodied. Although the law is perhaps the discourse that most literally governs citizenship,

> U.S. national culture—the collectively forged images,
> histories, and narratives that place, displace, and replace
> individuals in relation to the national polity—powerfully
> shapes who the citizenry is, where they dwell, what they
> remember, and what they forget. (2)

She argues that American national culture forms subjects into citizens
and that the mainstream national narrative does not account for the histo-
ries and experiences of Asian Americans and transnational Asian immi-
grant women workers. She contends that marginalized groups, those
barred from national culture, produce alternative cultural sites to negoti-
ate their own sense of national identities and to effect social change.

Examples of alternative cultural sites include the individual and col-
lective narratives or testimonials of Asian immigrant women workers.
She analyzes testimonials delivered by Asian immigrant women workers
at a community hearing in Oakland, California (154). This hearing was
sponsored by Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA)—a labor or-
ganizing group that works with Asian immigrant women garment work-
ers around issues of labor rights and that strives to connect Asian
American and Asian immigrant women around issues outside of the
workplace, such as healthcare and literacy (154-6). She approaches these
testimonies as alternative cultural mediums in which women display
"narrative progression[s]" from individual subjectivities to collective
subjectivities and political action (155). Viewing these testimonies by
Asian immigrant women as legitimate knowledge challenges traditional
Western epistemology (158). Analyses of such forms of culture are vital
to understandings of how marginalized populations negotiate their own
meanings of citizenship. She frames her reading of testimonials within a
discussion of the "'racialized feminization of labor' in the global restruc-
turing of capitalism" (ibid). The women with whom AIWA work are
examples of female laborers who migrate to the U.S. from countries that
were once colonized by the U.S. or that are currently neocolonized by
U.S. capitalism (165). Placed within conversations of citizenship, Lowe
contends that:

> The Asian immigrant and Asian 'American' women, like
> other racialized women, have a different political forma-
> tion than that prescribed by *either* narratives of liberal
> capitalist development and citizenship or the narratives
> proposed by. . .oppositional movements of the 1970s.
> The isolation of one axis of power, such as the exploita-
> tion of labor under capitalism, masks the historical
> processes through which capitalism has emerged in con-
> junction with, and been made more efficient by, other
> systems of discrimination and subordination—patri-

> archy, racism, and colonialism. The Asian 'American' woman and the racialized woman are materially in excess of the subject 'woman' posited by feminist discourse, or the 'proletariat' described by Marxism, or the 'racial or ethnic' subject projected by civil rights and ethno-nationalist movements. (141-2; emphasis in original)

Her critique of Asian American citizenship—a privileging of cultural production as offering possibilities and potentialities for political activity—actually advocates intersectional and transnational approaches to the study of how Asian American women and Asian immigrant women negotiate the contradictions of citizenship, especially within the context of transnational capitalism. That "Asian American women" are considered "materially in excess" of the following scholarly and political discourses—feminist, Marxist, and ethno-nationalist—resonates with Kang's genealogy of "Asian American women." It can be said that Kang, too, finds "Asian American women" in "excess" of the traditional trappings of an identity group, as "*not* a descendant grouping of single origin but rather as a tenuous identification situationally congealed and then too internally differentiated" (141-2). In other words, Kang and Lowe agree that ethno-nationalist identity politics do not precisely account for the existences of Asian *American* women throughout history. This is where Lowe offers culture as a productive site of citizenship-making.

While Lowe approaches the testimonials of present day Asian immigrant women workers as part of racial and gender formation processes, Helena Grice only *centers* the autobiographical narratives and literature of Asian American women (2002). Her chapter "Citizenship and National Identity: Cultural Forms and Formations" engages Volpp's fourth discourse of citizenship—identity. Its focus is a comparative analysis of externally imposed national identities as set against the condition of citizenship in the narratives of Japanese American and Chinese American women writers. The author, however, fails to make a strong case for why she focuses on women's writing, as she barely analyzes how these cultural productions are expressions of these women's specific standpoints situated by intersecting systems of racism and sexism.

Grice finds in Maxine Hong Kingston's *China Men* (1981) a formation of the American frontier as masculinized space situated between nation and non-nation where those excluded from national membership are marginalized. This echoes Volpp's discourse of citizenship as identity but with an additional analysis of race, masculinity, and space. The main strength of this author's text is her centering of Asian American women's writing placed in conversation with the identity discourse of citizenship. As Volpp reveals the restrictions placed on Asian American

membership to the national identity, Grice shows how Asian American women writers through cultural productions negotiate these externally imposed national identities of marginality that, consequently, preclude full equal citizenship for Asian Americans. While she does not claim to conduct gendered analyses, her focus on Asian American women with only slight attention to gendered processes is questionable. If the author had conducted a gendered analysis of Asian American women's writing that negotiates citizenship, the reader would engage citizenship processes as racialized and gendered and not as amorphous, ill-defined processes that somehow impact certain subjects that happen to be of a certain race and gender.

Both Lowe and Grice address Volpp's third and fourth form of citizenship—political activity and identity—and examine the cultural productions of Asian American women as promising alternative sites of resistance. They differ, however, in that Lowe critically examines "Asian American women" as both subjects and objects of study, while Grice largely centers "Asian American women" with little attention to how this category is formed through macro- and micro-processes of subject formation.

Culture as Everyday Acts and Practices

Other scholarly works that uphold culture as promising sites of resistance are grounded in ethnographic research that address everyday acts and practices as manifestations of citizenship for transnational Asian Americans. In "Biyuti in Everyday Life: Performance, Citizenship, and Survival among Filipinos in the United States," Martin Manalansan privileges the quotidian in processes of citizenship-making (2001). He draws from his ethnographic work in Filipino communities located in California and New York. The author considers significant the everyday tasks or performances involved in the daily survival of transmigrants, such as the dialogue and actions at the family dinner table between conflicting generations and cultural ideals. He presents three ethnographic vignettes as illustrative of how everyday performative acts can constitute the U.S. Filipino's struggle to survive when full assimilation is not a possibility (155-6). Such acts of survival include interactions during family dinners, Church groups, karaoke sing-alongs, praying, and other aspects of family life. These quotidian acts constitute the author's definition of citizenship: "Citizenship, as the quotidian performance of survival, then becomes the necessary weapon against the position of monolithic scripts of legal and cultural personhood and nationhood" (170). This form of citizenship differs from those discussed by the other scholarly works in this literature review. Even though Lowe and Grice both also address political activity and identity via culture, they approach culture as material productions

such as testimonials, novels, and autobiographical narratives. Manalanan and Aihwa Ong (1996) also address political activity and identity via culture; however, they define culture as not material productions but as everyday acts of survival. Additionally, Ong examines everyday culture as both racialized and gendered acts of survival.

Though Manalansan does not label his notion of citizenship for U.S. Filipinos as "cultural citizenship" per se, Ong perhaps would. In "Cultural Citizenship as Subject-Making: Immigrants Negotiate Racial and Cultural Boundaries in the United States," she presents the concept of "cultural citizenship" as:

> the cultural practices and beliefs produced out of negoti-
> ating the often ambivalent and contested relations with
> the state and its hegemonic forms that establish the crite-
> ria of belonging within a national population and terri-
> tory. . .becoming a citizen depends on how one is
> constituted as a subject who exercises or submits to
> power relations. (738)

There are striking similarities across these two authors' concepts of citizenship as contextualized within transnational capitalism. Drawing from ethnographic research, they both approach culture as including everyday practices—and not solely as cultural productions in the form of mass media, literature, or autobiographical narratives. They also similarly reject the space of social interaction as either one of "free agency" or "finite social destiny." Ong conceives of such space as constituted by the "dual process of self-making and being made within webs of power" (738). There are distinct differences, though, in what these two authors highlight as considerations in their concepts of cultural citizenship. While Manalansan focuses on "the quotidian performance[s] of survival" that are primarily located in civil society, Ong examines daily negotiations of citizenship with both civil society and the state.

She grounds her theorizations in ethnographic research aimed to investigate how "hierarchical schemes of racial *and* cultural difference intersect in a complex, contingent way to locate minorities of color from different class backgrounds" (737). She compares two groups of Asian immigrant communities in the U.S.: "poor" Cambodian refugees and "affluent" Chinese cosmopolitans, and she finds class and "location in the global economy" instrumental to the level of access non-white immigrants in the U.S. have to institutions (ibid). While Chinese cosmopolitans—transnationals with significant financial and real estate investments in the U.S. and abroad—have the global and local economic power to discipline state and civil institutions at times, they still largely face cultural rejection as legitimate members in the national body. In her readings of Cambodian refugee communities, she also suggests cultural

citizenship as racialized, classed, and gendered processes. These refugee communities encounter the disciplining of the welfare state, the imposition of white middle-class masculinity and femininity by religious institutions, and the "feminist fervor of many social workers" in cases of domestic abuse (743-7). However, she shows how Cambodian refugee women on a daily basis negotiate these systems—institutions that simultaneously discipline them—to discipline their abusive spouses. For example, she cites a case in which an abused refugee woman called upon, and threatened to call upon, local enforcement and social service agencies to control her abusive husband's behavior. This is an act of agency and power in otherwise oppressive situations in the home and with the state. In this case, the author clearly illustrates her concept of cultural citizenship as "dual processes of self-making and being-made within webs of power linked to the nation-state and civil society" (738).

"CULTURAL CITIZENSHIP" AS DEBILITATING

Lowe, Manalansan, and Ong approach culture as alternative sites of citizenship-making. Lowe upholds culture as a promising site of resistance, and Manalansan and Ong theorize culture as everyday acts and practices of survival. For the latter two scholars, the promises of culture are less certain. "Quotidian struggles" of survival, that constitute meanings of citizenship for many transnationals, are fraught with multiple intended and unintended consequences that are not easily construed as acts of either resistance or oppression; they are mired in complicated "webs of power." David Leiwei Li (2000) and Helen Jun (2003), on the other hand, are less optimistic, as they approach culture as fully oppressive and symptomatic of the liberal myth of citizenship. They reject culture as productive sites of resistance in the struggle towards equal citizenship.

In the introduction "Alienation, Abjection, and Asian American Citizenship" to *Imagining the Nation*, Li studies contemporary Asian American literature to explore meanings of Asian American citizenship within the contemporary period of "Asian abjection" (2000). It is in conversation with Volpp's fourth form of identity as he situates his analysis of Asian American citizenship within "national imagery" or, in other words, the nation's dominant vision of itself. He introduces an Asian American genealogy of American Orientalism to frame formations of the "Asian American abject or unviable subject" (5). This genealogy is delineated by modes of production, forms of political culture, and figures of representation. He puts forth two periods: "Oriental alienation" spans from 1854-1943/1965; and "Asian abjection" spans from 1943/1965-present (ibid). During "Oriental alienation," monopoly capitalism reigned as the mode of production, the political culture was one of old orientalism (in the forms of nationalism and imperialism), and the figure of representa-

tion was the *Oriental* (ibid). When late/transnational capitalism replaced monopoly capitalism, neo-orientalism—in the forms of neoconservatism and neocolonialism—replaced old orientalism, and the *Oriental* was replaced by the *Asian American* (ibid). The shift in representation from *Oriental* to *Asian American* is marked by a change in legal status. The "Oriental" was legally constructed through immigration and naturalization exclusions as an "othered" object of prohibition and "personified the historical tension between America's universalist promise of democratic consent and its race-, gender-, and culture-specific practice of citizenship" (5-6). Although "Asian Americans" abstractly became equal and full citizens, they certainly had not come to represent the nation's identity (6). The Asian American "abject" occupies a contradictory location where Asian Americans are legally included as citizens yet not seen as competent, politically and culturally, to be fully American. In other words, they are "formal nationals and cultural aliens" (12). Ngai similarly terms this contradictory location as "alien citizen[ship]" (170). Additionally, this is the same contention put forth by Volpp, Kang, Yamamoto et al., Lowe, Grice, Manalansan, and Ong, and missed by scholars such as Yang, Shanahan and Olzak, and Shah.

Li, however, opposes Lowe's conceptualization of Asian American culture as a fruitful alternative site of resistance to hegemonic notions of citizenship. He repositions culture as a symptom of American citizenship and instead calls for a "radical divorce of racial inheritance and national competence" (15). This call to rupture race from cultural and political membership is also voiced by many other scholars referenced in this paper. Lowe posits culture as a site where work toward accomplishing this rupture can occur, while Li considers culture too embedded in the abjection of Asian Americans. He, however, does not offer an alternative maneuver.

Similar to Li, Helen Heran Jun argues that culture is part of the hegemony (2003). She poses identity as a discourse of citizenship where institutions of law, politics, economy, and culture collide to reveal how cultural productions fail to resolve the crises of racialized and gendered citizenships. Her dissertation, *Race for Citizenship: Asian American and African American Cultural Politics*, frames meanings of Asian American citizenship differently than other reviewed texts that focus only on intra-racial and often intra-ethnic literatures. She demonstrates the interdependency of U.S. Black and Asian cultural institutions in their narrations of citizenship with a focus on the post-Reconstruction and World War II periods. Constructions of Asian American and African American citizenships are mutually constitutive, each arguing against and degrading the other to make claims of greater legitimacy in the national body via "citizenship narratives":

> Legal cases, court rulings, constitutional amendments, and congressional debates are constructed as key elements in historicizing the shifting boundaries of U.S. citizenship. However, making claims to citizenship has always entailed more than just waging legal contestations for political inclusion. Citizenship demands *narratives* from those who are excluded. Claiming citizenship demands the telling of stories, which can somehow employ historical processes of violence, dehumanization, brutality, and exploitation into a developmental universalizing narrative that resolves in the telos of an ethical subject 'worthy' of state recognition. (4-5; emphasis in original)

In other words, the "citizenship narratives" present in both Asian American and African American cultural productions operate to dehumanize and, consequently, construct the other as not "worthy of state recognition" and, thus, present itself as alternatively worthy of national membership. These citizenship narratives are racialized, gendered, and sexualized. If placed in conversation with Li's framework of the "abject," Jun examines the citizenship narratives of both the "Oriental" and "Asian American abject" and, similar to Li, views these cultural productions as not the solution to resisting hegemonic notions of citizenship but instead contributing to the marginalization of Asian Americans. Unlike Grice who centers Asian American women but largely neglects an analysis of gender, Jun examines citizenship as both raced and gendered processes. With respect to Volpp's four forms of citizenship, the author touches upon each of them; however, she elaborates on the citizenship discourse of identity by studying citizenship narratives. Culture fails to "resolve the gender, class, and racial violences that cannot be reconciled with formal political equality" (9). The author impressively demonstrates this through her comparative and gendered analyses of competing Asian American and African American narratives of citizenship.

LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND CITIZENSHIP

Language is intimately tied to culture and identity. In conversations about citizenship and legitimate belongings to the U.S. national citizenry, an individual's language, when it matches the dominant language, is a form of linguistic capital—a type of cultural capital that provides access to power, knowledge, and success (Jo 2003-2004). The institution of education, specifically language education, is a site where national identity formations for Asian Americans are internally developed and/or externally assigned in order to (il)legitimize membership in the national body. In an assimilationist model, the English language is privileged and insti-

tutionalized as the rightful language of the American citizenry. It is thought that English language acquisition is the key—with little attention to systems of racial, gender, and class oppressions—to assimilating minorities into the mainstream as American citizens. However, language as cultural capital is embodied differently for non-white immigrants precluding myths of seamless assimilation (Jo, 38). In addition, for transnational Asian immigrants, for whom English is not their first language, monolingual education obstructs learning and success in school (Jo, 37). The scholarly works on this topic focus on racialization and transnationalism; however, gendered aspects of this conversation are largely left unexamined by the existing scholarship.

In "Educating 'Good' Citizens: Imagining Citizens of the New Millennium," Ji-Yeon Jo shows how citizenship has meanings beyond legal notions and how hegemonic citizenship, produced through systems of power including the education system, privileges the "rightful and good citizens" as English-speaking, white, and of European descent. Similarly, Morris Young in *Minor Re/Visions: Asian American Literacy Narratives as a Rhetoric of Citizenship* is also concerned with educational practices that construct a national identity that excludes Asian Americans (2004). He introduces the concept of "literacy narratives," or autobiographical citizenship narratives, as methodological and pedagogical tools for understanding how language education shapes national identity formations.

