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Ethnic Education:  
A Clash of Cultures in Progressive Chicago  
Gerald R. Gems

The City of Chicago recently embarked upon a pioneering effort to transform the quality of its public school system. The concept of decentralization that allows for neighborhood councils, greater decision-making at the local level, and increased parental involvement in the schools is not a new one. Similar governance structures of a century ago fell victim to class and ethnic factionalism. The progressive vision of a homogenous society assumed a passive clientele and a consensus culture. Particular educational programs brought diverse groups closer to the mainstream, but the resultant mass culture accommodated pluralistic values rather than the sought-after homogeneity.

The media and corporate interests often hold the educational system accountable for social problems, the lack of a qualified workforce, and the inability of America to compete effectively in a world economy. Communities and teachers call for multi-cultural studies, while administrators question the academic validity of such courses. Some legislators seek to eliminate bilingual instruction. Such issues are not new; they surfaced more than a century ago. Then, like now, commercial interests offered their own remedies.¹

Financially-strapped school systems seem all too willing, even eager, to accept corporate sponsorship, pre-packaged curricular materials, or offers of "free" technology. Such assistance, however, is hardly value free and often benefits a particular group at the expense of others. History suggests that policymakers should question the wisdom of blind acceptance.

Numerous works have examined and interpreted the assimilation of ethnic groups within the processes of urbanization, industrialization, and education. The earliest of these studies posited the concept of an American "melting pot," arguing that dissimilar migrant groups voluntarily acquiesced in the acceptance of the American cultural norms. They propose that ethnic cultures simply disappeared as immigrants merged with the native populace.² Others have contended that distinct ethnic cultures survived within the mainstream culture. In reality, all groups have selectively participated in American society while

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maintaining their own values and institutions. A pluralistic model of culture, rather than the "melting pot," resulted.3

This study draws upon Antonio Gramsci’s concept of cultural hegemony, which allows for various modes of cultural transmission. Cultural hegemony is an active process, the outcome of which is the domination by one group of others in a society. Subordinate groups accept, reject, adapt, and accommodate with the dominant group, who must continually strive to maintain a position of power.4

In the 1830s white, Anglo-Saxon Protestant males quickly subsumed the French-Indian culture of a frontier village and incorporated it as the city of Chicago. They solidified their status as the city’s cultural and commercial leaders over the next two decades. By the early 1890s the middle and upper class Chicagoans who had been building the city since before the Civil War were ready to display it to the world. The Columbian Exposition, the World’s Fair of 1893, served as that display. The many Chicagoans who united in the Civic Federation to produce the spectacle concurred in a particular vision of a cooperative, orderly, and efficient society that became the theme of the exposition. They chose to portray the city as a symbol of the real life they sought to create. Classical architecture symbolized the order, harmony, grandeur and idealism of the organizers’ social vision.

While the Columbian Exposition proved a resounding success in many ways, it failed to achieve any of its social goals or any real progress. The image of a social utopia displayed at the 1893 World’s Fair stood in stark contrast to the reality of the life that occurred around it. The orderliness, efficiency, and harmony of the “White City” were sorely lacking in real-life Chicago. It was filthy, steamy, and depressing, and concerned citizens united to bring about change.5

Upper and middle class coalitions formed the basis of the “Progressive Movement” that attempted to incorporate the wayward and unenlightened masses into their particular social vision. Business interests stressed greater commercial and technical education so that they, and their employees, could compete with European industrial powers and overcome the social blight of poverty and unemployment. Political reformers advocated civil service reform to terminate the administrative inefficiency and corruption that plagued urban governments. Social scientists called for objective analysis, efficient organization, and charity to combat health concerns and industrial issues. Despite their different messages, however, all three groups agreed on a common means of approaching the lack of progress: amelioration through education. If reformers hoped to bring order, efficiency, and unity to the culture, they would have to start with the school system. They could not, however, find the going easy. The schools preceded the Progressives by several decades.6

Long before native, middle class reformers attempted to produce a centralized public school system, the public schools were local entities, defined by and made to serve the neighborhoods. As relatively early immigrants, the Germans were particularly active in shaping local schools. They introduced their own teachers, language, and the German kindergarten practices. Chicago’s first
kindergarten appeared in the 1860s, with numbers greatly increasing in the 1880s and totaling ninety-two by 1892. The Turners also initiated their exercise system in the schools as early as 1866. The Turner method, which emphasized fitness, strength, and discipline, proved attractive in the wake of the Civil War. It became the basis for the first formal system of physical education in the American public schools.\(^7\)

It was not assimilation (i.e., absorption into the dominant culture), however, but the maintenance of their own traditions that motivated the European groups. Ethnic educational practices and influences often proved inconsistent with the progressive goals for a homogeneous society. The popularly elected school board allowed ethnics a voice in the decision-making process. As eastern Europeans became residents of the city, they, too, found representation and an outlet for their views. As early as 1880 Bohemians petitioned for a Czech language instructor at the Throop School. Adolf Kraus, a Bohemian, won election to the Board of Education in 1881 and became its chairman in 1885. Max A. Drezmal, a Polish Falcon, was elected in 1894 and served on the board’s Manual Training Committee, but many ethnics perceived different values in the educational process. Most ethnics saw education as a means to retain their own culture rather than assimilate the native, middle class views. Czech Sokols, similar to the nationalistic German Turners, maintained libraries to retain their language, and Jews operated Talmud schools that were taught in the vernacular.\(^8\)

In the autonomous public school districts, residents were allowed to choose their own teachers and initiate language courses to preserve their native languages. Even so, Poles saw American public schools as secular institutions that inculcated materialistic values and fostered disrespect to parents. By the 1890s a series of Polish language editorials railed against American materialism. Working class Poles and Italians saw school as a nuisance when children could be working and making a more practical contribution to the family’s needs. Both Catholics and Lutherans opposed the 1889 law that required English language instruction in private schools and compulsory school attendance. Retaliation came in the form of editorials published in the \textit{Tribune}; but after two successive Republican defeats at the polls, the law requiring English instruction was repealed. In April, 1901, both the Catholic clergy and the ward alderman led neighbors in a protest over a proposed law that would supply free texts only to the public schools. Bohemians claimed that they, too, paid taxes, and, as only the rich went to high school, their children should be entitled to books in the ethnic grammar schools. Moreover, books were expensive items on laborers’ budgets. These ethnics supported the education of their children, but they were unwilling to sustain the public schools that their children did not attend.\(^9\)

Most ethnics, who were predominantly Catholics and Jews, sent their children to church-related schools to avoid the Protestant influences of the public educational system. The parochial school system provided separate, yet parallel, organizational structures that allowed ethnics to protect and preserve their religious differences. By 1890 Catholics had established sixty-two
elementary schools with 31,053 students in the city, another 1,571 in the suburbs, and 1,348 in Catholic high schools. Under Archbishop Feehan, administrator of the Chicago Archdiocese from 1880-1902, ethnic parishes grew and prospered. Irish and Polish independence movements, supported and often headed by Old World immigrant clergy, operated within the Church as nationalism and religion remained enmeshed. The widespread parochial school system fostered not only Catholicism, but cultural pluralism, rather than the cohesion sought by the reform groups.\textsuperscript{10}

Another group with a particular interest in the educational process was the Commercial Club. Constituted by the city’s wealthiest businessmen, it believed schooling was an effective means of meeting its needs. Using the former Central High School building, the club incorporated an independent manual training school in 1883, with such members as George Pullman and Marshall Field serving as trustees. Vocational classes started the following year. Unlike the traditional grammar school classes where female teachers taught basic skills, vocational classes, with the direction and support of businessmen, trained workers. Male teachers instructed students in the operation of machinery, reading and measuring technical materials, and how to respond to authority under conditions similar to those found in the workplace. Labor leaders roundly denounced such schools as an alternative to the union apprentice system.\textsuperscript{11}

In the districts where ethnics did not predominate, public school curricula came to be designed to “Americanize” immigrant children. In 1888 Victor F. Lawson, owner-publisher of the \textit{Daily News}, offered medals for patriotic essays and induced the Board of Education to enact his plan by offering the interest on \$10,000 each year as a gift. Superintendent of schools, Albert G. Lane, added U.S. history to the fourth through sixth grade curriculums in 1894 to cultivate patriotism and a high regard for American institutions, in opposition to “immigrant thoughts, politics, and beliefs antagonistic to American institutions.”\textsuperscript{12}

Lane brought manual training to the public schools in 1895. By 1897 there were nineteen such sites and 122 by 1901. Two years later the Board of Education opened the Crane Technical High School, and all Chicago high schools offered a two-year manual training course. Thus, the commercial agenda was complete.

It was not, however, universally accepted. Adolf Kraus, the Czech President of the Board of Education, opposed manual training classes as early as 1886. In her 1897 address to the National Education Association in Chicago, Jane Addams, renowned social worker, also criticized the American educational practices for failing to meet immigrants’ needs. The competitive nature and work-like environment of the school, she said, was due to the manifestation of control in the hands of businessmen. School, like work, was dull and laborious. It exhibited an ethnocentric bias which failed to truly educate children, and merely trained them to become obedient, prompt, unquestioning laborers and clerks. The process of inculcating such habits as obedience, discipline, patriotism, and respect for authority started in kindergarten and progressed
through the manual training and Americanization classes that implicitly
denigrated ethnic cultures.\textsuperscript{13}

Progressive reformers knew that if ethnics were to become good Americans
then they must be taught the values of American culture—and that meant
bringing them into the schools. They concentrated their efforts on the children
of the immigrants, who lacked the European commitments of their parents.
Before that could be accomplished, they would have to get children off the
streets and out of the factories.

Child labor laws enacted in 1883 and 1891 were rarely enforced and easily
circumvented. Twelve-year old girls operated sewing machines in Chicago’s
sweatshops and children remained employed in factories as messengers and in
department stores, where they composed fourteen percent of the workforce in
the seven largest firms in 1897. By 1900 fifty percent of ten to twelve-year olds
worked, with immigrant children being five times more likely to be employed
than American-born.\textsuperscript{14} Poverty and cultural variation fostered different atti­
tudes toward education among Chicago’s ethnics. Poles, Croats, Czechs,
Slovenes, and Sicilian peasants saw little practical value in formal education.
In Europe child labor contributed to family income in the hope of securing a
home of one’s own.

Given the cultural differences, the truancy law of 1889 met with widespread
ethnic opposition. After successive Republican losses at the polls in 1890 and
1892, the law was repealed. An 1897 statute, which required education, was
more stringent and allowed the state to assume parental rights via the doctrine
of “parens patriae” for violators. In 1898 the city established a reformatory with
1,300 boys as inmates, twenty percent of them for truancy violations. Two
years later, Chicago established the first Juvenile Court in the United States. It
interpreted delinquency broadly, including such offenses as begging, ped­
dling, and street singing. Dependent children, delinquents, and truants were
sent to the new parental school, founded in 1902 through anonymous dona­
tions. With the apparatus of enforcement then in place, the legislature passed
a more effective child labor act on July 1, 1903, and schools became the
primary caretakers of children.\textsuperscript{15}

In 1889 the Bureau of Education issued the Harper Report, chaired by the
University of Chicago president, ostensibly to identify administrative ineffi­
ciency, graft, corruption and political influence on the Board of Education,
which numbered twenty-one members and seventeen committees at that time.
The report recommended reduction in board membership to eleven members,
who would serve a four-year term by appointment of the mayor, and reorgani­
zation congruent with a business model. Such a move would negate control of
the board, as the popularly elected board members had allowed ethnics an
influential voice in educational policies and autonomy in local school districts.

The commission also addressed the truancy problem, noting that 15,596
investigations had been conducted over the past year, with 7,428
students being returned to school. A continually rising rate since the incep­
tion of the practice in 1894 was apparent. Theodore J. Bluthardt, the city
supervisor for compulsory education, stated:
We should rightfully have the power to arrest all these little beggars, loafers and vagabonds that infest our city, take them from the streets and place them in schools where they are compelled to receive education and learn moral principles. . . . measures cannot be taken any too soon looking toward the betterment of conditions which will make the control of this class easier of solution.\textsuperscript{16}

Truancy officers were subsequently increased from fifteen in 1898 to fifty-three by 1914.

In other statements, the Harper Report of 1899 acknowledged the popular demand for German language instruction and the merit of drawing and musical studies. It recommended manual training for all grades, increased physical culture, citizenship training, and the inculcation of patriotism in lower grades before students had the opportunity to leave school. To reach more students, ninety-four percent of whom left school before the age of fourteen, the report advocated vacation schools to continue education during the summer months and use of schoolyards as playgrounds. In 1896 the Civic Federation opened the Joseph Medill School for manual training as the first vacation school. In addition to the vocational training, sponsors treated students to summer excursions. In 1897 the University of Chicago settlement house opened a second vacation school, and the Chicago Women's Club sponsored five new vacation schools in 1898. Only six percent of the students were American-born, one percent were African Americans and the rest were children of immigrants.\textsuperscript{17}

The Harper Report provided a grand design for the Americanization and education of immigrants to serve the needs of employers. In order to accomplish such goals, reformers intended to rid the school system of its ethnic influences. The teaching of American values in the regular schools required American teachers. In order to procure and install American teachers, the reformers first had to dismantle the ethnic bases of power within the school system. The centralization process attempted to wrest control of the local school districts and its traditional patronage from ethnic politicians. The great influence of the German Turners might be reduced and physical training less expensive (the 1899 report rationalized) if regular teachers, not specialists, taught the physical culture classes. The middle class reformers thus promulgated a definite plan for the assimilation of the diverse ethnic groups and the dismantling of the organizational structure that had perpetuated the alternative cultures.

The report also proposed higher salaries for male teachers to attract men to teaching positions in the elementary grades, implicitly reinforcing the dominant class and sex roles. Up to that time teachers generally had come from the working class, were mostly Irish, and served an apprenticeship similar to craftsmen or attended a two-year normal training school. The Harper Report referred to such teachers as uncouth and uncultured and recommended a college degree as a teaching requirement and a demonstration of cultural
attainment which might fit them better to inculcate moral teachings. The backlash from the Chicago Teachers' Federation was immediate and effective. Formed in 1897 to safeguard teachers' rights, provide job security, and improve working conditions, it had an extensive membership in 1899, enough to defeat the Harper Bill. When Superintendent Andrews attempted to implement the provisions of the Harper Bill by fiat, he was forced to resign in March, 1900.¹⁸

Edwin G. Cooley replaced Andrews and he received a five-year contract at $10,000 a year. Cooley continued Andrews' work, centralizing the bureaucracy by decreasing local committees to four and decreasing the number of local superintendents from fourteen to six. Hiring and promotion, previously controlled by the school principal and local community committees sympathetic to ethnic and neighborhood concerns, also became prerogatives of the central administration, which issued efficiency ratings and offered merit pay for teachers' performance. Through such interventions the school administrators centralized the bureaucracy and assumed greater control over appointments and retention, effectively limiting ethnic and working class power.

Teachers fought back, and the battle for control of the school system developed along class lines. When the board threatened teachers with salary cuts in 1900, the educators filed suit against tax evaders, among who were five utility companies owing more than $2,000,000. Despite the teachers' victory in 1901 and payment of the taxes, the board reneged on salary payments; instead, the money was disbursed to increase building, kindergartens and janitorial services. The Teachers' Federation then joined the Chicago Federation of Labor, despite vehement protestations from the board in 1902.¹⁹

Teacher and ethnic support helped elect a new Democratic mayor in 1905, and ethnics managed to reassert a measure of influence. Consequently, Polish and Jewish residents found representation on the school board, as did Jane Addams, who championed ethnic causes. Charles J. Vopicka, a Czech and president of the Atlas Brewing Company, served two terms on the board, starting in 1901. Walter Kuflewski, a Pole, was elected in 1902, and served as vice-president after 1906. In 1904 the Board of Education appointed James A. Dibelka, a Czech architect, principal of its trade school. He won election to the board in 1912. As early as 1905 Harry Lipsky, manager of the Jewish Daily Courier, represented Jewish interests on the school board. He became a prominent voice for pluralism thereafter.²⁰

Progressives hoped to avert the class conflict of the 1870s and 1880s by assuming control of the educational process. The assumption of a passive and pliable clientele proved faulty, however, as control of education was hotly contested between native, ethnic, and class factions. The political power of the ethnics and the laboring class retarded middle class goals as district councils reversed the centralization process, more women were hired as superintendents, and teachers regained a measure of their lost freedom. But Cooley remained as head of the system and the confrontation continued along ethnic and class lines throughout the succeeding administrations. Despite the reform efforts, elements of the ethnic and street cultures persisted in the schools.
The broad-based reform movement reached beyond the schools into the streets and ethnic neighborhoods. Universities, commercial organizations, and private individuals sponsored agencies designed to study and change the society. Among the private agencies that tried to address the myriad social concerns was Hull House. Founded in 1889 by Jane Addams, the daughter of a small town banker, it served the immigrant community of the 19th Ward on the West Side. Hull House became symbolic of the progressive reform efforts, and Jane Addams became a national figure through her work. Hull House served as the headquarters for an international network of social reformers, embodying the best humanitarian concerns of middle class progressives, but also exhibiting the ethnocentric and class biases in which they labored.  

Hull House served as the scene for the assimilation of divergent cultures. Ellen Gates Starr, co-founder of the institution, made the first attempt to bring classical culture to the community by offering a lecture on art history. It proved a major disappointment to the few Italian peasant women who showed up. The next attempt at programming provided for more practical needs and met with success when a kindergarten was financed and run by Jenny Dow, the daughter of a wealthy Chicagoan. Addams used her extensive social contacts to acquire funding for her charitable works and social causes. In 1893 Louise de Koven Bowen, one of the city’s most prominent socialites, became a member of the Hull House Women’s Club and a Hull House trustee. She provided much of its financial support throughout her long life. John Dewey, the eminent philosopher and University of Chicago professor, became a trustee in 1897.  

Addams and Starr produced a web of support groups for their enterprises. They engaged other special interests, which often crossed paths on educational, social, political and economic issues to create a network of public and private organizations, agencies, and associations to address their concerns. These groups were less than homogeneous in their individual objectives, but they shared the belief that an orderly, efficient, and homogeneous society was a better one for all.  

With significant support, settlement houses soon proliferated in the immigrant districts. Unlike the European models, they professed to be secular in nature in order to appeal to both Catholics and Jews. Olivet Institute, founded a year after Hull House, proved an exception. A Baptist institution, it served predominantly the blacks and Italians of “Little Italy” on the North Side, but conducted meetings in at least three languages. Charles Zeublin, a sociologist, established the Northwestern University Settlement, northwest of downtown in 1891. German-Jewish businessmen started the Maxwell Street Settlement in 1893 in order to assimilate their eastern European brethren. It was followed by Chicago Commons, headed by Graham Taylor in 1894. Between 1895 and 1917, social agencies founded another sixty-eight settlement houses in the city.  

The setting in which Hull House operated was typical of the settlement environment. It drew clientele from a large area with a population of 70,000, representing eighteen different nationalities, with Italians, Russian and Polish Jews, and Bohemians in the majority. Italians and Jews usually inhabited rear
tenements; they were rarely neighbors because of deeply held animosities. Ethnic youths accosted the easily recognized on the streets, and erupted into fights over limited park spaces. The average weekly income was $5, but laborers in some parts of the city might earn twice that amount if they worked more than sixty hours per week. The average family in slum areas had five members, and more than half of the families had fewer than three rooms. There were 295 saloons in the district; and the pool rooms of the 19th Ward, which comprised one square mile, did a thriving business. Children filled the grimy streets, and railroad workers, who earned $1.25 per day, attended to leisure pursuits or searched for work, as they were generally employed fewer than thirty weeks of the year.  

With so much unemployment among people who rarely spoke English, play and games figured prominently in the “Americanization” programs of the settlements. The Maxwell Street Settlement attracted eight students to its physical culture class weekly in 1893. When William Kent, a Chicago businessman of inherited wealth, and later a California congressman, donated three quarters of an acre to Hull House for a playground, it proved a major attraction to the local children. The sand lot was improved by the addition of swings, seesaws, and later, a giant slide and building blocks. They achieved their purpose of attracting children to the grounds and away from the unhealthy and hazardous streets. The Chicago Commons Settlement opened its playground in 1896 and the University of Chicago offered a supervised playground, as well as an indoor gym, for use by youths and adults in June of 1898. By that time the public schools had also adopted the playground concept and embarked upon a program of sports and games to train youth. Such competitive activities became a mainstay of progressive reform efforts in both public and private agencies thereafter.  

In addition to the programs directed at children, settlements often served as liaisons for the labor movement. Settlement workers fashioned the agencies that addressed laborers’ concerns within the established political-judicial system, thus abating the violent confrontations of the past. Among the reformers, Richard T. Ely, Raymond Robins, and Sidney Hillman became national labor activists. Early women workers who were trained at Hull House assumed both local and national leadership roles in the social reform movement. The school administrators were less compromising. They directed programs at the groups that they considered a subordinate. It was within the realm of leisure practices and the informal education of the settlements that such divergent groups managed to reach an uneasy and, at times, fragile accommodation as the various groups contended for control in an atmosphere charged by class and cultural differences at the turn-of-the-century. In succeeding years ethnic offspring learned the values of a competitive, commercial system through the sports and games practiced in the city’s playgrounds and parks. Commercialism, competition, and the teamwork that symbolized a cooperative society were also in the schools’ interscholastic athletic programs that managed to channel ethnic and religious rivalries into more acceptable forms of conflict as it reinforced American patriotism. World War I and its aftermath
solidified that process of Americanization. Ethnics found some agreement with natives in their sporting practices and other forms of commercialized leisure, but debate over appropriate education did not abate.

Both the formal and the "hidden" curriculum continue to reinforce the value systems of a particular group. Cultural hegemony is no longer so visibly Anglo-Saxon or Protestant, but a white, male, corporate ideology still dominates American society and permeates its educational system. Competition, time discipline, ethnocentrism, and materialism are reinforced throughout the school day and in extracurricular activities. Curriculum designed for middle class suburban needs neglect urban youth, who are sometimes trained but rarely educated. Such training meets the needs of a service economy and provides entry level jobs, but such minimal economic roles are inherently unequal and foster a permanent underclass. The work ethic has little value when applied, even assiduously, at a minimum wage. Curriculums that continue to promote an untenable American dream give false hope and spawn broken promises. It is an old story, faced by a new generation.

Notes


5*One Hundred and Twenty-Five Photographic Views of Chicago* (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1911).


*Svornost*, January 8, 1890; *Dziennik Chicagoski*, July 22, 1892, 4; August 27, 1892; and *Zgota*, November 14, 1894, 4; January 19, 1899, 6, on materialism. Parental disrespect is the subject of articles in *Dziennik Chicagoski*, June 6, 1896 and September 1, 1908 (FLPS). Hogan, 57-8, on Catholic and Lutheran opposition to the teaching of English; *Chicago Tribune*, March 26, 1890; March 27, 1890; on the Bohemian protest see *Denni Hlasatel* (Daily Herald) April 14, 1901, and April 15, 1901 (FLPS).


