EXPLORATIONS
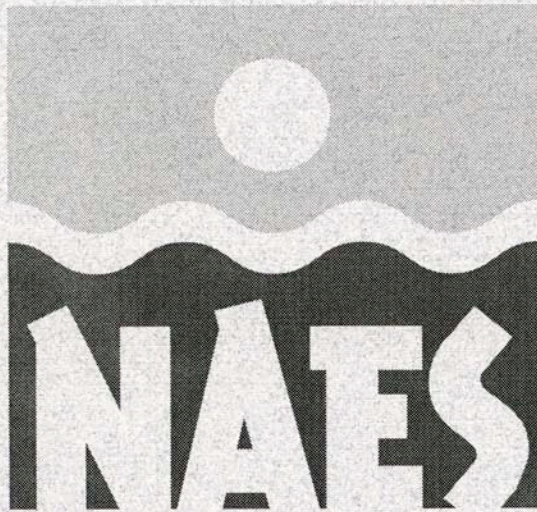# IN
ETHNIC STUDIES

The National Association for Ethnic Studies

The National Association for Ethnic Studies (NAES) was founded in 1971. NAES has as its basic purpose the promotion of activities and scholarship in the field of ethnic studies. The Association is open to any person or institution. The Association serves as a forum to its members for promoting: research, study, curriculum, design as well as producing publications of interest to the field. NAES also sponsors an annual conference on ethnic studies. *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* is an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic peoples. The journal is refereed and provides a forum for socially responsible research. Contributors to the journal demonstrate the integration of theory and practice.

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

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Editor's Note

The articles found in this issue of *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* focus on a wide variety of topics. The first article by E. San Juan, Jr. challenges Ethnic Studies scholars to reassess the principles and goals of the discipline. Utilizing the experience of Asians in U.S. history, San Juan, Jr. highlights flaws in the pluralistic focus of culture that is separate and apart from the economic and political contexts of minority/majority power relationships. He contends that ethnic studies scholars need to critically address the problem of power, the knowledge it produces and that legitimates the misuse and abuse of such power.

Theresa Martinez writes about the use of social theory to explain gang behavior in our communities. She expands on strain theory developed by Robert Merton to address the gang behavior of Chicano/ Latino and African American youth. In particular she emphasizes patriarchal ideology and powerlessness, and how Chicano/Latino youth become innovative not only to achieve economic success goals, but also because society stresses masculine dominance.

The article by M.K. Johnson takes a look at the way racist statements and the marking of difference were established over time against the Japanese in U.S. society. His work also examines the way anti-Japanese statements were connected to pre-existing racist statements about the Chinese. Equally important is the way he also illuminates how articles and photographs negotiated this pre-existing network of statements.

In focusing on the theme of alienation, Calvin Harris studies the PanAfrican movement and Black political fiction from the 1920s-50s. He is especially interested in addressing the impact of the Pan-African movement on this specific era of Afro-American history. His central focus centers on the kind of interactions which take place between the writer as political activist and movement elites and activists.

Finally, the article by Lisë Osvold and Gargi Roysircar Sodowsky is an empirical study focusing on the eating attitudes of Native American and African American women, and the relationship of these attitudes to acculturation measures. They found that concerns about body weight and shape were greater for those women more acculturated to the dominant cultural standards. Open-ended questions elicited feelings about symbols of beauty, physical self and even use of standard English.

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Beyond Ethnicity: Toward a Critique of the Hegemonic Discipline

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With the current vogue of multiculturalism and cultural diversity requirements as panacea for systemic problems, scholars and teachers of Ethnic Studies need to reassess the principles and goals of their discipline. Los Angeles 1992, among other developments, has exposed the serious inadequacies of old paradigms. A review of the racialized history of Asians in U.S. society, a narrative of oppression and opposition now mystified by the *model minority myth*, allows us to grasp the flaws of the liberal pluralist focus on culture divorced from the political and economic contexts of unequal power relations. Ultimately, for whom is Ethnic Studies designed? By historicizing identity politics and validating the genealogy of resistance, we in the field of Ethnic Studies can refuse to be mere apologists for the status quo and revitalize the critical and emancipatory thrust of Ethnic Studies, a thrust inseparable from the struggle of people of color against white supremacy.

In a recent opinion piece in *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, Evelyn Hu-DeHart reflected on the paradoxical situation of Ethnic Studies as an academic discipline--paradoxical because it is both widely endorsed and universally ignored, long-established but marginalized.[1] Why this coexistence of being both blessed and maligned at the same time? All Departments of Ethnic Studies, to be sure, have experienced the anxieties of in-betweeness and contingency, "trips" of indeterminacy. Their survival is nothing short of a miracle. Except that this miracle, seen in historical perspective, involves secular agents: the ordinary and daily acts of resistance by people of color against ostracism and various forms of oppression. I have in mind the mobilization of popular energies against discrimination and racist violence throughout United States history--a

dialectic of forces that have constituted the polity from its founding. The birth of Ethnic Studies in the fury of emergencies, in the fires of urban rebellions and national liberation struggles inscribed within living memory, has marked its character and destiny for better or worse, perhaps to a degree that explains the risks and the stakes in this peculiar (to use Wittgenstein's term) "form of life."

We are witnessing today a fateful turn of events in the politics of local/global cultures as we cross the threshold into the 21st century. While its viability and provocativeness still draws sustenance from the profound historicity of its advent, the current plight of Ethnic Studies also depends on the conjuncture of circumstances. It depends chiefly on the sense of responsibility of such "organic" intellectuals to their communities. Everyone recognizes that this discipline would not have been possible without the radical democratic engagements of women, youth, people of color in "internal colonies" and overseas dependencies--projects to achieve cultural autonomy, sovereignty rights, and self-determination. One might say that our field is concerned with the theorizing of such variegated praxis.[2]

With the neoconservative counter-revolution of the eighties, such condition of possibility may have been extinguished, hence the ambivalent and even amphibious mapping of this field. Hu-DeHart is sorely pressed to argue for its scholarly legitimacy and respectability, thus she tries to reinvent its reformist "contract" with society by invoking the somewhat triumphalist claim that Ethnic Studies is here to stay because "it is an integral part of multicultural education." I do not mean to ascribe a naive optimism to Hu-DeHart; her view is partly substantiated by demographics and the revitalized opposition to the neoconservativism of the last two decades. Ethnic Studies will stay so long as its practitioners adhere chiefly to the power/knowledge regime of the "role model" and regard this subject-position as the pedagogical transcoding of the chameleonic politics of identity (otherwise variably known as "border," hybrid, and cyborg lifestyles). The routine slogan for these role models, I believe, goes like this: "Look, marvel at our inimitable crafts, performances, apparel, idioms--we contribute to making America a colorful saladbowl of differences!" Angela Davis rightly objects to this cooptative management of diversity for corporate profitmaking, incapable of challenging the gender, class and race hierarchies that structure the major institutions: "A multiculturalism that does not acknowledge the political character of culture will not...lead toward the dismantling of racist, sexist, homophobic, economically exploitative institutions."[3]