Jo contends that, for non-white immigrants, linguistic capital earned by English language acquisition is valued less than if embodied by white Americans and white immigrants. Language education plays a significant role in processes of belonging. It is a "medium of power" and demarcates boundaries between communities and nations, cultures, and ethnic groups (38). In support, Young provides an in-depth history of how Hawaii's English Standard schools reified structures of white economic, political, educational, and cultural imperialism over non-whites in Hawaii. In conversation with Volpp's and Grice's national identity and citizenship discourses, Jo argues that the current education system, based on the classic assimilationist model and mono-lingualism, desires the formation of an Anglo-citizenry as the American national identity. Jo and Young argue that current curricula emphasizing English-only language education do not support the needs and circumstances of Asian Americans and transnational immigrants who inhabit multiple cultural identities and languages.

Both authors examine the implications of hegemonic notions of citizenship for Asian American adolescents in the education system, with an emphasis on English-only language education, within a context of racialization, transnational migration, and globalization. Jo argues that the classic assimilation model is not appropriate for the experiences of Asian

Americans and transnational immigrants, and Young contends that dominant culture has demanded marginalized subjects demonstrate legitimacy as citizens or future citizens through literacy and education. However, this sought-after legitimacy has never fully been granted. According to these authors, naturalized citizenship and linguistic competency do not transform Asian immigrants into legitimate "Americans" as they remain marginalized due to racism. As posed by Li and Ngai, this exemplifies the contradictory location of "abjection" and "alien citizen[ship]." Jo asks the following question which resonates with Mansfield-Richardson's attempts to operationalize "Asian American":

> for many non-white immigrants, legal citizenship and U.S. born status do not make much difference in their day-to-day lives. Many non-white legal citizens of the United States report they feel alienated and are treated as 'foreigner' or 'other' by fellow citizens despite their long residence or native-born status in the United States. Then what makes one a 'true' citizen of the United States? (Jo 36)

Assimilationist thought assumes acquisition of the dominant language, customs, and cultural values as the key processes through which immigrants become Americans (34). However, the author contends that English language education is actually the main source of educational issues for immigrants. Based on ideas of assimilation, it is thought that immigrant adolescents ought to supplant their "native" language with English; however, studies show that bilingual Southeast Asian American adolescents fare more successfully in school compared to their monolingual English-speaking counterparts (37). Young proposes modifications to existing curricula, including sample class lessons and syllabi, and "literacy narratives" as pedagogical tools to help students critically reflect on the role of literacy in normalizing American national identity. He considers literacy narratives tools of curriculum transformation that bring light to the role language education and literacy play in citizenship-making processes for Asian Americans. In other words, curricula based upon the classic assimilationist model are inappropriate linguistically and culturally for transnational immigrant adolescents (ibid). Acquisition of linguistic capital—a form of cultural capital—when racially embodied as "Asian," insufficiently provides access to the national identity and legitimate citizenry. The current education system functions to exclude those deemed culturally, linguistically, racially, and socio-economically undesirable from enjoying full acceptance into the American national identity.

CONCLUSION AND NOTES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Are there forms of citizenship, other than legal status and rights, to explain the experiences and histories of Asian American men and women, as well as provide anti-racist, feminist sites of resistance in the struggle for equality? In working through this question, four patterns emerge in the analysis of racialized and gendered citizenship discourses with respect to Asian American women and men. First, many scholarly inquiries do *not* complicate meanings of citizenship beyond *legal status* or the universal male referent. Second, examinations in critical race studies and immigration history confront assumptions of citizenship *as legal status* and *rights* through a lens of racialization. Third, works on citizenship that either center women and/or engender its subjects examine culture as a space of *identity* formation and *political activity* and analyze both race and gender. Culture, as either a productive or debilitating site of resistance for Asian American women and men, is also contested. The final theme addresses language education as a realm of citizenship and national *identity* formations with racialized, but not explicitly gendered, implications.

Meanings of citizenship beyond liberal notions of legal status and rights, such as political activity and identity, are additional forms of citizenship that are largely theorized in cultural analyses. In terms of identity, Asian Americans are largely seen as culturally inadequate and ineligible to represent the national body. Institutions and culture—such as mass media, press, literature, autobiographical and literacy narratives, "quotidian" and everyday processes of "self-making and being made"— are already examined sites in which citizenship-making occurs historically and presently. Further research could extend culture to include public health discourses as sites for racialized, gendered, and sexualized discourses of citizenship. Inquiries could include: How do cultural representations and institutional practices during public health anxieties affect the four forms of citizenship for Asian American women and men? Can these subjects utilize culture as an alternative site of resistance against racist, sexist, nativist, classist, and heterosexist public health discourses? Perhaps, exploring these lines of inquiry could shed light on the processes by which Asian Americans have been framed historically as medical scapegoats—such as during the bubonic plague outbreaks in San Francisco at the turn of the twentieth century and the more recent case— the SARS outbreak of 2003.

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DRESSED TO CROSS: NARRATIVES OF RESISTANCE AND INTEGRATION IN SEI SHÔNAGON'S *THE PILLOW BOOK* AND YONE NOGUCHI'S *THE AMERICAN DIARY OF A JAPANESE GIRL*

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In Japan around the year 1000, Sei Shônagon adds a list to her *Pillow Book* in which she collects "Things that are distressing to see." Her first item on the list is "Someone wearing a robe with the back seam hitched over to one side, or with the collar falling back to reveal the nape of the neck" (Shônagon 117). This depiction of the gaping body stands as a signifier for Shônagon's anxieties about maintaining class propriety.

At the beginning of the twentieth-century, Morning Glory, a newly arrived Japanese immigrant to the U.S. and protagonist of Yone Noguchi's *The American Diary of a Japanese Girl* (1902), secretly dresses in her uncle's clothes, wishing that she "could only be a gentleman for just one day!" (32). Morning Glory's desire to switch genders speaks to her perception of womanhood as marked by social powerlessness.

What is at stake in these examples is the persistent cultural motif whereby people escape the imposition of cultured, gendered, or class norms. Though reading back more than a millennium, these stories speak to the power of bodily and sartorial transformations, whether startlingly permanent or temporarily enabling. They question categories of gender, class, and cultural integration and give insight into how early Japanese immigrants to the U.S. used clothing as subversion in a manner similar to century-old practices by Japanese women in need of securing survival. Since, according to E. Jane Burns, clothes "participate in a complex system of fabrications that move constantly between individual bodies and the social sphere, between material objects and various cultural representations of them, creating a relational dynamic" (4), dress constitutes the ideal tool for accomplishing the endeavor of crossing social and cultural boundaries.

Cross-dressing, drag, impersonation, and transvestism are surely well-known concepts. Using Marjory Garber's understanding of transvestism as creating a "category crisis" which points to "cultural, social, or aesthetic dissonances" (16), I argue that Sei Shônagon and Morning Glory make use of their clothing to disrupt and question the idea of a

stable identity. In doing so, I attempt to extend Garber's influential analysis in relation to the lives of early Japanese immigrants to the United States. All characters discussed in this article successfully employ their apparel to "negotiate . . . among individual desire, perception, and fantasy on the one hand, and cultural demands and conventions on the other" (Burns 4). As Burns makes clear, clothes affect both the personal and the social realm and can thus exert influence in both spheres. Ultimately, I hope that the connections I am drawing will clarify further our understanding of how early Japanese immigrants to the U.S. experimented with markers of identity to create a Japanese *American* subjectivity.

In her *Pillow Book* (*Makura no sôshi*), Sei Shônagon, Empress Sadako's lady-in-waiting between 993-1000, highlights the importance of dress in medieval Japan with painstaking descriptions of her sartorial surroundings. Ivan Morris elaborates that Heian Japan [794-1185] developed a cult of beauty in terms of architecture and décor and the "manufacture and dyeing of textiles had reached a high point of achievement" (171). The arrangement of colors in clothing presented a high standard by which people were judged since it spoke to a person's artistic sensibility. In fact, "good looks tended to take the place over virtue" (Morris 195). Meredith McKinney explains that dress depended enormously on social setting and level of formality and that, while conformity was largely desired, individuality could be expressed via a blend of color, choices of design and fabric, or a combination of all of these elements (Appendix 291).

Instances which Shônagon recounts in *The Pillow Book* speak to this significance of dress in everyday life. She describes how the women-in-waiting attain the attention of possible suitors by showing them nothing more but the colored layers (*kasane*) of their sleeves;[1] Shônagon further explains to her readers how the status of a Counselor is apparent by his layers of visible under-robe and that men above the fourth rank were easily distinguishable because they were the only people to wear black jackets. Considering the darkness of the rooms at court, the vividness and detail with which Shônagon describes dress to her readers is astounding. A certain instance comes to mind when she reports minutely on a courtier's splendid attire: "He wore a gorgeous damask cloak in the cherry-blossom combination, with an immaculate luster to its lining, and his gathered trousers of rich, dark grape colour were woven through with a dazzling pattern of tangled wisteria vine" (Shônagon 70). This passage

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[1] Women's dresses could consist of up to twelve layers. For colors to be adequately admired, "each sleeve was longer as it came closer to the skin" (Morris 204). McKinney, in fact, presents the reader with five pages of sartorial terms in appendix 6 to her edition of the *Pillow Book* (294-298).

convincingly attests to the significant impressions dress made on ladies-in-waiting in their everyday lives.

For Shônagon herself, the dresses she wore gave her entrance to a world into which she was not born. In fact, Shônagon lived at court and enjoyed its pleasures for only seven years before she descended again in status and lived the rest of her life in poverty. According to McKinney, Shônagon was born into what she herself would have called "the periphery of this world" as her father held a rank far from prestigious at court (Introduction x, xii). In her writing, Shônagon essentially does not acknowledge a life before or after her time at court. It appears that her identity is only formed when she comes to court and that she ceases to exist when she is forced to leave. Even her first name changes as Shônagon merely denotes the title of "Junior Counsellor" (McKinney, Introduction xi). I argue that Shônagon holds on to her seemingly precarious status at court by means of the power of dress. Considering that "[c]ulture and civilization were synonymous with court life, and the closer one was to the Emperor the closer one was to its essence" (McKinney, Introduction x), Shônagon engages in what I call "imperial drag," which allows her to transcend social categories. The wearing and displaying of sophisticated apparel functions as a type of performance by means of which Shônagon consolidates her change in status. Supporting this argument, Edith Sarra points to the predominance of spectacle at court which turns self-display into channels of power and accords the function of costumes to the dresses worn (226). Yet the "threat of poverty and obscurity" was always a possibility for ladies-in-waiting (Fukumori 26), which explains why dress played such a crucial role in their lives.[2]

An episode which I interpret as resembling imperial drag describes the habit of the ladies-in-waiting to keep either the left or right sleeve of their gown longer than the other, depending on which side of the carriage they sit in, for the "delectation of passers-by" (Morris 205). This sartorial technique publicly displays their social cross-dress and ensures the admiration of their status. In order to perpetuate the effectiveness of imperial drag, Shônagon has to point to the crude manners of those outside, compared with the taste and refined conventions of those at court. For her, filthy attire and coarse behavior go together, which explains, I claim, her somewhat dismissive attitude toward beggars, low-ranking aristocrats, and commoners. In her list of "Repulsive Things," she includes, for example, a "very ordinary woman looking after lots of children" (Shônagon 151). These attitudes reflect Shônagon's anxieties about the precarious-

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[2] A later text, *Mumyôzôshi* (*An Untitled Book*, Kuwabara, 1976) describes Shônagon after she has left the court as "wearing a lowly robe and a hat of patched cloths" (qtd. in Fukumori 28).

ness of her own status. In contrast to this stands Shônagon's veneration of her empress's attire. Shônagon describes with admiration how Her Majesty's "wonderful, glowing pale plum-pink sleeves filled [her] with deep awe" and make her think that she "never knew someone so marvelous could exist" (169). Clearly, Shônagon equates dress with empowerment, and she herself takes advantage of the accessories of her imperial drag to disrupt further the categories by which she is bound.

Dress makes Shônagon confident, as Linda Chance observes, to "relish[ ] her victories over men and behave[ ] in other ways that did not conform to the officially sanctioned ideal of femininity, which called for submission to strictly defined social roles of service and inferiority vis-à-vis men" (142). Shônagon's imperial drag enables her to question and cross status and gender borders that confine her to a role of passivity and compliance. Shônagon is painstakingly aware of the instability of her hold onto her status at court and fears every instance which threatens the effectiveness of her imperial drag. An episode that portrays the importance of appearance to the reader constitutes the Empress's stay at Narimasa's (a nobleman) residence. Because the gates of Narimasa's estate are too small for the imperial carriages to pass through them, the ladies in waiting have to leave their carriage in order to get into the house. Having assumed that they would not be seen in public, the women, including Shônagon, react outraged, claiming that they were caught off-guard as some of them had not done their hair in a proper manner. In this scene, imperial drag as the safety blanket that protects the ladies-in-waiting from their potential loss of status is taken away from them. Interestingly, this subtly points to a very real decrease in favor at court from which Empress Sadako and her entourage suffered. The Empress would have never had to stay with Narimasa if she had not been losing support at court due to her father's death and a switch in power relations.

The idiosyncrasy of Shônagon's imperial drag also manifests itself in her style of writing. *The Pillow Book* consists of a miscellany of lists, essays, and diary entries which, in Penny Weiss's words, challenge "the reader to see diverse relationships . . . that can lead to a reconsideration of both the individual items and the subject of the category itself" (34). *The Pillow Book* is considered a prime example of the Japanese *zuihitsu* style, which can be translated as "following the brush" (Weiss 28). The term attempts to capture a writing technique by means of which the writer's thoughts follow or move along with the brush. The mind does not dominate or work on its own before the actual process of writing; rather, mind and brush work inseparably together instead of disconnecting writing from thinking and considering writing the result of thoughts. While to some critics this style seems incoherent and unsystematic, I claim that it reflects a type of written cross-dress that enables

Shônagon to disrupt categories, question history, and challenge estab-
lished cultural visions by intuitively combining elements of daily life that
might seem insignificant to some.

Shônagon's literary style establishes that she was looking for new
ways of expressing herself in a world where set gender boundaries con-
cerning language and letters confined her to limited ways of writing. Mc-
Kinney paints the following picture: "Over at the Emperor's court, they
were busy reinforcing the male literary tradition by laboriously copying a
Chinese classic. What could a woman, who was barred from this tradi-
tion, produce that might in some way match that officially sanctioned
endeavor?" (Introduction xxv). It becomes clear that Shônagon uses the
idiosyncratic style of her *Pillow Book* as a means to undermine limits of
composition and self-expression with which her gender and status con-
front her. As a reaction to her frank observations—Shônagon compares,
for example, having affairs in the winter with intimate relationships in
the summer—some readers of *The Pillow Book* regard Shônagon's writ-
ing as inappropriate, frivolous, or promiscuous. With her candid com-
mentary, Shônagon presents herself as an arbiter of good taste and
aesthetics. On her list of "Things That Look Stiflingly Hot," she men-
tions, for instance, an "extremely fat person with a great deal of hair"
(Shônagon 126). This example, again, conjures up fears of social degra-
dation that were constantly an issue for ladies-in-waiting. The style and
content of the *Pillow Book*, breaking set boundaries to assert her power,
constitute a form of textual cross-dressing designed to support
Shônagon's sumptuary transvestism, which preserves her status at court.

I see a similar act of authorial cross-dressing in Yone Noguchi's
The American Diary of a Japanese Girl (1902).[3] As a male author's imi-
tation of a female voice, *The American Diary* is not only concerned with
the thematics of cross-dressing but is itself the product of role-playing
and identity-replication. Japanese men at the turn of the century still
thought of prose as despicable and reserved for women while they them-
selves mostly practiced poetry written in Chinese characters. Women
wrote in *hiragana*, Japanese characters that were considered vulgar by
Japanese men, and mostly used them for love letters (Weiss 32). This
might explain why Noguchi wrote only one other novel besides *The
American Diary*, which are both overshadowed by the extraordinary
amount of poetry he composed and for which he is well-known.[4] After
all, poetry was considered the purest literary form in Japan. It is, hence,

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[3] Yonejirô Noguchi (1875-1947) left Japan for San Francisco in 1893 when he was still
a student. Upon his arrival, he worked as a domestic servant and journalist before making a
living with his poetry. He moved to New York City in 1900 and returned to Japan in 1904
where he became a professor of English at Keio Gijuku.