Hogan, 60, 156; Pierce, 3 (1957) 388.

14Hogan, 55-6, 100, 102.


18Hogan, 196-8, 223; *Report, Showing Results of 15 Years of Organization to the Teachers of Chicago* (Chicago Teachers’ Federation, December 1, 1908) stresses the lack of freedom, subservience, the autocracy of the school system, pay cuts and unfair merit testing. The *Harper Report*, 60, lists only 5,268 Chicago teachers in elementary grades in 1898; far fewer than the 33,000 reported by Hogan, 97-8. High School teachers were not listed by Harper, nor is it clear that membership was open to non-teachers, which would provide greater feasibility to Hogan’s figures.


20Daniel A. Droba, *Czech and Slovak Leaders in Metropolitan Chicago* (Chicago: Slavonia Club of the University of Chicago, 1934), 68-9; *Denni Hlasatel, January 17, 1904; November 8, 1912* (FLPS): *Chicago Hebrew Institute Observer*, 1:6 (May, 1918), 3-5; Hogan, 205-06.


In addition to Dow and Bowen, who died in 1953, many local and national leaders frequented Hull House, while others received their training there. Among them were Henry Demarest Lloyd, Governor John Peter Altgeld, and historian Charles Beard. Allen F. Davis, Spearheads for Reform: The Social Settlements for the Progress Movement, 1890-1914 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), 33-40, states that more than eighty percent of settlement workers had a B.A. degree, and more than half did graduate work. Most were young and unmarried, and many were teachers who saw the settlements as an alternative form of education with a broader scope than the institutionalized school systems.


Critique

Gerald R. Gems has successfully put into historical context the significant issues of educational reform in the United States. In 1900, and in 1991, educational issues should be at the center of a national discussion of the kind of country we want to be.

Today the city of Chicago plans to transform the public school system into neighborhood councils with more local and parental decision-making, a startling re-enactment of a drama that was played out a century earlier. Then and now ethnic outsiders to white Anglo Saxon male culture tried to resist education for the purposes of cultural hegemony at home and imperialism abroad. Earlier in the century ethnic outsiders could not prevail before the
juggernaut of education for Americanization “to cultivate patriotism” and opposition to “immigrant thought, politics, and beliefs antagonistic to American institutions.”

In 1899, the Harper Report, as Gems points out, “provided a grand design for the Americanization and education of immigrants to serve the needs of the employer by ridding schools of ethnic influences.” The centralization process (in education as well as the economy) in the next two decades wrested control away from ethnic bases of power within the school system.

Today we have an educational curriculum not so openly and blatantly Anglo Saxon and protestant, but as Gems indicates, “white male, corporate ideology still dominates” U.S. education and society. Urban youth are trained for “minimal economic roles” that are “inherently unequal” and that foster “a permanent underclass.” Gems indicates that, “competition, time discipline, ethnocentrism, and materialism are reinforced throughout the school day and in extracurricular activities.” In 1991 all of this accelerates rapidly downhill with an imperial presidency concerned to “lift educational standards” to meet the needs of the economy so that the United States can retain world hegemony.

A minimal necessary educational reform in the United States would require more comparative analysis with other countries. In Italy since January 1990 university students calling themselves “la pantera nera” (the black panther) have opposed a law that would invite business funding for research. Aiming for a democratic educational system (and a genuinely democratic Italy) students have shut down most of the faculties of the country’s universities. Corporate funding for university research, Italian students believe, will leave power in the hands of industrial and communications “barons,” invite the mafia into the universities, and stimulate racism. Perhaps there are lessons both in our own history and in international actions that need to be heeded as we examine education in the 1990s.

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Introduction

They had left Mexico City, in Tijuana they arrived
For lack of documents, they slipped past the fence.¹
DE MEXICO HABIAN SALIDO, HASTA TIJUANA
LLEGARON
POR NO TRAER SUS PAPELES, DE ALAMBRADOS
SE PASARON

One February morning as I noted the events of the primary school talent show, a sixth-grade boy belted out this song made popular in two countries by the Mexican rock group, Los Bukis. It was 1987, and I was doing fieldwork in a rural Mexican immigrant-sending community I call San Felipe, for an ethnography of families and their children who emigrated from Mexico to the United States.²

In different phases of this transnational study, I have collected data on a variety of topics in both Mexico and California. Although immigration to the United States has been of key interest as the encompassing context of both formal (school) and informal (home and community) education, its actual extent and centrality in everyday life became clear as I started interacting with, observing, and interviewing the residents of San Felipe. Individuals frequently volunteered what they knew about this phenomenon and spoke freely about specific cases in migration familiar to them. The vast majority of families have relatives living in the United States, and many current residents of San Felipe have lived in or frequently visit the states. Large numbers of youth and adults expect to emigrate to the United States at some future point as individuals or as part of a family or other group.

Well before they emigrate, residents begin to acquire a kind of cultural knowledge or learning—a variety of notions, images, and expectations about life in the United States and the process of immigration that can take them there.
Although this information is sometimes highly stereotyped, its influence on residents of the community is significant because it is based on actual personal experience, vivid second-hand reports, and in less direct, yet powerful, forms such as the popular media.

One interesting way people learn about immigration to and life in the United States is through the narratives of a particular genre of popular music. This is *Norteña* music, the popular songs of various recording artists broadcast daily on the radio and commercially available for purchase. This music is important because actual and potential immigrants are influenced, motivated, and sustained by the messages conveyed by this music. Shortly after beginning fieldwork, I had already concluded that my ethnography would be incomplete without an examination of international migration in the lives of San Felipe residents. But not until I heard students sing popular immigration songs at school did I fully appreciate the role of this particular music for its audience.

In the remainder of this article, I examine this domain of popular Mexican music within the context of the immigrant cultural experience as I observed it or as it was related to me. Through selected examples, I illustrate how prospective immigrants acquire knowledge about immigration and form perceptions about life in the United States, as well as how the collective and personal meanings of an immigration experience are reflected in this music. As a cultural anthropologist, I must be clear in stating that my analysis here focuses on the texts, the sung words and narratives, rather than the total complex of musical elements and meanings of the selected songs, as these require comprehensive examination by other experts grounded in musicology.

The fundamental problem or goal here is the development of yet another perspective to enhance the understanding of one of the most pressing social issues in the United States—immigration. Because this is a growing, complex, and dynamic phenomenon, study of all aspects of the multifaceted immigrant experience is essential for enhancing our humanities, social, and behavioral science knowledge bases. Furthermore, fuller understandings of this issue hold value for large numbers of professionals directly involved in aiding the transition of immigrant and refugee populations to the United States, including specialists in fields such as education, health and human services, the workplace, government, and social policy. Our efforts to better understand and interact with growing numbers of immigrants, migrants, and refugees must include an attempt to understand the full range of their public and personal experiences, and the relationship of these to behavior, adaptation and integration in various social settings.

**Understanding Culture Through Music Texts**

Ethnomusicologists, folklorists and anthropologists are among those who have used music narratives to examine the experiences of social, cultural, and ethnic groups. These analysts are well aware that “Song texts . . . provide a number of insights into questions of primary concern to students of human behavior.” Used as a data source, music texts can provide multilevel insights into group experience. At a global level, music is “. . . an integral part of culture
and...is bound to reflect the general and underlying principles and values which animate the culture as a whole.4 In addition, description of the cultural and historical contexts of group development can be informed by song texts that have arisen and are imbedded in specific social and cultural settings.5 For researchers working with this kind of qualitative data "... attempting to understand a particular text or set of texts in relation to a social and historical context is nowadays a reasonably well-established principle in the methodology..." of musical analysis.6

Moreover, music provides a window to the more private areas of experience, including the covert domains of cultural ethos, motivation, and meaning. Music and song are particularly rich in revealing emotion and meaning because they provide:

. . . the freedom to express thoughts, ideas, and comments which cannot be stated baldly in the normal language situation. . . song texts, because of the special kind of license that singing apparently gives, afford extremely useful means for obtaining kinds of information which are not otherwise easily accessible.7

Despite these varied possibilities, research on the relationship between music and culture has focused largely on traditional expressive genres such as folk music. By contrast, popular, electronically disseminated “pop” and “rock” music, the “... music that most of the world’s people listen to most of the time... the music disseminated by radio, records, perhaps film and TV, the music of the large urban populations,”8 generally has been ignored in academic studies.9 This is a significant omission, considering the worldwide, international influence of pop and rock music.10 In Mexico, for instance, Spanish-language pop and rock have flourished in recent decades—largely as a result of the post-1950s influence of U.S. rock ‘n’ roll and youth-dominated music—to the point of becoming mainstream music in that country.11

One instance of the “multinational and multicultural” character of this music is found in the case of international migrants.12 Although “Music has had a recognized role in the communities of immigrant groups in the Americas and elsewhere for centuries...,”13 wide and rapid dissemination enables contemporary immigration music to keep pace with the mass social and cultural change of contemporary international migration. An immigrant audience spanning two countries is responsible in large part for the commercial popularity of Mexican immigration music, because it is aesthetically satisfying, but also because for immigrants themselves it is a readily available means of sustaining continuity, stability, and meaningful expression in an uprooting, transitional situation.

For the present inquiry, I assembled and analyzed the narrative content of a sample of commercially recorded popular music with immigration themes. The underlying assumption of this approach is that song texts reflect or relate directly experiences, beliefs, attitudes and emotions, and their meanings to audiences, and that the text itself “...delimits and initially generates the possible number and type of meanings which can be derived from it.”14 Song
texts contain direct descriptions of historically-grounded events and social experiences, and their rich, figurative content allows extraction of more hidden elements, such as an ethnic group’s ethos or the underlying motivations of individuals. Thus, categorical and interpretive analysis of the data, i.e., the narrative content of selected immigration songs, was the means of exploring the shared culture and experiences of immigration as depicted therein.

The Popular Music of Mexico—United States Immigration

Modernization has left intact the traditional place of music as a valued cultural form in Mexican society. Actually, its impact on Mexican society probably has grown as a result of developments in both the music itself and its electronic means of production and dissemination. As in the United States, popular music, including rock, occupies a majority of AM radio air time in Mexico.\textsuperscript{15} Its prevalence is audible in the streets of a large city like Guadalajara, where musical strains from personal radio/cassette players and music shop loudspeakers continually bombard the ear.

But the sounds of music are not for the exclusive enjoyment of the urban mainstream of Mexican society. Perhaps because Mexicans show relatively less interest in television, music is readily available and enjoyed in the most “backstream” of communities. Most households, for example, have radios; and some, record players:

\dots record-playing equipment is owned by people in all but the poorest stratum in society. There are record stores dotted throughout the commercial sectors … and furniture and department stores feature record players prominently in window displays and in newspaper advertisements. Many families living on a poverty level with otherwise few material possessions own television receivers and radio-phonograph consoles.\textsuperscript{16}

Residents of San Felipe enjoy music in a variety of ways. Car radios blaring the latest “hits” draw the attention of nearby listeners, especially when produced by a powerful stereo system installed in the states. At community events, such as the annual patron saint festival, a stereo phonograph system on loan from a local household provides the music. On one occasion a group of teachers took me along on a picnic that required as vital equipment, besides all the necessary cookout food and supplies, a cassette player with a selection of popular tapes. In the schools, “boom-boxes” made in Japan (bought more cheaply in the United States, and brought across the border) represent the totality of technological resources for improving the educational experience.

Mexicans play their records, tapes, and compact discs on these electronic apparatuses, enjoying music ranging from a relatively pure rock meant for true \textit{aficionados} (“acid,” “heavy metal” and other hard rock styles have little following) to softer styles meant for the “teenybopper” or more conservative ear. Among these styles are regional genres such as modern \textit{Norteña} music, a kind of “country rock” developed and performed primarily by groups from Northern Mexico.
Norteña music’s roots are grounded in the traditional Mexican corrido, or ballad, whose history parallels that of the Mexican nation. Over this course, the corrido has served Mexicans as a means of oral expression and a chronicle of a wide range of events and topics from the personal (e.g., love, family, religion), through everyday social life (e.g., humor, criminals, politics, regional life), to the heroic, tragic and ideological (e.g., folk heroes, catastrophes, the Mexican Revolution). Whether about the individual, social life, or the collective national experience, all corridos are distinguished by their social meaning or intent. Corridos with immigration themes have been traced to at least the mid-nineteenth century, with Fernandez’ estimate of two hundred known immigration corridos indicating the extent of this musical treatment.

Today, the influence of the traditional immigration corrido is audible in Norteña pop music, which has enjoyed tremendous concomitant growth in both Mexico and the United States with the dramatic increase in Mexican emigration since the 1970s. After I first heard the aforementioned student sing “Los Alambrados,” I asked where he had learned the song. “From the radio,” he answered. Other boys, whose gender seemed to be overrepresented in the singing acts, agreed that these were popular songs played on the radio, while others stated that they learned them by listening to older brothers or other relatives who sang them.

What do these students and other listeners hear in the words of this music, the “hottest new rage” enjoying national popularity in Mexico? This tradition of immigration music has been adapted to the popular music of Mexico today. This discussion will be based only on the song narratives and will focus on two functions served by popular immigration music as revealed in these texts: 1) those serving instrumental purposes, and 2) those that are expressive or symbolic in nature.

Instrumental Functions of Immigration Music

The multi-faceted role of immigration music begins as a simple documentary function through which it conveys to listeners a general view of the world of immigration. Following the traditional immigration corrido, for example, narratives describe the economic push/pull factors motivating immigrants to make the move North. Because these song texts originate from existent social situations, their rich descriptions ring true to listeners’ own experiences and knowledge of this widespread phenomenon.

Immigration music acts largely as a means of informal education, “teaching” its listeners in some detail about the actual mechanics of immigration. “Los Alambrados” (The Fence), is a good example of this. Recorded on an album of Norteña music by the popular Mexican rock group, Los Bukis, this song tells of a successful case of illegal immigration to the United States. The immigrants in this story lack legal documents, i.e., visas or “green” (resident) cards, and are forced into the position of clandestine border-crossers:

They had left Mexico City, in Tijuana they arrived
For lack of documents, they slipped past the fence.
DE MEXICO HABIAN SALIDO, HASTA TIJUANA LLEGARON
POR NO TRAER SUS PAPELES, DE ALAMBRADOS SE PASARON

After crossing over, the migrants’ immediate fear and uncertainty of being caught by the immigration authorities can be overcome through absolute secrecy:

They circled around blockades, as they had remembered
It was by night and because of that, they fooled the (border) patrol.
HIBAN RODEANDO VEDEDAS, COMO LO HABIAN ACORDADO
ERA ANTE NOCHE Y POR ESO, LA VIGILANCIA BURLARON

and:

But a “chopper” was trying to find them
But in the underbrush, they could see nothing,
UN HELICO PERO ANDABA, QUIEREIENDOLOS ENCONTRAR
PERO ENTRE LOS MATORALES, NADA PUDIERON MIRAR

and also by prior planning, such as having a predetermined route in mind:

They crossed through the mountains, they had taken their direction,
SE CRUZARON POR EL CERRO, SU RUMBO HABIAN AGARRADO

and someone to shuttle them away from the immediate border vicinity:

And over there in Chula Vista, the guys waited for them.

Y POR ALLA EN CHULA VISTA, LOS TIPOS LOS ESPERARON

More than an isolated incident, this story is about the kinds of experiences which a large segment of the Mexican population has had or can expect to have. To indicate the extensive scope of Mexican-United States immigration, a teacher once reminded me of this everyday Mexican saying: “Every Mexican family has a member in the United States.”

San Felipe itself is part of the immigration infrastructure within which families, communities, and whole regions throughout Mexico continue sending large numbers of emigrants to the United States in search of the work and socioeconomic mobility that is unavailable in their homeland. An immigrant’s explanation in one song that he came to the United States *por necesidad*—out of necessity—clearly points to the fundamental economic impetus underlying this movement.

Some narratives provide prospective listeners with perhaps their first images and expectations of the kind of life awaiting them. Personal economic improvement is undoubtedly the foremost image portrayed, as these songs abundantly represent the great opportunity available to the North:
They told me that over there earning was easy
ME CONTARON QUE ALLA SE GANABA FACIL

and:

Now they’re in Chicago, having fun with dollars!
AHORA YA ANDAN EN CHICAGO, CON DOLARES SE DIVIERTEN!

In San Felipe the lucrative opportunities available across the border are well-known, and the news of migrants who are leaving for or have just returned from the states travels fast. For instance, one evening I was out celebrating with a group of teachers during the patron-saint festival, when a pickup truck with California license plates pulled up. As the driver and teachers chatted, I overheard the gist of their conversation to be about several young men, some of whom were in the pickup, preparing to leave the next day to resume their annual employment in the California vineyards.

More dramatic examples of the economic promise of immigration are visible to San Felipe residents. They have seen or heard of young men making purchases in the local community with rolls of cash earned in the states (the result of dollar to peso conversion is an impressive sight). They see the impact of U.S. dollars on their immediate environment, for instance, in the improvement or new construction of homes financed by U.S.-generated income. Some of the older residents have worked most of their adult lives in the United States, but have returned to a comfortable, sometimes luxurious, retirement in their home village. Thus, residents’ actual observations confirm the economic imagery of popular immigration music, which portrays the United States as the land of milk and honey, continuing a theme in Mexican immigration music that predates the Mexican revolution.

Other texts portray the harsher realities of immigration and United States and another side of the milk and honey image. A popular song recorded by Los Tigres del Norte, “El Otro Mexico,” is a good example of this realism. As the song opens, an immigrant, accused of abandoning the homeland by those still in Mexico, defends his move as something done out of pragmatic necessity, adding that years of United States residency have changed neither his culture nor citizenship:

Don’t criticize me because I live across the border, I’m not a rolling stone
I came out of necessity
Many years ago I came as a “wetback,” my customs haven’t changed
Nor has my nationality.

NO ME CRITIQUEN PORQUE VIVO AL OTRO LADO, NO SOY UN DESARRAIGADO
VINE POR NECESIDAD
YA MUCHOS AÑOS QUE ME VINE DO MAJADO,
MIS COSTUMBRES NO HAN CAMBIADO
NI MI NACIONALIDAD
Another verse refers to the position of the majority of immigrants in the lowest-paying jobs, under Spanish-speaking, Anglo bosses who nevertheless recognize the value and quality of their work:

I'm much like many other Mexicans, who earn our living
Working under the sun
Recognized as good workers, that even our own bosses Speak to us in Spanish.

SOY COMO TANTOS OTROS MUCHOS MEXICANOS, QUE LA VIDA NOS GNAMOS TRABAJANDO BAJO EL SOL RECONOCIDOS POR BUENOS TRABAJADORES, QUE HASTA LOS MISMOS PATRONES NOS HABLAN EN ESPAÑOL

The refrain reminds listeners that even Mexican professionals and others with relative means are among those who cross the border illegally to seek economic opportunity and security:

When they hear that a doctor or an engineer has crossed as a laborer
Because they want to progress
Or that a chief leaves land and livestock, to cross the Rio Grande
They'll never see (understand) that.

CUANDO HAN SABIDO QUE UN DOCTOR O UN INGINIERO SE HAN CRUZADO DE BRAZERO PORQUE QUIERAN PROGRESAR O QUE UN CACIQUE DEJETIERRAS Y GANADO, POR CRUZAR EL RIO BRAVO ESO NUNCA LO VERAN

Teachers who I interviewed share with other villagers the knowledge and concerns about the material possibilities in immigration. One teacher has friends from his home village (not San Felipe) who work in the United States. These friends, one of whom gave up a teaching career in Mexico for more lucrative, unskilled work across the border, continually invite their friends to join them in California construction work for the high wages they can earn—when there is work. The clear implication in this example, as in numerous song narratives, is that most immigrants will labor in unskilled positions. Some even give up professional or other significant roles because employment, a sufficient means of livelihood, is the overwhelming need of the economic migrant, first in Mexico, later in the United States.

Other songs warn about a variety of perils associated with immigration, like having to endure separation from loved ones:

Better to return
Because I found out what it was to live without you.

MEJOR ME REGRESO PORQUE SUPE LO QUE VIVIR SIN TI
Another popular recording details the linguistic separation between would-be lovers, one of whom has emigrated to the United States with her family:

One day they left here, for the United States
She doesn’t speak Spanish, when I talk to her she
doesn’t understand.\(^{30}\)

UN DÍA SE FUERON DE AQUÍ, A LOS ESTADOS
UNIDOS
NO SABE HABLAR ESPAÑOL, CUANDO LE
HABLO NO ME ENTIENDE

The song ultimately leaves the listener with the impression that language differences are more of an inconvenience, rather than a substantial, looming barrier, as its protagonist resolves his dilemma by vowing to learn English, while teaching his pochita (United States-reared Mexican) Spanish.

Another facet of immigration music involves the socialization of immigrants with the values and attitudes of two cultures, as well as the transitional immigrant subculture bridging them. For example, portions of the texts emphasize the Mexican culture of origin:\(^{31}\)

So many years ago I came as a “wetback,” my customs
haven’t changed.

YA MUCHOS AÑOS QUE ME VINE DE MOJADO,
MIS COSTUMBRES NO HAN CAMBIADO

and:

I’m so much like many other Mexicans . . .\(^{32}\)

SOY COMO TANTOS OTROS MUCHOS
MEXICANOS . . .

This narrative takes on poignant meaning when we consider that immigration is no new phenomenon, but typically has a generational history within immigrant families and communities. The father of one of the teachers had worked in the United States throughout much of the young man’s growing years, his financial remittances paying for the education of his son (through normal school) and his siblings. The father’s visits to Mexico were few—"I grew up without knowing my father," this teacher explained to me once—but the senior man’s eventual return to retirement in his home village was ensured by the maintenance of a cultural memory and commitment such as that fostered by certain immigration songs. In any case, an individual who takes the pioneering step of immigrating alone is at highest risk for cultural isolation in the United States, and estrangement from Mexican cultural roots.

Concurrently, listeners are presented with material describing, if not forwarding, selected aspects of the dominant United States cultural ethos, the work ethic\(^{33}\) as a means of material, if not spiritual, salvation:

They told me that over there . . . money buys everything\(^{34}\)
ME CONTARON QUE ALLA ... EL DINERO QUE
TODO LO PUEDE

and:

The other Mexico that we’ve built here . . . is the effort of
all our brothers ... who have known how to progress.\(^{35}\)
Throughout Mexico and the United States, the presentation of new kinds of ideas and attitudes about immigration through Norteña music has the added effect of socializing migrant listeners into the “culture of immigration” in which they function:

- What must be done in life, to earn dollars!
- Later they decided, to risk life or death
- But the faith they had, carried them with much luck.

What must be done in life, to earn dollars!
Later they decided, to risk life or death
But the faith they had, carried them with much luck.