Meanwhile, I want to provoke here an exploratory reflection on these themes of telos and commitment in this time of cynical reaction and retrenchment by posing the following questions: If multicultural education (for some, the "cult of literacy") has displaced the centrality of mass social movements, does this signify that we have again been subtly re-

colonized? Has the "power elite" (to use C.Wright Mills' oldfashioned term) succeeded in obscuring fundamental inequalities (class, gender, nation) by shifting the attention to cultural differences, lifestyles, and the quest for authentic selves? Has ethnic pluralism erased racism? Is the generic brand of Ethnic Studies and its discourse of diversity, with its associated politics of identity, not problematizing Others of its own invention? Is it now simply used to manage and harmonize differences by refurbishing the trope of the "melting pot"? Has it been retooled to perform what Marcuse once called "repressive desublimation"? Or is it deployed as prophylaxis to service the aspirations of the comprador intelligentsia of the subalterns and ultimately pacify the populace?[4]

I want to briefly address these questions in the context of the Asian American situation in the period of late or global capitalism. As numerous scholars (Elizabeth Martinez and Annette Jaimes Guerrero,[5] among others) have argued in examining the complex racial politics of U.S. history, we can no longer continue to use the white/black sociological paradigm to understand how the racialization of Latinos, Native Americans, Asians/Pacific Islanders, and other groups in this country has operated to establish, reproduce and maintain EuroAmerican hegemony. For one, the 1992 Los Angeles multiethnic rebellion, labelled "riots" by the mass media, escapes this functionalist paradigm.[6] I propose the axiom of historical specificity and the methodological primacy of material social relations to guide us in apprehending how the value or meaning of ethnicity (ethnic identity, etc.) cannot be fully grasped without the overall framework of the political economy of race in U.S. history. Except for proponents of the "Bell Curve" and other reactionary theories, the term "race" has (by the consensus of the scholarly community) no scientific referent. It is a socially constructed term embedded in the structures of power and privilege in any social formation. Its signifying power comes from the articulation of a complex of cultural properties and processes with a mode of production centered on capital accumulation and its accompanying symbolic economy. This system depends primarily on material inequality in the appropriation and exploitation of land, labor power, and means of reproduction by a privileged minority of European origin or affiliation. The historical genealogy of the United States as a peculiar settler formation with internal colonies and subjugated subalterns is, I submit, the necessary framework within which one should chart the postCold War vicissitudes of late-capitalist *Herrenvolk* democracy.[7]

By the year 2000, ten million people of Asian and Pacific Islander descent will be residing here. This is part of a demographic trend in which the racial minorities (always conceived as a problem to the dominant majority) are bound to become the majority in the next four or five decades--a shocking and frightening prospect for a preponderant multitude of citizens who still cling to the assimilationist melting-pot of yore.

Globalizing trends, however, contain both homogenizing and heterogenizing impulses.

By 2020, Asians/Pacific Islanders will reach a total of twenty million.[8] But chances are that even with this phenomenal increase, Asian Americans (the government rubric homogenizes more than 30 distinct groups) in general will still "look alike" to the majority. Such a will to classify "them" versus "us" is not of course a natural disposition but a crafted scapegoating response that has become normalized.[9] It is the resentment felt by the casualties of economic devaluation and social dislocation: someone (who looks or behaves differently, the "strangers" in our midst) ought to pay for the crisis we are in. I cite only the most well-known example. In 1992, two unemployed white autoworkers in Detroit mistook Vincent Chin, a Chinese American, for Japanese and clubbed him to death. Chin's father was a World War II veteran, and his grandfather was one of the thousands of Chinese who built the transcontinental railroads in the 19th century.

About a hundred years ago, the first federal law targetting a racially denominated group, the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (not repealed until 1943), was passed after years in which the Chinese served as sacrifical offerings--to lynchmobs.[10] (Note that California passed the first law in 1858 barring Chinese and "Mongolians"). "Kill the foreigners to save our jobs! The Chinese must go!" were the demands of unions in California before and after 1882. Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, is famous for his statement: "Every incoming coolie means the displacement of an American, and the lowering of the American standard of living." What needs underscoring is something marginalized in the textbooks: Ever since the 1790 Naturalization Law, which specified that only free "white" immigrants would be eligible for naturalized citizenship, a racially exclusive and not simply ethnic pattern of development became ascendant.

Just as landmark cases like *Dred Scott vs Sanford* (1857) and *Plessy vs Ferguson* (1896) registered the ideological effects of racial struggles in the past, so we find analogous developments concerning Asians. This racially exclusivist drive to discipline Asian bodies, inflamed by economic crises and sharpening class antagonisms, influenced the laws reinforcing the 1882 Exclusion Act, the 1907-08 Gentlemen's Agreement, and finally the 1917 and 1924 legislation of the "barred zone," which prohibited the entry of all Asians, including those in the Asian part of Russia, Afghanistan, Iran, Arabia, and the Pacific and southeast Asian Islands not owned by the United States. The "barred zone" law is, I think, a unique milestone in the annals of territorial purification. Clearly, the state was neither neutral nor paternalistic in the racialization of Asians. I need not recapitulate here the narratives of brutalization of these Asian subjects all of which have been plotted by the discursive and disciplinary practices of an order geared to facilitate commodity exchange and sur-

plus-value accumulation. John Higham's *Strangers in the Land*[11] and Gustavus Myers' *History of Bigotry in the United States*,[12] among others, offer substantive documentation for this entire epoch.

Up to World War II, then, Asians here were perceived as "perpetual foreigners" because of their physiognomy and therefore had to "stay in their place." They were considered "unassimilable," recalcitrant, and intractable, because of either language, customs, religious or political beliefs--in short, their appalling victimage and their refusal to submit. Ethnicity acquired meaning and import within the existing class hierarchy and the vicissitudes of its internal antagonisms. The historian Sucheng Chan sums up the effects of state ideological and coercive apparatuses that circumscribed the location of Asians in the racialized order: "In their relationship to the host society, well-to-do merchants and poor servants, landowning farmers and propertyless farm workers, exploitative labor contractors and exploited laborers alike were considered inferior to all Euro-Americans, regardless of the internal ethnic and socioeconomic divisions among the latter."[13] When 112,000 Japanese Americans were "relocated" to concentration camps in 1942, this surveillance and confinement of bodies climaxed almost a century of racial politics initiated with the near extermination of the American Indian nations, refined in the slave plantations of the South, and extended after the Mexican-American War of 1846-48 to Mexicans and indigenous inhabitants of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines.

Various historians have pointed out that we cannot understand the economic and geopolitical expansion of the United States nation-state without constantly keeping in mind the physical displacement of masses labelled "Others", and the political subjugation of dark-skinned peoples by the civilization of white supremacy.[14] The notion of cultural pluralism is rooted in and complicit with the permanence of systemic inequality. The Enlightenment principles of equality and individual rights constituted the abstract logic that legitimized the commodification of human bodies (chattel slavery) and the predatory forays of the "free market." Eventually, white supremacy and ethnocentrism acquired pseudo-scientific legitimacy with the rise of social Darwinism and the tradition of racist thinking begun by Carl Linnaeus and elaborated by Robert Knox, Arthur de Gobineau, Francis Galton (founder of eugenics), Herbert Spencer, Houston Stewart Chamberlain, and their numerous American counterparts. When the majority of Asians entered U.S. territory after the Civil War and the pacification of the Native Americans in the West, they entered a space where their subjectivity was mediated if not produced by the interpellation of capital. The boundaries of domination over Asian and Hawaiian bodies exceeded the circumscribed geography of the nation-state when the U.S. annexed Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines as colonies by the turn of the century. The Cold War interventions in Korea in the fifties and Vietnam in the sixties and seventies explain the

influx of refugees, war brides, orphans, and the "brain drain" from those unsettled regions now targetted for global modernization by transnational corporations. (And mind you, these transnational entrepreneurs are not reading Max Weber's theory of modernization but Sun Tzu's *Art of War*[15] and other guerilla manuals from medieval Japan.) Has the margin then become the center, or the center marginalized?