[4] In 1905, Noguchi publishes *The American Letters of a Japanese Parlor Maid* (Tokyo:
Fuzanbo).

rather remarkable that Noguchi chose the diary form for his first novel. In discussing Noguchi's choice, Edward Marx points out that Noguchi, with his outspoken, iconoclastic, and frivolous protagonist, put an "exotic twist on a trendy if somewhat disreputable subgenre," considering that confessional women's diaries were popular in the U.S. at the time of *The American Diary's* publication (138). Marx further establishes *nikki bungaku*, diary literature that developed out of imperial annals in Japan, as a source for Noguchi's writing and mentions that the first diary of importance was written by Ki no Tsurayuki, a male author imitating a woman's voice (143).

Similarities between *The Pillow Book* and *The American Diary* emphasize the connection I see between Japanese women at the Imperial Court and Japanese immigrants to the U.S. as they support that both authors rely on "authorial drag" to achieve authority in a community to which they tried to find access. Both works predominantly build on sections of close observation, with their protagonists slyly commenting on their surrounding environments. *The American Diary* even contains lists that match Shônagon's characteristic catalogues when Morning Glory, the female protagonist, for example, reports on "Things seen in the street" (Noguchi 36). With regard to Shônagon, McKinney argues that "women took the diary form and made it a looser, more subjective and psychologically penetrating record of lived experience" (Introduction xxvi). It is the implementation of these changes that I also see in *The American Diary*. I want to propose, then, that Noguchi used the literary form of the fictional diary, a genre of literary exile for Japanese women, in a setting where he himself as a male Asian was excluded—the United States. Noguchi ironically plays with the form of the feminine diary to counter the feminization and silencing he had to endure as a male immigrant from Japan.

While Marx notes that "*The Pillow Book* . . . shares the whimsical quality of *The American Diary*" (143), he fails to mention how the use of the diary form serves as a means of empowerment for Noguchi, which I believe my concept of authorial drag achieves. In discussing early British male authors like Defoe and Richardson, who wrote novels from a woman's perspective, Madeleine Kahn develops the concept of "narrative transvestism," "a theory of the novel as a form which allowed its authors to exploit the instability of gender categories and which is thus inseparable from its own continual reexamination and redefinition of those categories" (6). While in Noguchi's case, too, the "male author plays out, in the metaphorical body of the text, the ambiguous possibilities of identity and gender" (Kahn 6), my project differs from Kahn's in that my emphasis with the concept of authorial drag lies on performance. In contrast to Kahn's early British writers who "gain[ ] access to a culturally defined

female voice and sensibility but run[ ] no risk of being trapped in the devalued female realm" (6), writing from an Asian woman's perspective is very much an existential project for Noguchi, who had to write himself, as an Asian immigrant outsider to U.S. society, into existence. Being concerned with issues of survival and protest, my concept of authorial drag also sets itself apart from Lorrayne Carroll's "rhetorical drag," with which she analyzes the replication of a female voice by male writers of captivity narratives. The writers whom Carroll discusses, such as Cotton Mather, and Noguchi share a reliance "on the ironies of gender confusion and contradiction for their cultural and political effects" (3); but the authoritative cultural and political figures in Carroll's work do not share Noguchi's need to establish himself as a member of the national community.

In *The American Diary*, Morning Glory comments on the ostracism that Noguchi must have experienced in real life: "I pity my native boys of this city. / 'Jap! Jap!' / They are dashed with such exclamations from every corner" (78-79). While those Japanese immigrants who saw themselves as sojourners were less likely to assimilate fully, this trend was common among immigrants in general at that time period. It was not the Japanese' reluctance to assimilate that was criticized, but their supposed incapability of adapting to American culture. The first Japanese Americans were also regarded as filthy and corrupted people, referring to the loathsome jobs they were working and the poor housing conditions they endured. Thus, the Isseis' (first generation Japanese immigrants) willingness to work their way up under extremely hard circumstances, a way of living that Caucasian Americans appreciated as a virtue in most other people, was seen as a character flaw in people of Asian descent. Another stereotype that led to anti-Japanese sentiment was the fear of sexual aggressiveness by Japanese men who were believed to desire white women. Complaints like this were often strengthened by spreading unsubstantiated rumors about rising Japanese American fecundity rates (Spickard 58-59). Most of these stereotypes were channeled against Asian men, while Asian women were venerated for their beauty, delicacy, and sexuality. Even though these stereotypes negatively characterized Asian women as a hypersexual monolith, they were seen in a more positive light by American society than Asian men. Very much aware of these differences in social acceptability, Noguchi, I claim, made use of authorial drag to perform himself, with the help of a female voice, onto a higher level of social recognition.

Despite his use of authorial drag and the inauthenticity of voice that accompanies this narrative technique, Noguchi heavily criticizes the American reproduction of Japanese art, which came out of the craze for Japonisme at the beginning of the twentieth-century. Japonisme, a signif-

icant element of the modernist movement, inspired American women, for example, to dress in kimonos and hold Japanese tea parties. Morning Glory ridicules the imitation of Japanese women by American actresses as seen in the popular musical production *The Geisha: A Story of a Tea House* (1896). When her American friend Ada puts on traditional Japanese apparel and tries to walk like a Japanese woman, Morning Glory can only mock "[h]ow ridiculously she stepped" (Noguchi 31). Morning Glory's indignation about these poor attempts at imitation becomes understandable in light of the fact that, as Amy Sueyoshi claims in her article "Mindful Masquerades" (2005), the Americans' "embrace of Japanese dress as exotic amusement would only reinforce the 'alien' status of Japanese" (69). Japanese womanhood was indeed celebrated as a "'lost' femininity in the shadow of the 'New Woman'" (Sueyoshi 81), and both Japanese men and women were frequently asked by Western acquaintances to put on Japanese clothing for them, which presents a type of reverse cross-dressing that ultimately underlines the immigrants' status of the "Other." I see such an instance in *The American Diary* when Morning Glory poses for a photographer whose goal it is to make her appear like an American impersonating a Japanese. Morning Glory reacts with rage against this absurd attempt of imitating an imitation: "The photographer spread before me many pictures of the actress in the part of 'Geisha.' / She was absurd. / I cannot comprehend where 'Mericans get the conception that Jap girls are eternally smiling puppets. / Are we crazy to smile without motive? / What an untidy presence. / She didn't even fasten the front of her kimono" (Noguchi 40). Her critique against the objectification of Asian women is biting.

Authorial drag is not the only form of cross-dressing present in *The American Diary*. The novel contains sections in which Morning Glory experiments with her newly-acquired identity as Japanese *American* by practicing gender and class cross-dressing. In one instance, she puts on her uncle's clothes to find out "how [she] would look in a tapering coat" (Noguchi 43). On another occasion, Morning Glory tries on the Irish maid's dress, convinced that a "white apron on [her] black dress makes [her] so cute" and that she is "just suited to be a chambermaid" (Noguchi 45).[5] These episodes show that for Morning Glory the realms of ethnic, gender, and class identity do not have strict boundaries and that it might indeed be necessary to shape one's identity based on individual needs to fit into a community. As Laura Franey points out, immigrants to the U.S. frequently adopted or were forced by circumstance to assume roles that differed greatly from their social, economic, cultural, or religious upbringing. Many Japanese men, for example, had to work as domestic

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[5] In *The American Letters of a Japanese Parlor-Maid* (1905), Noguchi tells the story of Morning Glory's adventures as a domestic worker.

laborers, a task that was traditionally assigned to lower-class women in Japan (Franey xv). The result of this was the Euro-American stereotyping of Japanese immigrants as servants and their feminization. Traise Yamamoto makes it clear that, like Morning Glory, many Asian immigrants "[t]hrough various forms of masking . . . create a space for a self that resists appropriation and subjection" (264). This power of masking, of course, finds a rich cultural background in the tradition of Japanese Noh and Kabuki theater, in which men perform as women and, in preparation for their roles, even live as women in their everyday lives (Kawachi 117).

By means of their performance, these Japanese immigrants, just like Shônagon, bear out Judith Butler's argument that if "gender attributes and acts, the various ways in which a body shows or produces its cultural signification, are performative, then there is no preexisting identity by which an act or attribute might be measured" (180). For Butler, drag as performance allegorizes ways in which reality is reproduced and contested, and cross-dressing parodies the notion that we are all bound to a certain identity that cannot be changed. Interpreting identity as essentially performative destabilizes it and offers us the opportunity to form our identity depending on our needs. This recalls Garber's claim that the power of the transvestite shows itself as a "disruptive act of putting into question" (13). Issues of authenticity and (national) representation prove especially prone to such a process of questioning.

Performance and identity in the context of Asian American writing necessitate the discussion of the concept of national identity. I claim that with his use of cross-dressing elements Noguchi specifically puts stereotypes against people of Asian ancestry in the U.S. into question. As Tina Chen in *Double Agency* demonstrates, Asian American identity emerges as "stereotype-in-drag" (71), and I see such self-constitution based on stereotype also in *The American Diary*. Noguchi ironically plays with the hyper-sexualization and docility of Asian immigrants: "I must remain an Oriental girl, like a cherry blossom smiling softly in the Spring moonlight" (36). Few Japanese would have called themselves "Oriental" unless they were indoctrinated in the discourse of Western imperialism, which clearly points to Noguchi's performative technique of writing. With her expressions, Morning Glory lives Joan Riviere's claim that "[w]omanliness [can be] assumed and worn as a mask, both to hide the possession of masculinity and to avert the reprisals expected if she was found to possess it" (38). Ultimately, I read this narrative technique as an attempt by Noguchi to cover up his masculine authorial voice as a strategy to gain acceptance from a nation while at the same time criticizing its racist practices.

In his discussion of assimilation processes among immigrants in the United States, Ruben Rumbaut declares that assimilation involves the inventiveness of human agency. Via the different types of cross-dressing which he writes about and engages in himself, Noguchi offers us interesting examples of this necessary inventiveness. According to Rumbaut, assimilation is "also about creative interminglings and extraordinary hybridities and not at all simply surrender on the terms of a dominant core" (953). The fact that the assimilatee is not permanently fixed or static certainly speaks to the flexibility of categories and options of self-transformation that I have discussed above. Priscilla Wald, adds to these characteristics of outsiders in a community by stating that "[t]hrough their literary narratives, they participate[ ] in the imagining of a community and transform[ ] that imagining into a contemplation of the consequences and ambiguities of their own participation" (3).[6] This imagining oneself into a community precisely constitutes the project actualized within Noguchi's cross-dressing scenes. For Noguchi, transvestism alleviates the "anxiety surrounding the conceptualization of personhood" connected with this process (Wald 4). As Garber points out, "the most extraordinary cultural work done by the transvestite in the context of American 'race-relations' is to foreground the impossibility of taxonomy, the fatal limitation of classification *as* segregation, the inevitability of 'miscegenation' as misnomer" (247; emphasis in original).[7] Cross-dressing creates the power to overcome racial, national, and sexual exclusion.

Certainly the most crucial and prominent form of cross-dressing for Morning Glory constitutes ethnic drag, an act of performance trying to fit into a new national community. Sueyoshi elaborates how "Japanese immigrants deliberately donned Western dress in hopes of transforming themselves into 'Americans'" (67). Morning Glory represents no exception to this practice. Inspired by U.S. magazines, she puts on a corset and Western apparel in Japan to practice her new identity on a dog: "I was glad, it amused me to think the dog regarded me as a foreign girl. . . . My imitation was clever. It succeeded" (Noguchi 10). Sueyoshi explains that while twentieth-century Japanese immigrants were still on Angel Island, they wore *wafuku,* typical Japanese dress; but as soon as they arrived in San Francisco, they would change their hairstyle and dress into *youfuku,* Western clothes, which speaks to the "immigrants' hopes of gaining acceptance in the United States" (87).[8] Hair also plays an important role in

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6 In her book, Wald analyzes in detail writings by Frederick Douglass, Herman Melville, Harriet Wilson, W.E.B Du Bois, and Gertrude Stein and how they constitute themselves as Americans. I argue that her discussion also fits Asian American authors like Noguchi.

7 While Garber specifically refers here to African American transvestites, I believe that her argumentation is valid for all ethnicities.

8 Interestingly, Japanese immigrants in Hawaii and Latin America kept their traditional dress codes unless work on the plantation demanded different clothing (Sueyoshi 87).

Morning Glory's construction of her Japanese American subjectivity: "In Japan I regarded it as bad luck to own waving hair. / But my tastes cannot remain unaltered in Amerikey. . . . I was exhausted with making my hair curl" (Noguchi 26); the fact that she loses her Japanese hairpins one after another stresses her cultural transformation. Japanese immigrants depended on the reinvention of their ethnic self so that, Sueyoshi claims, "downplaying their ethnicity would prove to be one strategy of survival" (90). Unfortunately, authorities in San Francisco, where most Asian immigrants like Morning Glory first entered the U.S., countered the transformational power inherent in cross-dressing by making it illegal in 1903 (Sueyoshi 75).

Morning Glory, as a representative of early Japanese immigrants, undergoes her acculturation process as an identity crisis that manifests itself in cross-dressing. In looking for a new identity, Morning Glory lives out Garber's claim that cross-dressing "offers a challenge to easy notions of binarity, putting into question the categories of 'female' and 'male,' whether they are considered essential or constructed, biological or cultural" (10). I would add to Garber's argument cross-dressing's ability to defy the binaries of citizen/non-citizen and Asian/American. Morning Glory's cross-dressing underlines Garber's thesis that a transvestite in a text that seemingly does not have gender difference or blurred gender as its major theme "indicates a *category crisis elsewhere*, an irresolvable conflict or epistemological crux that destabilizes comfortable binarity, and displaces the resulting discomfort onto a figure that already inhabits, indeed incarnates, the margin" (17; emphasis in original). Morning Glory, as a newly arrived immigrant fighting against stereotypes, constitutes such a subject at the margin. The challenging of identity categories that comes with cross-dressing is necessary for reinventing oneself, which is what Morning Glory sets out to do.

In *Double Agency*, Cheng takes up the issue of identity formation by claiming that Asian Americans challenge "pre-existing categories of identity even as [they] maintain[ ] identity as a powerful way of understanding subjectivity" (16).[9] She argues that Asian American subjectivity depends on impersonation skills on the part of the Asian immigrant. Further, because Asian Americans battle with the stereotype of 'perpetual foreigners,' they are required to impersonate themselves. Chen defines "im-personation" as a "performance by which Asian Americans are constituted and constitute themselves as speaking and acting subjects" and which challenges "static notions of racial authenticity" (xvii, 7). By means of performing their identity, Asian Americans assert the claim to a self that is not based on stereotypes and demand the right to be part of

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[9] Chen makes a reference to passing by African Americans as a similar practice (16).

the national community. Chen gives as an example of acts of im-personation the existence of "paper sons," Asian men who entered the United States under the pretense that they were the children of an American, which automatically made them American, too. I argue that elements of transvestism can be regarded as im-personation. Much like cross-dressing, acts of im-personation offer options for "resisting the binary logics of loyalty/disloyalty, real/fake, and Asian/American" (Chen xvii). The concept of im-personation, taken out of its US-specific race context, could possibly also be applied to Sei Shônagon. She, too, by means of various forms of cross-dressing, negotiates binaries of true/false, powerful/powerless and performs herself into a new existence which opens up access to a new community for her. Enabled by her acts of cross-dressing, Morning Glory successfully reinvents herself, exclaiming, "I congratulated myself on my new life" (Noguchi 92).