These narratives reflect the complex socialization of immigrants. That is, immigrants are alerted to the fact that acculturation to the culture of the United States is a pragmatic necessity. At the same time, the song texts are reminders of the importance of remaining a Mexican at heart, with some messages perhaps serving as subtle forms of social control, warning the immigrant not to lose his Mexican culture or behavior. Finally, themes focusing on the act of immigration interweave throughout. For prospective immigrants still in Mexico, this music provides a form of anticipatory socialization that presents them with the knowledge, attitudes, and behavior of immigration before actually becoming involved in that process.

The various qualities of immigration song narratives, some attempts at realism notwithstanding, combine to give listeners ultimate hope for resolving their problems through immigration:

I went toward Texas, looking for something better.

While in some instances the music gives a hopeful message that immigration will always change things for the better, at other times it provides a form of active control by helping the immigrant anticipate the real problems of such a transition. For the most part, however, the portrayal of immigration is positive, ultimately motivating action directed toward the resolution of a variety of problems that threaten the prospective immigrant if the step is not taken.

Expressive and Symbolic Functions

O.K., boys—let’s go earn lots of dollars!

The hopeful messages in immigration music cannot directly improve their lives, but they do serve immigrants in another way—as a mechanism for
emotional release, escape and refuge. Although typically portrayed as a social group phenomenon, immigration is “first and foremost an emotional experience,” with its representation in music giving the listener opportunity to release the feelings, conflict, and pain of that experience. Some Nortena narratives address the conflict inherent in a decision to emigrate, as in the case of the immigrant who finds himself leaving home, family, and all that is familiar:

And when reaching the Rio Grande and feeling so far away
Through the cry in my eyes, I told myself, “Now’s the time I can still return.”

Y AL LLEGAR AL RIO BRAVO Y SENTIR ME TAN LEJOS
POR ELLANTOEN LOS OJOS, MEDIJE “AHORA ES TIEMPO DE PODER REGRESAR”

Immigrants’ inevitable culture shock and conflict, however, is tempered somewhat by the prospect of exciting adventures such as those described in “Los Alambrados,” and with the promise of employment, hard work, and the monetary and personal goals these can bring about:

We are always working, dollars to gather
’Cause we will have to marry our sweethearts.

SIEMPRE TRABAJAMOS, PARA DOLARES
JUNTAR
PUES CON NUESTRA CHICA NOS TENDREMOS QUE CASAR

Ultimately, the music helps to instill in these individuals the positive outlook and self-confidence that will see them through their immigration experience and beyond:

Faced with problems, we won’t back down
We know we’ll triumph.

ANTE LOS PROBLEMAS, NO NOS VAMOS A RAJAR
SABEMOS QUE VAMOS A TRIUNFAR

Thus, immigration music does not create merely a dream world for escape from everyday reality. Since “... in song the individual or the group can apparently express deep-seated feelings not permissibly verbalized in other contexts,” this music is also a means of expressing, confronting, and working through the problems and stresses of life in a way that provides relief from an otherwise inescapable reality.

The ultimate function of immigration music may be found in two kinds of symbolic representations. The first of these is concerned with the preservation of cultural identity. Immigrants are a group literally in transition on more than one experiential level—geographic, cultural, linguistic, social, and economic. In such a dynamic situation the need for a stable cultural identification is great:

Music is frequently involved in the process of marking out cultural territories. Different musics have their
own audiences, their own radio channels and their own classificatory sections in record shops.\textsuperscript{56}
In consciously selecting immigration music, the listener also makes a personal statement of social and cultural identification with other immigrants, as well as with the various protagonists represented in these song texts.

The primary group identification facilitated by popular Nortepa\textsuperscript{a} music is not Mexican, but Mexican \textit{immigrant}. The texts portray change, instability, and ambiguity\textsuperscript{57} in the movement of a group to new social conditions. They portray the movement of social identity by individuals shifting membership between social groups,\textsuperscript{58} in this case from Mexican to Mexican immigrant and, ultimately perhaps, to Mexican-American (an ethnic identification emphasizing national origin) or Chicano (an identification emphasizing, in addition, history and social status in the United States). What listeners intuitively understand is the power of popular immigration songs to help them in their journey by providing:

\begin{quote}
\textellipsis the focus of cultural identity and cultural solidarity;
they become the anthems of cultural groups and the musical effect becomes amplified by labelling and cultural stereotyping . . . .\textsuperscript{59}
\end{quote}

When the surrounding world apparently is in flux, a secure cultural identity and group membership provide a more secure basis for further individual struggle and development.

A second set of symbolic meanings enhances the social status of immigrant culture and its members. Illegal immigration, the kind that many of these songs chronicle, is a solitary, dangerous, and secretive matter. It is accomplished outside normal social networks, and undocumented immigrants are legally prosecuted. Typically surviving with few means, immigrants receive negative criticism from non-immigrants in Mexico; they migrate illegally and continue to live without legal sanction in the United States; and, even with an absolute improvement in their economic conditions, they typically occupy the lowest economic and social levels. In other words, to be an illegal immigrant is “no picnic,” and other than protection from legal prosecution, the lot of many legal immigrants may not be much better. But immigration music conveys to immigrants “a deep sense of personal and collective pride and dignity,” despite their low social status.\textsuperscript{60} It does this through building and promoting positive self-images and meanings for individuals,\textsuperscript{61} and tying their solitary experiences to the mass social phenomenon of immigration.

The narrative messages of Mexican immigration music are not without problems. For instance, both Mexican culture\textsuperscript{62} and life in the United States are continually idealized. The immigrant and his experiences typically are put in their most positive light by these songs, reflecting the stereotyped impressions initially conveyed by family and friends in the home community. However, the greatest influence of music is intentionally metaphorical in nature:

\begin{quote}
Song texts do not tend to provide objective knowledge of historical reality, yet they do generally relate . . . to that reality as lived. The aesthetic experience of song is of necessity interpretive . . . .\textsuperscript{63}
\end{quote}
Thus the fact that some of these immigration songs are overly "concerned with self-praise" or emphasize positive outcomes does not mean that immigrants are not aware of the negative experiences, hard work, and personal struggle inherent in their pursuit of economic mobility, social respect, and a better life—they are all too aware of these negative aspects permeating their lives. But music is perhaps one of the few outlets enabling immigrants to visualize their own personal heroism more clearly than their daily lives allow, and to persevere toward the goals they are pursuing through immigration.

**Popular Music Text, Immigrant Narrative Accounts**

A general purpose of the present exploratory treatment of Mexican immigration music has been to illustrate the utility of popular music text analysis for learning about the social characteristics and experiences of a group of people, as well as to initiate an understanding of their deep-lying values and problems. Popular music narratives are rich qualitative data for cultural group description, as well as the analysis of cultural knowledge and change.

The present analysis indicates how older popular narrative styles as the corrido have not only survived, but also transformed the social impact of traditional folkloric forms. The transformation is in contemporary popular music's ability to tap into the modern world and its values—through topical narratives, music styles (rock and pop), technology (electronic) and dissemination patterns (local, national, and international availability) that reflect the varied experiences of its audiences. In this context, the present study provides a base for further investigation into the social and cultural meanings of immigration music narratives through "... ethnographic and interactionist accounts in an altogether more comprehensive analysis. ..."

The present analysis has illustrated some examples of the functional and symbolic representations of Mexican immigration music from the point of view of the immigration experience. The most visible effect of immigration is its familiarization of individuals with the immigration culture, as it helps create and transmit knowledge, reinforces a set of beliefs, and reflects "popular attitudes toward events." Popular immigration songs are presentations on why and how to immigrate, and on alternative outcomes to immigration. Their messages support an existent belief system purporting that jobs, money, and, therefore, the solutions to one's problems, await north of the border. And they reinforce the pervasive attitudes that Mexicans have toward immigration—that it is an everyday fact of life and, despite the difficulties, risks, and costs, faith and self-confidence will see the illegal migrant across the border to a better life. Modern popular music is perhaps the immigrant group's most accessible medium for representing, understanding, and managing their social world. In this sense, the ultimate importance of music for the immigrant audience may not be in its reflection of group interests and material or social conditions but, rather, in the opportunity it offers for mediation of social reality through metaphor and imagery.

At this time of major worldwide movements of immigrants, refugees, and other displaced groups, the need for continuing study on the experiences of
these migrant populations cannot be overemphasized. The theoretical understandings developed will be crucial as receiving societies work to integrate or otherwise foster mutually beneficial relations among all of these mobile populations. Explanatory attempts must include analyses at various levels of individual and group behavior, knowledge, and meaning. Popular music narratives, and the wider descriptive and discursive material inherent in other cultural forms, represent a rich focus of future efforts in ethnic, social, and cultural group studies.

Notes

1Los Alambra dos,” performed by Los Bukis in *Norteñas y Chicanas*, (c 1987) Marco Music.


4Merriam, 250.


6Pickering, 73.

7Merriam, 193.


14Pickering, 75.

15Stigberg, 281.
16Stigberg, 261.


19Fernandez, 115.

20Bensusan, 163.

21Merriam, 223.

22Herrera-Sobek, 223.

23Merriam, 207.


25“Mejor Me Regreso,” performed by Los Yonic’s in Nortenas y Chicanas, (c 1987), D. R.


27Herrera-Sobek, 100.

28“El Otro Mexico” by Los Tigres del Norte.

29“Mejor Me Regreso,” by Los Yonic’s.


31Merriam, 205.

32“El Otro Mexico” by Los Tigres del Norte.

33Herrera-Sobek, 104.

34“Mejor Me Regreso.”

35“El Otro Mexico” by Los Tigres del Norte.

36Macias, 313.

37“Los Alambrados” by Los Bukis.

38Herrera-Sobek, 101.

39Merriam, 197.


41“Mejor Me Regreso” by Los Yonic’s.

42Merriam, 204.
"Los Alambrados" by Los Bukis.

Merriam, 222.

Fernandez, 117.

Herrera-Sobek, 101.

"Mejor Me Regreso" by Los Yonic's.

Fernandez, 128.

Herrera-Sobek, 104.

"Los Chicanos," performed by Los Bukis in Mejor Me Regreso, (c 1987), Rimo.

Herrera-Sobek, 104.

"Los Chicanos" by Los Bukis.


Merriam, 190.

Swanwick, 16.


Bennett and Ferrell, 360.

Swanwick, 100.

Fernandez, 128.

Fernandez, 128.

Herrera-Sobek, 104.

Pickering, 80.

Merriam, 196.

Merriam, 205.

Bennett and Ferrell, 344.

Nettl (1978), 5.


Pickering, 79.
Critique

The role of song texts in evaluating human behavior has received relatively little attention by either anthropologists or ethnomusicologists and their value as social documents, consequently, has been sadly overlooked. As Macias observes, the texts of corridos popular in San Felipe function simultaneously on several levels. As historical chronicle, social commentary (and criticism), and as vehicles for teaching and proselytizing, these texts reinforce a sense of community and cultural identity, and serve, also, as reminders of economic reality, articulating their subjects’ aspirations and incumbent moral obligations.

The corridos referred to in Macías’s paper are narrative ballads, sung to instrumental accompaniment—guitars, or mariachi ensemble. The origins of the corrido can be traced back to the Spanish romance of the Conquest era. Texts commonly chronicle notable or unusual historic or current events, sometimes humorously or satirically, often with sharp social criticism expressed openly or implied. The prototype is a narrative text, set in quatrains of octosyllabic lines, with assonance or end-rhymes on alternate lines. As Macias’s examples indicate however, there are many variations to the traditional form. The corrido took on new significance during the Mexican Revolution as musical outlets for expressions of popular sentiment and as anthems of nationalistic fervor.

In our own time, apparently, the corrido serves to chronicle and immortalize the events and heroes of Mexican emigration. In this role, the heroes, glorified, romanticized, and vindicated by the song texts, are those who have dared the border guards, risking prison and death to reach the promised land. Their heroic status is reinforced by the accounts and evidence of new economic prosperity and is validated further by poignant expressions of longing for home and family. The hardships suffered by the emigrants, their economic privation, discrimination and oppression, related by the corridos and by returning emigrants, serve only as a “cross” which must be borne as the price of economic progress.

The corridos cited by Macias imply emigration to the United States is regarded by San Felipeños as their inevitable and inexorable destiny. Is this implied attitude simply coincidental, the result of the particular song texts cited, or do the San Felipeños consider themselves “immigrants” even before they have emigrated? Is this attitude characteristic of other communities as well? Is the incidence of emigration in San Felipe abnormally high, in comparison to other towns in the region, or elsewhere in Mexico? How do the emigrants/immigrants themselves regard the corridos? Do they consider these
texts documents of personal experiences? Are the corrido texts taken seriously by those who hear and play them? While quantitative data does not reveal the qualitative aspects of the San Felipeños' behavior, it can help define their context.

Similarly, do the exploits and experiences of its emigrants monopolize the subject matter of corridos heard in San Felipe? Is emigration now the dominant topic of these corridos? Throughout Mexico? Or only in San Felipe and in towns like it? Again, quantitative data is called for to place these song texts in context.

Macias's paper reflects insight, sensitivity and careful observation. He is to be commended for recognizing the significance of corrido texts as documents, litmus paper, as it were, of the society that creates these songs. His conclusions are indicative of the wealth of material that song texts offer us as measures of social behavior. Macias's future investigations, I hope, will focus on the larger context of the topical corrido and, perhaps in collaboration with an ethnomusicologist, will also focus on the music which gives life to the corrido text, and without which, the corrido cannot be appreciated fully.

—Gloria Eive
El Cerrito, California
Oral Traditions Under Threat: The Australian Aboriginal Experience

Christine Morris

Many writers in Australia have written about the economic and social effects of the written tradition upon the various oral traditions of Australia, but few have addressed the inappropriateness of replacing the oral tradition with a written one. It is wrong to assume that the written word is a means of cultural preservation. What, in fact, is occurring is that the oral tradition in Australia is being supplanted by the written tradition.

In order to argue why the written tradition in Australia can only ever be an adjunct to an oral tradition and never a linchpin for its survival, one must examine the special relationship Aborigines have with the land. It is this special relationship that is the axiom of the environmental harmony that has persisted in Australia since time began. The crux of this relationship is that the Aborigines see themselves and everything in their worldview as being “of” the land rather than living “on” the land. To remove the oral tradition from “the land” and give it a new setting in a written text is to displace the life force of the culture.

There is a resurgence in popularity of new anthologies of Australian Aboriginal myths and legends. In general, the authors of these books are predominantly non-aboriginal, compiling them under the pretext that they are bringing to the average Australian a knowledge of the Aboriginal culture. Some even go so far as to say “recording it in written form would ensure that it was never lost.”

These authors, however, are attempting to carry out an impossible task. It is a futile exercise to attempt to capture a living tradition and cut it off from its life force. In other words, to take a story from the land on which it was born and on which it is re-created in each telling demonstrates an ignorance of exactly what an Aboriginal story is, what it is connected to, and what it cannot be disconnected from.

This amounts to a new form of colonialism, unwittingly being propagated by the bearers of the written word. To capture Aboriginal stories and clothe them...
in the new garb of written text, with the pretense of protection and survival, is a continuation of Western chauvinism.

Both Walter Ong\(^3\) and Albert Lord\(^4\) have written on the dichotomy between oral and written genres. Ong discusses the differences between the ways of managing knowledge and verbalization in both oral and literate cultures. He argues that it is difficult, if not impossible, for those of a literate culture to conceive of the “oral universe of communication.” Lord points out the dynamic character of oral tradition. Re-creation rather than re-production is what distinguishes the oral tradition from the written tradition. While these two authors have not focussed on Aboriginal orality, they do provide a framework for discussing the contrast between oral and written practices.

The written and oral traditions appear to be diametrically opposed; they emanate from two completely different sources. Ong espouses a similar argument in his book, *Orality and Literacy*. He has demonstrated the very distinctive features that separate the oral from the written. Ong’s thesis is a hard-hitting account of the paucity of the literate mind to appreciate the “oral universe of communication.”\(^5\) He argues that the literate mind attempts to perceive the oral in its own constructs by using such terms as “oral literature” and “text.” He sees this as incongruous and argues that to use such terms is “rather like thinking of horses as automobiles without wheels.”\(^6\)

Ong, in a satirical mood, offers the following scenario to explain the inability of the literate to comprehend:

To dissociate words from writing is psychologically threatening, for literates’ sense of control over language; without dictionaries, written grammar rules, punctuation, and all the rest of the apparatus that makes words into something you can ‘look’ up, how can literates live?\(^7\)

To justify his accusation, he develops his thesis to suggest just what it is that makes the oral form of communication so unique. He begins by explaining: “The spoken word is the thing—like repose of the written or printed word.”\(^8\)

Ong also deals with the concept of sound. He sees it as “essentially evanescent.” As he states, “There is no way to stop sound and have sound.” He also accentuates the power associated with sound and the potency indigenous peoples place upon it. To indigenous peoples, the naming of a particular thing signifies “power” over the named entity.

Ong notes that when a speaker addresses an audience the audience is in “a unity” listening to the speaker. If the speaker, however, asks the audience to read a pamphlet that may have been handed out, each reader enters into his/her own private reading world and the unity is shattered. The literates’ world, he adds, “attempts to imitate the oral audience with such statements as ‘a collective readership’ of so and so, and this conjures up a sense of unity.” Literates are well aware of the basic human need for community.\(^9\)

Although they are well aware of this need, they go out of their way to undermine it. By perpetuating the isolationist mentality, literacy allows the individual to interpret the text. This is diametrically opposed to the oral mode
in which it is the community which dictates and interprets the text. This point is only one of the many dynamic features that make up the creation and telling of a story.

Albert Lord, in *Singer of Tales*, challenges readers to cast aside the “literate snobberies bequeathed” to them during the Renaissance and asks that a fresh look be given to the oral tradition. He suggests that readers:

consider (the oral tradition) not as the inert acceptance of a fossilized corpus of theme and conventions, but as an organic habit of re-creating what has been received and is handed on.\(^\text{10}\)

Having challenged the reader’s biases, he then goes on to put his assertions into context. This context is drawn from the collection of “contextual testimonies” he and his collaborators collected while studying what they call, “their living laboratory, the school of non-literate bards, surviving, yet declining in Yugoslavia and other South Slavic regions.”\(^\text{11}\)

The actual point of contact with the bards is the Turkish coffee house, the place of composition, performance, and transition of the tradition. This tradition elucidates the bards’ fabulous memories, filled with stock epitaphs and ornamental formulas.

Simultaneous singing and composing is the crux of the skill of a bard. The Yugoslavian bard sings at a very fast rate and the length of the composition depends on the audience reception. If they are interested, the epic is elaborated with what Lord calls “ornamental formulas.” However, if the audience is bored, the climax is reached quickly, if at all.

Such auditing by the singer of the audience’s reception requires the singer to be mentally alert at all times, as his composition must quickly be “re-written” if he is to keep his customers of the coffee house happy. This is also the point at which the audience begins to dictate the creativity or originality of the young unskilled bard and the experienced bard.

This creativity and originality, however, is under threat of extinction due to the enforcement of literacy. The raising of the status of the written word has infringed on the tradition of the singing bard. Lord further points out that literacy undermines the authenticity of the creation process by setting books up as the “true facts.” The young people are taught books are unchangeable and, therefore, real and factual.

The creativity of song singing is thus ignored and attention to accurate duplication becomes the vogue. As Lord observed, this new found literacy indeed sounded the death knell of the oral process. The new singers were re-producers not re-creators of the tradition.

The insights provided by Ong and Lord demonstrate the cognitive uniqueness of the oral tradition and how the introduction of literacy, which is a diametrically opposed tradition, only leads to an eventual supplantation by the dominant literate tradition of the oral tradition. This displacement of the oral tradition is also happening in Australia. Assimilationist policies were introduced after Aborigines were granted citizenship in their own country in 1967. These policies have since been reviewed, but the mentality still persists, aided by the bearers of the written word.
Aboriginal Worldview

The Aboriginal worldview is that of an oral tradition as it has been conveyed to me.\(^{12}\) I have attempted to maintain the purity of the orality by presenting it as I have heard it, which incorporates past, present and future as one.

In the continent of Australia a people evolved whose worldview emanated from their creation stories. This period is most popularly known as The Dreaming or, as the Arrente refer to it, the Time of Great Power.\(^{13}\) The Dreaming was the creation period when the ancestors created the land and all upon it. During this Time of Power, the laws of the land were formulated and the people and all upon it were instructed in those laws. The laws were such that everything upon the land was interrelated by societal relationships. Animals, the topography, and humans were all one, and the one emanated from the land. At the end of the creation period the creators either became part of the land or the cosmos.

To my people the creator beings are in the land. Their spirit is ever present in the land and can be called upon at any time, especially during ceremonial times when the ancestors are called upon to once again re-create the produce of the land. This led the people to develop a worldview that is land-centred, which in turn afforded environmental harmony and limited technological development and population size. Success in life was measured by the provision the earth supplied each year. This did not lead to a religious cult that worshipped the earth but to a highly spiritual society that valued social relationships and responsible behavior towards the very thing that gave them life. The earth was their mother not their goddess. Mothers are respected, not held up for adoration. Furthermore, the earth was tangible, not an abstract thought that demanded faith. The people perceived the earth as a living entity. They knew if they did not follow the laws of the land they would perish. To remind and guide the people, the laws were told through their stories and ceremonies.

This oneness in worldview did not mean a oneness of an ethnic group either, for there was great diversity in language and physique. This diversity occurred during the creation period as there were many creator beings, each creating its own particular dreaming tracks across a specific part of the land. Each clan was made custodian of a particular piece of land. The borders were defined by the dreaming tracks of the great ancestors. These tracks were documented in the stories and ceremonies. Each group had its own piece of custodial land, but also shared parts of other pieces of land with other groups. The essential point was that the provided land was the body of their ancestors. They grew out of that land and no other group could claim the land because it was like trying to claim someone else’s body.

Social relationships were formulated in a way that all the groups which numbered over five hundred were interrelated through very strict marriage rules. To marry haphazardly was to cause an imbalance in the harmony of society as well as in the environment. Stories are the means to convey the laws of life, i.e., The Dreaming. They are also a vehicle for re-creating the Dreaming. This is an important facet of the Dreaming stories. In Aboriginal
societies such as the Arrente of central Australia, the Dreamtime was seen as the time of power. Arrente Dreaming stories are told, danced, and sung with the intention of re-creating the Dreaming or power. Every time the Dreaming is re-enacted, it is re-created. Or, to put it another way, every time the Arrente women re-enact the Honeyant Dreaming, they are creating the honeyants and the food supply associated with it.\textsuperscript{14}

Therefore, the process of re-creation rather than re-production is essential to the reality of the Aborigines. Re-production is essential to the reality of the Aborigines. Re-production is unreal while re-creation is real. Another essential factor about these stories is that they are particular to their areas and are not transportable (other than minor generalized stories). Stories are seen as being passed down from the creator beings and state how to care for that particular tract of land and how that particular group of people must behave. The Adnyamathanha explanation of the significance of stories is an example that can be generalized to encompass all Aboriginal cultures within Australia:\textsuperscript{15}

\ldots for the people, the stories are the land. In the language telling a story means simply telling the land (Yarta).