Distinct from other Asians, the Filipinos experienced the full impact of U.S. colonization as "wards" of the government's Bureau of Indian Affairs. The violent subjugation of the Philippines and its revolutionary republic after the brief Spanish-American War (at the cost of at least 8,000 U.S. soldiers and about a million natives--a blank space in most history textbooks) gives us the background to the heterogeneous and incoherent nature of the Filipino community here in the U.S. (now the largest of the Asian American category). When queried why the American conduct of the war had been cruel, Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana replied: "Senators must remember that we are not dealing with Americans or Europeans. We are dealing with Orientals...."[16] Such an "Orientalist" remark has often been repeated from then on up and through World War II (against the Japanese), the Korean War, and the interventions in IndoChina.

It should now be obvious that the ethnicity of Asian Americans cannot be understood apart from history, the workings of the state, and the contingencies of political economy. We need to comprehend the effects of the racializing dynamics of business politics and the resonance of modernization ideology in the colonizing maneuvers of the government around the world. Because international rivalries of nation-states (despite postCold War compromises) affect ethnic/racial boundaries and their realignments in the United States, I would also urge a comparative approach in examining the racializing of ethnic relations across class and gender lines, among European immigrants and their descendants, as well as the dominated peoples of color, in relation to power disparities and conflicts.

We must remember that the incorporation of Asians and Pacific Islanders occurred in times of fierce class wars (articulated through race) from the beginning of the Civil War, the subjugation of the American Indian nations and the Mexican inhabitants of the occupied southwest region, up to the imperialist encroachments into Latin America, Hawaii, and the Philippines. Ideology and jurisprudence followed the logic of capital expansion and colonial administration. State power and ideological apparatuses of civil society functioned within this wider framework to determine the shifting value of ethnic properties (or whatever salient cultural attribute is defined as "ethnic" at a given conjuncture) within the dynamics of fundamental and subsumed class contradictions.

What this implies then is that in rehearsing the narratives of victimization of Asians in the United States, a task that seems to have stigma-

tized us as experts in the putative science of victimology, we need to beware of the traps of liberal patronage. I think it is not enough to simply add that we possess a rich archive of resistance and rebellion. There may be something suspect in claiming that the Chinese or Japanese movement, in seizing the guarantee of equal protection under the Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment to redress grievances, blazed the trail for the Civil Rights movement--a global phenomenon that embraced national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Or celebrating the fact that Japanese and Filipinos spearheaded strikes and militant union organizing in Hawaii and California from the beginning of this century up to the founding of the United Farm Workers of America. Such occasions (too numerous to inventory here) demonstrate how resistance to capital overcomes ethnic separatism and segregation.

Ethnicism, the absolutizing or mystification of ethnicity, occludes racism and delegitimizes resistance to it. We need instead to avoid reifying cultural traits and show how such allegedly fixed and static attributes change under the pressure of circumstances and the transformative force of people's actions. What is imperative is to historicize the so-called ethnic predicament--the salience of cultural practices, customs, traditions, languages, and so on, in situations of uprooting, surveillance, alienation, exclusion, violence--by inscribing the racial marking of Asian bodies and their labor power in the unevenly synchronized but universalizing narratives of the growth, consolidation, and expansion of U.S. capital in the continent and around the world.[17]

This leads us to inquire into the function of the now infamous "model minority myth" which, despite being exposed and exploded by numerous critiques that begin to replicate each other, exhibits a curious buoyancy and seems to enact the "return of the living dead" in some comic, late-night TV melodrama.

Initiated principally by pundits of the mass media, this myth was canonized by President Reagan in 1984 and then echoed by *Newsweek*, CBS, and current textbooks. Reagan praised Asians for their high median family incomes ostensibly due to their "hard work" and idiosyncratic "values" that are allowed to flourish within "our political system" of free enterprise and self-help utilitarianism. Some Japanese Americans and Asian Indians have "outwhited the whites," so to speak. Time here forbids me from reiterating the massive fallacies of such ascription, fallacies belied by facts about the spatial distribution of Asians, number of workers per family, the "glass ceiling" for Asian mobility, labor-market segmentation resulting in bipolar status, and so on. Discrepancies exist between effort and achievement, between achievement and reward, enough to expose the disingenuous and genuinely tendentious manipulation of selected data. Deborah Woo comments: "By focusing on the achievements of one minority in relation to another, our attention is diverted from larger institutional and historical factors which influence a

group's success. Each ethnic group has a different history, and a simplistic method of modeling which assumes the experience of all immigrants as the same ignores the sociostructural context in which a certain kind of achievement occurred."[18] This critique is, however, double-edged. Such highlighting of differences, while useful in questioning the claims of hegemonic standards of representation, fails to attack the nerve-center of capital itself, its substantive kernel which insidiously--like the proverbial trickster of indigenous folklore--thrives in the reproduction of novelty, hybridity, and multiplicity fashioned under its aegis.

Again we need to contextualize and ground such propositions in current realities. This new stereotype of America's "preferred minority" must of course be placed within the intense class warfare of the eighties that established the groundwork for today's "Contract With America" for destroying the so-called evils of the welfare state. This raging class war coincides with the decline of U.S. hegemony in the international economy (given its trade imbalance and its change from creditor to debtor nation), the rise of what some scholars call the "underclass," the precipitous deterioration of the white middleclass, and other symptoms of social decay. In a deindustrializing milieu where poverty, homelessness and alienation have worsened, this myth is meant to breathe new life into the consensual ideology of individual success, "habits of the heart" or received commonsense all presumably learned in undertaking the Puritan "errand into the wilderness."

What needs emphasis, I submit, are the uses to which this "model minority myth" has been deployed. First, it reinforces the homogenizing mechanisms of the state and the disciplinary institutions that reduce diverse individuals into one classified, sanitized, uniform "minority." Second, it obscures the presence of disadvantaged Asians and blocks any help for finding employment, learning English, and so on. Third, it serves the "divide-and-rule" strategy of the system by pitting one racialized group against another. If Asians can achieve the American "Dream of Success" by dint of internalizing a work ethic, why can't poor blacks and whites on welfare? It is crucial to keep in mind that the sweatshops in the garment and computer industries, as well as the service sectors, are inhabited more and more by a predominantly multiethnic workforce, thus requiring a more sophisticated policing technique.