Although transvestism is not necessarily related to homosexuality, a realm that Butler certainly opens up with her move away from the insistence on gender binarity, Morning Glory's occasional gender cross-dressing also points to the protagonist's confused perception of her sexual self.[10] According to Magnus Hirschfeld, the German sexologist who coined the term transvestism, "transvestism, particularly among men, [is] different from homosexuality because the focus of the male transvestite [is] on the clothing rather than the sex partner" (Bullough and Bullough 212). Hirschfeld proved that transvestism does not necessitate homosexual feelings and that transvestites can indeed be homosexual, or bisexual, or asexual, but are mostly heterosexual (147-154). For women, it is more "a desire "for the role of the man rather than for the clothing of the man" (Bullough and Bullough 212), which drives their acts of cross-dressing. Hirschfeld's observations support my thesis that cross-dressing functions as a symptom of the wish to bring about a change in one's social status and acceptance.

Both *The Pillow Book* and *The American Diary* have so far been widely neglected by American academic discourse; and yet we can acquire an immense amount of knowledge concerning identity formation in U.S. immigrants of Japanese descent from the characters discussed in this article. According to Garber, *"transvestism is a space of possibility structuring and confounding culture"* (17; emphasis in original). I hope to have established how Shônagon in her *Pillow Book* and Noguchi's *The American Diary* take up this possibility to break out of established categories and to overcome gender, race, and class borders that confine them. For Asian immigrants, cross-dressing as im-personation enables the powerful conception and persistence of an Asian *American* subjectivity.

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10 Concerning queer issues in works by Asian American authors, see Russell Leong's *Asian American Sexualities: Dimensions of the Gay and Lesbian Experience* (1996).

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AT THE COST OF INDIGENOUS LAND

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INTRODUCTION

The International Labour Organisation (ILO) convention number 169 is primarily concerned with the indigenous groups and land rights.[1] The recognition of indigenous groups as having a right to natural resources is inextricably tied to the right to land. The convention gives indigenous groups the right to natural resources on land and to participate in the use, management and conservation of these resources.[2] This right has been acknowledged as essential to the survival of indigenous groups.[3] The right to self-determination postulates the right of and indigenous group to determine its own destiny and is therefore at the core of the democratic entitlements.

The countries that have ratified the convention are obliged to develop laws and procedures so as to be able to implement the obligations. This may be by way of constitutional provisions and specific implementing legislations. This can also be in terms of procedures like those pertaining to granting of environmental and exploration licenses to companies. This convention is aimed directly at governments and is binding only to countries that have ratified it and not at the private sector even though may be relevant to the private sector indirectly.[4] There may be instances when companies may be held directly responsible for its implementation.

The ILO convention number 169 is a key instrument in the body of international law that relates to indigenous groups. It was adopted in

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1 Lidija, K. (2009) *The Right to Adequate Food and Indigenous People.* Available from: http://www.fao.org/righttofood/publi09/ind_people.pdf [Accessed 21/06/2010]

2 Raja, D., and Henriksen, J. (2010) *Inclusion of indigenous peoples' rights in the new constitution of Nepal.* Available from:
http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/—-ed_norm/—-normes/documents/publication/wcms_123847.pdf [Accessed 21/06/2010]

3 Dorough, S. (1995) *State of the world's indigenous peoples.* Available from:
http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP_chapter6.pdf) [Accessed 21/06/2010]

4 ILO (2007) *Convention 169 and the Private Sector.* Available from:
http://www.ifc.org/ifcext/enviro.nsf/AttachmentsByTitle/p_ILO169/$FILE/ILO_169.pdf [Accessed 21/06/2010]

1989 and has been ratified only by 22 countries as of April 2010.[5] The convention is limited because of few countries that have ratified it. This has made it difficult as a reference point by indigenous groups making claims to the land.[6] Therefore, appealing to other human rights principles have proved effective when making land claims.

There has been a lot of public awareness on the plight of indigenous groups in recent years. The land which indigenous groups occupy has been identified as critical to their survival. The problem has been on establishing ownership to the land they do not hold title.[7] The issue of holding land title by indigenous groups has made it difficult to prove land ownership.[8] There have been few positive developments in favour of indigenous groups. The African Commission on Human and People's Rights for example condemned the expulsion of *Endorois* indigenous group from their land in Kenya. This has been perceived as a major victory for indigenous groups across Africa.[9]

The overarching question is where the responsibility to guarantee land claims should lie in a world of transnational companies and economic development. Is a customary law and international law vital source for indigenous land claims? Can indigenous groups acquire land without the support of local legal provisions? What is the impact of transnational companies on indigenous land claims?

THE INDIGENOUS GROUPS

There are about 250 million indigenous people who are found in at least seventy-four countries worldwide and accounting for six percent of the world population.[10] Some scholars put the figures of indigenous people worldwide between 250 to 300 million.[11] The indigenous people are best defined as groups traditionally regarded and self-defined as descend-

[5] ILO (2010) *Convention No C169*. Available from:
http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/ratifce.pl?C169 [Accessed 22/06/2010]

[6] ILO (2007) *Convention 169 and the Private Sector*. Available from:
http://www.ifc.org/ifcext/enviro.nsf/AttachmentsByTitle/p_ILO169/$FILE/ILO_169.pdf [Accessed 21/06/2010]

[7] Wachira, M. (2008) *Vindicating indigenous peoples' land rights in Kenya*. Available from:
http://upetd.up.ac.za/thesis/available/etd-01212009-162305/unrestricted/01chapters1-2.pdf [Accessed 21/11/2009]

[8] Kiraz, J. (2009) *Venezuela Grants Land to Indigenous Communities on Indigenous Resistance Day*. Available from:
http://venezuelanalysis.com/news/4858 [Accessed 02/06/2010]

[9] Human Rights Watch (2010) *Kenya: Landmark Ruling on Indigenous Land Rights*. Available from: http://www.hrw.org/en/news/2010/02/04/kenya-landmark-ruling-indigenous-land-rights [Accessed 17/11/2009]

[10] Saugestad, S. (2009). *Indigenous People of the World*. Tromso: University of Tromso

[11] Huckaby, W. (2009) *Indigenous Peoples in the 21st Century*. Available from: http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/ejs/0609.pdf [Accessed 21/06/2010]

ants of the original inhabitants of lands with which they share a strong and very often spiritual bond.

The indigenous groups are regarded as indigenous on account of their descent from the populations which inhabited the geographical region at the time of conquest or colonisation or the establishment of present state boundaries. They irrespective of their legal status retain some or all of their own social, economic, cultural and political institutions.[12]

LAND OWNERSHIP STRUGGLES

The major critical commonality faced by indigenous groups is the eviction from their land and being denied access to the natural resources upon which their survival depends.[13] The eviction from land is very often caused by establishment of national parks, large-scale commercial enterprises such as mining, logging, commercial plantations, oil exploration and dam construction.[14] The dismissal from land has undermined the knowledge systems through which indigenous groups have sustained their lives over the centuries. The land of indigenous groups is gradually shrinking and this makes them vulnerable and unable to cope with environmental uncertainty threatening their future existence.

The indigenous groups worldwide continue to face serious difficulties in holding on to their land. Their existence and survival is always threatened with continuous assimilation policies, marginalization, forced removal or relocation, denial of land rights, impacts of large-scale development, and abuses by military forces and a host of other abuses which are a reality in indigenous communities around the world.[15] There are many examples of violence on indigenous groups reported worldwide and mainly perpetrated against those defending their lands. There are a myriad of testimonies of forced relocation of indigenous groups and dispossession of their lands at the expense of economic development by transnational companies.

The Bushmen living in their traditional hunting grounds in the Central Kalahari of Botswana have been struggling with forced relocation from their homelands, without any substantive address of their right to

12 Lindsey, W. (2001) *Indigenous Lands as Cultural Property: A New Approach to Indigenous Land Claims.* Available from: http://www.law.duke.edu/shell/cite.pl?54+Duke+L.+J. +1061 [Accessed 21/06/2010]

13 Survival International (2009) *Botswana official admits: Bushmen were evicted for diamonds.* Available from: http://www.survivalinternational.org/news/4878 [Accessed 21/06/2010]

14 Monrás, J. (2006) *Indigenous peoples in Africa: The forgotten peoples?*Available from: http://www.achpr.org/english/Special%20Mechanisms/Indegenous/ACHPR%20 WGIP%20Report%20Summary%20version%20ENG.pdf Accessed 21/06/2010]

15 Dorough, S. (1995) *State of the world's indigenous peoples.* Available from: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP_chapter6.pdf) [Accessed 21/06/2010]

ancestral land.[16] The land has been taken by the Botswana government to pave way for mining and tourism investments. This is despite the Bushmen winning the court case granting them the right to their land. The government has refused to provide water to the Bushmen communities arguing that the land in question is meant for animal inhabitation. The Bushmen have frequently faced detention due to the criminalization of hunting social activities for their livelihood and survival. There have been more than 50 Bushmen who have been arrested in recent years and detained by the Botswana government for hunting to feed their families.[17]

In Brazil, there has been a conflict between indigenous groups, gold miners and cattle ranchers concerning land ownership with little international notice or attention.[18] This is despite the adoption of the legislation by the government of Brazil to demarcate the lands. The reality on the ground has been dramatically violent towards the indigenous groups. There has been urgent appeals from the Guarani-Kaiowa in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul concerning eviction notices received despite the fact that their lands were demarcated as indigenous lands in 2004.[19] In 2007, a gunman shot dead a 70 year old Guarani woman while resisting relocation from her indigenous land.[20] What has even made the situation worse for the indigenous groups is the granting of environmental license for the construction of the controversial Belo Monte hydro-electric dam in the Amazon by the Brazilian government.[21] This will affect the livelihoods of thousands of indigenous groups who depend on the forest and the river for food and water and some faces removal from their ancestral land.

The Gibe III dam construction in the lower Omo river basin in Ethiopia is meant to generate electricity and bring about economic development in the region.[22] The hydroelectric dam project will devastate the

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    16 Id.

    17 Survival International (2010) *There are 100,000 Bushmen in Botswana, Namibia, South Africa and Angola.* Available from:
http://www.survivalinternational.org/tribes/bushmen [Accessed 28/06/2010]

    18 Dorough, S. (1995) *State of the world's indigenous peoples.* Available from:
http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP_chapter6.pdf) [Accessed 21/06/2010]

    19 Id.

    20 Survival International (2007) *Guarani Indian woman killed by gunman.* Available from:
http://www.survivalinternational.org/news/2157 [Accessed 28/06/2010]

    21 Survival International (2010) *Brazil grants license for controversial Amazon mega-dam.* Available from:
http://www.survivalinternational.org/news/5510 [Accessed 11/11/2010]

    22 Africa Resources Working Group (2009) *A Commentary on the Environmental, Socio-economic and Human Rights Impacts of the Proposed Gibe III Dam in the Lower Omo River Basin of Ethiopia.* Available from: http://www.arwg-gibe.org/uploads/ARWG_COMMEN TARY.GIBE_III_DAM.downstreamEIA.pdf [Accessed 28/06/2010]

land of many indigenous groups. The dam will end the Omo's natural flood, which deposits fertile silt on the river banks, where the indigenous groups cultivate the crops when the waters recede. In a region where drought is commonplace, this will have devastating consequences for the indigenous source of livelihood and food supplies. The Ethiopian government plans to lease huge tracts of indigenous land in the Omo Valley to foreign companies and governments for large-scale production of crops, including bio-fuels, which will be fed by water from the dam. The Ethiopian government is clamping down on indigenous organizations making it impossible for communities to hold meetings about the dam.[23]

The leaders of the Ardoch Algonquin in Canada have had legal action taken against them for their efforts to block uranium exploration and mining on lands that have been claimed by the Algonquins.[24] The lack of procedures to affirm indigenous land rights is exacerbated by the imposition of major developments that favour multinational corporations, and "criminalize" indigenous groups' protests. The rampant actions of large economic and corporate forces often appear to go unrestrained by governments, who are ultimately responsible for the prevention of violations and abuses of indigenous human rights by third parties.[25]

There are reports from different countries of arbitrary arrests of indigenous groups as well as other forms of threats and intimidations.[26] The forced removals and disappearances of indigenous persons are taking place in many parts of the world. The cases mentioned in this article are not an exhaustive list as such cases are only the known violations based upon communications which has come to the public domain.[27]

There are currently many development projects being imposed upon indigenous communities include mining, resort developments, highway construction, establishment of national parks as well as oil and gas exploration and exploitation.[28] It should be noted that even though the indigenous groups have continued to suffer land loses since the period of colonial invasion. The situation has become even worse with the coming

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[23] Survival International (2010) *Giant dam to devastate 200,000 tribal people in Ethiopia*. Available from: http://www.survivalinternational.org/news/5683 [Accessed 21/06/2010]

[24] CBC News (2007) *Ontario Algonquins suspend uranium site occupation*. Available from: http://www.cbc.ca/canada/ottawa/story/2007/10/19/ot-sharbot-lake-071019.html [Accessed 17/11/2010]

[25] Dorough, S. (1995) *State of the world's indigenous peoples*. Available from: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP_chapter6.pdf) [Accessed 21/06/2010]

[26] Survival International (2010) *New wave of violence in West Papua*. Available from: http://www.survivalinternational.org/news/6120 [Accessed 28/06/2010]

[27] Dorough, S. (1995) *State of the world's indigenous peoples*. Available from: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP_chapter6.pdf) [Accessed 21/06/2010]

[28] Survival International (2010) Safari lodge under attack for failing Bushmen. Available from: http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO1004/S00073.htm [Accessed 22/06/2010]

of the transnational companies whose businesses have been multinational in character. The so called large scale development projects in different countries being spearheaded by transnational companies has led to massive and forcible evictions and removal from homes and lands of indigenous groups. This has been mainly due to many governments preferring adverse developments spearheaded by multinational companies on indigenous lands than giving indigenous groups a platform to hear their voices regarding their land.

There are scholars who have argued that it is only by appealing to international law and customary law as points of references that land can be claimed effectively by indigenous groups worldwide.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

Historic injustice is an important justification for international law concerning indigenous groups and dispossession of their lands.[29] The world's indigenous groups are bound by the common experience of being "discovered" and subjected to colonial explorations styles of their territories leading to loss of millions of hectares of land.[30]

The international law protects the land of indigenous groups in several ways including human rights provisions.[31] The indigenous groups have a right to their land under contemporary international law. The ILO convention number 169 affirms collective land rights to which the indigenous groups are entitled.[32] The concept of indigenous territories is deemed to cover the total environment of the area which the groups occupy.

The ILO convention number 169 is a legally binding international treaty that deals specifically with indigenous groups and the right to their ancestral land. It includes a recourse mechanism which has a committee of experts on the application of conventions and review of recommendations.[33] If the committee is actively used, it is an effective method for overseeing government behaviour and actions toward indigenous groups in countries that have ratified the convention. The convention cannot be underestimated because of the efforts of trade unions and human rights

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[29] Huckaby, W. (2009) *Indigenous Peoples in the 21st Century.* Available from: http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/ejs/0609.pdf [Accessed 21/06/2010]

[30] Id.

[31] ILO (2010) *Convention No C169.* Available from: http://www.ilo.org/ilolex/cgi-lex/ratifce.pl?C169 [Accessed 22/06/2010]

[32] Raja, D., and Henriksen, J. (2010*) Inclusion of indigenous peoples' rights in the new constitution of Nepal.* Available from: http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/—-ed_norm/—-normes/documents/publication/wcms_123847.pdf [Accessed 21/06/2010]

[33] Dorough, S. (1995) *State of the world's indigenous peoples.* Available from: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/SOWIP_chapter6.pdf) [Accessed 21/06/2010]

support groups such as Survival International and Amnesty International who have helped to serve the lives of many indigenous groups worldwide.

The international laws consist of rules governing the relations among states and the recent scope has included individuals and international organisations. The international laws have provided provisions that protect indigenous land in a variety of ways and those focusing on human rights claims have proven the most effective, finding acceptance in both domestic and international courts.

The international human rights laws have been used in land claims by the indigenous groups and have proved vital in securing their traditional lands.[34] Some of the indigenous groups in many parts of the world have argued that the right to cultural system cannot be enjoyed without securing their traditional land as it is inseparable to cultural identity and preservation.[35] The convention signatories have been urged to respect the special relations that indigenous groups have with their lands and to establish procedures to resolve conflicts.