The land is seen as the outward expression of the spiritual dimension. Evidence for the existence of that dimension is there in concrete form and it is the mythology which interprets those forms to the people.\textsuperscript{16}

To isolate a narrative from its roots is in some sense to destroy its soul and to deprive it of its real meaning.\textsuperscript{17} A human being is a vehicle for the telling of a story. However, the story cannot be told without the land if the audience is to have complete comprehension. To talk of the great emu and the eggs it lays means nothing unless you can see the piece of topography that depicts this event, a group of copper green boulders.

This knowledge is called “assumed knowledge.” Williams in her book depicting the Yolngu people explains: \textsuperscript{18}

A Yolngu speaker can give a few concrete referents and expect his Yolngu listener to supply the implied meanings because of the knowledge of symbolisms which he can assume they both share. To give but one example. If a Yolngu man relates a segment of myth such as: “Mosquito (a particular species) thrust his proboscis into the ground at (place name) where the mound now exists,” he can rely on his listeners supplying the following, at the very least.\textsuperscript{19}

Williams then goes on to comprise a seven point list covering such concepts as: Mosquito’s spirit-being status, its Dreaming track, the kinship relationship, the spear that corresponds to the proboscis, the use of the spear, the physical and geographic symbolism, and the ritual association of the act of thrusting the proboscis. This is the least amount of “assumed knowledge” required of the audience before they are deemed fit to listen.
If these, then, are the minimum criteria required of the Yolngu audience, how foolish are the anthologists who feel they are capable of giving insights in written form to an audience as broad as the general public of Australia. To do this is to deny the essential orality and the importance of the land in the continual re-creation of Aboriginal stories.

Critique

Such chauvinism as evidenced by the anthologists is a common feature among literates when dealing with oral societies. Colonialism, with all its associated values, is a prime example. While Ong has given us helpful insights throughout his book, in his final chapter, “Some Theorems,” he offers an argument which these chauvinists could well use as justification for their behavior. 20

This argument amounts to a contradiction of his previous findings. One of the theorems offered is that orality is not an ideal state and that it is only with writing that human existence can reach its full potential. He further maintains that he does not know of any oral culture that does not want to achieve literacy as soon as possible.

Speaking from an Aboriginal perspective, I would dispute both of these claims. I take issue with his assertions about the concepts of “human existence” and “full potential.” When Ong speaks of human existence, he is taking it from a materialist or object-oriented point of view rather than from a spiritual or word-orientated one. Yes, indeed, one needs pen and paper, material objects, if one wishes to continue to create material objects. These material objects are a reflection of the person who made them. It is very fashionable to build a house or buy a car that reflects one’s personality. It is also the way in which literates demonstrate their power. The more material objects they can possess or create, the more powerful they are. This is in opposition to the oral tradition where words symbolize power, and where cohesive human relationships are the signs of strength and power. This totally different attitude to power is reflected in modern-day society where indigenous peoples are seen as irresponsible when they place caring and sharing before material gain.

Turning to the concept of “full potential,” Ong claims humans can only reach their true intellectual achievement through abstract thinking which is aided by literacy. This he later alludes to as “a true sense of self.” 21 The phrase “intellectual achievement” needs to be limited to an intellectualism that sees man (not humans) as the pinnacle of creation and leads to the invention of objects that are made in man’s own image. In oral societies such as those of the Australian Aborigines, intellectualism or higher levels of understanding of the world around them and how to manipulate the forces of energy in the world are carried out through contemplation rather than through the use of material aids.

Ong’s second argument assures the reader that no oral tradition would resist literacy; however, Ong has had little opportunity to observe a resisting oral tradition as there is little chance of resistance in an overt manner because the written tradition, in hand with colonialism, has forced itself upon most oral traditions.
In Australia, the “out station” movement is an attempt by Aborigines to return to their homelands, to revive their traditional ways of living, and to avoid the European influence upon their culture. It is an example of passive resistance against what has been forced on their oral tradition. The oral societies know that in order to get their daily bread, literacy is essential. However, that daily bread, which the literates provide, does not bring dignity and pride of culture. If there were a choice, such as the continuation of the barter system, I would seriously doubt the eagerness of such societies for literacy.

To his credit, Ong encourages further debate along these lines and suggests that there are countless unknown questions involved in what we now know about orality and literacy. His final statement is most encouraging: “Orality-literacy dynamics enter integrally into the modern evolution of consciousness toward both greater interiorization and greater openness.”

The increased numbers on the popular literature scene of the publication of new anthologies of Australian Aboriginal myths ignores the importance of the oral tradition. The authors maintain that by publishing these stories they are somehow bringing about an understanding of Aboriginal culture and more importantly the preservation of the Aboriginal culture for posterity. Transferring such stories into a written literature does not preserve them for posterity; rather, it captures them and renders them into the status of dead, past history, not as it is, a living and vital tradition.

To present a story out of its geographical context shows a gross misunderstanding of exactly what an Aboriginal story is. A human being is a vehicle for the telling, and the story cannot be told without the land, the very thing that gives it life.

This concept may be very difficult for literates to understand for books isolate them from the environment. For example, they believe that by reading a book about the rainforest they know the rainforest. This detached thinking has led to the destruction of rainforests. To feel the rainforest is to know the rainforest. Or as Graham has so poetically phrased it:

Passion and sentiment come through feeling which leads to spiritual knowledge, which is true knowledge.

Once there has been physical contact, then, and only then, can a true comprehension come about. This comprehension would lead to the cessation of the demand for those commodities that require timber products from the rainforest. Yet Western societies are doing little to curb the demand that calls for the cutting of the trees.

To understand the environment within which literates live, a “re-connection” with the environment is necessary. This analogy is an attempt to elucidate the importance of maintaining context. To believe that one can take a story or even a tree from the place from which it was born demonstrates a total lack of understanding of the environment from which the things were grown.

Conclusion

There is a very special relationship Aboriginal people have with the land and their stories are intrinsic to that harmony. This harmony which has existed
since time began has in recent times been disrupted by the enforcement on Aboriginal people of the literate tradition, a tradition that is the complete antithesis of the Aboriginal tradition, and more importantly, environmental harmony.

Aborigines, however, are attempting to take control of their children’s destiny by setting up their own community schools. These schools are run by the elders of the community. Most of the education consists of developing skills to live harmoniously in the environment—an environment that white Australians refer to as “hostile” and “uninhabitable.”

By reviewing the works of Ong and Lord, the inappropriateness and the inability of the literate tradition to supplant successfully the oral tradition is clear. Such attempts by the literates in the past have only led to disharmony among the people and a continuation of Western chauvinism. The ideal scenario is one in which oral societies are seen as centers of learning wherein literates may learn first hand how the indigenous population interprets the world: to understand that they belong to their environment, and not, as most believe, that the environment belongs to them.

Notes

1I am grateful for the helpful comments offered by Dr. E. Conrad, Mrs. T. Jackson, and Ms. M. Graham as I worked through the issues discussed in the article.


5Ong, 2.

6Ong, 12.

7Ong, 14.

8Ong, 75.

9Ong, 74.

10Lord, xiii.

11Lord, xv.

12My grandmother’s clan are the Kombumerri, and my grandfather’s clan are the Munaljahli of the east coast of Australia.

13The Arrente people are an Aboriginal clan from Australia’s central desert region.


16Tunbridge, xxxv.

17Tunbridge, xxx.

18Williams.

19Yolngu is the word used by Aboriginal clans of the Northern Territory when referring to themselves as an ethnic group.

20Ong, 175.

21Ong, 179.

22Ong, 179.

23Mary Graham is a Kombumerri and lecturer in Aboriginal philosophy at Queensland University. She and Ms. Lilla Watson are co-authoring a book on Aboriginal philosophy which is soon to be published in Australia.

**Critique**

In her essay, Christine Morris addresses an important topic in the study of ethnic relations: the relationship between the written word and the oral tradition. She points out that studies often concentrate on the economic and social effects that the written tradition has on oral cultures; however, the ethics of this process has been ignored in research. Morris examines this aspect of the relationship and argues that the replacement of the oral tradition with the written word is a continuation of western chauvinism that has been the basis of the European conquest of aboriginal cultures in the world. The replacement of the oral with the written is thus a form of colonialism—although very subtle—in its argument to protect and save oral traditions for posterity. But the written word can only supplement the oral tradition; it cannot—and it should not—supplant orality.

To illustrate her argument, Morris looks at the case of the Australian aborigines. Their oral tradition emerges from their close relationship with the land they live on, and therefore, it cannot be fully understood in a written form. Storytelling is part of the land; when stories are separated from their life force and written down on paper, they lose their recreative capacity and become mere reproductions. It is this diametric opposition that best explains the difference between the two traditions. They emanate from two different sources and thus cannot replace each other. In western cultures, values are material and power emanates from material things; written word is invested with extreme importance and has value over spoken words. In contrast, oral cultures place more
value in abstract things and power comes from language—from the capability to recreate abstractions through language. Context is thus essential for the full understanding of oral cultures.

The article gives the reader a good perspective into the Australian aboriginal world, but Morris’s explorations have larger implications as well. What we learn from this article can be applied to other native peoples in the world; closest to my own research are Native Americans and Scandinavian Lapps. There is a similarity in the experiences of these peoples in their relationship with the conquering western culture, and research has much to do in this comparative arena. Morris’s example from Yugoslavia also points to the existence of rural communities that are pockets of oral tradition amidst the industrial world. These communities—like native cultures—maintain an affinity to the land and a sense of place which produce a rich folklore and oral tradition. It is important to remember that we—”products” of western literacy—also come from an oral background, although somewhere along the way we lost our sense of place.

Morris’s argument that the enforcement of literacy threatens the creativity and originality of all oral cultures through its emphasis on the written word as “fact” offers one explanation. When the written becomes important, the land, too, becomes an abstraction that has no value; and it is this detachment from the land that has led to the destruction of the environment. It is thus important to “relearn” the importance of land and to listen to the environment. Oral traditions can help in reestablishing this relationship, but the written cultures need to learn a new respect for the spoken word. The oral and the written need not necessarily be mutually exclusive, and anthologies can help in establishing a respect for oral traditions. But as Morris reminds us, we cannot assume that the written should replace the oral. It is this attitude of superiority that is destructive to oral cultures, not necessarily the written word itself.

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Critique

Christine Morris stimulates, provokes, and challenges some fundamental axioms about culture and literature in her intriguing essay. The absolutism of her position forces readers to critically examine their own ideas about the transmission and preservation of culture. Ultimately, I have some skepticism about the absolutism of her position, but her paper moved me several steps towards her position and caused me to evaluate my ideas on other issues as well.

She makes an excellent presentation for the case that the written tradition is not simply an extension of the oral tradition, but in fact impacts back on that tradition and changes it. This type of dialectical reasoning is a very valuable antidote to the idea that “progress” as defined by those who control the major
institutions of culture in modern society is a positive, linear development. It is reminiscent of similar discussions that have pointed out how television has undermined reading, how "colorization" can forever distort a viewer's ability to appreciate a black and white film, how modern agricultural methods have often led to an absolute deterioration of quality of diet of people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, despite the "higher productivity," and how modern medical practice has often made people sicker. These are not just the musings of nostalgia for a heavenly past that never really existed; these are conclusions that have been verified by many who have examined the actual evidence.

The discussion of how the written word concretizes what is essentially a dynamic, living force and strips it of much of its essence is well articulated. This is especially true of a tradition that combines dance and song with words. The writer asserts that such written enterprises are worse than just inadequate, however. They are an extension of colonialism that not only has historically captured the land, bodies, and labor of subjugated people, but has tried to capture their culture, either by stamping it out, or more insidiously by tolerating it while destroying its essence and filling up its form with a content irrelevant, degrading, or further designed to maintain the subjugation. Her discussion made this reader more sensitive to other subtle aspects of that, including, for example, the so-called "American Indian" songs that beginning piano players learn that are obviously the creation of composers in the European tradition. Hopefully, we have all become much more sensitive to the more blatant versions of this which are commonly found in movies and at some tourist attractions.

Understanding all these warnings, the real dilemma is whether it would ever be justified to compile Australian Aboriginal myths, or any essentially oral folklore, into written anthologies. Assuming that it might be possible for a sensitive, probably native writer, to express some of the essence of the culture in that fashion, with all the warnings of its inaccuracies made explicit, would the damage be greater than the benefits of sharing aspects of the culture with outsiders? Or perhaps it could be filmed, but again, that begs the question, since viewing a film can be an especially detaching experience. The writer suggests that "Transferring such stories into a written literature does not preserve them for future posterity; rather it captures them and renders them into the status of a dead, past history, not as it is, a living and vital tradition." Granting that, one still wonders whether those outside the culture should be denied the opportunity to learn something about the culture. But, of course, there is the Catch 22: what is being learned is not accurate and may be a distortion worse than nothing at all.

There may be no easy way to answer the question, especially since the major media and publishing houses are firmly in the hands of those whose primary concern is commercial and who would therefore turn those products into commodities. Somehow, the absoluteness of the position still does not sit exactly right. Beethoven cannot truly be experienced through a two-speaker stereo system with a dynamic range of eighty decibels; he never intended it to
be heard that way; it is a distortion. So, too, are picture books that render a wall-sized Picasso into an eight inch by five inch print, and so are written plays by Shakespeare, meant to be performed before crowds of people who were predominantly illiterate. It is proposed that literates believe "that by reading a book about the rainforest they know about the rainforest. This detached thinking has led to the destruction of the rainforests." But if those of us who care about the rainforests could not and did not read about them, is there reason to believe that the rainforests would be any safer in the hands of those who want to commercially exploit them? We do not have the means to directly appreciate Tibetan village life, or city life in Rio de Janeiro, or Eskimo life, or urban life in Chicago or Los Angeles, and even if we did, we would still be outsiders, incapable of fully grasping the culture.

Should the rest of the world be denied the possibility of exploring and appreciating those other cultures? Christine Morris proposes a positive alternative: "The ideal scenario is one in which oral societies are seen as centers of learning wherein literates may learn firsthand how the indigenous population interprets the world; to understand that they belong to their environment, and not, as most believe, that the environment belongs to them." Whether this proposal could strike the satisfactory balance between allowing enough "outsiders" to learn from and appreciate the culture of the Aboriginal people without intruding to the point of disrupting that culture is an unanswered question. Perhaps the extreme proposals offered by the author go too far. Then again, it may be that any position less extreme would open the door to superficial agreement about the need to preserve traditional cultures while "business as usual" continues to damage them; it may be that the very "extremeness" of the position helps one to step back and take those arguments much more seriously, and encourages us to examine the ways that these arguments apply to other contexts.

—Alan Spector
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Abstracts from the Nineteenth Annual Conference National Association for Ethnic Studies, Inc.

“Ethnic Studies for the Twenty-first Century”

California State Polytechnic University Pomona, California

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With the leadership of James H. Williams, Tengemana Thumbutu, and the staff of the College of Arts at California State Polytechnic University, NAES had one of its best-attended conferences ever. Participants enjoyed the sunny and smog-free skies of spring in California and the amenities of the Kellogg West Conference Center while renewing their commitment to the need to study and implement current research in ethnic studies.

Cal Poly President Hugh O. LaBounty welcomed participants and recounted the changes which have occurred as Cal Poly progressed from an all-male agricultural school to a multi-ethnic, co-educational comprehensive undergraduate school during his leadership. The history of Cal Poly mirrors the histories of other institutions, and the successful integration of a diverse student body and the implementation of an Ethnic and Women’s Studies Department there is evidence that change is possible. Velma L. Blackwell, Associate Provost of Tuskegee University, introduced a view of higher education from an historically black institution and looked ahead at the changes necessary for all institutions to educate all students.

For the first time, NAES brought together leaders of major ethnic studies organizations to discuss working together to bring about change. Miguel A. Carranza, president of NAES, presided over a discussion by Helen Jaskoski, representing the Association for Studies in American Indian Literatures; Franklin Odo, the Association for Asian American Studies; and Jorge Garcia, the National Association for Chicano Studies. Although the National Council for Black Studies was unable to provide a representative, audience members spoke to issues of that organization.

Jude Narita performed her one-woman show, “Coming into Passian/Songs for a Sansei,” in which she portrays several Asian women—Japanese, Vietnamese, Filipino—in different life situations and at different ages. In another performance, “The Rainbow Warriors,” a group of American Indian students from Arizona State University, read poetry and short stories and explained the power of language and song to communicate cultural realities. Members of the
Multi-Cultural Women Writers of Orange County presented readings from their book *Sowing Ti Leaves*.

The Charles C. Irby Distinguished Service Award was given to Barbara L. Hiura for her many years of service to NAES on the Executive Council, as archivist, and as contributor to activities at all levels. The Ernest M Pon Award went to the Korean-Black Alliance of Los Angeles, an interracial group striving to improve relationships between two powerful ethnic groups in the Southern California area.

In looking to the future of ethnic studies, some participants examined the past. Many, however, projected new topics for research and study. Panelists discussed the impact of ethnic conflict in the Middle East on relationships in the United States and provided views of America through studies from Asian and African countries. In addition to looking at the disciplines in the humanities and social sciences, some sessions introduced new approaches to ethnicity from the fields of medicine, linguistics, and sports, broadening the scope of interdisciplinary studies in ethnicity. A new feature of the conference, “Dissertations in Progress,” provided a venue for graduate students to discuss their work and to get feedback from each other and from other scholars.

The following abstracts and comments from respondents provide only an incomplete summary of the richness of the research represented by the discussions at the conference. Each year NAES reaches out to include participants from more institutions, private and public as well as academic and governmental. The integration of a multi-ethnic perspective into American thought and systems must be implemented throughout the educational system, and the conference participants provided a variety of means to achieve that goal as we enter the twenty-first century.

Chair: Patricia Lin, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.
C. Swann Ngin, California State University, Long Beach.
Maryanne Cline Horowitz, Occidental College.

At Occidental College, I have been teaching a history seminar on race, class, and gender which utilizes our current understandings of this triad to critically explore the notions and attitudes of earlier centuries. *Race, ethnicity, rank, class, sex* and *gender* are cultural constructs which have meant different things in different places and are undergoing rapid transformations today.

For a reader for such courses, I have edited two anthologies of articles through the University of Rochester Press. *Race, Class, and Gender in Nineteenth-Century Culture*. It shows that *race, class,* and *sex* were loaded words in nineteenth-century Europe and in the United States: public debates took place on slavery versus abolitionism, social stratification versus class revolution, and female subordination versus feminism. Karl Marx gave “class” a cultural significance never before attributed to the multifold distinctions of social and economic rank; the East European events of 1989 and the early 1990s arouse us anew to evaluate our theories of social and economic stratification and mobility. Likewise, nineteenth-century theorists argue for the superiority of the male sex and for the superiority of the white or Aryan race upon a common set of pseudo-scientific premises. In the 1980s Women’s Studies scholars boldly set out to prove that difference of sex is of limited significance compared to the cultural, social, and psychological transformation that occurs through
gender stereotyping. Likewise, a parallel line of thought and research shall lead to widespread recognition that the bodily signs of heritage (such as skin color or facial features) are of limited significance compared to the cultural, social, physiognomic, and psychological construction of one’s race or ethnicity.

This collective study, which suggests historical and philosophical relationships among constructs of artificial hierarchy, can help us to deconstruct what is archaic and prejudicial in intellectual traditions as well as in popular culture. Concerned not to privilege prejudice, in my introductory essay I point out that although constructs of race, gender, and class particularized Western attitudes toward humanity, still there endured among intellectuals from Benjamin Rush to Jane Addams a philosophical and biological foundation for the concepts of the unity of human nature and of an inherent compassion among human beings.

The companion volume, Race, Gender and Rank: Early Modern Ideas of Humanity is expected to appear in 1992; the hierarchy of society is so different in the sixteenth century than in the nineteenth century that I find the category “rank” more accurate than the category “class.” In fact one author shows how categories of rank were transformed into categories of class in the eighteenth century. The evidence of historical change gives me hope of the demise of racism, sexism, and classism.

This scholarship confirms Ngin’s insights on the valuable tradition of British literature on race and ethnic relations. In fact, journals and graduate programs devoted to aspects of race and ethnicity may be found in Great Britain as well as France.

SESSION II: “Ethnic Studies for the Twenty-first Century.”
Chair: David Gradwohl, Iowa State University.
Otis Scott, California State University, Sacramento. “The Transformative Role of Ethnic Studies in General Education.”

This paper examines the role ethnic studies course work can play in transforming postsecondary general education programs. The principal thesis raised is that the demographic changes underway in the United States require colleges and universities to respond responsibly. In large measure this means making curriculum changes. The paper argues that it is through the required undergraduate program that students can receive a learning experience which will prepare them—or at least begin preparing them—for the challenges of a changing society, nation and world. The paper further argues that ethnic studies programs must assume a leadership role in this effort to change general education curricula.

Lupe Martinez, Metropolitan State College. “Twenty-First Century America: Where Are We Going?”

The author concludes that discrimination against women and Americans of non-European background still continues to exist in America. Racism and sexism are perpetuated by television, commercials, Hollywood films, educational films, advertising, United States-Eurocentric history, and public school textbooks. African Americans, Hispanics, Native Americans, Asian Americans, women in general, and ethnic minority women in particular have been systematically and historically discriminated against. Unless dramatic societal changes occur, racism and sexism will continue into the twenty-first century and beyond, which will hurt us all.


This paper describes how Whittier College’s paired course program allows ethnic studies materials to be presented in an integrated form to a sizeable constituency of students and faculty. Each student at Whittier is required to take three cross-disciplinary paired courses in the categories of Asian, African and Latin American Civilization, European and North American Civilization and Contemporary Society and the Individual. Paired courses consist of students simultaneously taking two classes in different disciplines, planned by their instructors to mesh and address
similar issues from different perspectives. Integration is achieved through paired assignments and readings. Ethnic studies materials are presented in these pairs, enriching the education of students in many fields that normally do not consider them, for example language, philosophy, business, and politics.

David N. Mielke, Appalachian State University. "Beyond Cultural Pluralism: Ethnic Questions for the Twenty-First Century."

Respondent: Malik Simba, California State University, Fresno.

Each of these papers presents different approaches or concerns about what many scholars today think is the most pressing and critical issue in higher education today. That issue or concern is whether the curriculum in higher education today is preparing our college graduates to function, interact, succeed and create in a world that is ethnically diversified with "people of color."

Mass and Gold present an outline of Whittier College’s attempt to educate their graduates to understand a changing multicultural America and the world. The “paired course” approach in Liberal Education attempts, in the words of these professors, “to connect ethnic materials to other disciplines which normally neglect ethnic content.” The process of creating “pairs” is creative. Two professors who have an interest in multicultural education develop a course with an understanding that it will pedagogically “connect” with their colleagues’ course topic. For example, Mass’s course, “Asians in America” is paired with a language course, “Elementary Mandarin.” Gold paired his course “Sociology of Race and Ethnic Relations” with a course entitled “Latin American Politics.” Gold’s paired course seeks to give students a comparative understanding of ethnicity, race and class in the Americas.