Ethnicity and racializing technologies of governance converge here. Ironically, the paradox of absolutizing certain elements of ethnic identity appears when Asians are conceived as both passive and aggressive, complacent and competitive, family-centered and individualistic. Pride in their heritage, family solidarity, fragments of Confucian morality, and so on are used to explain both upward and downward mobility, sporadic recognition and endemic disadvantage, appreciation and resentment. Meanwhile, as the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report of 1992 indicates, incidents of hate-crimes, bigotry, denial of equal opportunity, and

violence against Asians have proliferated in the last decades.[19] This culminated in the spectacular fires of 1992 in Los Angeles after the first verdict in the Rodney King trial. Aside from deaths and injuries suffered by individuals, 2,700 Korean businesses--California's new middlemen minority--were destroyed by what is regarded as the first multiethnic rebellion in the United States, a rebellion against police brutality, economic deprivation, and in the last analysis the terrors of a regime of postmodern flexible accumulation.

Now liberals have proposed that we need multicultural education to solve the contemporary crisis, one that would get rid of the basis of institutional racism and any form of "ethnic cleansing" such as the murder of targeted populations. Everyone knows that the movement to revise the Eurocentric canon and curriculum in order to allow the teaching/learning of our society's cultural and racial diversity has been going on since the introduction of "Third World" and Ethnic Studies in the sixties. But one may ask: Has the formula of adding and subtracting texts, or even deconstructing the canonical discourses and hegemonic practices, really succeeded in eliminating chauvinist stereotypes and covert discrimination, not to speak of institutional racism and genocidal policies? Do we really need a pedagogical strategy of commodifying cultural goods/knowledges that consorts well with de facto apartheid in cities like Los Angeles, Atlanta, Detroit, Chicago, Miami, and others?

Like the nativists of old, present-day advocates of immigration reform as well as the sponsors of Proposition 187 in California contend that multiculturalism is precisely the problem. They believe that the "large influx of third-world people...could be potentially disruptive of our whole Judeo-Christian heritage." Multiculturalism even of the liberal variety is considered PC [politically correct] terrorism. It allegedly undermines academic standards. Above all, like feminism, multiculturalism threatens Western civilization and its legacy of free enterprise, rationality, free speech, etc.

Stunned by the large immigrant flow from Latin America and Asia, Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming warned of the danger to national security: "If language and cultural separatism rise above a certain level, the unity and political stability of the Nation will--in time--be seriously eroded. Pluralism within a united American nation has been our greatest strength. The unity comes from a common language and a core public culture of certain values, beliefs, and customs, which make us distinctly 'Americans.'"[20] *Pluribus*, it seems, can be tolerated only by dispensation of the *Unum*. Diane Ravitch condemns ethnic particularisms (such as Afrocentrism) and insists on privileging "a common culture," precisely that culture which for all its claims to universality and objectivity sparked the protests and rebellions of the last four decades.[21] What Ravitch, Simpson, and others are actually prescribing is a return to the ideal of assimilation or integration couched in terms of diversity, a refur-

bished "melting pot" notion of community that would by some magical gesture of wish-fulfillment abolish exploitation, gender and racial inequality, and injustice. The renewed call by assorted fundamentalists to rally behind the flag--a nationalism coded in terms of fighting for freedom, democracy, human rights, and so on--is presented as a substitute for the comfort of ethnic belonging, but I think this can only restore the menace of alienation and the scapegoating of the last half-century. It is also problematic to simply claim that we all benefit or suffer equally unless we see the mutual dependence of victimizer and victimized--the proverbial humanist nostrum of tolerance and love for one another pronounced at the conclusion of this weekend's sermon.

In the light of the historical conflicts surrounding the emergence of Ethnic Studies, Ramon Gutierrez emphasized certain "methodological principles" of the field derived from the intensive study of the histories, languages, and cultures of America's racial and ethnic groups in and among themselves. Aside from the situated and partial nature of all knowledge claims, Gutierrez assumes a postmodernist stance in upholding the principle that "culture was not a unified system of shared meanings, but a system of multivocal symbols, the meanings of which were frequently contested, becoming a complex product of competition and negotiation between various social groups."[22] While I would agree that the focus of our discipline is comparative and relational--we explore commonalities and divergences in the experiences of racial and ethnic groups domestically and worldwide-- this does not imply a thoroughgoing relativism or nominalism that would reduce history to a matter of equally suspect perspectives or personal points of view. Such would be the ethnicist "insider's" approach. In analyzing the historical dynamics of race in the United States positioned in global and comparative grids, we are precisely grounding interpretations and judgments based on a consensus of historians that is open to falsifiability. Otherwise, the "culture wars" based on identity politics would not only rule out dialogue but also all communicative action.

As a gloss on this, I would propose that instead of accenting cultural difference and its potential for bantustans, turf wars, liberal apartheid, and even worse "ethnic cleansing" (a cliché that has portentous resonance for the field), we need to attend to the problem of power, the knowledge it produces and that legitimizes it, the uses of such knowledge in disciplinary regimes, and its mutations in history. We need to examine not only the diverse cultures of multiple ethnic groups vis-à-vis the dominant society, the solidarities and conflicts among them, but also how ethnicity itself is linked to and reproduces the market-centered competitive society we live in; how ethnic particularisms or selected cultural differences are mobilized not only to hide systemic contradictions but defuse the challenges and resistances integral to them. As Stephen Steinberg argues, no amount of glorifying ethnic myths and other cul-

tural symbols of identity can hide or downplay the inequality of wealth, power, and privilege in our society that underpins the production of knowledge and the claims to objectivity and transcendent universalism.[23] Insight into such a foundation should not be taken as dogma but a heuristic guide to counter essentializing of identities or utopianization of ethnicity. We cannot theorize the uneven terrain of contestation without a conceptualization of the totality of trends and tendencies. Neither privileging the global nor the local, our approach should be dialectical and praxis-oriented so as to take up the inaugural promise of Ethnic Studies: to open up a critical space for enunciation by those who have been silenced--Paolo Freire's speechless subalterns, or Frantz Fanon's *les damnés de la terre*--within the horizon of a vision of a good and just society accountable to all. The question is: Can we imagine a different and better future for all?

Such a consensus on common purpose should not foreclose disagreements or differences. What it safeguards in this period of nihilism or pragmatic relativism is the temptation of indulgence in playful self-irony, infinite ambiguity or fluid polyvocality with the pretense that this is the most revolutionary stance against reaction and all forms of determinism. In this time of so-called populist backlash, when the politicizing of citizens has been unleashed by the really "politically correct" officials and corporate philosophers, Gutierrez counsels us not to forsake the *grand narratives*: "At a moment when nationalism is reemerging powerfully among students in the United States as well as many other nations and states around the globe, it seems imperative that we see that glorification of local systems of knowledge which are rooted in racial, religious, and ethnic distinctions, as fundamentally tied to the globalization, commodification, and massification of social life."[24]

We need to investigate above all racism and the accompanying racial politics embedded in the everyday practices of business society, the interaction of racial ideologies with other categories like gender, sexuality, locality, nationality, and so on, in order to cross the boundary between academic theory and practice in the real world. Unless we simply want to be used to peacefully manage the crisis of differences among the "natives" and reinforce the status quo ethos of liberal tolerance, "business as usual," then the practitioners of Ethnic Studies need to be self-critical of received ideas and be not just adversarial but oppositional in accord with its revolutionary beginnings, performing the role of (to quote James Baldwin) unrelenting "disturbers of the peace."[25]

Notes

[1] Evelyn Hu-DeHart, "The Undermining of Ethnic Studies," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, 20 October 1995, section 2. Hu-DeHart is the chair of the newly established Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of Colorado, Boulder. In this essay I allude to the mainstream proposals offered in two essays: Johnnella Butler, "Ethnic Studies: A Matrix Model for the Major," *Liberal Education* 77 (March-April 1991): 26-32; and Johnnella Butler and Betty Schmitz, "Ethnic Studies, Women's Studies, and Multiculturalism," *Change* (January/February 1992): 37-41.