CUSTOMARY LAW

The customary law has been a significant element both in legal and in cultural terms when it comes to establishing legitimacy over land by indigenous groups. The customs are the very foundation of law, and all peoples do have customs which to a larger or lesser degree regulate social life and practices.[36]

The major problem which has been encountered when appealing to customary law is that the main customary law is orally sustained and transmitted. This has led to difficulties in gaining acceptance in legal contests in court. One should remember that customary law is a legal concept, and as such it is part of state law and readily recognized when it comes from the majority population. The problem arises when indigenous groups advancing their claims to land and title point to their customary laws. The power of evidence of such customary laws is not infrequently denied by the courts for the mere reason that they are not written. The Canadian Aborigines the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en used oral histories and traditions as evidence in court to prove legal land own-

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[34] Lindsey, W. (2001) *Indigenous Lands as Cultural Property: A New Approach to Indigenous Land Claims.* Available from: http://www.law.duke.edu/shell/cite.pl?54+Duke+L.+J.+1061[Accessed 21/06/2010]

[35] Lindsey, W. (2001) *Indigenous Lands as Cultural Property: A New Approach to Indigenous Land Claims.* Available from: http://www.law.duke.edu/shell/cite.pl?54+Duke+L.+J.+1061 [Accessed 21/06/2010]

[36] Svensson, T. (2002) *Indigenous rights and customary law discourse comparing the nisga'a and the sámi.* Available from: http://www.jlp.bham.ac.uk/volumes/47/Svensson-art.pdf [Accessed 22/06/2010]

ership.[37] The oral traditions and histories were placed on an equal footing with the types of historical evidence that courts are familiar with for the determination of historical truth. Even though oral history has little value as legal proof, it is significant in maintaining cultural distinctiveness and in making a nation regardless of how small in number.[38] The Meriam people of Murray Island in the Torres Strait in Australia were acknowledged by the court as having had a pre-existing customary system of law which was traditionally connected to land ownership.[39] They were accepted as initial occupiers of the land and legally entitled as initial owners.[40]

The oral tradition is highly informative in giving substance to land claims because it offers cultural legitimacy to the land claims in question. According to Julie Cruikshank, a leading anthropologist in this particular field of inquiry, "oral tradition or history in reference to land claims does three things: it expresses, confirms, and asserts ownership to land".[41] The Ayuukhl Nisga'a, an indigenous group argue that oral tradition and history conveys rules that governed and will continue to govern how land is allocated and used. It reflects a characteristic social organization that points to and reaffirms cultural autonomy.

The major problem under customary law is on which approach to take in registering land title to indigenous groups. The customary laws in many regions of the world often follow the Western concept of registering land titles to individuals than groups while many indigenous groups worldwide have been claiming for communal land title registration:

In 2001, Cambodia included a chapter in the land law registration to include communal lands registration by indigenous communities, providing a mechanism to safeguard indigenous groups land in the form of communal land titles. However, no such titles have yet been granted.[42]

In 2005, the communal customary land tenure was under assault in both Australia and Papua New Guinea. It was claimed that communal

37 Borrows, J. (1999) *Sovereignty's Alchemy: An analysis of Delgamuukw v. British Columbia.* Available from: http://www.ohlj.ca/archive/articles/37_3_borrows.pdf [Accessed 06/07/2010]

38 Id.

39 French, R. (2008) *Judicial Conference of Australia National Colloquium Rolling a Rock Uphill?* Available from: http://www.hcourt.gov.au/speeches/frenchcj/frenchcj100ct08.pdf [Accessed 01/07/2010]

40 Graeme, N. (2002) *Native Title Ten Years On: Getting on with the job or sitting on the fence?* Available from: http://www.nntt.gov.au/News-and-Communications/Speeches-and-papers/Documents/2002/Speeches%20NT%20ten%20years%20on%20Neate%20May%202002.pdf [Accessed 01/07/2010]

41 Id.

42 Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2007) Available from: http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/6_session_tebtebba_iwgia.pdf (last visited [Accessed 28/07/2010]

customary land tenure was impeding economic development and has not permitted any country to develop.[43] It was argued that it was inconsistent with the exercise of individual autonomy and freedom in a liberal society. Some critics have further pointed out that it is an archaic base upon which to build and develop a national economy in the modern world.

There have been some countries which have replaced communal land title with individual land title frustrating the adaptive purposes for which the indigenous group developed the practice. In 1997 for example, Bangladesh under state law started registering the land titles to the indigenous individuals of central highlands an area historically comprised of communal lands.[44] The indigenous individual farmers were able to secure land but because the land was limited many indigenous individuals could not get land titles exposing them to extreme poverty due to lack of land to secure their livelihoods.[45] The government process to make indigenous people secure their lands led to poverty among indigenous population and decay in the way indigenous groups care need members of the society. Even though collateral effects of registering individual titles instead of communal led to an increase in land titling and security for some individual farmers, it also contributed to the collapse of the society's mechanism for caring for its poor.[46]

In Mozambique, customary law allows the registration of land titles in the name of the local community. This has proved to be very effective among indigenous groups and can be effective to those that require communal land registration.[47] There are countries that have made provisions and succeeded in communal land registration in local communities represented by traditional authority institutions like in Ghana. There is also newly created legal bodies such as communal property in South Africa and Uganda, and a village assembly in Tanzania.[48] It should be noted that the approach of communal land registration cannot hold at all times

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[43] Weiner, J., and Glaskin, K. (2007) *Customary Land Tenure and Registration in Papua New Guinea and Australia: Anthropological Perspectives.* Available from: http://epress.anu.edu.au/apem/customary/mobile_devices/ch01.html [Accessed 21/06/2010]

[44] Lindsey, W. (2001) *Indigenous Lands as Cultural Property: A New Approach to Indigenous Land Claims.* Available from: http://www.law.duke.edu/shell/cite.pl?54+Duke+L.+J.+1061 [Accessed 21/06/2010]

[45] Raja, R. (2004) *Challenges for Juridical Pluralism and Customary Laws of Indigenous Peoples: The Case of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bangladesh.* Baltimore: City College

[46] Lindsey, W. (2001) *Indigenous Lands as Cultural Property: A New Approach to Indigenous Land Claims.* Available from: http://www.law.duke.edu/shell/cite.pl?54+Duke+L.+J.+1061 [Accessed 21/06/2010]

[47] Unruh, D. (2002) Land dispute resolution in Mozambique: evidence and institutions of agroforestry technology adoption. In Meinzen-Dick, R., Knox, F., and Swallow, B (2002) *Innovation in Natural Resource Management: The Role of Property Rights and Collective Action in Developing Countries.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

[48] Quan, J., and Toulmin, C. (2004) *Land in Africa: Market Asset, or Secure Livelihood?* Available from: http://www.iied.org/pubs/pdfs/G00166.pdf [Accessed 21/06/2010]

in all places as indigenous groups are different and have different needs within different circumstances and places.

The government of Kenya under state law, established group ranches with borders that conflicted with traditional migration patterns of the Maasai people. The indigenous group refused to accept the state law as incompatible with their cultural norms.[49] The Maasai disregarded ranch boundaries and continued their traditional semi-nomadic patterns.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The land claims by indigenous groups have developed through negotiation and judicial recognition of indigenous rights over land. The land claims litigation as an inherent right can be lengthy, costly and could lead to conflicts. In any case the courts should be the last resort if the negotiation process fails and should provide general guidance for the parties involved while leaving them to work out detailed arrangements. However, due to the nature of land claims, the more that can be resolved outside the courtroom, the greater the possibility that all issues will eventually be addressed and resolved.

It is clear that the state of the world's indigenous groups is very tenuous. The indigenous communities worldwide are in extremely delicate situations and many have already been destroyed or weakened and their security and integrity have been compromised. The conditions of indigenous groups worldwide require urgent serious social and political will within national states accompanied by resources to identify indigenous groups and assess their land claims as well as develop effective judicial structures and laws that will protect indigenous lands.

The multinational companies should work closely with both the government and the indigenous groups. They should be able to find ways of giving a plat form to indigenous groups so as to hear their views and feelings and attend to their anticipated fears which the development initiatives may bring about including disruption to their daily life styles. The government should be able to find ways of protecting the indigenous groups as the most vulnerable in society. It should avoiding sacrificing indigenous groups at the expense of economic development as it is not always that the end justifies the means. Every development initiative does not always result in an improved livelihood for the most vulnerable in society.

The adoption of the declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples by the United Nations General Assembly in 2007 is significant and will

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[49] Coast, E. (2002) *Masaai Social economic conditions: cross boarder comparisons.* Available from: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/265/1/d027_revised_version.pdf [Accessed 21/06/2010]

be instrumental in shaping indigenous groups' relationships with both the international community and the states. It is for this reason that the concerned states should cooperate with the UN by affirming the rights of indigenous groups into the constitutions of the concerned state. The indigenous groups' rights over land and minerals including other sub-surface resources should be acknowledged.

CONCLUSION

The concept of forcing 'development' on indigenous groups does not make them always happier or healthier, in fact very often proves disastrous. The most important question for indigenous groups' well-being is as to whether the right to their land is respected. The indigenous groups worldwide have continued to suffer the trauma of forced relocation and as they find themselves in foreign environments with nothing useful to do and where they are treated with racist disdain by their new neighbors.[50] This makes them ending up being alienated without hope and many take to drugs and alcohol which very often soar.

There are reports of indigenous groups who have lost their lands and after suffering the trauma of forced relocation have resorted to committing suicide. In Canada, Indian groups who have lost their connection to their land have suicide rates up to ten times the national average and in 1995 about 56 Guarani Indians took their own lives with statistics of more than one suicide per week.[51]

The indigenous populations worldwide are struggling to protect their lands despite appealing to both customary and international laws as sources of land claims. The dominant groups worldwide continue to argue that indigenous groups do not have any rights to land they do not hold title under state law. It has been noted that when dominant groups help indigenous groups to secure their land, they do it to foster economic development for the entire state rather than the benefit of indigenous groups.[52] In many countries, the governments have been reluctant to demarcate indigenous groups' lands because of the disruption this would cause to non-indigenous groups' interests as well as those held by the state.

The international law has been vital in settling land disputes and in protecting indigenous groups. However, there are some countries that are reluctant to bow down to the demands of international law and to change

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[50] Survival International (2010) *Progress Can Kill*. Available from: http://www.survival international.org/progresscankill [Accessed 18/06/2010]

[51] Id.

[52] Meinzen-Dick, R., Knox, F., and Swallow, B (2002) *Innovation in Natural Resource Management: The Role of Property Rights and Collective Action in Developing Countries.* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

customary laws that are discriminatory in character towards indigenous groups. The ILO convention number 169 despite providing guidance in protecting the indigenous groups has also come under criticism for not fully embodying the indigenous point of view. There are critical voices that points out the wording of the document as a direct affront to the rights of indigenous groups. However, despite its arguable shortcomings most indigenous leaders and organizations see it as an important step towards improving their human rights situation and are eager for governments to ratify it.

ETHNICITY AND FINANCIAL EXCLUSION: HOW FRINGE BANKING HAS TAKEN HOLD IN ETHNIC AND IMMIGRANT NEIGHBORHOODS

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In neighborhoods mostly peopled by low-income groups, ethnic minorities and immigrant communities, access to regular bank services is often difficult and fraught with many obstacles. When they need a short-term loan, many of these customers will fall back on alternative financial services and visit either a payday lender, a pawnshop, a check-cashing outlet, a rent-to-own store or another similar kind of business.

This alternative or "fringe banking" sector has been developing and consolidating rapidly over the past two decades and its rate of growth is spectacular: in 2009, there were almost 23,000 payday lenders nationwide against a mere 200 in the early nineties. Likewise, the number of pawnshops almost tripled between 1985 and 2006, climbing from 4,500 to almost 12,000. In 2008, the Brookings Institution listed 48,000 of these non-bank establishments, versus slightly over 100,000 bank and credit union branches, and the number of online transactions is booming (estimates reckon that by 2016, 60% of total payday loans will take place online against 35% in 2011).[1]

One of the first to draw national attention to the size of this parallel economy was economist John Caskey in 1995 with his book *Fringe Banking*, which was followed ten years later by social policy analyst Howard Karger's *Shortchanged: Life & Debt in the Fringe Economy* (2005). Since then, a whole body of literature on the topic has emerged, denouncing both the usurious and discriminatory practices of this sector but also the failure of regular banks to draw these customers back into their fold.

In 2009, the FDIC released its "National Survey of Unbanked and Underbanked[2] Households", the first of its kind to analyze on a national scale those households who fall through the cracks of the mainstream

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[1] Daniel Brook, *Harper's Magazine*, April 2009, p.43; Brookings Institution, "Banking on Wealth: America's New Retail Banking Infrastructure and Its Wealth-Building Potential", January 2008; "Major Banks Aid in Payday Loans Banned by States", *New York Times*, February 23 2013.

[2] The underbanked are people who have a checking or saving account but use non-bank money orders, check cashing services, payday loans, etc. at least once a year.

banking system.[3] Its findings, later confirmed in a follow-up study for 2011-2012 (which showed a worsening picture, +0.6% in the proportion of unbanked households, and +1.9% for the underbanked) were quite distressing (figure 1):

> 25.6% of U.S. households, about 30 million, are either unbanked (9 million) or underbanked (21 million), i.e. more than 60 million adults. These households have no or little relationship with a bank, savings institution, credit union, or any other mainstream financial service provider.

> Minority populations are disproportionately represented since almost 54% of black households are either unbanked (22%) or underbanked (32%), while 43.3% of Hispanic households and 44.5% of American Indian/Alaskan households fall into this category. The figure for white households is of 18% only.

> Households where Spanish is the only language spoken at home are also more likely to be unbanked (35.6%), as are households where the householder is a foreign-born noncitizen (21.9%)

> In a number of areas, particularly in the South region, estimated minority unbanked and underbanked proportions substantially exceed the national estimate.

> Last but not least, a substantial proportion of unbanked households were previously banked.

This survey confirmed previous findings, in particular the 2004 Working Paper from the Joint Center for Housing Studies at Harvard University which had already pointed out that the "unbanked" were overwhelmingly African-American and Hispanic, less educated, less affluent and younger than the population as a whole.[4]

Taking a look at the reasons given by these households for being unbanked or underbanked is very instructive:

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[3] FDIC National Survey of Unbanked and Underbanked Households, December 2009, http://www.fdic.gov/householdsurvey/full_report.pdf; see also the 2011 survey, http://www.fdic.gov/householdsurvey/2012_unbankedreport.pdf; and Howard Karger, "America's Growing Fringe Economy", *Dollars & Sense* November/December 2006; Howard Karger, "The Modern Fringe Economy", *The Social Policy Journal*, vol. 3(1) 2004; and *The Unbanked*, fact sheet, University of Minnesota, 2006.

[4] Christopher Barry, "To Bank or Not to Bank? A Survey of Low-Income Households", Joint Center for Housing Studies Working Paper Series, BABC 04-3. February 2004.