Whittier College’s Liberal Education program’s paired course innovation is consistent with Otis Scott’s call for a transformation in liberal studies requirements with Ethnic Studies as the basis of this transformation. Scott argues that twentieth century demographic changes have resulted in a “diverse ethnic/racial” American society which requires responsible educators to use Ethnic Studies as the basis “component in a core undergraduate general education program.” He also argues that professors in Ethnic Studies must take the leadership role in putting forth methodologies that are workable within the university curriculum. These methodologies must derive their inspiration from “epistemological constructs” of America’s “diverse philosophical systems.” Scott gives an example of Hopi Indian thought as a different philosophical way of making sense of the world. What Scott is calling for is a new type of “cultural literacy” that is culturally pluralistic with Ethnic Studies leading in its pedagogic formulation. He believes that meeting this challenge will fulfill the “traditional mission of general education” which is to “shape humans into whole persons.” Scott recognizes that the “GE inclusion of ethnic studies” will be a “protracted struggle” given the strength of Anglo conservatism in the administrative structures of higher education.

Lupe Martinez’s analysis of the demographic changes that will, by the year 2000, lead to a national school-age population of 33% “Afro-American, Asian American, Hispanic, Native American” is indisputable. These changes will be concurrent with the majority of these children living in poverty. The adult segment of these “people of color” are incarcerated in prison at a rate of 30 to 60%. Martinez argues that institutional racism by white males has created these statistics of degradation.

He argues that the material circumstance is consistent with a psychological-ideological onslaught that perpetuates white males as “intelligent, creative, attractive, and courageous, and non-white males are generally portrayed as the opposite.” Martinez says this analysis is not “far-fetched.” He posits the question, “Why is it, then, that in 1987 intelligent Americans with integrity such as Jesse Jackson and Pat Schroder were not seriously considered as Democratic candidates for President or Vice President? But, Dan Quayle and others like him are considered top-quality candidates. . . .?” Professor Martinez argues that national identity-American has
always had a racial basis. This racial basis was European (white) and because of this, non-European "people of color" could never "filter" into this national identity. He states that these attitudes of white supremacy are perpetuated by images via radio, television and print media. To break through this situation, Martinez outlines a multicultural education model that will help all Americans to break out of this cultural myopic mentality. The basic theme of his model is the integration of the positive history, culture, and contributions of "people of color" in the elementary school curriculum throughout the nation.

Mielke's paper is a good wrap-up of the concerns and programmatic efforts of the other presenters. He has given us a clear historical overview and understanding of the dialectics of ethnicity and race in America. The ideological formations of "Anglo-conformity, the Melting Pot, and other ethnic explorations into cultural pluralism" have never been static but have changed as different waves of immigrants arrived on these shores. The seventeenth and eighteenth century idea of emphasizing "British cultural ancestry" was confronted by "vast German immigrant populations who, in an anti-Anglo mood pushed Congress to declare German the official language of the United States." By the late nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, "Eastern Europe Jewish and Orthodox, and olive skinned Catholic Southern European immigrants" ghettoized themselves with their own ethnic particularities. The Melting Pot, by playwright Israel Zangwill, was written to posture a new ethnic explanation. This revision continued with the destruction of Jim Crow America and the new "national period of cultural pluralism." In recognizing these changes and their culmination into a twenty-first century sense of "cultural pluralism," Mielke posits a number of questions concerning this new definition of ethnicity that he suggests might "have the potential to be as painful as those asked four generations ago." He is concerned that this new ethnicity will be just as divisive as other definitions.

From my experience, the major problem that would confront a widespread use of the "paired course" approach is that many traditional discipline departments would not be collegial enough to agree to help in implementing this approach. Many of these departments see "Ethnic Studies" as a sort of affirmative action program in higher education. This pejorative term is used to describe Ethnic Studies as a field that is subjective, peripheral to high scholarship, and therefore unimportant. This attitude is so widespread that I think it will make the "paired course" approach unworkable without strong central administration support. Of course, if this support is too strong, it will change the definition of what "academic freedom" means for those departments resisting this change. The pedagogic outline that Scott developed is as good as other similar models that seek to place Ethnic Studies at the fulcrum of curriculum transformation in an ever-changing culturally diversified America. Again, the concern that I have with Scott's and similarly with Martinez's model is whether there is a national "will" and a national "unified voice" or "mandate" to implement such noble, innovative, and really enriching academic programs. Martinez's demographic data is indisputable. But the degraded existence of "people of Third World ancestry" in this country has been a constant since day one. It is interesting to note here that Mielke doesn't mention the Quaker call for diversity and the free Negro petition for inclusion into the new Republic during the revolutionary aftermath. Both understood the relationship between American progress and its allegiance to Anglo-conformity. It is this allegiance that worries me as scholars such as Martinez and Scott put forth solid, well thought out, and academically sound programs. Will this allegiance to Anglo-conformity (white supremacy) continue, as it did in past history, to be an "iron curtain" against progressive transformative curriculum proposals? The assumption behind Scott's and Martinez's papers is that there is some underlying but touchable "humane consciousness" in the "filtered white American" that, once the dire statistics are revealed, there will be some type of public policy response that will alter the "American Dilemma" by closing the ever-widening material and achievable
possibilities gap between the white "haves" and the darker "have nots." One of the questions that Mielke did not pose is whether there is such a "humane consciousness." Each of the questions that Mielke posed will be and are being discussed by academics right now. But the deepest and most profound question that subsumes all the other questions posed by him is whether, given the movement of American society towards a complex cultural pluralized society, there is any "common ground" that slices through the rhetorical questions, a "common ground" that permits Americans of different backgrounds and interests to see the needs of the greater whole and the need to have concerted action that will give relief, reform, and recovery to the ethnic particularities and peculiarities of degradation that we see in our ghettos, barrios, inner cities and on our reservations. This "common ground" must be located, if it can be found, because in Abraham Lincoln's words, "A house divided cannot stand."

SESSION III: "International Perspectives on Race and Ethnic Issues."
Chair: James W. Hillesheim, University of Kansas.
Timi Jory and Lucy Wilson, Loyola Marymount University. "West Indian Canon Formation Versus Colonial Models in Education."

This paper examines the efforts of several West Indian educators, during the past thirty years, to define a canon of literary works to be used in their primary and secondary schools. After looking at several literature anthologies and other books written for West Indian adolescent readers, the authors discuss the benefits of a canon that reflects the ethnic makeup of young readers. The paper suggests comparisons between the situations faced by these educators in post-colonial countries and the experiences of teachers in culturally diverse cities in the United States, such as Los Angeles.

Wolde-Michael Akalou, Texas Southern University. "Ethiopian Perceptions of Race and Ethnicity in America."

Ethnicity is part of American experience. The literature is filled with stories about ethnic experiences and much of it relates to traditional American ethnic life. However, since the 1970s a new ethnic phenomenon has gripped the American spirit. It is a phenomenon that has had no parallel in the past and is likely to impact the future significantly. For a long time "national origin" played an important role in U.S. immigration policy, but the Immigration Act of 1965, the Refugee Act of 1980, and the Immigration Reform Control Act of 1986 have changed the established pattern and have led to the onset of new ethnics who, in several respects, are different from the traditional ones. Drawing on the experiences of one of these ethnics, this paper will explore the interrelations between the new and the old ethnics. More specifically, the paper will deal with the perceptions of Ethiopians about ethnicity and race in America and the impact of these perceptions on the life of Ethiopians in America.


Perceptions about racial/ethnic issues in the United States expressed in non-European nations reflect both the importance of United States ethnic/racial issues on world opinion and reveal a great deal about racial/ethnic issues in other cultures. While perceptions of the racial/ethnic situation in the United States reveal the degree to which persons in other nations are aware of issues in the U.S., they also reveal the degree to which these perceptions are based on a misunderstanding of conditions in the U.S., and, more commonly, a tendency to project local realities onto the racial/ethnic situation in the U.S.

SESSION IV: "Teaching/Learning from the Middle East - Part I."
Chair: Parvin Abyaneh, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.
Dorothy D. Wills, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. "Communicating Islamic Culture and Philosophy."
Meaning and world view are seen as the principal distinctive features of cultural difference. These differences have entered into and often obscured the dialogue between Euro-American society and that of the Middle East/North Africa. Communications between individuals and communities from different cultures, whether in the classroom or the office, reflect their most profound differences and are the most difficult of all behaviors to change. A close comparative study of social interactional routines and significant cultural conceptions should promote the construction of pedagogical programs intended to foster mutual understanding and positive socioeconomic change.

Deirdre E. Lashgari, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. “En/gendering Distortions: Stereotypes, Scapegoats, and Useful Enemies.”

American popular creations of the “Enemy,” especially the “Middle Eastern bogeyman,” often have gendered implications. For instance, we hate the Moslem “Enemy” in part as a threat to womanhood; at the same time, we despise critics of the war at home as “sissies.” When we base our national self-image on “not being a wimp,” we reveal our own contempt for the feminine. The process of stereotyping and scapegoating allows us to project images in misogyny, racism, and violence onto a convenient “Other,” and thus to ignore them in ourselves. Our task as teachers is to help students understand and transcend the process of enemy-making. The “Enemy” we have met “is us.”

Respondent: Mohammed A. Al-Saadi, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

SESSION V: “Health Education Issues: It May Not Be How Much You Know, But Who You Are.”

Chair: Sonia L. Blackman, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

Susan N. Siaw and Sonia L. Blackman, California Polytechnic University, Pomona. “The Use of Cao Gio by Vietnamese in the United States.”

In the 1980s, publicity concerning the effects of the usage of cao gio by recent Vietnamese immigrants was negative. Due to lack of knowledge about this Asian folk medicine technique, it was viewed by many medical professionals as being a form of child abuse. This study investigated the variations in the cao gio procedure and its utilization with a Vietnamese population of second and third grades, college undergraduates, and non-college older adults. There were no consistent gender differences in utilization, but it continues to be practiced by over half of the subjects for a variety of disorders. Numerous technique variations were also found.

Stanley L. Bassin, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. “Health and Fitness of Minority Children.”

Numerous health indicators, such as blood pressure and cholesterol levels, are associated with cardiovascular disease, which accounts for fifty percent of all deaths in the United States. This study utilized a multiethnic fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth grade sample and found that thirteen percent had cholesterol levels higher than that which is considered normal in adults. A greater number of all children were in the moderately to severely obese category as measured by percent of body fat. Females had higher rates than males; Hispanic females had higher rates than Caucasian females. Additional data supported the need for school-based fitness intervention programs.

Wanda Rainbolt, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. “Need For Ethnic Specific Health Studies.”

The presence of alterable coronary heart disease risk factors in the nation’s youth was clearly established in the 1970s. Studies from the 1980s indicate a continued concern of health professionals regarding the life-styles and chronic disease risk factors for young people. The National Children and Youth Fitness Study found that children have more body fat than their counterparts of twenty years ago; others found
an increase from fifty-four percent to ninety-four percent in obesity and superobesity from 1963 to 1980. More studies need to be conducted on ethnic minority populations, particularly in locations with high immigration rates.

Sonia L. Blackman, California Polytechnic University, Pomona. “Minority Children’s Health and Illness Beliefs: Would You Prefer an African American Doctor?”

Due to high morbidity and mortality rates for illnesses called diseases of adaptation, a great deal of research has examined the relation between children’s health and illness attitudes and behaviors. Epidemiological studies indicate that non-Caucasians are at greater risk than Caucasians for heart disease and hypertension. This study, on Caucasian and African American second graders found no significant ethnic differences but a trend towards preference for same ethnicity physicians. Children’s health beliefs reveal the media’s influence; African Americans felt that spirituality was a significant factor in one’s health. Contrary to other studies, the subjects viewed themselves, an internal factor, as influencing their health and sickness rates.

Anahid Crecelius, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. “Dietary (Nutrient) Intake of Hispanic and Anglo Families of Elementary School Age Children.”

The role of diet in the onset of obesity and degenerative diseases such as atherosclerosis, diabetes, some cancers, stroke and hypertension has been well established. The process of degeneration starts early in life; preliminary studies have shown that elementary school age children are no exceptions. One risk factor is elevated plasma cholesterol levels. About fifty percent of the children in this project (fifth-sixth grades) were found to have plasma cholesterol levels above the established normal levels. A dietary survey of the families of the children was conducted. The results showed elevated consumption of high fat, high cholesterol, and high simple sugar foods; lower intake of grains/cereals, fruits, and vegetables which are high fiber, low fat, foods.

Respondent: Sonia L. Blackman, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

We have gone from a biologically-based acute illness model to a behaviorally-based diseases of adaptation model. In this new model there is a greater need for understanding the person in terms of not only physiological indices, but psychological and behavioral indices as well. This includes demographic factors such as gender, ethnicity, and level of acculturation. In addition, because these diseases, such as cardiovascular illnesses, appear to develop over a life time, the level of analysis necessitates the utilization of longitudinal designs. The presentations within this session are an important beginning to the study of cross-cultural health issues.

The findings in the cao gio study indicate that more research with new designs needs to be developed. Although Asian interviewers and Vietnamese translators were utilized, it was clear to the researchers that their survey failed to assess the complexity of the folk medicine traditions. They found less usage of cao gio than previous studies; the difference may have been due to negative feedback from Westerners in cases where cao gio body markings were interpreted as representing child abuse. They found that the treatment was primarily utilized for minor illnesses such as headaches and coughs. An ordinary coin was most frequently used; the treatment was integrated into the family network, primarily through the female members. They also found, that apart from the structured interviews, they learned more about the Vietnamese health beliefs through informal conversations. For example, they participated in a cao gio treatment, and also learned that a woman did not participate in food preparation during her menstrual cycle. A Western view of Eastern beliefs could not anticipate concepts beyond its own scope.

The nutritional study found that Hispanic families reported diets which included higher amounts of fats and saturated fats, and lower levels of grain, vegetables, and fruit consumption than traditional U.S. nutritional standards. They also found that in the future it would be necessary to analyze individuals’ nutritional intake, as well as food preparation, and the meaning of the food within a cultural context. Other studies
pointed out the need for even physiological indices to be interpreted within a cultural model. The principle findings were that Hispanics have higher body fat composition and cholesterol levels; whether or not these higher readings are indicative of greater disease vulnerability remains open to question.

Any health promotion intervention will need to be designed with an ethnic specific model. A universal Health Belief Model may be unrealistic, but, neither can one assume differences merely on the basis of ethnicity. Epidemiological studies have shown that African Americans have higher rates of hypertension and heart disease (235% higher) than all other groups in the United States; on the other hand, worldwide hypertension rates for blacks are lower than for Caucasians. Since much of the intervention in these illnesses is a modification of life-time habits, there is a need to assess African Americans’ locus of control in health issues. It was found that sixty-six percent felt that spiritual beliefs influence one’s health, and eighty-seven percent believed that a superior being had that influence. On the other hand, only eighteen percent conceptualized that a superior being influenced whether or not one got sick. Clearly, an intervention based on a specific group’s belief system needs to take into account its complexity. As in any other research endeavors, one of the principle findings was that there is a need for further research.

SESSION VI: “Pedagogy and Curriculum Strategies.”
Chair: Helen Jaskoski, California State University, Fullerton.
A course in ethnic film and literature allows teachers to present theories of racism and to ask students to apply these theories to films, literature, and their own lives; to examine the construction and attempted deconstruction of stereotypes; to realize for students “forgotten” history or neglected contemporary reality; to foster the ability to read film and literature critically; and to contrast the dominant culture’s representations of ethnic groups with those groups’ own voicing of their experience. Jonathan Wacks’ 1987 film Powwow Highway illustrates how several of these opportunities can be realized in the classroom.

Cortland Auser, Bronx Community College. “Integrating All Cultures Into Standard Courses.”
There are various ways that an instructor may integrate American literary cultures into standard courses. The teacher may well glean excellent examples for use from specialized anthologies of literary material from editions devoted to African American authors, Asian American, Hispanic American, Euro-American, and Native American writers. These techniques include: pairing in fiction courses, use of personae, use of a “mosaic muse” approach for poetry courses, researched thematic approach, chronological thematic approach, and a specialized cross-cultural approach. Teachers must be also trained to employ interdisciplinarity in multi-ethnic courses.

Keith D. Miller and Barbara Urrea, Arizona State University. “Heath Anthology Reshapes American Literature.”
For years editors of standard American literature anthologies have presented undergraduates with a narrow view of the American literary experience. The recently published Heath Anthology of American Literature invites reevaluation of the American literary canon. Students who read this collection will be introduced to marginalized works and also to marginalized genres (such as diaries, letters, sermons, and autobiographies) and to works that address topics previously devalued, including household labor, child abuse, and sexuality. Since publication, the Heath Anthology’s critics have claimed that political—not literary—concerns motivated its editors; they charge that writers were included for reasons of affirmative action rather than aesthetic merit. We contend that works have never been canonized for strictly aesthetic reasons.
Moreover, most of the marginalized works included in the anthology display outstanding literary merit and deserve to be read and studied.

Gail R. Nettels, California State University, Northridge. "Adolescent Ethnic Literature."

Lorraine Hansberry's "A Raisin in the Sun" is enigmatic. Is it a hopeful portrayal of a family's struggle against poverty and racism, or a pessimistic treatise on American Civil Rights? By restoring two scenes to the play, the 1988 Signet edition helps clarify Hansberry's vision and leads teachers and students toward a new set of questions. In light of the additional information included in the revised play, a darker, possibly more cynical, theme emerges. The way in which teachers present the play in its most recent form is crucial to an understanding of Hansberry's viewpoint and artistry.

SESSION VIII: "Education, Testing, and Tutoring."
Chair: Reva H. Bell, Fort Worth, Texas.

Dennis Madrid, University of Southern Colorado. "Passive Peer Tutoring with Low-Achieving Bilingual Children."

Two volunteer bilingual university students worked as coordinators with twelve Spanish/English bilingual children in a group-wide peer tutoring program. Weekly spelling tests were given under three instructional conditions: (a) active peer tutoring; (b) passive peer tutoring; and (c) standard teacher-mediated instruction. The results showed that the passive tutoring conditions yielded a higher rate of correct responding than the standard teacher-mediated condition but at about the same level as the active peer tutoring. The practical implications of the findings are discussed.

Jeanne F. Theoharis, Harvard University. "Rethinking the SAT: Methods of Teaching It, Methods of Evaluating It."

This paper focuses on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT)—a test which severely limits the college choices of many minority students and the diversity of many colleges. Black and Hispanic students average composite scores 200 points lower than whites which puts them at a severe disadvantage both in college admissions and scholarship awards. The paper's purpose is to look at strategies and resources, especially multi-cultural tools, to improve these students' performances.

Carol A. Jenkins, Biola University and Deborah L. Bainer, Ohio State University. "Influencing Academic Success in the Multicultural Classroom."

Ethnic and minority diversity on university campuses continues to increase. As educators, we recognize that equitable treatment for all students is our responsibility, but often we do not know which attitudes, behaviors, expectations and teaching strategies may be misunderstood by ethnic and/or minority students, thus negatively impacting our teaching effectiveness.

This discussion seeks to (1) identify factors which tend to influence the academic success of minority students; (2) identify faculty attitudes and behaviors which may communicate uneasiness and differential expectations; (3) analyze variables associated with minority student learning—motivation, student/professor interaction, limited English proficiency, cultural variations in oral/written logic, understanding diverse world views; (4) suggest strategies for checking understanding in the multicultural classroom; and (5) conclude with observations directed toward facilitating change.

As non-minorities learn more about minority cultures—how they are integrated, their historical and evolutionary development, processes of cultural change, and the nurturing of learning environments—universities can become increasingly useful in facilitating change concerning the understanding and direction of intergroup relations within the academic community.

Respondent: James H. Bracy, California State University, Northridge.

SESSION IX: "Teaching/Learning from the Middle East - Part II."
Chair: Dorothy D. Wills, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.
Madeline Cassidy, Sonoma State University. “The Ideology of Gender and Violence in Lebanon: Etel Adnan’s Novel Sitt Marie-Rose.”

The contrasting gender perspectives in Etel Adnan’s Sitt Marie-Rose create a tension and interplay within the novel that have both political and religious implications. Both in her life and in the integrity of her confrontation with violent death, Marie-Rose redefines morality as an empowering violence that transcends the boundaries of creation and enters into the dynamism of the evolutionary process. It is in this deconstruction of the socially-enforced polarities of “masculine” and “feminine” that Adnan’s feminist perspective manifests its potential for a world beyond war and a humanity beyond death.

Felicia Friendly-Thomas, California Polytechnic University, Pomona. “Women of Iraq and the United Arab Emirates.”

This presentation compares and contrasts the educational systems for males and females in Iraq and the United Arab Emirates. For example, Baghdad University has a Women’s College which is located on a co-educational campus; and Al Ain University in the U.A.E. has segregated campuses for men and women.

Parvin Abyaneh, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. “Reemergence of Import Brides: Case Study of Iranian-Americans.”

The purpose of this research has been to investigate the phenomenon of “import brides,” traditionally known as “picture brides.” The literature assumes this to be an Asian-American phenomenon and addresses women’s subordinate roles as they helped maintain the morale of Asian male laborers. With a fresh perspective, the subject of this investigation is to look at the cost of this pattern of marriage to women. My interviews with twenty-five Iranian-American couples suggests a sense of well being and happiness for husbands and a sense of frustration, loneliness, dissatisfaction, and a few cases of “regret” for the wives.

Respondent: Anahid Crecelius, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

The common theme linking the three papers is the Middle Eastern woman, encumbered by religious/cultural dictates, in many cases by illiteracy and the depressing realization that she can do very little to change her destiny.

Sitt Marie-Rose, presented by Madeline Cassidy, is set in civil war-torn Lebanon where power, a male attribute, is the only ideology that counts. All other human characteristics such as compassion, love and sympathy, defined as female attributes, have been sublimated in favor of power, but Marie-Rose, a Christian educator, dares to defy power to help and care for Palestinians, who are the enemies of the dominant Christian political party.

In a power-blinded society such acts are considered treason and Marie-Rose is dealt with harshly. But Marie-Rose has attained the highest level of personal growth; she is able to offer love, compassion, and care unshackled by the constraints of religious or ethnic considerations. Is it easy to love a stranger when it may result in one’s own death? Is this what the feminist ideology is about? How does one convince others that such feminist attributes of love and compassion are actually universal attributes shared by both genders when generations of males made callous by warmongering and power struggles suppress these attributes? Similarly, females also possess these masculine attributes which they generally sublimate to those of nurturing and love.

The presentation made by Parvin Abyaneh about picture brides from Iran demonstrated that “matchmakers” are important in matters of matrimony in most cultures. Westerners are appalled at such practices, but one nevertheless finds “introductions” at dinner parties, blind dates, etc., that portray similar patterns in Western cultures.