[2] A review of the historical background is found in: Stephen Steinberg, *Turning Back* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1995); E. San Juan, Jr., *Racial Formations/Critical Formations* (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, 1992); Jeremy Brecher, John Brown Childs, and Jill Cutler, eds., *Global Visions: Beyond the New World Order* (Boston: South End Press, 1993).

[3] Angela Davis, "Gender, Class, and Multiculturalism: Rethinking 'Race' Politics," in *Mapping Multiculturalism*, eds. Avery Gordon and Christopher Newfield (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 47. My reservations on the Establishment version of multiculturalism are summarized in E. San Juan, Jr. *Hegemony and Strategies of Transgression* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 219-258.

[4] Similar questions are addressed to the fashionable trend of cultural studies in the academy by Patrick Brantlinger, *Crusoe's Footprints* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

[5] Annette Jaimes Guerrero, "Academic Apartheid," in *Mapping Multiculturalism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996): 49-63; and Elizabeth Martinez, "Beyond Black/White: The Racism of Our Time," in *Sources: Notable Selections in Race and Ethnicity* (Guilford, CT: The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., 1995): 79-90.

[6] On inter-ethnic antagonisms, see Edward T. Chang, "America's First Multi-Ethnic Riots," in *The State of Asian America*, ed. Karin Aguilar-San Juan (Boston: South End Press, 1994): 101-118. See also David Roediger, "The Racial Crisis of American Liberalism," *New Left Review* 196 (Nov/Dec., 1992): 114-119.

[7] On *Herrenvolk* democracy and settler society, see respectively Pierre van den Berghe, *Race and Racism* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1967), and Dolores Janiewski, "Gendering, Racializing, and Classify-

ing: Settler Colonization in the United States, 1590-1990," in *Unsettling Settler Societies*, ed. Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis (London: Sage Publications, 1995): 132-160.

[8] See the census analysis by William P. O'Hare and Judy C. Felt, *Asian Americans: America's Fastest Growing Minority Group,* Monograph 19 (Washington, DC: Population Reference Bureau, 1991). According to George Demko, "Nearly one in every four Americans claims African, Asian, Hispanic, or Native American ancestry. By 1995, one third of American public school pupils will be from minorities"; *Why in the World* (New York: Anchor Books, 1992): 385.

[9] The ideological mechanisms for racializing are revaluated in Jayne Choong-Son Lee, "Navigating the Topology of Race," in *Critical Race Theory*, ed. Kimberle Crenshaw et al. (New York: The New Press, 1995): 441-448; and Joy James, "Racism, Genocide, and Resistance: The Politics of Language and International Law," in *Marxism in the Postmodern Age*, ed. Antonio Callari et al. (New York: The Guilford Press, 1995): 115-125.

[10]Documentation of this history may be found in Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991); and Ronald Takaki, *Strangers from a Different Shore* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1989).

[11]John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925,* (New York: Atheneum, 1963).

[12]Gustavus Myers, *History of Bigotry in the United States,* (New York: Random House, 1943).

[13]Chan, 187.

[14]See Robert Miles, *Racism* (London: Routledge, 1989); David Theo Goldberg, *Racist Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993); and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Historical Capitalism* (London: Verso, 1983).

[15]Sun-tzu; Thomas Cleary, *The Art of War/ Sun-tzu: Translated by Thomas Cleary,* (Boston: Shambhala, 1988).

[16]Albert J. Beveridge, "America Must Colonize," in *Racism*, ed. Bruno Leone (St. Paul: Greenhaven Press, 1986): 24-25; see also E. San Juan, *The Philippine Temptation* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1996).

[17]This is cogently demonstrated by Richard Applebaum, Edna Bonacich and Gregg Scott in their contributions to the anthology cited earlier, *Mapping Multiculturalism*. See also the analysis of the impact of current globalizing trends on California in Paul Ong, Edna Bonacich, and Lucie Cheng, eds., *The New Asian Immigration in Los Angeles and Global Restructuring* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994).

[18]Deborah Woo, "The Gap Between Striving and Achieving: The Case of Asian American Women," in *Making Waves*, ed. Asian Women United of California (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989): 186-187.

[19]United States Commission of Civil Rights, *Civil Rights Issues Facing Asian Americans in the 1990s*. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1992). See also Peter Ong, "National Report Reveals Increase in Anti-Asian Hate Crimes," *Asian New Yorker* (September 1995): 1-3.

[20]Ronald Takaki, ed. *From Different Shores* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994): 279.

[21]Ravitch in Takaki, 1994, 288.

[22]Ramon Gutierrez, "Ethnic Studies: Its Evolution in American Colleges and Universities," in *Multiculturalism*, ed. David Theo Goldberg (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994): 163.

[23]Stephen Steinberg, *The Ethnic Myth* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1981).

[24]Gutierrez, 165.

[25]James Baldwin. "A Talk to Teachers," in *The Graywolf Annual Five: Multicultural Literacy* (Saint Paul: Graywolf Press, 1988): 3-12.

Gang Innovation, Patriarchy, and Powerlessness: Expanding Theory to Reflect American Realities

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Today in our nation's cities, gang behavior is becoming a matter of heated community debate, legislative action, media attention, and major social concern. This paper discusses an expansion of sociologist Robert Merton's Strain Theory in relation to gang behavior with an emphasis on patriarchal ideology and powerlessness. Specifically, young Chicano/Latino and African American gang members are innovative--by selling drugs, for example--not solely because there is blockage to legitimate means to achieve American economic success goals, as Merton would argue, but also innovative--by demonstrating fighting prowess, and commiting drive-bys--because our society stresses masculine power: patriarchal ideology. The gang members' need to achieve economic success is compounded with their need to achieve masculine power in a society which blocks them structurally both in relation to their class, and their racial and ethnic status.

When cities grew large enough to develop slums, gangs began to form. The heritage of gang behavior is poverty and its children: abuse, alcoholism, and drug addiction, to name a few. Today we are facing a problem of major proportions in our cities. Gang membership is seemingly growing with no end in sight, and a beleaguered nation, a struggling city, the mother of a gang member all ask: Why? There are probably several answers and more questions. This paper is an attempt to understand the problem of gang delinquency by utilizing already existing theory. Robert Merton's Strain Theory lends itself to the discussion of gang delinquency; however, this paper will expand on the theory and link it to the powerlessness of young minority males and patriarchal ide-

ology.

Merton's Strain Theory

Robert Merton[1] introduced his Strain Theory as a way of explaining the deviant behavior of adults and juveniles. This theory is based on the assumption that American society places a great emphasis on economic success--the *only* goal for which to strive.[2] Wherever we turn, we are bombarded by messages which "egg us on." They tell us to perform well in school, to have ambition for the future, to emulate heros and heroines, to win at all costs, to "be all that you can be." Not just the well-to-do, but all classes of people are equally expected to pursue the cultural goal of economic success. This goal is said to be equally available to all.