FIGURE 1. COMPARISON OF UNBANKED AND UNDERBANKED
HOUSEHOLDS BY RACE AND ETHNICITY

Percentage of Households
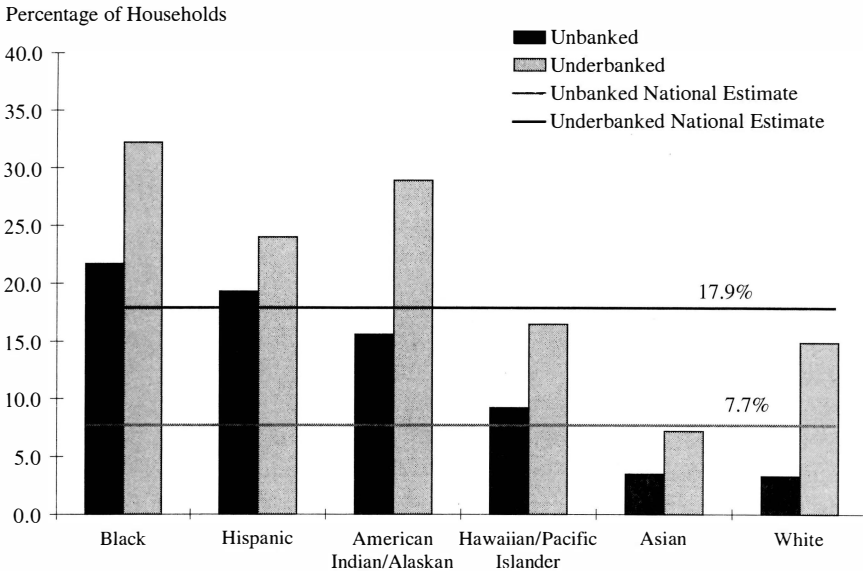
> 37% say they don't have enough money to need an
account
> 18% don't write enough checks
> 12% complain the minimum balance requirement is
too high
> 12% do not need or want an account/ did not see
value of an account
> 9% say banks do not feel comfortable or welcoming
> 6.9% complain of language barriers
> 6.3% do not trust banks
> 5.5% have a legal status problem, or are unable to
provide required residency documentation

Most of these factors reveal a deep disconnect with mainstream banks,
and speak of a profound distrust toward businesses perceived as essen-
tially catering to well-off and savvy customers. The unbanked over-
whelmingly consider banks as hostile environments, ill-adapted to their
needs and untrustworthy. In a 2004 Homeownership Alliance study of
barriers to banking for Latin Americans, U.S. banks were called insecure,
unsafe, unforgiving, unwelcoming, inflexible, and intimidating environ-
ments with language barriers. The same study suggested that more His-
panics would open bank accounts if the *matricula consular* card was
more easily accepted for identification, if banks were flexible in mini-

mum balance expectations, and if remittance rates were reasonably priced.

There is a great deal of self-censorship also: many unbanked people have simply integrated the notion that they don't need or deserve a bank account, let alone a credit which they fear will be rejected anyway. Other research on perceptions of creditworthiness reveals that African Americans in particular tend to be overly pessimistic about their credit scores, and are convinced they needn't bother ask a prime lender for a loan, because it will almost certainly be denied.

The alternative, then, is to turn to alternative financial services, aka fringe banking. Over 60% of unbanked households regularly visit a payday outlet, a check-cashing store, a pawnshop, and other similar businesses when they need to borrow small amounts of money and get cash fast. And what appears very clearly is that these fringe businesses have developed proactive, deliberate strategies of expansion toward ethnic and immigrant communities. There is indeed a disproportionate number of these outlets in relation to regular bank agencies in areas with large concentrations of minority and immigrant communities.[5]

In 2005, 2008 and 2009, the Center for Responsible Lending carried out three studies on payday lender locations in several states – North Carolina, Arizona, Texas and California. All three reached the same conclusions: minority neighborhoods (defined by the census tracts, i.e. areas comprising between 2,500 and 8,000 people), especially those with large African American, Latino, or Native American populations, were found to have three to eight times as many payday lending stores per capita as white neighborhoods (table 1). In California, while African Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans make up about a third (35%) of the adult population, they represent 56% of all payday borrowers. In Texas, Blacks and Hispanics represent 40% of the adult population, yet 77% of all payday borrowers.[6] It is undeniable that race and ethnicity were dominant factors in the decision of these fringe banks to settle in these neighborhoods.

One interesting finding is that even when both mainstream banks and fringe banking outlets co-exist in the same neighborhoods – which means these customers therefore have a choice – the unbanked/underbanked often deliberately choose the fringe banking outlets over the

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[5] Mark L. Burkey and Scott P. Simkins, "Factors Affecting the Location of Payday Lending and Traditional Banking Services in North Carolina" *Review of Regional Studies,* vol. 34 no. 2, Fall 2004, p.191-205; Assaf Oron, "Easy Prey: Evidence for Race and Military Related Targeting in the Distribution of Payday Loan Branches in Washington State", Department of Statistics, University of Washington, March 2006.

[6] *Wealth-Stripping Payday Loans Trouble Communities of Color*, Center for Responsible Lending October 2, 2008.

TABLE 1

COMMUNITIES OF COLOR MAKE UP HIGHER PROPORTIONS OF
BORROWERS IN CALIFORNIA AND TEXAS

	California		Texas	
	% of total payday borrowers	% of total adult population	% of total payday borrowers	% of total adult population
African American	18%	6%	43%	11%
Latino	36%	28%	34%	29%
Native American	2%	<1%	Not available	

regular mainstream banks.[7] Why is that so? Four main reasons can be
identified:

> Speedy and convenient transactions. Fringe outlets
  often act as one-stop shopping centers which offer
  all sorts of commercial services unavailable at the
  local bank. At a check-cashing outlet for instance,
  aside from cashing checks, one can also pay utility
  bills, transfer money for remittances[8], place money
  orders, buy prepaid long distance calling cards, cell
  phones and beepers, send and receive a fax, xerox
  documents, buy postage stamps, envelopes, lottery
  tickets or even keep a mailbox.

> Easy-to-get loans. To get a payday loan, almost any-
  one with a checking account and source of income
  gets approved, even with a poor FICO score (under
  650); lenders usually do not conduct credit checks.
  The only paperwork required is a form asking con-

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[7] John Caskey, "Bank Representation in Low-Income and Minority Urban Communi-
ties", *Urban Affairs Review,* vol.29, 1994, p.617. The author who studied this pattern from
1970 to 1989 in five different cities (Atlanta, Denver, New York, San Jose, Washington D.C.)
reports that in all five cities, areas with a dominant African-American or Hispanic population
are substantially less likely to have a local bank compared to other communities but contends
that this underrepresentation does not necessarily mean banks deliberately avoid minority ar-
eas. Low housing value/ lack of business activity can explain it; see also the National Commu-
nity Reinvestment Coalition, "Are Banks on the Map? An Analysis of Bank Branch Location
in Working Class and Minority Neighborhoods", 2007; and "Predatory Profiling: The Role of
Race and Ethnicity in the Location of Payday Lenders in California", Center for Responsible
Lending, March 26, 2009.

[8] A large portion of these transactions does not occur through formal financial institu-
tions. Rather than relying on traditional banks, many immigrants in the United States turn to
smaller banks and credit unions, private money-transfer services and personal networks to
send money to friends and relatives in their native country. 70–80% percent of immigrants use
wire transfer agencies such as Western Union and Moneygram to send money to friends and
relatives in their home country.

tact information about the customer, his/her spouse, landlord or mortgage holder, and three acquaintances. Applicants fill out the form, show proof of employment or another source of income such as Social Security, give their bank account number, and write a postdated check, dated to their next payday, for the loan amount plus the fee. It takes half an hour against several days at the bank. It is a form of fast-food banking.

> Simplicity: pricing for these short-term loans is deceptively simple. For a payday loan, a fixed interest rate of around $15 to $20 is charged for each $100 amount borrowed for a two-week loan, and there are no additional charges if the loan is paid back on time. It's easy to understand and the cash is available on the spot.

> Personalized attention, friendly clerks and respect of sales personnel, trained to make these customers feel welcome and who are taught to empathize, the "we understand what you're going through" approach. Fringe banking sells itself as credit with a human face, contrary to the dehumanizing banks.

Many of the reasons people use these services are not linked to cost. The fringe banking system exists because it addresses a real need, which banks fail to do. These businesses pitch themselves as helping communities in need, and performing a necessary service which no other business cares to offer. In a sense, they are right. They have managed to gain the trust of these customers who choose to visit them, even though it may not be in their best interest.

No wonder retail giants are stepping on the bandwagon: Wal-Mart, which already had 1,800 "MoneyCenters" inside its U.S. stores, where shoppers can cash checks, transfer money, buy the WalMart prepaid debit card (the MoneyCard) for only $3 (and no overdraft fees) added 500 more in 2010.

Meanwhile, the real cost of these credit products is astronomical. Asking for a $300 payday loan for example, which comes with a 15% to 20% interest rate for a two-week period means writing a check for $360, which amounts to annualized interest rates (APR or annual percentage rate) of over 400 percent. Because these loans are short-term, involve small amounts and are simple to get, most borrowers fail to appreciate how expensive they really are. They don't understand the difference between a percentage rate applied on a two-week loan and the percentage rate calculated over an entire year. The payday lending industry is a

predatory industry that takes advantage of this assymetric information between borrowers and lenders. Even more disheartening, those who do know they are getting ripped off feel they have no other solution. What matters to people who live paycheck to paycheck is how much they are going to be paying weekly and whether they can afford it. Long-term strategies are not even an option, and fringe banking thrives on this sense of urgency.

The perversity of the system is that, unlike what the business wants us to believe, this service is not designed to help someone in trouble get an emergency one-time fix; instead, it is designed to keep the borrowers in a cycle of permanent debt. Research has shown that after the two-week period, most borrowers are unable to pay back their initial loan, but instead roll it over into a new one, then a third, all the while paying the outlandish $15 or $20 finance fees each time. Only 25% of borrowers eventually manage to pay off. Meanwhile the average customer takes about ten payday loans a year.

The loan is structured as a trap. Some customers, to save face, take out a loan from another payday lender to pay the first and end up with multiple lenders to keep track of. The Center for Responsible Lending has found that 90 percent of business is generated by borrowers with five or more loans a year and over 60 percent of business is generated by borrowers with 12 or more loans a year.[9] Payday loan losses are about 6% or less. A customer who pays off a loan or purchases a good or service outright is much less profitable than customers who keep re-turning for another loan. Most of the profit in the fringe economy lies with keeping customers caught in an expensive web of debt. Clearly, those who use these services have evolved from occasional users to chronic borrowers and payday lending has become a form of twenty-first century sharecropping.[10]

The other most popular fringe banking services are offered by pawnshops, car title loans, tax refund anticipation loans and rent-to-own stores. Pawnshops offer small, short-term loans with personal items, such as jewelry or large electronics, as collateral. The average pawnshop loan is about $75 but can go as low as $15. Interests are as high as 25 percent. Loopholes in state usury laws often allow them to rollover fees and fi-nance charges also. The pawnshop collects the item if the borrower de-faults on his payment. Pawnshops are less popular in comparison to

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[9] *Wealth-Stripping Payday Loans Trouble Communities of Color,* op.cit.

[10] Payday lending is legal and regulated in 37 states. It was first authorized in 1996. In Georgia, North Carolina and 11 other states, it is either illegal or not feasible, given state law. Yet most of the regulatory efforts to police the sector have been ineffective so far: customers simply take back-to-back transactions when renewing the loan immediately is not allowed, and cooling-off periods to prevent rollovers are totally artificial as borrowers still take a new loan after a few days.

payday lenders today because there is no need to leave personal posses-sions as collateral. Yet, payday loans can inflict potentially greater dam-age on borrowers. For instance, if a consumer abandons a pawned item, the lender retains the collateral and the borrower is not pursued. No re-port is filed with a collection agency nor is the borrower's credit history blemished. On the other hand, defaulting on a payday loan will taint the creditworthiness of the borrower, if not destroy it. These businesses have evolved into a multi-service industry; some also provide payday loans and other financial services. There were 4,500 pawnshops in the United States in 1985; in 2006 they had grown to almost 12,000, including out-lets owned by five publicly traded chains.[11]

Car title loans are a variation of the typical pawn loan. A person who owns his/her car can take out a small loan, usually around 25% of the value of the car, using the car title as collateral. Repayment is usually made over a number of monthly payments, and interest rates are typically up to 20% per month. Car title loan contracts are set up so the lender can collect the car if the borrower defaults, even on only one payment. Un-like pawnshop transactions, the consumer does not forego the use of his property during the course of the loan, even though the vehicle is techni-cally owned by the lender until the loan is repaid.

Tax refund anticipation loans (RALs) are short-term loans secured by an expected tax refund. RALs are also expensive and similar to other forms of fringe credit with an APR which can range from 67 to over 700% percent. Of the several million taxpayers who receive RALs, al-most half get them through H&R Block, the largest tax preparer in the nation (Jackson Hewitt is second). RALs are common in low-income neighborhoods, due to tax refunds under the federal EITC program. Since taxpayers must file a federal income tax form to receive an EITC refund, many use tax preparers and are thus able to get their hands on their EITC refund more quickly, unaware that they are in fact getting a predatory loan, basically borrowing their own money and paying high interest rates for it.

Finally, Rent-to-own Stores are outlets that offer credit to consum-ers to purchase large appliances, electronics, and furniture. Consumers agree to a series of weekly or monthly payments, but usually end up paying back two to three times the retail amount of the item. However, they don't own the product in full until the final payment, and if they default on their payments, the product must be returned and the con-sumer is not compensated. Customers are thus hit with excessive interest rates, exceedingly high fees, or exorbitant prices for services or goods they end up paying two to three times as much as if they'd paid the retail

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11 EZ Pawn, Cash America Pawn, Express Cash, Famous Pawn and First Cash Pawn.

price upfront. "According to the Consumer Federation of America, customers with RTO contracts pay between $1,000 and $2,400 for a TV, stereo, or other major appliance worth as little as $200 used, and seldom more than $600 new."[12]

CONCLUSION

Whether one patronizes a payday lender, a pawnshop, a check-cashing outlet, or get a tax refund loan from a tax preparer like H&R Block or Jackson Hewitt, which is basically a way of borrowing one's own money and pay high interest rates for it, all these examples point to a similar business model: taking advantage of vulnerable, misinformed, sometimes helpless customers, many of whom are ethnic minority customers, and offering them predatory credit services, while pretending to be performing a form of community service and acting as much needed substitutes for an inadequate and faulty banking system. The ultimate irony is that for many of these fringe banking customers, these short-term loans may in fact be the cheapest option available, compared with the sometimes prohibitive overdraft protection fees offered by regular banks, or the astronomical credit card fees.

In spite of existing legislation such as the Community Reinvestment Act of 1977 which mandated that federally insured banks meet the credit needs of their entire communities, including low-income people, and thus prevent the redlining process, segregation in the credit market, far from disappearing, has intensified, because the American banking industry has become polarized between regular banks in the top tier of the system who cater to the wealthier and less risky customers, and a flourishing market of second and third tier outlets which practice usury lending and take advantage of the more vulnerable. We could describe what is taking place today as a form of redlining in reverse, one that still discriminates against poor communities, only this time not by excluding them from credit, but by offering instead quick, easy, convenient access to plenty of credit products which turn out to be scandalously expensive and which ensnare them into a debt trap. This is not the way ethnic minorities are going to build up equity. These communities don't have access to the safe, mainstream and asset-building kind of credit, and are steered toward the exploitative options instead. In the words of Howard Karger: "one set of rules for the rich, another set of nonrules for the poor".[13] Meanwhile, the racial gap in access to fair credit continues unabated.

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[12] Howard Karger, *Shortchanged, Life and Debt in the Fringe Economy*, Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2005, p.96.

[13] id, p.xi.

AESTHETIC AND SOCIAL COMMUNITY: MULTICULTURAL POETRY AND THE ANTHOLOGIZING OF POEMS

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Scholars from various disciplines have explored the concept of multiculturalism from the perspectives of citizenship, recognition, representation, tokenism, constitutionalism, and other vantage points, with politics and education receiving most of the attention.[1] While many efforts have been made to explore these aspects of multiculturalism, its significance in poetry, particularly in poetry's composition and critique, has not been duly taken into account. Multicultural poetry designates a critical abstraction in which poetry is classified by relation to a communal culture, history, or customs. In this definition, multicultural poetry is therefore inclusive of poetry written by ethnic minorities, women, non-mainstream religious practitioners, and members of other communities. To maintain a focus, this paper delimits its discussion to poetry's relationship with ethnicity and probes the interplay between aesthetic and ethnicity in three sections—Mainstream Poetry Anthologies: Tastes, Schools, and the Issue of History, Multicultural Poetry Anthologies: Situated Poetry and Group Poetics, and Ethnopoetics as a Choice.