The more interesting aspect of the “picture bride” practice is that it is always the male who has come to a foreign country for education and/or to work who decides when it is time to get married and who will usually marry a woman from his homeland. Why? Is he afraid of the women of his adopted country? Of what is he afraid? Does
he want to maintain a uniethnic family? Are there advantages to homogeneity? Are there possibly fewer family misunderstandings?

The paper deals with the procedures of finding a young woman from among several to which a matchmaker or a family member back home introduces the young man. The pain and shame of being rejected is told by those who were rejected by the young man.

The third presentation by Felicia Friendly-Thomas is based on her recent trip to Iraq and the United Arab Emirates. Her slide presentation showed the dual educational system: schools for males and separate ones for females. Separate but equal? Is this possible? Nevertheless, it is heartening to see that segregated colleges are not unique to Islamic cultures. We see segregated elementary and high schools in many European countries and segregated colleges (mainly female now) in the United States. Granted these are segregated by choice and tradition, not by religious dictate. Women in Iraq and the Gulf states are being educated, but certain professions such as medicine and engineering are still not open to them.

SESSION X: “Ethnic Intermarriage.”
Chair: Joseph J. Leon, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.
M. Belinda Tucker and Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, University of California, Los Angeles.
“New Trends in Interracial Dating and Marriage: Data from Southern California.”

Using data from the 1989 Southern California Social Survey, this paper examines interracial dating and marriage attitudes and reported behaviors in a probability sample of blacks, Latinos, and whites. Interracial dating was reported by over half of all ethnic and gender groups and more frequently among men. Among interracial dates, most frequent partners were whites among blacks, Latinos among whites, black males among Latinas, and white women among Latino males. Most reported that family members knew of their behavior and few families objected, although white women were most likely to report family criticism. Most respondents (sixty-seven percent) were willing to marry a person of another race or ethnic group, but women were less willing than men, and white women were least willing. Groups most frequently excluded as marriage partners were blacks among whites and Latino males, and Asian men among black women and Latinas. Logistic regression analyses indicated that women who dated interracially were more educated and younger, among black women also less lonely, and among Latinas less religious. Among men, dating outside the race was associated with lower life satisfaction among blacks and more education among Latino men.

John N. Tinker, California State University, Fresno. “Mexican-American Intermarriage in Fresno, California.”

Using marriage license records from Fresno County, a large county in central California, I have gathered records of marriages of people with Spanish surnames over the period of the last forty years (1950-1989).

Interracial marriage is a sensitive indicator of the boundary around an ethnic group. If the intermarriage rate is high, the ethnic boundary is not very important socially. That is, if members of two different groups intermarry freely, it is likely that they don’t see themselves as very different and also very likely that the society in general doesn’t treat the groups differently or have various patterns of “racial etiquette” which require that the groups remain separate.

Marriage licenses are a good source of data for this sort of investigation because they contain a surprising wealth of useful information which can help us to understand the process of assimilation (or the patterns of ethnic boundary maintenance). For example, they include information about where the parents of the bride and groom were born, so it is possible to calculate generation in this country (up to native-born of native-born parents), and information about the level of education and occupation of the bride and groom, so it is possible to make inferences about social class. In
addition, we can examine the possibility that there are different gender-related patterns of intermarriage.

The results of this investigation show that the intermarriage rate is very high now among native-born Mexican-Americans with native-born parents (about sixty percent of these people in central California now intermarry), although the intermarriage rate among immigrants or people whose parents were immigrants is very much lower (about seventeen percent). These data also show that there have been some changes over time in these patterns (the intermarriage rates for all generations are somewhat higher now than they were twenty or thirty years ago), but these changes are less dramatic than we might imagine. As early as 1960, for example, more than fifty percent of the marriages of native-born Mexican-Americans with native-born parents in this area were intermarriages. The implications of these results for our choice of models (assimilationist or pluralist models) to understand Mexican-American/Anglo relations and for social policy with regard to ethnic relations are discussed.


This study addresses the patterns of ethnic intermarriage in Hawaii during the years 1969-1971 and 1979-1981. Previous study has found in some cases that there is an East and West dimension to ethnic intermarriage in Hawaii. Using previously reported results by Schoen and Thomas (1989) for marriage of residents of Hawaii which used the magnitude of marriage attraction approach to obtain composition independent measures of marriage behavior, we analyze it to determine if there is an East and West cluster to ethnic intermarriage in Hawaii for marrying residents. The hierarchical cluster analyses support this notion. It appears that the Chinese-Japanese and Caucasian-Hawaiian are the more robust solutions, and the Filipino best fits in the West Cluster for 1969-1971 and 1979-1981.


A major social change in the current Asian American population is the marked increase in the rate of interracial marriages. This phenomenon is especially notable in the Japanese American community where the rate of intermarriage has been fifty percent and more since the 1970s. A common assumption has been that intermarriage results in an eroding of ethnic boundaries and that offspring of intermarriage will lose their sense of Japanese ethnic identity. A recent study at UCLA shows that, although monoracial Japanese Americans have a stronger sense of Japanese identity than their interracial Japanese American counterparts, most interracial Japanese Americans felt strong connections with their Japanese heritage and rather than adopting a single ethnic identity, they experienced identification with both heritages.

Respondent: Louis Holscher, San Jose State University.

In general, people tend to marry someone with whom they feel they have something in common, whether they marry within or outside their ethnic group. An important question is what barriers exist between groups that prevent interaction between individuals, and what opportunities exist to meet members of other ethnic groups. This may be explored on a number of different levels, ranging from the psychological and sociological (norms, values and attitudes related to choosing an acceptable mate) to the structural (social class, institutionalized racism, social and residential isolation), and also includes such factors as number of generations in the United States, ethnic pride, parental authority, and family ties. For example, Leon and Brown identify East and West clusters to ethnic intermarriage in Hawaii. Similarly, Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan note that African American men often date women of another ethnic group. Tinker concludes that increased intermarriage is related to a reduction of boundaries between Chicanos and European Americans, and that intermarriage is positively related to education. Mass mentions the importance of the ethnic composition of a
neighborhood, and that this is a factor in the high intermarriage rates for Japanese Americans. In sum, we will continue to see differential intermarriage rates due to a variety of reasons. There will also be continued differences within ethnic groups in terms of intermarriage. This is due to a number of factors, including social class, length of residency in this country, region (e.g., southern states, Hawaii, New Mexico), gender, the sex ratio, and size of the ethnic community.

A number of theoretical and methodological problems are and will confront researchers who analyze the heterogeneous nature of ethnic intermarriage in the United States. As Mass notes, intermarriage does not necessarily mean the loss of an individual to his/her ethnic group; most multiethnic Japanese Americans continue to identify with their Japanese ancestry and have accepted an identity which acknowledges both heritages. There is a need to explore the social and cultural conditions that influence the development of multiethnic identities, and how this affects the meaning of ethnicity (e.g., who is a Chicano and what does it mean to identify with this ethnic group). As a larger number of individuals identify with a multiethnic ancestry, how should researchers measure an individual’s ties/connections to each group? Ethnicity is both dynamic and multi-dimensional, and one’s identity may or may not include a number of factors, including language, religion, music, food, family-community ties, and traditional first names. Research should include intermarriage patterns among recent immigrant groups (e.g., Southeast Asians and Central Americans), and intermarriage between individuals who are not of European ancestry. There are also a number of methodological problems related to an increase in intermarriage. Studies on Chicano intermarriage that rely on Spanish surnames to identify persons of Mexican ancestry will exclude many individuals of mixed ancestry. Since marriage licenses no longer record the race or ethnicity of partners, there has been an increased dependency in large scale studies to rely on census data. However, the U.S. Census and most other government forms require individuals to choose one racial/ethnic category. This will become increasingly irrelevant and even ludicrous in a society with many multiethnic individuals.

In conclusion, we will continue to need descriptive analyses, such as the works by Leon and Brown, Tinker, and Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan to gain a better understanding of the dynamics of intermarriage in American society. We must also be sensitive to individuals who identify with a multiethnic heritage, e.g., the study by Mass. Future research should lead to new theoretical and methodological developments that challenge our conventional theories on ethnicity and intermarriage. The studies included in this session move us in that direction.

SESSION XI: “Language and Culture.”
Chair: Cortland Auser, Bronx Community College.
Kumiko Takahara, University of Colorado, Boulder. “Ethnic Semantics—A Prospectus of Minority Linguistic Scholarship.”

Language is a major instrument of creating and maintaining inequity among people through its pervasive effect on our verbal behavior. Linguistic separation between the socially dominant and subordinate or the politically empowered and unpowered remains even after collapse of these relationships such as in deferential and common address forms in Romance languages, male and female syntactic differences in Japanese, and favorable and unfavorable epithet pairs in English. This paper will discuss how the linguistic mechanism of prejudice which is derived from power semantics of the language has assisted and strengthened the continuing bias against racial and ethnic minorities in American society.


The English Only Movement which began in the 1980s is one of the most potent forces which will affect the people of Mexican heritage today. Demographics have
shown that by the year 2000 the population of Mexican origin in the Southwest will be over fifty percent of the total population. Currently the English Only Movement is spearheading a grassroots movement to make English the official language of the United States by initiating a call that there should be an amendment to the U.S. constitution (twenty-seventh amendment), which would make English the official language. The attempts to formulate English-Only policy will dramatically affect the population of Mexican origin within the region of the Southwest. The language policy proposals of the English Only Movement have been transformed into the "politics of language" crisis which has given rise to a new wave of nationalism within the communities of Mexican origin.


The paper proposes a conceptual framework for development of cognition in a multicultural society. The framework examines the significance of culture in cognitive development and its implications for society. A student with a broad array of cultural perspectives is better able to function in a multicultural society. In a conceptual framework, each ethnic group would work to form an inter-ethnic cooperation with which to confront the injustices prevalent in our society. It is hoped that the development of a multi-cultural understanding can contribute to the diminishment of conflict.

C. Smiley-Marquez, University of Colorado, Boulder. "Individualized Intelligence in an Information Age: Toward a Multicultural Strategy in the Social Sciences."

The development, experimentation, and implementation of alternative instructional strategies that meet the challenges of a culturally pluralistic society must be vigorously pursued. A design applied to classes on Race and Ethnic Relations is presented.

Respondent: Christine M. Wilcox, Arizona State University.

The scholars of this session did more than inform the audience of research in the field of language and culture. Takahara charged the audience and minority linguists to explore ethnic semantics as power semantics, presenting a little-known domain of investigation. Falcon fired up the audience with a call to further action against the English Only movement, engendering powerful language to fight a language battle. Martinez cajoled and amused with wit and humor. And finally, Smiley-Marquez entertained and captivated with little-known sleight-of-eye diversions which dared the audience to examine their habitual thinking techniques.

Kumiko Takahara, in her paper "Ethnic Semantics: A Prospectus of Minority Linguistic Semantics," asserts that language has been and continues to be used by dominant cultural groups to promote and maintain a separation between the dominant "we" group and the subordinant "they" groups. According to Takahara "ethnic semantics" would be better titled "power semantics." In American culture the English language has been used by Euro-Americans to maintain the power of the dominant whites over ethnic minorities. Takahara contends that "very little study has been undertaken to characterize the language of prejudice as manifestation of power semantics in the context of ethnic and race experience." Ethnic semantics offers a wide field of study for linguistic scholars of any race.

Priscilla Falcon expresses strong emotions about the English Only movement and the damage done to bilingual education by this movement. Agreeing with Takahara, Falcon explains the English Only movement is being utilized to keep white people in power, thereby subordinating the Hispanic population. Contrary to white expectations, the English Only movement "has given rise to a new wave of nationalism within the communities of Mexican origin," and will serve only to further separate the American people. Falcon calls scholars to action against the English Only movement which is being used primarily to promote the "politics of language."

university struggles to maintain and graduate minority students. While most universities attempt to alter the individual to fit the institution, Martinez asserts that successful endeavors would attempt to alter the institution to fit the individual. Cognitive processes of individuals are as diverse as are the individuals. While the cognitive process in western culture is based on a linear process, this is not the case in all cultures or languages. Educators need to be aware of different ways of thinking in order to accommodate the greatest learning possible by their students.

Martinez and Escamilla endeavor to explore Chicano studies departments and their students to document what processes are currently functioning there. By documenting the present, researchers and educators can better prepare for changing the future. This endeavor in the area of Chicano studies is commendable and directly implies what needs to be accomplished for other ethnic studies programs as well. There is no limit to how such studies can benefit students of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Smiley-Marquez offers concrete, practical applications of theoretical ideas such as those offered by Martinez and Escamilla. In her paper, “Individualized Intelligence in an Information Age: Toward a Multicultural Strategy,” Smiley-Marquez challenges educators to use creative methods to promote learning in culturally diverse classrooms. According to the author, “this paper is offered for the purpose of exploring alternative instructional designs for post-secondary education and is based on the experimentation of an instructor teaching race/ethnic content from an interdisciplinary perspective.” She breaks down habitual means of thinking and offers ways in which educators can challenge individual students, not just those who share the cognitive processes of the instructor or the dominant culture.

While Euro-American educators may not be able to fully experience or understand ethnic cognitive processes, they can certainly encourage students of all ethnic backgrounds to explore the world through their own cultural eyes and to share these explorations with each other, furthering the cause of cultural diversity in which we all learn from one another. Further study in these areas will pave the way for culturally diverse classrooms in which students are allowed to explore the world from their own cultural perspectives to permit them to learn in prime conditions.

Further research and discussion of the issues explored in this session could be utilized to improve not only the educational objectives of our culturally-diverse nation but also the cultural environment in which we learn, live, and work: a goal we all strive towards with our diverse means and methods.

SESSION XII: “Literature.”
Chair: Sandra J. Holstein, Southern Oregon State College.

The focus of this paper is the examination of the Black Arts Movements of the 1960s, led by such scholars as Hoyt Fuller, Addison, Gayle, Brother Knight, and Larry Neal, and to show how this movement relates to the works of Frederick Douglass, Richard Wright and Toni Morrison. It centers on literary interpretation based on the concept of a Black Aesthetic.


As we move into the twenty-first century, the immigrant is likely to become the central figure of the American ethnic experience. Imaginatively integrating immigrant texts into the curriculum, then, cannot only help us counter nativist antagonism but also allow us to define more precisely the rhythms and tensions central to the American experience. By using Asian Indian immigrant writing as a general modality of American immigrant discourse, I explore the themes and forms of Indian immigrant texts, their ethnocultural content, their political ambivalence, and their location in the larger contexts of American literary and cultural pluralism.
Resistance to multicultural change in literature and composition classes often occurs among European American students and students of color who feel disconnected from any distinctively ethnic experience. Such students may feel pain or anger when asked to focus on ethnic literatures which seem to leave them out, or claim to include them in a picture in which they don’t fit. We need to be wary of generalizations, and help our students—each of them—claim their cultural specificity as a prerequisite to understanding and valuing the cultures of others. We also need to rethink our use of words like “mainstream” and “ethnic,” so that “European American” is viewed no longer as norm but as one thread in a multiethnic tapestry.

In literary studies, the main deterrent to considering minorities and women writers has always been the existence of a body of works considered essential reading. This canon, as it is called, though it has evolved and changed, has been almost exclusively white, Western, and male.

Since the 1960s, efforts have been made to include works by ethnic and female writers, and there have been significant changes. However, critics now realize that this method will not work because the aesthetic values used to choose what is read are themselves ethnocentric and exclusive. What is needed for the twenty-first century is not an “add and stir” method but, rather, a transformation of the criteria we use to decide what constitutes great literature.

The three papers delivered in this session on literature approach the need for transformation from different angles. Deirdre Lashgari acknowledges that “literature programs frequently approach multicultural change as additive rather than transformative.” Often, although reading lists are expanded to include work by writers of color, there is little reexamination of the underlying canon. The Euro-American tradition is treated as if it simply constituted “literature,” with writings by people of color as optional “extras,” to be appended to the canon when convenient.

Two things result from this “Euro-American as norm system,” as Lashgari calls it: first, the few works by minorities become unconsciously tokenized and generalized, “denying the multiplicities, the disparate cultural experiences, of each particular [ethnic] student.” The other result, not usually acknowledged, is that Euro-American students, “drown in the mainstream”; they feel as if they have no culture. Thus, says Lashgari, if we “reconceptualize the canon” so that Euro-American is one ethnic group, rather than a norm, it will be seen for what it is, another part of the mosaic, which just happens to have dominated because of the power it has held in our society.

Rennie Simpson sees that what perpetuates this power structure is that “many educators still balk at evaluating African-American (and other non-Western) literature from any other than a Western European aesthetic.” Standards of literary excellence are, thus, culturally based and cannot be used to evaluate African American culture, which is neither African nor American and has its own foundation for creation and evaluation based on a shared sense of oppression and suffering at the hands of Western Europeans.

At the heart of a black aesthetic is the concept of the artist as a member of a community rather than as the alienated, isolated individual emphasized by other Western literatures and seen as a universal experience. The answer, says Simpson, lies in Brother Knight’s perception that in order for the black artist to live, s/he “must create new forms and new values, sing new songs ... create a new history, new symbols, myths and legends. . . .”

Like Lashgari, Simpson sees that we must allow for different threads in the tapestry of literature. Black artists emphasize evaluating the artistic works of black people according to the special characteristics and imperatives of black experience. They do
not reject the universals inherent in Shakespeare’s works, but just as Shakespeare’s value cannot be determined by a black aesthetic, neither can traditional classical aesthetic judgments be applied to African American literature. Neither thread must be defined by the colors of the others.

Emmanuel Nelson continues this line of reasoning to discuss Indian immigrant writing. When we read immigrant literature, we find further distinctions between those who write about the old country, those who write about the conflicts between tradition and the new country, and those who see themselves as assimilated, having forged a new identity as Americans. Nelson describes Indian immigrant literature, which spans the immigrant experience from Ved Mehta’s recollections of childhood in India to Bharati Mukherjee’s newest works celebrating her identification with California culture.

Therefore, we find again that the reading of these works as Indian or as American will not yield fruitful analysis. A transformation of the traditional categories is in order. Nelson stresses that the time has come to speak of “North American literatures” rather than a monolithic American literature. From this perspective, Indian immigrant literature can provide a model for other minority literatures.

Each speaker stressed the need for a multiplicity of aesthetics which gives definition and value to literature of different ethnic groups. Rather than using traditional aesthetic criteria to evaluate all literature, we need to gleen different ways of seeing from the corpus of each ethnic group. The result will be a transformation of the definition of literature itself. Only then will we have a richly colored interwoven tapestry instead of a monochromatic cloth enhanced by a richly colored border.

SESSION XIII: “Ethnicity, Sports, and Recreation.”
Chair: Jane Serumgard Harrison, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.
George Eisen, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. “Ethnicity—Race and Sport in America.”

Among the many thorny issues American sport must deal with, there is no more emotionally charged than the relationship of ethnicity, race, and sport. What makes a given group dominant in certain human undertaking, in this case sport, is one of the least understood yet the most controversial questions. Physical superiority of a racial or ethnic group brings into question the most elementary measure of humanity—our physical worth. And, by implication, it also raises the notion of intellectual disparity.

Robert E. Pfister, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. “Ethnicity in Outdoor Recreation: The Hispanic Forest Visitor.”

Recently social science studies have focussed on ethnic minority recreation behavior in outdoor settings. Initial studies have identified the variation in participation rates among ethnic groups and described their leisure time patterns given aggregate socio-demographic variables. It has been suggested the current approaches are limited in scope and a need exists to re-examine the framework in which the studies have been initiated (Allison 1988). Nearly a dozen empirical studies have been reported and six studies encompassed aspects of the Hispanic population and their leisure behavior (Antunes 1975; Hutchinson 1984; Hutchinson 1987; Irwin 1986; Mirowsky 1980; McMillen 1983). This paper describes the Hispanic population using the national forest and their recreational activities, contrasts the motivations, preferences, and perceptions of Hispanic sub-groups using the area, and examines the relationship of ethnicity and social class in explaining differences among the Hispanic population.

Alison Wrynn, University of California, Berkeley. “‘Diversion-ary’ Tactics: The Recreation and Leisure Pursuits of Japanese Americans in World War II Internment Camps.”

During World War II nearly 120,000 Japanese-Americans, many of them U.S. citizens, were incarcerated in “assembly centers” and “internment camps” throughout the western United States. For the three years that they were detained (1942-1945),
work and school occupied much of their time, as it had prior to their incarceration. However, they also had considerably more "free" time as they no longer had farms or businesses to run or homes to maintain. Recent studies of the camps have briefly mentioned the diversions and recreation programs that existed, but they have not analyzed the role these programs played in the lives of the internees.

Leisure served different purposes for the different generations. For the first time in their lives the Issei had discretionary time to fill. The Nisei attempted to continue leisure practices they had established in the pre-war era. Additionally, the U.S. government organized recreation programs in order to keep the internees' minds off their incarceration. Leisure and diversions were a vital part of the camp life as the internees had little to look forward to beyond the next meeting, class, game, or dance.

Sources utilized for this investigation include: newspapers from the camps, internees' diaries and personal correspondence, recreation committee reports, and government documents.


Most nineteenth century commentators portrayed African Americans as different—and inferior—to other men and women. Such beliefs had long been invoked to legitimize slavery, and the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment did very little to foster an understanding that blacks could become economically, socially, or intellectually equal to whites. After 1865, the race continued to be relegated to the margins of society, with few exceptions for participation in those educational, recreational, or sporting opportunities that increasingly became available for other middle-class Americans. Consequently, black Americans were either obliged to occupy little more than token positions in "white men's" sports or develop their own institutions and/or programs. These replicated, in many significant ways, those of the dominant society. One reason was that their own cultural heritages and traditions had been purposefully obliterated by slave holders who feared rebellions and insurrections. Another, and possibly more important, reason was that many emerging middle-class blacks believed that their own advancement, and that of "the race," was tied to embracing values which were similar to those of the larger population. Such a belief was not only reflected in the businesses they established, but also in those programs they created which were devoted to physical education, recreation, and sporting activities. Predominantly black institutions of higher learning like Howard and Tuskegee developed athletic teams and physical education programs along the lines of those already established at Harvard, Yale, Michigan, and other leading universities. Hampton Institute and Fisk University, however, conceived of athletics in a somewhat different manner. All-black Y.M. and Y.W.C.A.s such as those in Washington, D.C., and New York, offered programs very much like Y's in other parts of the country. A stated goal of such programs was to foster moral and intellectual growth and, especially in the case of males, to develop proper character and manly endeavors—qualities which were highly prized by the dominant society.

For African American males, however, participation in "manly" sports presented a paradox. With their emphasis on skill, strength, and agility, sports are an arena where physical prowess is both necessary and socially acceptable. In the case of African Americans, the pernicious claim was often made that they were successful because of their more "brutish" and "animal" natures. The context in which a black man undertook sport made a difference. For example, Matthew W. Bullock and William C. Matthews, who played football for Ivy League Dartmouth and Harvard, were portrayed in substantially the same manner as were white athletes. On the other hand, large numbers of commentators attributed the victories of Jack Johnson to his "brute strength." An example of the actual and ideological paradoxes which confronted nineteenth and twentieth century black athletes can be seen in the career of world champion cyclist Marshall "Major" Taylor. In the United States, he battled under what
he called “bitter odds against the dreadful monster prejudice.” In Australia, which he toured in 1903, Taylor received better treatment, and was described by one newspaper as both an outstanding athlete and “modest, unassuming, and very gentlemanly in deportment.”