However, Merton reasoned, the legitimate means of achieving the cultural goal of economic success is not equally available to all people. People who live in the lower social classes do not have an equal opportunity to attain the success goal. They are, in fact, faced with a very real dilemma: society urges them to succeed, to realize the economic success goal; however, society does not really give them the opportunity to reach this height of ambition. According to Merton, lower class people faced with this dilemma will turn to illegitimate means to achieve the success goal. They are likely to turn to deviant and delinquent behavior due to the strain caused by the very real gap between the desire to attain the economic success goal and the opportunity to pursue the legitimate means to the goal.

Merton realized that not all people would respond the same way. He developed a typology of modes of adaptation to the dilemma: 1) the conformist accepts the goal and has access to the institutionalized means; 2) the innovator accepts the goal, but being blocked from the means, pursues illegitimate means; 3) the ritualist no longer pursues the goal but doggedly adheres to the institutionalized means; 4) the retreatist fails at both legitimate and illegitimate means and so essentially rejects both goals and means and "drops out," if you will; and 5) the rebel rejects the economic success goal and the institutionalized means, while creating his/her own unique goal and means.[3]

The only mode of adaptation which need concern us with respect to gang delinquency is the innovator who does accept the goal but is not given the opportunity to realize the goal legitimately. Merton's Strain Theory, then, has attempted to deal with the phenomenon of deviance in general, and the gang member, more specifically. Let us enter the gang member more fully into the equation.[4]

Gangs

As mentioned previously, gangs began to form in this country

when cities became large enough to develop slums. In the early 1800s, bitter fighting broke out between gangs in New York City and gangs in Boston.[5] In 1926, Frederic Thrasher published his study of gangs in Chicago which revealed that gangs tended to develop in slums where youth were living in crowded conditions.[6] William Foote Whyte[7] also documented gang behavior in one Italian neighborhood in Boston in the 1930s, finding that these "corner boys" sought protection, status, and material assistance within their neighborhoods.

In the 1950s gang behavior centered around defense of terri-tory and proof of strength in fighting, while in the 1960s some gangs joined in the spirit of change and brotherhood of the time, working to improve the lot of their own communities.[8] Walter Miller[9] noted that gang behavior of the 1970s was focused in slum areas of the cities, that there was an increase in violence against innocent bystanders, and that there was an increase in the use of more sophisticated weaponry.

While the 1980s and 1990s have seen some increase in gang membership and gang violence, the media often overstate the case, as noted by David Huizinga and Finn-Aage Esbensen. In fact, these au-thors note that the very definition of "gang" itself has a profound impact on which youth are cited as among the alleged population of "gang" members in U.S. cities.[10] However, gang violence does seem to be a primary focus of concern in many major cities in the country.[11] Accord-ing to Martin Sanchez Jankowski, gangs in the 1980s and 1990s tend to be more sophisticated. He notes that the lack of job opportunities and the limited social mobility available to poor and working-class youth have meant that these youth continue their illegal activity well into adulthood. Further, he suggests that poor and working-class youth may emulate and learn from organized crime units who, while losing their hegemony, allow for creative entrepreneurial expansion into the illegal economy.[12]

Gangs in this country are predominantly composed of African American and Chicano/Latino youth.[13] Gang members are typically between the ages of 12 and 21, with peak ages between 16 and 18 years of age.[14] Gang members tend to come from the lower socioeco-nomic classes and tend to live in the inner cities and ghetto neighbor-hood areas of our country[15]--often referred to as "'hoods" and "*barrios*." These are young people who often come from dysfunctional, abusive or nonexistent homes.[16] Gangs have a life of their own and they have grown to become a threat to young people who must choose to join or suffer the consequences. Gangs, in other words, are made up of youth who have very few reasons to commit to a family or a society that, from their perspective, offers nothing and delivers nothing. These youth be-come drug dealers on the streets of South Central Los Angeles with little hope of escaping this fate.[17] In other words, these youthful gang mem-bers become the true innovators in Merton's typology of adaptations.

Merton's theory has merit in its discussion of blocked means to

societal goals. The gang member is definitely blocked from attaining the societal goal of economic success[18] and has become an innovator. However, Merton's argument is limited in scope. Merton defines his discussion of blocked means to success goals only in terms of economic success goals. Yet, gang members are seeking many different kinds of success. They are seeking success monetarily, as society asks, as well as success as males in a patriarchal society.[19]

Our highly specialized and technically advanced society still places a great deal of pressure on males to be the "breadwinner," be ambitious, and achieve. This is yet another success goal which Merton's theory fails to outline. In order to attain Merton's economic success goal, the innovative gang member turns to drug dealing, looting, pimping or other illegitimate means. In order to attain masculine power--a success goal which also carries great weight in our society--the innovative gang member seeks to demonstrate some power in his already powerless state. It is easy to assume, then, that these gang members demonstrate masculine power by being brave, strong, tough, and fiercely adventurous. They have no other legitimate means of power by societal standards. And, contrary to what Albert Cohen, another strain theorist (see Note 4), might argue about differing lower class values, gang members' values are not so very different from society's. In fact, the need for young men to achieve and express masculine power is very much part and parcel of the American way of life and value system.[20] These young gang members espouse the middle class value of masculine power but exhibit it in an exaggerated manner because they have no socially sanctioned means of attaining the masculine power goal in any other way. Their behavior, then, is exaggeratedly masculine American and for no other reason than that they do not have the opportunities and resources to "do it" the middle class way.

Perhaps by recognizing this other success goal--masculine power--the theory can be expanded to truly understand the nature of gang delinquency and its hopelessness more fully. Many gang members are blocked from obtaining economic success goals through legitimate means, but they are also blocked from obtaining masculine power in a patriarchal society and culture that stresses the strength, aggressiveness, and competitiveness of men, where males that do not fulfill their role are highly censured. Most young men in this society are brought up to believe they are going to be the provider--the achiever--and this is a goal that is hard to attain in the *'hood* or the *barrio*.

An expansion of Merton's Strain theory, then, might take into account the patriarchal nature of our society and take a look at masculine power ideology at work in the *barrio* and the *'hood*. It might also stress the powerlessness of young men of color who have historically been excluded, denied access, and refused opportunities to participate in the American success agenda. We turn now to these issues.

Patriarchal Ideology and Its Relationship to Powerlessness

<u>Chicano Gangs</u>

Gang members are required to be strong, tough, and ready to "do or die."[21] They know at very young ages, whether they are African American, Chicano, or Tongan that their lives depend on their ability to survive in their *barrio* or *'hood*.