The first two sections examine the standards of selection for poets represented in recent notable poetry anthologies and show how alternative canon formation can occur through the process of creating anthologies. The first section suggests that most mainstream poetry anthologies uphold editorial tastes and the schools of poetry as the chief criteria for culling poems. And yet, when minority editors joined in the selection of poems for these anthologies, they chose more poems about history and the material aspect of life. Next, in the second section, an examination of multicultural anthologies published since the mid-1990s yields instances illustrating that multicultural poetry is situated in its social, historical and cultural circumstances and is challenging the monism of the American identity, and that minority editors of poetry anthologies of specific ethnic

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groups recognize ethnicity as a shaping factor in the experience and self-expression of ethnocultural communities. For example, Victor Hernández Cruz, Leroy V. Quintana, and Virgil Suarez acknowledge that poems in *Paper Dance: 55 Latino Poets* "focus on and are united by" particular "themes and perspectives" describing Latino experience (xii). Perusing these mainstream and multicultural poetry anthologies leads to the conclusion that aesthetic or taste is predicated upon external elements such as ethnicity and community rather than being a universal criterion of quality as editors of the mainstream anthologies maintain.

The final section deepens this discussion by undertaking a survey and critique of Asian American poetics. This exploration of the evolution of Asian American poetry criticism supplies examples in substantiating an argument that the choice of poetics is a choice of community in the cultural and historical sense. In other words, this paper suggests that ethnopoetics, or ethnic group poetics, is a choice of the literary and social communities engaged in artistic creation. This paper argues that multicultural poetry makes revolutionary changes to the definitions of "aesthetic" and of "poetry," changes which the poets find concerned with history, diversity, community, and other exigent ethnic issues. For reasons of space, discussion of the poetics of other ethnic groups is reserved for future research. Ultimately, this paper argues that ethnic poetry challenges the trend of universalism in forming aesthetics, anthologizing poetry, and fashioning poetics.

Emory Elliott argues in *Aesthetics in a Multicultural Age* that "the aesthetic is always in danger of being exploited in the service of individual prejudice or of nationalism, racism, sexism, and classism" (3). Elliott indicates that when one positions aesthetics in relation to one of these matrices, one opens up the polemic pertaining to the significance of aesthetic and, as this study will reveal, its functions with regard to canonization. As the examples will demonstrate, mainstream anthology editors' judgment manifests a common view of an aesthetic as a system of transcendent values justified by a tradition of cumulative standards of beauty as well as by editors' own private standards. However, tradition is entangled in the collective and the historical, whereas personal standards are imbricated with the individual and the present. This two-fold composition makes the division between the collective and the personal and between the historical and the present untenable. In other words, the social and historical situations of the critic will more likely than not be intermixed with their opinions.

Like Elliott, Giles Gunn reminds the reader that these two sets of qualities cannot be separated because taste originates in and is premised on communities: "[B]y being formed in relation with, and always in dialogue with, other people, taste . . . not only presupposes community but

actually generates it" (71). Likewise, Rita Dove suggests that ethnic poets adhere to something other than aesthetics when she discusses her twin foci of aesthetics and the author's circumstances in a 1989 interview: "First and foremost is just the language that is my clay and my primary interest. . . . But I am also positive that the fact that I am a woman, that I am black, that I am an American, and that I'm living in the time that I'm living in now has an enormous impact on my writing" (qtd. in Vendler 488). Elliott attributes the cause of this problematic to the superimposition of private taste on a collective agenda and the erasure of differences: "The critic in judgment who assumes that there are universal standards of beauty . . . will be likely to erase or subordinate an array of human differences and forms of creative expression as being inferior to a select few" (3).

Analyzing universalism from a different angle of dialectics, David Palumbo-Liu maintains that minority literature underscores history and materiality while resisting the dominant culture, which "erases the contingencies of time and space, history and location" by assuming a "universal" value (188). The universalist rationale paradoxically advances while at the same time occludes the assimilation of minority culture:

> Thus the contradiction is . . . the fact that the Other invites the minority subject to identify itself within the dominant on the basis of its ideological interests. . . . This contradiction is precisely the mechanism which locates the minority subject in its liminal space. . . . [T]he hegemonic . . . solicits the minor's consensuality as evidence of its [hegemonic] non-particularity, of its universality. . . . And this is precisely the point at which, for my argument, the minor appears in the universal. (Palumbo-Liu 198-99)

One's aesthetic always already contains cultural connotations and communal practices. A just and more plausible assessment, as Sue-im Lee suggests, is therefore "a historically and materially engaged analysis" conjoined with the aesthetic as a critical perimeter (1).

MAINSTREAM POETRY ANTHOLOGIES: TASTES, SCHOOLS, AND THE ISSUE OF HISTORY

This section examines the standards of selection for poets represented in *The Best American Poetry* series published in the years 2000 to 2003. This series was launched by David Lehman in 1988 and annually publishes, in the judgment of its editors, the best poems currently written by Americans. Each guest editor is, by custom, an eminent poet, a new Poet Laureate, or a recent winner of the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry. There-

fore, this series can be used to identify the directions that poetry is taking in a particular time period. The introductory section of each series and its selected poems serve as an index to the status quo of American poetry. It is reasonable to confine the research to the series volumes published over these four years because the year 2000 marks the point when ethnic poets were invited to be guest editors; Rita Dove took charge of the selection in 2000, and in 2003 Yusef Komunyakaa was guest editor. This section looks closely at why the editors favor some poets instead of others and some poems over others. After examining poems in this series published from 2000 to 2003, it is evident that ethnicity has a voice in aesthetics; it is not a coincidence that ethnic minority guest editors Dove and Komunyakaa both select more poems depicting historical moments or material circumstances, while the other two guest editors, Robert Hass and Robert Creeley, do not in their selections.

An equation of excellence with taste is implicit in Lehman's statement that *The Best American Poetry* anthologies "taken together chronicle the taste of some of our leading poets" (Foreword xiv). The editorial preferences of Lehman ensure that *The Best American Poetry* series habitually includes works written by poets of the New York School—John Ashbery, Frank O'Hara, Kenneth Koch, and James Schuyler (*Last* 1). The school took its name from the New York-based Abstract Expressionist painters, from whom these poets, three of whom were art critics, learned the models of the trajectories of thought (Lehman, *Last* 2-4, 46). This urban school, in Lehman's view, implements wit, humor, and irony through techniques ranging from juxtapositions, parodies, to collages (*Last* 4).[2] Unsurprisingly, for example, from the year 2000 to 2003, poets of the New York School appear in all the anthologies except the 2000 anthology co-edited by Dove.

In addition to Lehman's predilections, the governing criteria of the series also shift to a certain extent each year to fit the guest editors' aesthetics (Foreword xiv). Dove, the first ever minority guest editor of the series, chose many poems for the 2000 anthology which register historical junctures or personal episodes, or fusions of the two experiences. For example, in Thomas Rabbitt's poem "The Beach at Falmouth Heights," the absence of the husband weaves with the loss of a brother in the Korean War. The poem, rooted in the historical event, is elegiacally filigreed in lines reminiscent of T. S. Eliot, albeit uttered by a female persona: "Each rose-scented day a perfect summer at the beach / Where the siren has no song to sing" is set in anticipation of a reconciliation in the mind of the speaker, who has "[s]till . . . / to settle for *being* when those we loved are gone" (Dove and Lehman 150). Likewise, Julianna

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2 One of these poets, Koch, taught Lehman a life-changing writing class (Lehman, *Last* 233).

Baggott melds the personal and the historical in the poem "Mary Todd on Her Deathbed" in which the female voice serves as a reminder of the weight of gender within historical events: "All the while" when guests mourned, and some stole from Lincoln's "open coffin" and in the White House, the guests "could hear" the First Lady "wailing from bed" (Dove and Lehman 33). Other poems coalescing personal and historical moments include "Aunt Lily and Frederick the Great" on the Jewish writer Moses Mendelssohn, "History & Bikinis" on the uncle and the "irony" of history, and "Goldsboro Narratives" on the Vietnam War. Moreover, poems treating history account for a fifth of the poems in the anthology. For example, "The Last Living Castrato," "The Dump," "Epistle," "Ghosts," "Six Apologies, Lord," "The Goddess of Quotas Laments," "Henry Clay's Mouth," "I Do Not," "Pissarro at Dusk," and "Analysis of the Rose as Sentimental Despair" address historical topics.

Like Dove, the second minority editor of the series, Komunyakaa, prefers the historical and the personal content of a poem in compiling the 2003 anthology and argues that "content and aesthetics, with language as communication," are what makes poetry appealing to an audience (18-19). The 2003 anthology includes seven poems on history, which is more than nine percent of all the poems selected. The poems in the 2003 edition explicitly about history include "Rambling on My Mind," "World History," "Some Rain," "When the Towers Fall," "A History of Color," "The Loaf," and "The Disappearances."

Remarkably, like Dove's edited anthology, Komunyakaa's collection does not feature any quintessential Language poems, which would be attentive to the conscious use of language such as language's "post-referential" prospect (Silliman 131).[3] What could fittingly exemplify Komunyakaa's aesthetic of content is a poem in the collection, Stanley Moss's "A History of Color." "A History of Color" panegyrizes life's hybridity and multifariousness, a vibrance that helps humans withstand death, which the poem regards as a monistic state. The poem declares at the outset: "What is heaven but the history of color," color that pits its hybrid ("[h]arlot") and yet "sacred" vibrancy "against Death" (Komunyakaa and Lehman 125). This poem strings together anecdotes about colors addressing topics ranging from lust, religions, flora and fauna, rock, food, war, fabric, diseases, science, literature, paintings, and friendship—details echoing Komunyakaa's stress on materiality (Komunyakaa and Lehman 129).

By contrast, history and content are not as crucial to the guest editors of the 2001 and 2002 anthologies. For example, significantly lower than the number of poems Dove selected and still less than Komuny-

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[3] David Wojahn's "Scrabble with Matthews" unfolding in word play, and Billy Collins's "Litany" burlesquing the sonnet cannot really be called Language poems.

akaa's choice, only five poems in the 2001 anthology edited by Hass deal with historical moments. Poems in the 2001 edition whose central concern is history or which treat history include "Crossed-Over, Fiend-Snitched, X-ed Out," "The Ashes," "To World War Two," "The Ghost Shirt," and "In Your Versions of Heaven I Am Younger."

Unlike Komunyakaa, who suggests a "synthesis" of content and "aesthetics," Hass argues for the otherworldliness of art and its detachment: "Art hardly ever does seem to come to us at first as something connected to our own world" (Komunyakaa 14; *Twentieth* 222). Abstractness is important to Hass, who, as his introduction makes clear, appreciates poems which attend to an idea and strike a balance between metrics, formal freedom, and experimentality: "I needed an idea" (Introduction 21); "the best work is often being done in the interstices between" "a metrical," a "free verse," and "an experimental tradition" in contemporary American poetry (Introduction 21). Thus, other than an obvious increase in poems treating the subjects of Eros and nature—favored topics of Hass's own poetry—the 2001 anthology consists of poems which experiment in form and etch memorable and humorous lines and endings. The abstractness Hass appreciates finds an apt exegesis in the poem "Night Picnic" by Charles Simic in which a woman lectures about God manifesting Himself in nature, while the poem's other character ponders the mystery of the unknown. A philosophical situation is created beneath the night sky, "[h]ome of every one of our dark thoughts," as this picnicker is "mulling over the particulars" of one's "cosmic significance" (Hass and Lehman 213). Moreover, the experimentality Hass values is illustrated in many poems. For example, Lyn Hejinian's poem "Nights," narrated in stanzas of irregular lengths, records the "ridiculous language" that the speaker hears in dreams (Hass and Lehman 107). For instance, Amy England's poem "The Art of the Snake Story" alternates snakes stories and discourses on storytelling techniques laid out formally like snakes (Hass and Lehman 76-81).

As in the 2001 anthology, history is not a prominent issue in the 2002 anthology, which Creeley guest edited. Creeley emphasizes poetry's constructedness, quoting William Carlos Williams ("A poem is a small (or large) machine made of words."), and maintains that poetry is "our imagining" of the world, or put in other words, "an act of figuring, of making a picture for ourselves of what it seems to be" (xviii, xxi). John Taggart's poem "Call," for example, portrays the emotions which surge after a consoling phone call ("a sort of resurfacing / coming up to the surface of what is not memory") rather than the content of the call: It is "not a matter of words" (Creeley and Lehman 165). As a result, in this anthology, only two poems—"TCAT serenade: 4 4 98 (New Haven)" and "9-11-01"—treat specific historical events. Moreover, in making the

selection, Creeley favors poems which feature anacoluthons, intone a staccato voice, set up puzzles, and deploy white space to create a sense of mystery and silence. "Midsummer" and "Twenty-six Fragments" ex- emplify the effects of abstractness after dehistoricizing. In these four volumes of *The Best American Poetry* series, the universal view of po- etry is inflected by Dove's and Komunyakaa's appreciation of the speci- ficities of history and personal lives.

A subsuming of heterogeneous ethnic expressions under taste is also argued by a recent mainstream anthology, *The Norton Anthology of Mod- ern and Contemporary Poetry* (2003). Like *The Best American Poetry* series, the anthology appeals to a single standard of excellence that judges poetry by inherent values equivalent to editorial tastes. However, the anthology has its own merits. Though this anthology does not venture the idea of ethnic aesthetics, it recognizes poetry as immersed in its world and implicated in its writing and critiquing community. The editor Jahan Ramazani, a Persian American, is more concerned with the effects of globalization "in our era of transnational imagination" than with ethnicity in representing the poets (*Hybrid* 184). Claiming that the evolu- tion of poetry corresponds to a certain extent with shifts in "an increas- ingly transnational and cross-ethnic world," this anthology regards poetry as a global zone of exchange (Ramazani, Introduction lxvii). The anthology thus expands its selection of poetry from the customary En- glish-speaking poets from the U.S., the U.K., Canada, and Australia to include poets from the Caribbean, Africa, and India.

MULTICULTURAL POETRY ANTHOLOGIES: SITUATED POETRY AND GROUP POETICS

Read alongside mainstream poetry anthologies, multicultural poetry anthologies such as *Unsettling America: An Anthology of Contemporary Multicultural Poetry* (1994) give evidence that in the imagination of eth- nic poets, American poetry reinvents itself with regard to its diversity and definition. *Unsettling America* traces prevalent impulses and patterns in multicultural poetry. In this anthology, the term *multicultural* is de- fined as being different from the mainstream by one's "skin color, lan- guage, ethnicity" or "religion" (Gillan xx). The primary concern of *Unsettling America* is to "address the instability of American identity" as "a consequence of the complex intersections among peoples, cultures, and languages within national borders" (Gillan xix-xx). Implied in the title of the final section, this anthology foregrounds the right to define one's private, communal, and national cultural identities, an act which, the book's back cover summary suggests, could then dispel "myths and stereotypes" about these identities.

Poems in this anthology are grouped under five descriptors—"Uprooting," which speaks of cultural disjunctions, "Performing," which examines media images, "Naming," which includes representations of experiences, "Negotiating," which explores bridges and divisions between the mainstream and minorities, and "Re-envisioning," which seeks the redefinition of Americanness (Gillan xx). Expressions of self-definitions vary from Joy Harjo's poem "I Give You Back" to Maria Mazziotti Gillan's poem "Growing Up Italian." "I Give You Back" explores the idea that expelling fears accrued from centuries of miseries is a precondition for the Native American speaker to reestablish an identity:

> I take myself back, fear.

> You are not my shadow any longer. (Gillan and Gillan 371)

In "Growing Up Italian," when the speaker, in her forties, realizes her internalized self-hatred, her longstanding regrets, silence, and feelings of inferiority "explode / onto paper like firecrackers" and "meteors," and she can now "take back" her "name" and "celebrate" her "Italian American self" through writing (Gillan and Gillan 384).

More recently, believing in the diversified origins of American imagination from ancient Tlingit Indian totem poles to Bessie Smith's lyrics, *From Totems to Hip-Hop: A Multicultural Anthology of Poetry Across the Americas, 1900-2002* (2003) mints a new and broader literary lineage (Reed, Introduction xx). In the introduction, Bruce Allen Dick defines multiculturalism by its characteristics of "hybridity" and a panethnic "shared 'Americanness' " (xxi). In this anthology, Reed adopts a method consisting of "[s]ynthesizing by combining elements like making a gumbo" and "[s]ynchronizing by putting disparate elements into the same time, making them run in the same time, together" (qtd. in Dick and Singh 53). Representing the hybrid nature of American literature, the anthology's poetry draws from folk legends and blues as well as hip-hop and slam rhythms for its inspiration: "American literature from the very beginning has been as mestizo as our hemisphere, influenced by a mixture of cultures, nations and races," Reed claims (Introduction xxix).