SESSION XIV: “Cultural Diversity and Minority Access at Arizona State University,”
Chair: Joseph A. Tiffany, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.
Calbert Seciwa and Gretchen M. Bataille, Arizona State University. “ASU’s Diversity Programs.”

This panel presents information on Arizona State University’s programs for recruiting and retaining minority students. Many of the programs have been made possible by legislative action which provided $1.2 million per year to Arizona State University for the sole purpose of increasing and retaining the minority student population. Several of the programs target all ethnic minority students and some are ethnic specific.

SESSION XV: “Ethnic Identity and Heroes.”
Chair: Barbara Hiura, University of California, Berkeley.
David A. Badillo, Wayne State University. “Exploring the Limits of Chicano Historical Identity: Dual Conquest on the Frontiers of San Antonio and Los Angeles in the Early Nineteenth Century.”

This paper provides a comparative overview of the urban patterns and experiences involved in the conquest of both the Spanish-Mexican and the Anglo-American frontiers of Texas and California, focusing on the respective “capital cities” of San Antonio and Los Angeles. It also outlines some of the workings of urbanism that emerge as a consequence of frequently overlapping cycles of conquest, pointing to the need for a more directly historical approach to the “social history” of the urban Chicano before the U.S. military conquest, including the evolution of “Mexicanized” Indians in cities beginning well before (and continuing through) creole independence from Spain in 1821-22.


This is an historical study of the goals of Italian ethnics in wanting to celebrate Columbus through memorials, parades, and state holidays and the opposition to these celebrations in the late nineteenth century by nativists, with a comparison to today’s analogous conflict over the Martin Luther King holiday.

There is a struggle between Hispanic and Italian ethnics throughout the hemisphere over the presentation of Columbus in school texts and other fora: is he an Italian or Spanish hero?

There is opposition to the celebration of the Columbus Quincentennial on the part of many Native Americans in the United States and throughout the Americas and a struggle between pro- and anti-Columbus partisans for control of the textbook treatment of Columbus. The contemporary partisan argument over the treatment of Dr. King in textbooks is another version of this conflict.

Alberto L. Pulido, University of Utah. “Mexicanos and Religion: Understanding Ethnic Relations in the American Catholic Church.”

This essay examines the transformation of two Catholic Mexican parishes in the Southern California region between 1936 and 1941. It explores the racial and ethnic dimensions of Mexican American Catholics, and offers two important insights to scholars of ethnic studies for the twenty-first century: 1) It calls upon scholars to develop new models for understanding ethnic conflict and power relations in the twenty-first century. Religion continues to play an important role in the political empowerment of poor and oppressed communities throughout the world. This
research offers a case in point, as it examines Mexican Catholics who enter into a conflict and power struggle, once their beliefs and practices are questioned by the American Catholic hierarchy. 2) Accordingly, a unique framework for interpreting ethnic conflict and power struggles over “religious symbols” is offered.

Respondent: Richard Santillan, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

SESSION XVI: “Social Work and Health Education Issues.”
Chair: Charles H. Frost, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.

This presentation reports on the results of a culture-specific Social Work practice course in health care. The course was developed to engage undergraduate Social Work students in a critical understanding of the needs of recent Hispanic immigrants, by examining first-hand the expectations and circumstances surrounding treatment in their country of origin. Learning objectives and content areas for development of a culture-specific practice course for undergraduate Social Work education are discussed and curriculum recommendations presented.

Allene Jones, Texas Christian University. “Sexual Impotence Among Black Men.”

Sexual impotency (erectile dysfunction) is an age-old problem that has existed among men of all races, creeds, and colors. There are also a variety of causes of sexual impotency. This study will compare the existence of sexual impotency between black men and other men. This study will also briefly explore causes, symptomatology, and treatment of sexual impotency.

Alfred Haynes, M.D., Drew/Meharry/Morehouse Consortium Cancer Center. “Differences in Health Status of Minority Groups.”
Respondent: Hassan B. Sisay, California State University, Chico.

SESSION XVII: “Dissertations in Progress.”
Co-Chairs: Nancy Page Fernandez, California State University, Northridge, and Henry Gutierrez, Occidental College.
Michael J. Gonzalez, University of California, Berkeley. “Searching for the Feathered Serpent: The Political Culture of Mexican California, 1821-1848.”

For almost a hundred years historians have maligned the Californios as simple pastoralists who only worried about branding cattle or attending fiestas. According to their detractors, the Californios’ bucolic existence enervated them and reduced them to such a weakened state that, save for some bandit outrages, they meekly surrendered their land and rights to the more aggressive Anglo-Americans. The Californios’ failure to master the complexities of American law and government indeed caused grief, but many scholars have exaggerated the rancheros’ difficulties with Yankee civilization to conclude that the simple Spanish-speakers were destined to fail in Anglo society. By blaming the Californios for their predicament, historians exonerate the Anglos for their egregious deeds and ignore the well-documented cases of land fraud and violations of the Guadalupe Hidalgo treaty. Yet, despite a multitude of books and articles which proclaim the Californios’ preordained fate, the evidence at U.C. Berkeley’s Bancroft Library indicates that the ranchero and poblador (city dweller) demise had nothing to do with their stamina and intellectual vigor.

According to Californio newspapers, diaries, city council minutes, and political declarations before the conquest of California, the Spanish-speaking population enjoyed a sophisticated way of life for which they have received little credit. After the Spaniards began settling the province in 1769, they bequeathed to their descendants a millenarian tradition in which priests and administrators tried to build the prophesied New Jerusalem, and, if they could not make the heavenly city materialize, they could at least create a utopia where Spaniard, mestizo, and Indian could live in harmony. Although the apocalyptic blast never occurred, in the early nineteenth century, the legacy of revelation and its doctrine of perfectibility predisposed many Californios to
embrace the egalitarian spirit of the French and American revolutions as the rancheros and pobladores continued the quest to find heaven on earth. Even if many residents eventually forgot the mystical origins of their culture, some nevertheless pursued reforms which would be dear to a millenarian or revolutionary, for, between 1820 and 1846, enlightened Californios planned to build public schools, educate the Indians, and distribute land to deserving yeomen. Admittedly, while some provincial leaders developed a taste for Montesquieu or Rousseau, and addressed each other as “citizen,” such virtues did not atone for Californio sins. By the 1830s some Californios abandoned all dreams for social harmony and enslaved Indians or connived to carve up the property of secularized missions. After examining the triumph and failure of Californio culture, it is clear that however the rancheros and pobladores conducted themselves they at least pursued a vibrant way of life, and if they suffered at the hands of the Americans, such a painful fate was due more to the overwhelming numbers of Anglo migrants rather than Californio ineptitudes.

Edward Park, University of California, Berkeley. “Asian Americans in Silicon Valley: Race, Class, and the High Technology Economy.”

This study discusses the contemporary images of Asian Americans (as model minorities) and Silicon Valley (as an economic miracle). The discussion explores how these two experiences intersect by pointing out the contributions Asian Americans have made in the development of the high technology industry in Silicon Valley and lays out the major concern of the dissertation: How have Asian Americans, as racial minorities in the United States, been integrated into the high technology economy in Silicon Valley?


Chair: Rafaela Castro, University of California, Davis.

Rafaela Castro, University of California, Davis. “Ethnic Library Collections in California, a Review.”

It has been well over twenty years that ethnic library collections were first established in California’s public and academic libraries. These collections not only represent the history, culture, literature, and growth of the ethnic communities of the state, but they also chronicle the development of ethnic studies research of the last twenty years. Scholarship in civil rights, women’s studies, and ethnic studies movements has reached the unexpected point where many researchers in the field were born after the movements started. The development of these library collections, the information preserved and publications released are history, history of a people’s movements, and more than likely history that is not preserved, in the average public or academic library. Scholars must pay attention to this history.

Vivian M. Sykes, University of California, Santa Cruz. “Multicultural Services/Reference.”

Imagine a program that helps students do multicultural library research. Imagine a program in which for twenty weeks students come to the library and learn how to use it and its many tools. This is a library instruction class that was designed with the UCSC mentorship program to introduce minority students to research and reference tools. The program lasts for twenty weeks helping students to understand what research is, what reference materials are, what online tools are available to them, and when to go outside the library to do their research. The program is part of the UCSC mentorship program and was well received by faculty, students and staff for its role in creating future scholars.

Richard Chabran, University of California, Los Angeles. “Bibilographic Access to Ethnic Collections Within the University of California.”

While ethnic collections have long existed within the United States, access to this material has often been less than adequate. While the reasons for this lie in historical
neglect, some institutions are taking steps to correct this situation. The University of California, when considered as a whole, constitutes one of the largest libraries in the world. As part of its commitment to diversity, the University is exploring ways of enhancing its staff, services and collections relating to diversity. This paper was initially presented as a position paper for the Librarian Association of the University of California (LAUC). It seeks to provide a very broad outline of the ethnic collections within the University and the electronic access being developed to access them. These efforts need to be shaped into a larger national strategy.

Margie Lee, University of California, Los Angeles. "Bibliographic Access to Asian American Studies Research Library Collections at UCLA."

In order to conduct research in Asian American Studies, one must exercise an extraordinary degree of patient, pro-active, and progressive sensibility. Not only does ethnic-focused research receive meager recognition from the Eurocentrally designed "halls of knowledge," but also the field demands tenacious commitment as well as a community-sensitive methodology. This presentation, from the window looking out to the twenty-first century, addresses the institutional, philosophical, and professional challenges facing bibliographic access to and development of Asian American Studies library research collections. The role of the Asian American Studies information specialist as forecaster, mediator, and manager is discussed within the context of the community's information needs and the demands of the academy.

Respondent: Rafaela Castro, University of California, Davis.

Although the audience for this session was small, all present were genuinely interested in the future developments and technological advances of ethnic library collections. Some members of the audience expressed interest in computer database searches, library training for faculty, and for data on the history of ethnic social organizations.

Rafaela Castro started out the program with an historical review of California's public and academic ethnic library collections that were started in the late 1960s. She emphasized that the collections chronicle the history of the ethnic studies curriculum movement; just as the research discipline of ethnic studies has matured and developed, so have ethnic library collections. The importance of faculty support for libraries was stated as very important but it was not clear what faculty could do to assist in the continuation of the specialization of these collections.

Margie Lee's discussion of bibliographic access to the Asian American Studies library collections at UCLA explicitly outlined the dilemmas of an under-budgeted under-staffed library. Even though the collection is referred to as a "reading room," it still provides all of the bibliographic and public information services of an academic library, yet it receives no technological or financial support from the University's General Library system. She showed how the role of the ethnic information specialist must be flexible, innovative, and even radical.

Richard Chabran presented the perspective of development and governance of academic ethnic library collections by discussing the implementation of policy planning within the University of California library system. He introduced three structures that have had recent impact on UC's ethnic collections. The first was Senate Concordance Resolution (SCR) 43 that provided funds for the conversion of Chicano Studies bibliographic records for the MELVYL on-line catalog; second, was the Librarians Association of the University of California (LAUC) that funded a committee to organize a workshop and raise issues of cultural diversity within the University's libraries; third, was the organization of the first UC Ethnic Studies Librarians Network of the University. These three structures have brought and will continue to bring change to the ethnic studies collections of UC.

Vivian Sykes described a library instruction program at UC Santa Cruz that specifically focuses on ethnic studies research by multicultural undergraduate students. The program provides much more than instruction since it is affiliated with the campus mentorship program. Students were able to travel to out-of-state campuses...
to pursue their research. Evidence of the success of the twenty-week program is the acceptance of several of the students into graduate schools, such as the University of California, Harvard University, and Northwestern University.

Enthusiastic discussion followed the presentations with much interest in the multicultural library research program, the creation of automated databases of ethnic resources, and the importance of sharing and disseminating information among ethnic studies librarians. It was clear from the positive response of the audience that sessions on ethnic library collections are necessary at future NAES conferences.

SESSION XX: “Korean-Black Conflicts in Los Angeles.”
Chair: Edward T. Chang, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona.
Ella Stewart, Los Angeles Trade Technical College. “Cultural Differences and Communication Styles Between Koreans and Blacks.”

This study examines the cultural differences and communication styles between Korean merchants/employees and black patrons in South Los Angeles to determine what each cultural group perceived as appropriate and inappropriate behaviors (rules for communication interactions) and outcomes from rule violations. The goal of the study was to identify, describe, and explain, from direct observations, communication competencies in intercultural communication between blacks and Koreans in a business context. Twenty Korean businesses in South-Central Los Angeles with over ninety-nine percent black clientele were used for this study. Respondents were twenty merchants/employees and twenty-two patrons. Data gathered from ethnographic observations, surveys, and interviews were recorded and content analyzed. Results from the study indicate that differences in culture, communication styles, and preconceived notions on the part of each group as to how the other would behave played a significant part in ineffective communication between Korean merchants/employees and black patrons.

Larry Aubry, Los Angeles County Human Relations Commission.

This presentation focuses on African American community perspectives on Korean-African American conflict, especially concerns and resentments of African Americans toward Korean merchants’ lack of respect, economic contributions and mistreatment toward African American customers. The Black-Korean Alliance has been working hard to resolve the conflict between two communities since 1986 and has played a positive role in the improvement of the interactions.

Edward T. Chang, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. “Media and Minorities: Korean-African American Conflict in Los Angeles.”

Many Korean businesses are located in so-called minority areas serving primarily African American or Latino customers. Tensions between Korean merchants and African American customers have been reported in major cities in the United States. A local black activist warned that Korean-African American tensions are like the “keg of dynamite ready to explode.” African American anti-Korean sentiment has an economic and ideological base: cultural and social differences add fuel to the already explosive situation. “Clash of ideologies” is one of the major root causes of Korean-African American conflicts.

SESSION XXI: “Ethnic Relations.”
Chair: Lee Francis, III, Seal Beach, California.

The resurgence of conservatism in the 1980s led to budget cuts, general retrenchment, and retreat from social policies of a generation ago. Consequently, ethnic and other minority groups are competing for dwindling funds and services. Furthermore, the recent heavily Third World immigration has already affected ethnic relations, particularly in California, New York, and Florida. Interethnic competition will likely
generate more serious and potentially divisive conflicts. It is therefore necessary to reassess and possibly redefine ethnic relations. This paper discusses various theories and models of ethnic relations. It analyzes them with respect to their validity, significance, and implications for (1) public policy, (2) the future of ethnic relations, and (3) ethnic studies.

Gladys M. Ebert, Iowa State University. "An Educational and Training Model for American Indian Single Parents That is Succeeding."

The purpose of this ongoing five-year program was to plan and implement an education/training model for American Indian single parents that would succeed in helping them gain the qualifications necessary for meaningful employment. A model has been found to be quite successful, and components include: involving the focus community individuals in planning; providing extensive orientation procedures; identifying participants' interests and abilities; tailoring each single parent's curriculum to meet interests, needs and abilities; permitting only reduced load enrollment to help them cope with family and academic demands; granting financial support for tuition, child care, and transportation; supplying ongoing personal support through counseling services, workshops, and individual contacts. This model could be adapted to other groups of underprivileged single parents.

Estevan T. Flores, University of Colorado, Boulder. "From Chicano Movement to Hispanic League: A Question of Continuity?"

In February of this year, the Hispanic League launched the organization with a press conference where we outlined the League's goals and method of attaining them. Later, in June, 1,500 Hispanics/Latinos and some non-Latinos came together at the Hispanic summit to decide upon the issues we would tackle as a state-wide community of interest. Now we have established our state legislative agenda. We are focusing on only seven items, of many important ones, which we are addressing legislatively. We are a community, in action, moving to achieve our goals. The League is holding fifteen legislative workshops around the state. We are doing two things through these community meetings: we are educating and reeducating ourselves about the state legislative process and how we as individuals and as a group can impact the process for our own benefit. Second, in developing this political consciousness and participation, we are not only exercising our democratic rights but we are also challenging the democratic system to incorporate our views, objectives and goals.

Lee Francis, III, Seal Beach, California. "Institutionalization of Multiculturality: An Empathic Perspective."

Respondent: Sally McBeth, University of Northern Colorado.

As the titles reflect, four very different approaches to ethnic relations and American cultural pluralism were presented. Three themes common to the papers which provide an arena for debate and discussion are: 1) the tensions between pluralism and democracy, 2) coalitions, and 3) political involvement. The first theme which ties the essays together relates to the tension between pluralism and democracy, i.e. the rights of groups to maintain maximum diversity and the rights of individuals guaranteed by the constitution. Majak in particular uses this theme to introduce, conclude, and integrate his essay—but it is also a central theme of all of the papers. A discussion of this dilemma is one that encourages new perspectives on and debates about some of the critical issues of ethnicity. Through it, Ebert, Flores, Francis, and Majak present the intricate dimensions of majority/minority and minority/minority relations. The topics they present range from contemporary public policy issues (Majak), to the roles of educational institutions to provide skills for employment through community involvement (Ebert), to grass roots community organization (Flores), to the actual institutionalization of multiculturality in our increasingly pluralistic, global society (Francis).

The second of these themes, coalitions, introduces a method for improving ethnic relations as well as laying the groundwork for a better understanding of the theoretical constructs of ethnicity. Majak discusses the theoretical coalitions and intersections.
between the assimilationists, pluralists, typologists, and constitutional integrationists, while Francis discusses transcending cultural boundaries through the creation of coalitions. Ebert and Flores focus on the praxis of coalitions, namely, those between segments of the Hispanic community in Colorado (Flores). This theme is an important introduction to a reformulation of the structure of power in this society, a "plausible metaphor" for change.

The third theme, political involvement, is a practical follow up to coalitions. The importance of understanding the distinct social-cultural-political differences within and between groups and the necessity of a commitment to understanding the relevant issues and working to resolve the disparities are central components of each of the four papers. Political involvement in the system we hope to change is a necessary starting point. The primer for a pluralistic society has yet to be written, but the importance of political participation will certainly be the topic of chapter one.

In conclusion, the papers, diverse as their topics are, focus on the complexity of ethnic relations as we move into the twenty-first century. Despite the perplexing state of affairs in the United States, all presenters were optimistic about the future of ethnic relations and the creation of a more tolerant multicultural society. Drawing upon the discussions of social class, ethnicity, race, values, and ideologies, we can begin to construct a model for cultural or ethnic relations in America. We can wrestle with the complex issues of identification, ethnic boundaries, and membership affiliation and move beyond the melting pot.

SESSION XXII: "Ethnic Studies and the New Multiculturalism."
Chair: Jesse M. Vázquez, Queens College/CUNY.

Jesse M. Vázquez, Queens College/CUNY. "The Public Debate Over Multiculturalism: Language and Ideology."

There is a language and an ideology which envelops and infuses that which we have come to call "multicultural." The word can be used to distract us from the most fundamental struggles and most intractable problems of our society; or, it can offer yet another opportunity to move us to a higher social ground. What is it that this new "ism" is really telling us about ourselves as a nation, and about ourselves as a people? And how will the current discourse on race and ethnicity enable us to fulfill the promise of a just and equal society. As one looks at the mounting public discourse on multiculturalism, one begins to notice an emerging journalistic "style" or "genre," if you will, that is repeatedly used by the traditionalists in their zeal to put forth their particular vision of American multiculturalism. Thus far, I have identified eleven traits or characteristics that are commonly found in these journalistic attempts to undermine, challenge or discredit the reformist point of view. First, I will list these eleven characteristics, and then I will review some typical examples of the genre that I have found in the current exchange of journalistic salvos.


There is indeed very little doubt concerning the inherent political nature of the educating act and this phenomenon becomes even more evident when one considers the place of ideology in education. Unfortunately, most of the analyses that have been done regarding the political nature of education (and more specifically, the relationship between ideology and education), have not been positive ones. In this article I examine the various strands of multicultural education that emanated from the early 1970s and discuss the critiques of those strands. I argue that the various manifestations of multicultural education programs were largely in response to the perceived needs of the state. While those programs proportioned to deal with the issues of inequities in the educational system that were basically structural, they merely caused a few curricular changes that skirted the fundamental issues that may be seen as the sui generis of those inequities. I further argue that the issues of race, class, and gender are the very
underpinnings of those inequities and while the multicultural education movement
seems to address those issues, they lack a theoretical and practical treatment which
potently deals with such issues. In fact, when the issues of race, class, and gender are
dealt with by the movement, the movement’s basic theoretical weakness in dealing
with such issues is clearly manifested primarily in its attempt to cause such issues to
overlap without any degree of prioritizing. Consequently, the application of the weak
theoretical stance has only served to make a few cosmetic changes to the educational
system thereby causing such inequities to further perpetuate themselves with even
more serious repercussions for those who are victims of the system.

George H. Junne, University of Colorado, Boulder. "The Push for a Multicultural
Curriculum: Academic Reform or the Latest Fad in Higher Education?"

Many concerned with multiculturalism no longer, if they ever, advocate the
"melting pot" theory of assimilation in a country which has become more diverse
ethnically, culturally, and linguistically. The Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and
1970s spawned several related initiatives, including multiculturalism, to make educa­
tion more equitable for various groups. Multiculturalism was once solely linked to
racism, but is now sometimes expanded to include sexism, classism, ageism, religious
groups, gender issues, gay and lesbian issues, the differently abled, handicapism, and
other collectivities. This faddish approach totally avoids the concerns of race and
racism, and of power and inequality.

James H. Williams, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona. "Whither Ethnic

On an international level, the emergence of multiethnic and multicultural education
has been a gradual and evolutionary process. Beginning in the mid-1960s in the United
States, monoethnic courses emerged. Thus, higher education witnessed the creation
of Black Studies, Chicano Studies, Asian American Studies, and Native American
Studies. As more and more ethnic groups in the United States, including white ethnic
groups such as Jewish Americans and Polish Americans, began to demand separate
courses and the inclusion of their histories and cultures in the curriculum, schools and
colleges began to offer multiethnic studies courses which focus on several ethnic
cultures.

Intellectuals now find themselves in the midst of an interesting odyssey. We have
allowed new terms to invade our consciousness prior to reaching a uniform consensus
of the definition of old terms. The old terms were “race,” “ethnic,” “ethnicity,” “ethnic
studies,” and “culture.” The new terms are “multiethnic,” “multicultural,” and
“diversity.” Very little intellectual rigor has been applied to these new terms.

So, whither ethnic studies as we mark time in our inevitable march to the year 2001?
The original intellectual architects of the Ethnic Studies Department at California
State Polytechnic University, Pomona, laid out a blue print for our odyssey. They
asserted that the purpose of ethnic studies is to introduce active, recognized, and
meaningful cultural democracy into the life of the campus community and its service
area—the state and the nation. As an agent of change within the University, it is the
duty of ethnic studies to involve as many persons as possible in its processes. The
university must become sensitive to and act upon the realities of its geography.