Patriarchal ideology among Chicano gang members is often referred to as *machismo*. The *macho* male is the sole provider for the family; he is the protector of wife and children; he is dominant, aggressive and exults in his physical and sexual prowess; he is exaggeratedly aggressive toward women and children; he is the "pants" in the family. All of this has been said of the *macho* and of the *machismo* ethic.[22]

However, much research has contested this stereotypical notion of the Chicano in the family, asserting that Chicano/a families are not as patriarchal as commonly believed, and stressing that American culture is generally patriarchal in nature (Zinn 1975, 1982; Ybarra 1982; Williams 1990).[23] Hence, stereotypical arguments about a "culture of poverty" that engenders intergenerational *machismo* are misleading and deny both the patriarchal nature of American society in general, and the structural antecedents--the powerlessness--which greatly contributes to the behavior of young male gang members.[24]

Maxine Baca Zinn suggests that the *macho* male is not typical of Chicano/a culture any more than he is typical of American culture. She asserts that both cultures are patriarchal, and therefore both can encourage male dominance: patriarchal ideology. Zinn further states that the *macho* male existent in the Chicano/a family and culture can be addressed as adhering to the *machismo* ethic only to the extent that structural conditions confine him to such a role. She argues, then, that the *macho* male is the natural outgrowth of oppressive circumstances. She also notes that the "emphasis on masculinity might stem from the fact that alternative roles and identity sources are systematically blocked from men in certain social categories."[25] Zinn stresses that the masculine power ideology of *machismo* is a definite reaction to suppression and domination,[26] contending that if systems of "social inequality limit men's access to societally valued resources, they will contribute to sexual stratification."[27] This is easily a reference to the gang member, whose youth is spent in the ghetto and who lives out this exaggerated masculine role, because "manhood takes on greater importance for those who do not have access to socially valued roles."[28]

Alex Saragoza argues that gangs arose in Chicano/a neighborhoods due to the political and economic disenfranchisement of Chicano/a families. Gangs became a way of affirming manhood denied by the

larger society. According to Saragoza, "the *chuco* in his socioeconomic circumstances could not afford to hide, so he took refuge in dependent relations such as gangs,"[29] with all their attendant posturing and emphasis on masculine prowess.

Moore, et al.[30] argue that Chicano gangs in East Los Angeles form a system. They suggest that "[T]he system is an aspect of the institutionalization of the gangs and institutionalization can develop only when there are long-standing stable slums."[31] In other words, these gang members are trapped in a situation of marked segregation into "stable slums," an atypical gang experience according to years of research.[32] While former gang members could escape the ghetto and the gang, the "Chicano. . .moves to another neighborhood in the largely segregated Chicano area of Los Angeles, where there is another long-standing gang."[33] It is almost impossible to escape this system of poverty and its resultant gang. It is little wonder, then, that Chicano gangs strongly emphasize territoriality: claiming a *barrio* means to claim some degree of masculine power, even if it is a slum.[34]

Similarly, Erlanger[35] found that the Chicano gang itself, in all its toughness and its solidarity, develops from the estrangement experienced by young Chicanos from the larger society. These youth, in turn, seek affirmation from their peer group "because the peer group is the most readily available source of identity."[36] This is echoed in Joan Moore's *Going Down to the Barrio: Homeboys and Homegirls in Change*, in which she argues that "larger economic changes" have the greatest impact on gang members' behavior, as opposed to so-called flagging values in ethnic communities.[37] She notes:

> But gangs persist as young-adult institutions in a changed society, in which the labor market is not filling the needs of the transition from adolescence to young adulthood. It is not that they are rebels, rather that they are left out of the credentialed, ordered society.[38]

It seems clear from the foregoing discussion that patriarchal ideology, which took root in Chicano gangs and is often referred to as *machismo*, is an exaggerated but obvious demonstration of male power which these young men are blocked from attaining legitimately. It is also interesting to note that not only are Chicano gangs acting out patriarchal ideologies but so also are African American gangs such as the Crips and the Bloods in Los Angeles, as well as other racial/ethnic gangs nationwide.

African American and Other Racial/Ethnic Groups

Martin Sanchez Jankowski's study of gang members, *Islands in the Street: Gangs and American Urban Society*, ranged in area from Los Angeles to New York City to Boston and included African American, Puerto Rican, Chicano, Dominican, Jamaican, and Central American gang members. Jankowski argues that gang members are living in an urban society that increasingly labels them "sadistic" and "violent" criminals when, in fact, gang behavior is an outgrowth of crimogenic social conditions. As Sanchez Jankowski asserts,

> Gang members grow up and live in communities in which the socioeconomic environment has produced a great deal of aggressive and violent behavior; thus a given gang member's display of aggressive traits or his involvement in violent exchanges is not necessarily pathological; rather, it is appropriate behavior in an environment whose socioeconomic conditions are pathological.[39]

From her interviews with gang members in South Central Los Angeles and various camp correctional facilities, Leon Bing notes that it was the early Chicano gangs who set the pace for gangs in Los Angeles.

> It was the *cholo* homeboy who first walked the walk and talked the talk. It was the Mexican-American *pachuco* who initiated the emblematic tatoos, the signing with hands, the writing of legends on walls.[40]

And the Crips and Bloods emulated their peers in East Los Angeles starting in 1968 with a high school kid in Watts named Raymond Washington. The kids who joined these initial gang sets and the myriads of others that were later to accumulate came from "low income, government-subsidized housing projects."[41] In her interview with A.C. Jones, an ex-gang member who is on staff at Camp Kilpatrick (a correctional camp for juveniles in Los Angeles), Bing learns that young kids in South Central Los Angeles did not have many opportunities.

> What do you think happened when that
> kid there first began to seek out his
> masculinity?. . . .If he lived in any other
> community but Watts there would be
> legitimate ways to express those feel-
> ings. Little League. Pop Warner. But
> if you're a black kid living in Watts those
> options have been removed.[42]

A.C. further stresses that he has not met a *real* gangbanger who comes from a "happy, balanced home, who's got a good opinion of himself."[43]

At the present time, the Bloods and the Crips are the largest gangs in the United States with many joining every day. These gangs offer reassurance to young men in an inner city that they did not create and within which they do not have many alternatives. They wear the color, walk the walk, and talk the talk to survive and to demonstrate that they are somebody. They are fierce warriors and have the respect and love of their homeboys. They are "down" for their set and willing to dem-onstrate bravery, defiance, and male strength. As one young gang mem-ber expressed it: "Anybody want to fight, we can fight. Anybody want to shoot, we can shoot. Want to kill, we can kill. *Whatever.* You know what I'm sayin'? *Whatever.*"[44]

Clearly, gang members are reacting to a world which was cre-ated for them. Whether Chicano, African American, Puerto Rican, or of other racial/ethnic identities, these kids face common conditions in the inner cities of this nation. They are trying to be men with power in a world which denies them power.

Conclusion

It is important to understand the nature of gang delinquency if we are to make any inroads into solving the problems associated with gangs. Most of all this understanding is an important basis from which to fully understand the crimogenic conditions that produce what we refer to as the "gang." This paper attempts to link Merton's Strain Theory with gang delinquency through a discussion of success goals not already outlined in the theory. Specifically, the author expands the theory's impli-cations by addressing the success goal of male power which clearly exists within a patriarchal American society.

Merton argues correctly that the blockage of goal aspirations will lead to innovation--crime and delinquency--to obtain societal eco-nomic success goals. However, he neglects to define specific goals, such as masculine power. Young gang members' attempts to obtain the scarce resource of masculine power, in a society that places great weight

on the same, are also blocked. They, in turn, seek to obtain this masculine power through other means, so again, they innovate. They become gangbangers who are willing to "do or die" for their color, territory, and homeboys, and live by masculine power ideologies generated and reinforced by a patriarchal American culture.