The compilation interweaves a wide spectrum of cultures and perspectives, resembling more closely the actual composition of society than mainstream anthologies. For instance, in the first section "Nature & Place," Delhi, San José, Detroit, and other locales are connected with memory and feelings of people with diverse cultural heritages. For example, this link to places is memorably cast in Bessie Smith's "Black Mountain Blues" about this mountain range in North Carolina ("Black Mountains"): The female voice "[h]ad a man in Black Mountain[,] / the sweetest man in town" (Reed, *From* 70). Furthermore, acknowledging

these "layers of cultural influence," *From Totems to Hip-Hop* features poetry dating back to approximately 1900 alongside contemporary works (Reed, Introduction xxv, xvii). The anthology limns a multifarious canon through thematic parallel arrangements of mainstream and ethnic poems, placing T. S. Eliot with Garrett Hongo and Robert Frost with Wendy Rose.

In the next two sections, "Men & Women" and "Family," marriages and relatives acquire new dimensions when these occur in and across various cultures where Eliot's "maiden aunt" contrasts with Hongo's gambling father and Russell Leong's Chinese relatives (Reed, *From* 126). The fourth and fifth sections, "Politics" and "Heroes & Sheroes, Anti & Otherwise," set racial confrontations like hate crimes and cultural theft in the same section as historical issues like the Vietnam War, and popular legends like Duke Ellington and coyote folklore beside classical myths like Helen of Troy. Ultimately, the grouping into thematic sections structurally suggests a democratic leveling committed to presenting the poems on an equal footing. Most essays and poems—by Frank Chin et al., Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Geary Hobson, Carolyn Kizer, Alicia Suskin Ostriker, and Leslie Scalapino—in the closing "Manifestos" section also affirm this argument that confers authenticity and authority on experience grounded in culture (Reed, *From* 402, 407, 416-17, 425, 434, 439). For example, Ferlinghetti authenticates one's experience: "Listen says the sea" as "[w]ithin you" are "your private visions / of another reality" (Reed, *From* 407).

While multicultural poetry anthologies foreground common concerns such as heterogeneity, migration, and assimilation in ethnic minority poetry, poetry anthologies of single ethnic groups celebrate the distinct group aesthetics enmeshed in their histories, languages, and cultures. Multicultural anthologies of a specific ethnic group have the theoretical underpinning that poetry written from the perspective of a particular ethnic group has discrete qualities that make it Latino, African American, Asian American, and so on. For example, *Paper Dance: 55 Latino Poets* (1995) illuminates the primacy of multilingualism, acculturation, myths, gender, religions, and other issues in its poetry. The anthology's poems probe "the 'Americanization' process, the struggle to define, redefine, and attain the American Dream; the use of cultural myths; language and memory; gender; religion and spirituality"; "the question of universality and specificity," and so forth (Hernández Cruz, Quintana, and Suarez, Introduction xii).

For instance, two prominent themes in *Paper Dance* are brotherhood and multilingualism. Edna Acosta-Belin suggests that there exists "a shared consciousness . . . that transcends the specific national and cultural specificities of each group in favor of embracing a broad collec-

tive [Latino] identity" (989). This idea of "brotherhood" is a common subject in Latino poetry. For example, Judith Ortiz Cofer's poem "The Latin Deli: An Ars Poetica" imparts this consciousness by portraying the poet as a benevolent matron giving her Latino readers—"Puerto Ricans," "Cubans," and "Mexicans" alike—the comfort of dreams about home (Hernández Cruz, Quintana and Suarez, *Paper* 26). This emphasis about brotherhood is foreshadowed at the very beginning by the Mother and Child magnet on the store owner's cash register (Hernández Cruz, Quintana, and Suarez, *Paper* 26). The customers feel "the comfort" through the "mix of smells" of food, language, and the very presence and demeanor of the store owner ("the family portrait / of her plain wide face, her ample bosom / resting on her plump arms, her look of maternal interest") (Hernández Cruz, Quintana and Suarez, *Paper* 26). Though the shop owner is informed of the needs of some of her Latino customers, for others' wishes she "must divine" and procure goods via her sympathetic imagination (Hernández Cruz, Quintana, and Suarez, *Paper* 27).

Another feature, multilingualism, is often presented by interpolating Spanish words or phrases and counterposing cultural viewpoints in the poetry. In Adrian Castro's poem "Herald of Cocos (I)," for instance, the contrasts between cities and *barrios* set off by a slash, and between the agricultural and industrialized islands ("islands vestid(o) in green / to islands of electric(o) steel") bespeak "dreams of migration" (Hernández Cruz, Quintana, and Suarez, *Paper* 18). Imagination shuttles between languages and lands in "a tango of speech," and in the United States, "many lips spell" this "message" of a group consciousness through Spanish loan words in everyday English (Hernández Cruz, Quintana, and Suarez, *Paper* 19).

Bearing a mission to disseminate a Black ideal, *Spirit & Flame: An Anthology of Contemporary African American Poetry* (1997) punctuates the viability of the spirit of the Black community and the power in fury found in African American poetry of the 1990s (Gilyard, "Spirit" xix, xxii). The fury in the poetry of this anthology refers to the political undertone suggested by Keith Gilyard: "The overall tip is strongly political," which constitutes "the flame" in the poetry ("Spirit" xxii). The distinctive and strong political forums of poetry in this anthology range from daily encounters in American marketplaces and streets ("Theory on Extinction or what happened to the dinosaurs?") to the African diaspora ("Meanwhile, In Rwanda") and Afrocentricity ("Afrocentricity") (Gilyard, *Spirit* 11-12, 213-14, 288-89).

Moreover, the essence of this African American poetry is expressed in its rhythms transformed from jazz, hip-hop, rap, drum beats, and other music originating in African American culture. This aspect of African American poetry is akin to performance poetry in its valorization of

sound and poet-audience rapport. For example, Karen Williams's poem "JAZZ (a new interpretation)" prizes equally meanings, sounds, and rhythms, describing jazz as "[e]uphony as brilliant as pomade on Nat Kings hair" as well as celebrating its vibrant concoctions of sound (Gilyard, *Spirit* 286). Through a fragment of an African American spiritual, the poem echoes the ruminations of Langston Hughes's "Weary Blues" and John Keats's "Ode to a Nightingale" on music's power to express and transport one's emotions:

> Coming for to carry me
>
> somewhere dark and always funky (Gilyard, *Spirit* 286)

The poem's myriad uses of alliteration, consonance, and *onomatopoeia* allude to the rising importance of sounds in today's African American poetry.

Still another anthology of poetry of a single ethnic group, *Asian American Poetry: The Next Generation* (2004), compounds the enduring tradition of ethnopoetics with generational disparity (Chang, Introduction xxvii). This anthology contends that second-generation Asian American poets write markedly less political, more mainstream, less lyrical, predominantly non-narrative, and more idiosyncratic poetry compared with the poetry in *The Open Boat: Poems from Asian America* (1993) (V. Chang, Introduction xviii, xxi). This assertion locates the impetus of this shift in the Asian American poets' expanded freedom to exercise choices such as form and suggests a variety of poetics—including mainstream and Asian American strains—regulating the poetry's tone, form, and aesthetic. Underlying this contestation is the notion that an Asian American poet could claim a poetic contingent upon a single cultural and literary community, as poets of the first generation did, or could straddle more than one of these communities in a literary crossover, as most second-generation poets demonstrate.

Compared to the poetry of first-generation poets in *The Open Boat*, second-generation Asian American poets in Victoria Chang's anthology write poetry more mainstream in subject matter.[4] For example, as Victoria Chang indicates, love and gender are the centers around which innumerable poems revolve, while other poems capture the epiphanies about life and family (Introduction xviii). Registering specifically Asian American experience, some other poems portray ethnic culture as a mesmerizing influence.[5] For instance, Vandana Khanna's poem "Spell" interprets

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4 However, the mainstream aesthetic this anthology exhibits may not represent the young generation poets fully. *Asian American Poetry* noticeably does not celebrate forms championing sounds and music or more radical Language, performance, Hawaiian pidgin, or digital poems (J. Chang 210; Yu 228).

5 This experience is not "unmediated," as Adrienne McCormick warns that the marketing strategies of "many publishers" to sell Asian American literature as true accounts of ethnic

the tenacious though flimsy connection of ethnic culture. In "Spell," on a trip to Agra, India, some descendants of Indian-American immigrants find themselves foreigners in their ancestral land: "We traveled the city like we didn't belong, a place I should call home / but as foreign to me as to you" (V. Chang, *Asian* 80). The variegated sensations of sounds and colors flocking around them in India illustrate this confounding and yet tenacious affiliation with India:

> Then there were the stares, the calls to come look,
>
> . . . .
>
> glass bangles shaken at us like charms, like some spell
>
> and it was, with garlands stringing the runway like tiny beads of blood.

> (V. Chang, *Asian* 81)

Yet the second-generation Asian Americans search less for an attachment to the ancestral home than for a transcendent and almost magical idea of this place as Khanna's poem "The India of Postcards" adumbrates: "We were / looking for the gods, for the one thing / that shimmered more than silver, a pyramid / or temple, a country—something we couldn't fit / into our pockets" (V. Chang, *Asian* 81). One common topic of other poems is likewise the elusive yet abiding connection of ethnicity, seen in Suji Kwock Kim's poem "Montage with Neon, Bok Choi, Gasoline, Lovers & Strangers," which cautions: "[Y]ou may never remember & may you never forget" (V. Chang, *Asian* 91).

ETHNOPOETICS AS A CHOICE

This criticism in *Asian American Poetry* culminates various incarnations of Asian American poetry criticism since the late 1980s, which sometimes accepts and other times distances itself from ethnopoetics, while fundamentally acknowledging it as a choice. My research then concludes that poetic is predicated in part upon which literary and cultural community acts as the poet's muse or audience. In 1987 Shirley Geok-lin Lim appropriated the term *ethnopoetics* to encompass Asian American poetry's stylistic, linguistic, and contextual uniqueness (51-55).[6] For Lim, "the chief denominator of the majority of" more than sixty

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life may mislead the reader (125). Moreover, this position is complicated by the at once global and local characteristics of Asian American literature (Lim, Gamber, Sohn, and Valentino 16). McCormick suggests that an apposite position to appreciate Asian American literature would be a middle ground between poetry and ideology (151).

    [6] The word "*ethnopoetic*" was coined by Jerome Rothenberg in the year 1968, and its early significance is linked to the translation of Native American poetry into English in the journal *Alcheringa: Ethnopoetics* (Sherwood; "Statement"). *Whetu Moana: Contemporary Polynesian Poems in English* (2003) collecting the works of poets living from Hawaii to New

Asian American poetry collections, some "specialized anthologies as well as numerous magazines" that she perused "is the non-European character underlying their diverse styles, themes and forms" (52). Lim formulates the first level of ethnopoetics as being concerned with "surface features" such as "the choice of diction, figures of speech, imagery, and turns of phrases" (53). She defines the second "linguistic" level as represented by "the incorporation of phrases or whole lines of the original language," while she relates the third level to "intertextuality" (54-55).

Agreeing that ethnopoetics exists, but adding the feature of dynamism, recognizing that the poetics is always evolving, Chitra Divakaruni and Joseph Bruchac maintained in 1994 that formal and thematic similitude exists in Asian American poetry including its biculturalism, incompletely transmitted culture, narrative impulse, as well as the very state of Asian American poetry as a concept in flux:

> There is so much more that gives Asian American poetry its distinct flavor. The way languages are blended with English, the rhythms of the original tongues shaping American speech. . . . The feeling of being squeezed between two cultures . . . , and the need to carve out a new identity. (Divakaruni 36)

> Both storytelling and exploration of the complexities of family are characteristic of much Asian American writing. . . . [I]t is written by writers who, because of their Asian ancestry, have had the bicultural experience and point of view. . . . I think it ["Asian American poetry"] is constantly changing and being defined by every new voice heard. (Bruchac 45-46)

Without commenting about a group poetic, Sunn Shelley Wong in 2001, Zhuo Xiaojing in 2002, and Timothy Yu in 2006 emphasized Asian American poetry's affiliation with social history. In Kenneth Burke's theory, Wong defines Asian American poetry as the articulation of social conditions, while Zhuo analyzes the "fragmented" self in Marilyn Chin's poetry, which is written in "a new lyric mode" "rooted in the specific social and historical conditions of Asia Americans" (Wong 302; Zhuo 113). Yu extends Wong's view by suggesting the situatedness of the poetry not only in Asian American history but also in an emerging Asian American literary canon. Yu suggests that a "new, truly comprehensive anthology of Asian American poetry needed now would draw generously from" poetry written since the 1970s, "as well as offer notes and intro-

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Zealand is another example of a publication where an ethnopoetic is foregrounded (Wendt, Whaitiri, and Sullivan 2).

ductions that place these aesthetics in their historical and literary contexts. But it would also offer a much longer historical perspective on Asian American poetry" (229).

Unlike Divakaruni and Bruchac, abrogating Lim's claim about a group poetic, both Garrett Hongo and David Mura in 1994 defined poetry more as a subjective and less as a social or collective activity (Hongo 5; Mura, "Where" 32). Hongo, for example, maintains that literature tells "primarily a subjective, even a dissident truth" (5). Mura's view regards ethnopoetics as a choice rather than a given in poetry and argues that Asian American poetry can be multiply defined. Mura in 1995 argues for the heteromorphism of poetry: Poetry "is indeed 'equipment for living,' but that living is a more complex task than our cultural constructions would make out" ("Margins" 182). Owing to the poetry's postmodern hybridity ("a postmodern sense of language"), Mura calls for the free adoption and recognition of both ethnic and mainstream poetics in Asian American poetry ("Margins" 180). Lee entertained the same view like Victoria Chang and Mura, demanding in 2006 for the construction of "a more multivalent critical vocabulary" to befit Asian American poetry's diversity (7). Like Mura, during a 2006 reading held in Taipei, Wing Tek Lum recognizes the range of poetics an Asian American poet could choose from and suggests that ethnopoetics for Asian American poets is a choice rather than a given. Analyzing the reasons for a choice of poetics, Josephine Foo maintains that the form of poetry is to a great extent determined by a poem's projected audience (12).

The analysis of mainstream and multicultural poetry anthologies suggests that ethnicity has significant bearing on the standards in anthologizing poetry. In a larger context, this questioning of a pure aesthetic detached from its social and cultural conditions is reflected earlier in the works of Pierre Bourdieu, who argues that "tastes" "function as markers of 'class' " "by a process of distinction" (2, 466). And in Bourdieu's analysis, "the theory of pure taste is grounded in an empirical social relation" with which distinction in society is established (490). Bourdieu suggests that the aesthetic is "inseparable from a specific cultural competence. . . . This mastery is, for the most part, acquired simply by contact with works of art" (4).

As the link between ethnicity and aesthetics cannot be gainsaid, the construction of critical concepts as well as criteria amenable to ethnicity is then requisite for measuring the intricacies of multiculturally inclusive American literature. In Ralph Ellison's words, Michael S. Harper and Anthony Walton suggest that "African American culture and its artifacts are not just of marginal but of central importance to the nation," and this view could apply to ethnic poetry in general (xxiv). Gilles Deleuze's analysis of minor literature also can apply to explain the innovative at-

tributes of minority literature. Deleuze argues that "a minor practice of a major language," Prague German in the case of Franz Kafka, can be "revolutionary" within mainstream literature (153-55). For example, Kafka makes Prague German for "a creative utilization for the purposes of a new sobriety, a new expressivity, a new flexibility," and "a new intensity" (Deleuze 159). This understanding then offers a reconsideration of American poetry. The prevailing modes and the very idea of poetry cannot be isolated from the world and transcendent of literary and social communities, and therefore universal in terms of aesthetics. It can therefore be suggested that ethnic poetry and poetics elicit the reassessment of the aesthetic of poetry and the idea of social community in poetry.

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