Respondent: Jesse M. Vázquez, Queens College/CUNY.

This panel focused on the wide-spread popularity of the “new multiculturalism”
and its potential impact on ethnic studies and the national discourse on racial and
ethnic diversity in American society. The presenters explored where this new
discourse is taking us, and what it is telling us about who we are as a people and as a
nation. Is the pursuit of the new multicultural agenda for our universities and other
cultural institutions empty rhetoric, window-dressing, or does it represent a genuine
opportunity to continue our struggle towards ethnic and racial justice? The panelists
looked at the language, politics, the struggle to re-define the university curriculum
amidst a rising tide of racial tension, and the larger debate that is shaping the public’s
thinking about race and ethnicity in the America of the 1990s.
I consider how black and white novelists of both sexes represent southern white violence, working from the basic premise that each group drew on certain shared notions about race, sexuality, class, and cultural identity, and that they were continuously renegotiating and reshaping the terms and boundaries of a sectional (and ultimately national) dialogue on racial violence. My study traces these writers’ definitions of white violence, and I look at how they manipulate stereotypes of the Ku Klux Klan member, the black rapist, and the vulnerable white rape victim. I also address the reasons why the literature of the period focused only on the interplay between black and white men, over the body of the white woman, at the same time devoting little or no attention to black women’s experience of white supremacist violence. In addition, my dissertation explores why writers on both sides of the color line highlighted or obscured class tensions among such groups in the South as working class whites, poor rural blacks, white middle class professionals, and black intellectuals.


This dissertation presents a cultural history of Frank Marshall Davis—poet, journalist, and African American intellectual—with the aim of situating him in the genealogical tradition of African American writers caught in the dialectical racial tensions between black and white America. In so doing, I hope to privilege the role and significance of the black intellectual in cultural philosophy, and of Davis’s long-neglected discourse. The methodology utilizes a critique of American racial politics and the economic, social, and sexual exploitation therein to interpret some of the dilemmas of the black intellectual, with Davis as a representative. I venture some reformulations of the traditional western assumptions of art and culture which devalue the black vernacular tradition and deem “true” art is not propaganda. I argue for the valuation and preservation of the canon of black literature which privileges the oral tradition of poetry and literature, and portrays and interprets black culture found and preserved in the lives of ordinary people. Through analysis of the life and writings of Frank Marshall Davis, I demonstrate how his socio-historical experiences impacted his particular cultural philosophy, modes and styles of expression, and life choices—which I will argue are representative of the continuing black intellectual dilemma of art versus propaganda.

SESSION XXIV: “Ethnic Community and Cultural Expression.”
Chair: Harriet J. Ottenheimer, Kansas State University.

The charro tradition, practiced by groups throughout Mexico and in the United States, is an aspect of Hispanic vaquero folk culture that directly links Old World Spanish and Moorish equestrian traditions to the development and performance of contemporary Hispanic and American cowboy folk cultures. Examination of the adaptation of Spanish equestrian styles to the environmental and social needs of the emerging ranching economy in Mexico and the American West reveals a parallel
development of a highly stylized form of folk performance—charreada. Charreada is a public demonstration of a complex folk tradition which dates back to seventeenth century Mexico and finds its sources in medieval Spain. It incorporates and upholds Hispanic norms of bravery and patriotism, discipline and mastery of complex equestrian skills, folk arts in elaborately decorated trappings and costumes, family and community cooperation, the value of work in rural ranching society, and the fostering of enduring ethnic identity.

Using anthropologist Victor Turner’s semiotic approach to celebratory event, anthropologist Clifford Geertz’s concept of deep play, and folklorist Barre Toelken’s criteria for folk culture, charro culture may be examined in the context of: historical development; cultural contexts; ethnic identification (and maintenance in the United States); community values; gender roles in traditional culture; and the relationship of work, leisure, and aesthetic expression.

Widely known in Mexico, charro culture and charreada are generally unknown outside the Hispanic community in the United States despite the fact that there are nearly eighty charro associations in the United States, most of them in the Southwest but also in such far-flung areas as Oregon and Chicago. Charreada offers an especially good cultural text because it manifests, in a distilled and symbolic form, what the Hispanic community conceives to be its history in the New World and its contemporary identity.


An immediate and accessible avenue for the study of ethnic music, and one which can be had for absolutely no expense, is your local community. Many cities and towns in the United States are made up of people of several nationalities who have retained their native customs and traditions, including music and dance. Finding and utilizing them in your courses need not be a monumental task. To demonstrate this point I describe the procedure I developed and offer a few classroom assignments and practical suggestions that can be implemented, with minor revisions, into any curriculum.

Stan Breckenridge, California State University, Fullerton. “The Effects of the African American Music Scene in the U.S.”

This paper is a study of the effects of the African American music scene in the United States from the late 1940s to 1990. This presentation will abet, strengthen, and encourage the need for exploration in the realm of ethnic studies, by showing the African American as responsible for the dominant secular styles of music, formed in America, from the early 1900s to the present. Specific discussion in the exploitation of the African American genres from the late 1940s to 1990 will address the following effects: crossover marketing, crossover artists, and reverse crossover artists. These effects will promote the admirable musical characteristics of African Americans and will assist in providing an incentive for further research in the field of ethnicity.


Beyond the four sacred mountains that mark the traditional boundary of the Navajo reservation, it is not yet realized that the Diné—as that tribe calls itself—has produced a wellspring of poetry equal to that of people anywhere. The stories that accompany the chantways or make up the emergence myth offer valuable lessons about the cosmos and the place of humans on earth, and about how language can be crafted to maintain sacred traditions in a changing world. In fact, the Diné have the poetic resources needed to help solve the dilemma of whether to replace standard European literary material in the curriculum with works by Native Americans and other minorities. A text like Diné bahane’: The Navajo Creation Story demonstrates that one great tradition need not supplant another because hegemony has occurred. To the
contrary, the poetry of people like the Navajos can lead mainstream Anglo-European audiences and literary scholars to new readings of old narratives and hence give us added reason to draw Native American texts into the curriculum without driving classical texts out.

Respondent: Harriet J. Ottenheimer, Kansas State University.

This was a wonderfully stimulating session incorporating four complexly interlocking papers on expressive culture and ethnicity. Sands and Condaris focused on continuity and tradition, text and performance from analytic and pedagogic perspectives. Breckenridge and Zolbrod focused on perceived similarity and perceived difference in music and mythology. Sands's analysis of Charreada history and performance as text revealed the degree to which this tradition continues to function as a celebration of ethnicity. Condaris's report on ethnomusicology class research projects demonstrated the possibilities of successfully engaging students in the process of understanding the role of ethnicity in music. Breckenridge's discussion of crossovers between "black" and "white" musical styles clarified the complexity of the relationship between these American styles and their audiences. Zolbrod's experiment with a Diné reading of Greek mythology resulted in interesting understandings of male and female relationships. From Greek-mythology-through-Navajo-eyes to African-American-music-through-European-American-ears (and vice versa), from text as performance to performance as text, this session was an intellectually stimulating exploration of the complex relationships between oral tradition and script/text/score. A general discussion of the ways in which art forms derive their meanings from the ethnic and cultural contexts in which they are performed provided excellent closure for the session.

SESSION XXV: "Equality Issues."
Chair: Curtis J. Jones, Grand Valley State University.
Susan Eberley, Weber State University. "Equality and Diversity in American Society: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives."

It has been said that societies that neither understand and believe in nor practice their own principles are liable to find their institutions in decay or overthrown. Even though the political system can continue to function (though not necessarily function well) with a low level of electoral participation, the promise of constitutional democracy cannot be fully achieved without widespread participation of a civically literate citizenry. That promise consists partly in the full and free development of the individual as an autonomous and morally responsible person—a self-governing adult. It also consists in the equal participation of all citizens so that government is responsive to particular needs as well as to the common good.

As Professor R. Freeman Butts has urged, the schools and community groups must take seriously their "civic mission." This task must extend beyond academic and vocational preparation, especially for the politically powerless. Schools in particular have a unique role, or at least a unique potential, in this regard, for only they can provide the thoughtful, sequential responsibilities and enjoy the opportunities of adult citizenship.

This framework provides references to the basic philosophy of the concepts of equality and diversity. This is followed by a statement of goals and objectives that should be attained by a citizen to participate fully and responsibly in the political system. An historical and contemporary perspective follows to help the student acquire knowledge and understanding of these basic civic virtues.


The severest threats to multiculturalism in the curriculum come not from those who deny its validity altogether, but from those who allow vaguely that including diverse voices is merely the right thing to do. This fails to acknowledge the educational
necessity of demonstrating that one world view, whether that of a particular discipline or a particular culture, is inadequate for true understanding. This paper examines some of the notions, such as democracy, individual freedom, competition, and progress, that are regarded as universals in American education. It demonstrates their cultural bias and shows how the study of alternative cultural voices can strengthen overall educational content of our institutions.

Kenneth C. Blanchard, Jr., Northern State University. "Ethnicity and the Distinction Between an Equality of Talents and an Equality of Rights."

This paper examines the significance of the question whether disparities in social achievement among different ethnic groups are consequences of majority discrimination or of factors inherent to those groups. Political theory cannot resolve the empirical question, but it can demonstrate that no person's dignity or rights depend on its resolution. This paper traces a common theme through the writings of Jefferson, Lincoln, and Aristotle. The conclusion is that the ground of human dignity does not lie in the degree of intellectual talent—which surely differs among individuals—but in the capacity for self-government, which all human beings share equally.

Marcia A. Albert, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, and Brenda Derby, Hughes Aircraft Company. “The Development of Racial Attitudes in Children.”

There is growing awareness in this country that future prosperity requires an educated workforce. Pervasive prejudice and discrimination are resulting in an underutilization of our workforce. The attitudes that contribute to this crisis take form early in life. This paper reviews the literature on the development of racial attitudes of children during a child's first twelve years. The focus is on the development of racial awareness, racial preferences, racial attitudes, and prejudice. This paper will also review the theories developed to explain how children develop attitudes about their own and other groups.


This presentation describes the preparation of a freshly-formulated teaching project. The aim of this project is to provide a classroom public policy study program wherein students debate policy issues in a carefully structured and professional fashion. This structure encompasses hands-on study of actually-litigated minority set-aside/affirmative action controversies before the U.S. Supreme Court, with every student utilizing the primary documents (the litigants' briefs) used by the Supreme Court Justices themselves. These briefs provide readymade resources fueling policy debate on either side of each case. Because a chronological sequence of cases is studied, students are sensitized to the delicate and dynamic interplay of each precedent upon subsequent decisions. They likewise are alerted to the delicate and dynamic interplay of Justice upon Justice, opinions and dissenting being, of course, personally ascribed. This reminds students that public policy is a matter of personal responsibility. The students are similarly alerted to the delicate and dynamic interplay of various legal authorities.


“Equality” is an elusive term. It is used in various ways to support an array of viewpoints. Equality issues may, however, be divided into four broad categories: political, legal, social, and economic. Political equality involves the concept of popular sovereignty. Citizens are the ultimate source of political authority and their wishes determine public policy. Each individual’s preference in the policy making process weighs the same; no person’s opinion of preferred government outcome counts more than the opinion of any other citizen. An effort by the United States Supreme Court to expand political equality is reflected in the case Baker v. Carr (1962). This decision required regional governments (e.g., Tennessee) to reorganize legislative districts on the bases of population; counties as political units with
differing populations could no longer be used as legislative districts as this violated the concept of one person-one vote. Political equality as applied to the electoral process means that each person's vote will weigh the same.

Political equality suggests majority rule. Majority rule if unrestricted, however, may lead to majority tyranny. Legal equality revolves around the notion that all individuals are to receive similar treatment by the state; simply put: the state in its actions favors no group. Legal equality involves issues of free expression and association, right to privacy, and due process and equal protections of the laws. One of the significant Supreme Court cases in this area is *Gideon v. Wainwright* (1963) which found that all defendants in criminal cases, including the poor, have the right to legal counsel; in *Mapp v. Ohio* (1961) the court applied U.S. constitutional standards for searches and seizures to the regional governments; in *Miranda v. Arizona* (1965) the court furnished procedural safeguards to protect the Fifth Amendment protection against self-incrimination.

Legal and political equality has not resulted in *de facto* equality. Minorities, women, and other traditionally disadvantaged groups have historically received a disproportionately small share of society's benefits. Inequality persists along social and economic lines, and these impact political and legal equality issues. One could argue that political equality, for example, means more than "one person—one vote." A Navajo shepherd and the chairperson of a large corporation both possess the suffrage, but it would be difficult to argue that each is politically equal. Through occupation, status, family, or wealth, some citizens are more able to influence government outcomes. Similarly, while laws may be color-blind in their application, many studies have revealed that the justice system—police, prosecutors, and judges—is not. Thus, issues of discrimination, equity, and availability of opportunity, i.e., social and economic equality, are intertwined with forms of political and legal equality.

There are two often cited means to achieve social and economic equality: first, providing equal opportunities, and second, ensuring equal results. Equality of opportunity suggests that each individual has the same chance to succeed in life. Education as a tool for social mobility is available to all (*Brown v. The Board of Education*, 1954); the Civil Rights Act of 1964 bars discrimination in public accommodations and provides the right to equality in employment opportunities; the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 prevents discrimination of the disabled. Using this route to achieve equality, it is not essential that people end up being equal, only that a chance to advance is available.

True equality may, however, mean nothing less than equality of result. It is not sufficient that government furnishes equal opportunities, but must design policies to redistribute wealth and status. Although children in an inner-city school district may have educational opportunities for advancement, the result of outcomes are not comparable to the educational opportunities presented to children attending a suburban school district. In the economic area, equality of outcome has led to affirmative action programs, public debate of comparable worth, and laws which prevent gender pay discrimination for like-classified work.

Each of the presenters focuses on at least one of these four equality issue areas. Eberley and Swan present in their papers varying approaches to teaching equality issues. Eberley explicitly recognizes the complexity of form equality issues may take, and she supplies the reader with a very broad focus on civic-political education. As part of a Carnegie Foundation project, a process is outlined for determining political values and developing a curriculum framework. Swan's paper is aimed more narrowly at the Constitutional Law instructor. His work offers a well-constructed course, including suggested cases, which investigates affirmative action issues.

Albert's paper on the means by which racial attitudes develop in children is particularly interesting. The paper is well written, organized, and documented. While it does not lead the reader in a new theoretical direction, the strength of this work lies with its review of the professional literature.
SESSION XXVI: “The Rainbow Warriors: A Native American Writing Class Reaching Out.”
G. Lynn Nelson, Arizona State University.

This presentation features a Native American writing class that has become a force for peace and cultural understanding in the university and the surrounding community. It includes 1) a discussion of the premises, inception, and flowering of the class and its outreach; 2) a reading/cultural sharing by some of the members of the class; 3) a closing feather circle/sage blessing for all participants; 4) a time for questions and discussion.

SESSION XXVII: “Curriculum Strategies.”
Chair: Miguel A. Carranza, University of Nebraska, Lincoln.

It is generally understood that literary works by Native Americans, African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos should be part of the secondary school curriculum. Given the acceptance of this understanding, individual teachers are faced with three tasks: becoming conversant with and selecting appropriate literary works, integrating these works into courses of study, and using appropriate classroom methods. Our purpose is to concentrate on the last of these, to suggest creative ways of helping them to understand the histories, customs, and current situations of ethnic minorities as presented from the perspective of ethnic minority writers.

The basic tenet of our approach is that we believe teachers should not teach about literature; they should, instead, help students empathize with various ethnic perspectives by engaging students in the texts. Our approach is based on the transactional theory of literature. Often termed “reader response,” this theory establishes that responses to literature depend on a reader interacting actively with a text to create an interpretation. While responding, the reader lives through the text, empathizing with characters, and relating to situations and issues. Class discussions and activities, both oral and written, build from the students’ sometimes quite impoverished initial impressions. The students are helped to perceive features of the work, previously overlooked, thus enhancing and refining their interpretations.

Martha J. LaBare and Margaret Krassy, Bloomfield College. “Faculty Development for Multicultural Curriculum: A Program of Bloomfield College.”

Bloomfield College has focused its mission: “To prepare students to function effectively in a multicultural, multiracial society.” In doing so, the College has committed itself to a transformation of the curriculum. Courses are being expanded to permit inclusion of race-related, gender-related, and ethnicity-related subject matter. This is curriculum development based in faculty development. “Agare sequitur esse,” as the Scholastics used to say: “You can’t give what you don’t have.” Faculty study the scholarship and perspectives of race and ethnicity and revise courses in three phases: In Phase I, faculty study together with the preceptor-in-residence in an interdisciplinary seminar and with individual preceptors in their respective disciplines. In Phase II, faculty spend one week in summer workshops, focusing on revising courses. In Phase III, faculty implement and evaluate their revised courses with mutual class observations and student interviews.


Predominantly white campuses have an obligation to develop a college community where students and faculty of different ages, ethnicities, races, and genders can coexist in an atmosphere of openness, equality, mutual respect, and honesty. The spate of incidents against ethnic minorities and women suggest that all is not well on the diversity front. The purpose of this paper is to examine pertinent issues in diversity pertaining to changing demographics, campus climate, and the education of college
students. A diversity module is suggested for the Freshman Orientation course which could be adapted to the unique circumstances of the individual campus.

Glen M. Kraig, California State University, San Bernardino. "Strategies to Increase the Number of Minority Teachers in the Public Schools."

During the decade of the 1980s the percentage of minority teachers in the public schools has fallen dramatically and current estimates predict that as we enter the twenty-first century this percentage will continue to fall even further. This paper explores this situation and the ramifications that can occur if this trend is not reversed. Suggestions are presented as to what might be done by schools and universities to reverse this trend as well as presenting several promising strategies that have been successful in various locales.


SESSION XXVIII: "Ethnic Communities."
Chair: Johnny Washington, Florida Atlantic University.
Steve Gold, Whittier College. "Refugee Entrepreneurship and Job Creation."

Since 1975 close to 850,000 Southeast Asian refugees have entered the United States. The largest concentration—approximately 200,000—is located in the greater Los Angeles area. Almost half of all refugees continue to be dependent upon various forms of public support.

In recent years, research involving immigrant populations has demonstrated that through the creation of integrated ethnic enclave economies, many economic disadvantages of immigrant status can be overcome. Unfortunately, most Southeast Asian refugees lack the capital, experience and community connections needed to establish employment-generating enterprises. Ethnic Chinese refugees, however, appear to be making more significant strides towards the creation of large businesses. In several ways, their characteristics approach those associated with other groups’ entrepreneurial success. Further, their cultural, linguistic and entrepreneurial skills and experiences suggest that they may be able to employ other Southeast Asian refugees including Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians.

This study, based upon in-depth interviews, participant observation and secondary data analysis, assesses the potential for job creation that exists among Chinese Southeast Asian entrepreneurs in the Los Angeles/Orange County area. Topics addressed will include the motives ethnic Chinese refugees have for opening businesses; their individual and collective resources; the major obstacles they encounter in running enterprises; and how many and what kinds of jobs immigrants create for themselves, their fellow immigrants and other workers.

Research suggests that while ethnic Chinese do create many businesses, these frequently rely on Latino labor. Hence, they are limited in their ability to employ co-ethnics.

Timothy P. Fong, University of California, Berkeley. "Monterey Park: The Unique Convergence."

Monterey Park, California, is a city of 60,000 residents located just east of downtown Los Angeles. With a recent influx of Chinese immigrants, primarily from Taiwan and Hong Kong, Monterey Park is the only city in the continental United States that has a majority Asian population. According to the recently released 1990 Census, Asians make up fifty-six percent of the city’s population followed by Latinos with thirty-one percent; whites make up a mere twelve percent.

In 1985 Monterey Park was honored by the National Municipal League and the USA Today newspaper as an “All-America” city for its programs to welcome immigrants to the community. Known as the “City With A Heart,” Monterey Park has taken great pride in being a diverse and harmonious community. In fact, on June 13, 1983, Time magazine ran a picture of the Monterey Park city council with a caption reading,
“middle-class Monterey Park’s multiethnic city council: two Hispanics, a Filipino, a Chinese and, in the rear, an Anglo.” But despite the accolades, there were also serious signs that this melting pot was about to boil over.

In 1985, the same year Monterey Park received its “All America” city award, a local newspaper printed an article saying the Chinese were bad drivers, over 3,300 residents signed a petition attempting to get an “Official English” initiative on the local ballot, and bumper stickers began to emerge asking, “WILL THE LAST AMERICAN TO LEAVE MONTEREY PARK PLEASE BRING THE FLAG?”

This paper briefly describes the unique convergence of demographic, economic, and social/cultural changes that have taken place in Monterey Park. In addition, this paper highlights the emotional reactions to the changes created by the newcomer Chinese in the community. Last, this paper focuses on last year’s 1990 city council election and prospects for the future.


This paper analyzes the maintenance of Cowlitz tribal identity in the midst of acculturation influences of the twentieth century United States. Loyalty to ancestral land, genealogical ties, family social networks, and continuous tribal political organization provide insights beyond this case study into mechanisms of tribal continuity for the twenty-first century, when Native Americans will be further removed from aboriginal ways of life. The primary data base for this study are “oral histories” collected through interviews of tribal elders and younger tribal leaders of a federally unrecognized and non-treaty tribe, the Cowlitz Indians in southwestern Washington state.

Respondent: Brij B. Khare, California State University, San Bernardino.
LUCIA CHIAVOLA BIRNBAUM is an Affiliated Scholar at Stanford University whose discipline of interest is history. Her research pursuits include comparative studies in Italian and U.S. Feminism as well as popular Italian religious and political beliefs. Her book, *Laiberazione Della Donna—Feminism in Italy* is available through Stanford University.

GLORIA EIVE has major interests in ethnomusicology, Italian American ethnic studies, culture, traditions, and immigrant political activity, as well as various other European immigrant issues. She is a scholar in the area of ethnomusicology.

GERALD R. GEMS is the chair of the department of Health and Physical Education at North Central College. He earned his doctorate at the University of Maryland. His areas of interests include American sport history.

PAIVI H. HOIKKALA holds two master’s degrees, one from Finland and the second from Utah State University. Native American culture is among her many interests.

JOSÉ MACIAS is an Assistant Professor of Educational Studies and Ethnic Studies at the University of Utah. His primary interests are in the anthropology of education, comparative education, child development, and ethnography. In current work he examines the educational, social, and cultural transition of immigrant families and their school-age children from Mexico to the U.S.

CHRISTINE MORRIS is a descendant of the Kombumerri/Munaljahli people. She is currently a post-graduate student of the Department of Studies in Religion at Queensland University. Her field of research is Australian Aboriginal philosophy.

ALAN SPECTOR holds a doctorate in Sociology and is a professor in the Behavioral Sciences department at Purdue University Calumet. His areas of interests include racial and ethnic subordination and oppression, social and political movements, and ethnic theory as it relates to trends in race and ethnic relations.
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