Maxine Baca Zinn acknowledges that *machismo* among Chicanos does exist. She acknowledges that "over compensatory masculinity"[45] such as gang behavior is possibly maladaptive. However, she strongly asserts that male dominance is a universal societal characteristic and certainly an American societal characteristic. She further argues that such masculine power ideologies came into existence as a response to structural conditions--a response to stratification and exclusion of Chicanos--a case that can surely be made for other young men of color.[46] This author would agree and would suggest that patriarchy is an American reality, that young men of color demonstrate patriarchal ideological frameworks in attempting to live up to the masculine ideal of "breadwinner" and protector, that they do so because they have bought into American patriarchy (by any name), and that they demonstrate patriarchal ideology in a violent and illegal manner because they are powerless to demonstrate it otherwise.

Masculine roles, so obviously apparent in the behavior of youthful gang members, are everywhere apparent in American society. These patriarchal roles, which emphasize masculine power in the family, the community, and the society need reassessing. Patriarchal values that stress masculine power and strength are inhibiting to the growth of men as well as women. Men and women will be truly free in our society only when men and women are both free. And this will only be possible when we break the cycle demanded by a patriarchal value system that exerts extreme pressure on males to dominate and succeed at all costs: a value system which is very much rooted in American society. As Sanchez Jankowski states:

> The United States, which often prides itself as the bastion of individualism, has produced a pure form of its own individualism: a person of staunch self-reliance and self-confidence whose directed goals match those of the greater society and whose toughness and defiant stance challenge all those who would threaten him. Ironically, in the defiant individualist gang member, American society has found it difficult to control its own creation.[47]

Gang behavior does not and will never exist in a vacuum. The incidents in Los Angeles in recent years point to extremely pressing problems in the inner cities of this country. Until we are ready to get serious about preventing gangs from the ground up--looking at structural conditions in this society including institutional discrimination and prejudice--the scenes related in Leon Bing's *Do or Die* will be played out in other American cities where no one has taken the time to address the crucial issues.

A gang member in South Central described Los Angeles to Leon Bing in the following words: "it is a 'black hole'--the people here just get swallowed up by it."[48] Bing comments that these are the words of a nineteen year old. This statement is telling because it reveals much of what is going on in our nation's cities. And only we can decide our cities' future course.

Notes

[1] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (New York: Free Press, 1957).

[2] Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," *American Sociological Review* 3 (1938):672-682.

[3] Merton, 1938, 675-678.

[4] Other Strain theorists, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, and Albert Cohen, have also discussed deviance in relation to blocked means but have specifically dealt with juveniles. Cloward and Ohlin describe the juvenile gang member as one who must even adapt in relation to delinquent behavior--even within delinquent subcultures he is only afforded the opportunities available, and these differ. He may become involved with a criminal gang, where he learns to master the techniques and views of the adult criminal world; a conflict gang, where fighting is the method to garner respect from other gangs; or a retreatist gang, which Cloward and Ohlin limit to a discussion of a drug subculture [Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity* (New York: Free Press, 1960/1988)]. Cohen, focused his argument on lower class males and their response to status-frustration, the inability to cope in a middle class world of middle class values; values, he argues, which differ from lower class male values. Cohen goes on to argue that the middle class values which lower class parents fail to instill in their children are ambition, responsibility, ability to delay gratification, courtesy, control of physical aggression and respect of property rights, among others. [Albert Cohen, *Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang* (New York: Free Press,

1955)]. While these theorists' arguments seem to lend themselves to the present discussion, they are only marginally linked to the present argument for at least two reasons. First, this paper does not deal with gang member adaptation to an illegitimate lifestyle, which is Cloward and Ohlin's major premise. Second, the author takes issue with Cohen's assertion that lower class boys are not raised to conform to middle class values. Martin Sanchez Jankowski debunks the mythology surrounding gang member pathology, laziness, lack of initiative, and poor family values, and asserts that the gang member is a direct creation of American middle class culture. Martin Sanchez Jankowski, *Islands in the Street: Gangs and American Urban Society* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), 313.

[5] Herbert Asbury, *The Gangs of New York* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1928).

[6] Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).

[7] William Foote Whyte, *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

[8] David Dawley, *A Nation of Lords* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1973).

[9] Walter B. Miller, *Violence by Youth Gangs and Youth Groups as a Crime Problem in Major American Cities* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975).

[10] David Huizinga and Finn-Aage Esbensen, *Criminology* 31 (1993):565-587; Malcolm W. Klein and Cheryl L. Maxson, "Street Gang Violence," in *Violent Crime, Violent Criminals*, ed. by Neil A. Weiner and Marvin E. Wolfgang, (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1989); Irving A. Spergel and Ronald L. Chance, "National Youth Gang Suppression and Intervention Program," *NIJ Reports* 224:21-24.

[11] R.B. Toplin, *Unchallenged Violence: An American Ordeal* (Westport, CT: Greenhaven Press, 1975).

[12] Martin Sanchez Jankowski.

[13] Miller, 26; Ronald C. Huff, "Youth Gangs and Public Policy in Ohio: Findings and Recommendations," Paper presented at the Ohio Conference on Youth Gangs and Urban Underclass, (Columbus, Ohio: 25 May 1988): 8.

[14]Miller, 21-23.

[15]John Hagedorn, *People and Folks: Gangs, Crime and the Underclass in a Rustbelt City* (Chicago: Lakeview Press, 1988).

[16]Leon Bing, *Do or Die* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991).

[17]Bing, 212-213.

[18]Joan W. Moore, *Homeboys: Gangs, Drugs, and Prison in the Barrios of Los Angeles* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1978).

[19]David F. Greenberg, "Delinquency and Age Structure of Society," *Contemporary Crises: Crime, Law and Social Policy* 1 (1977):189-223; Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1969/1990).

[20]Jankowski, 313.

[21]Bing, 23-24.

[22]Norma Williams, *The Mexican American Family: Tradition and Change* (New York: General Hall, 1990); Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco, CA: Spinsters/Aunt Lute, 1987); Reyes Ramos and Martha A. Ramos, "The Mexican American: Am I Who They Say I Am?" in *The Chicanos: As We See Ourselves*, edited by A. D. Trejo (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1979); Theresa A. Martinez, "Culture and the Abuse of Women: A Focus on Hispanics in New Mexico," (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1990); Joan W. Moore and Harry Pachon, *Hispanics in the United States* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1985); Anna Macias, *Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico in 1940* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982).

[23]Maxine Baca Zinn, "Chicano Men and Masculinity," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 10 (1982):29-44; Maxine Baca Zinn, "Political Familism: Toward Sex Role Equality in Chicano Families," *International Journal of Chicano Studies* 6 (1975):13-26; Lea Ybarra, "When Wives Work: The Impact on the Chicano Family," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 44 (1982):169-78; Williams, 2.

[24]Jankowski, 312-313; Zinn, 1982, 37.

[25]Zinn, 1982, 37.

[26]Zinn, 1982, 37-38.

[27]Zinn, 1982, 40.

[28]Zinn, 1982, 39.

[29]Alex Saragoza, "The Conceptualization of the History of the Chicano Family," in *The State of Chicano Research on Family, Labor, and Migration*, edited by A. Valdez, A. Camarillo, and T. Almaguer, 1983, 127.

[30]Joan W. Moore, Diego Vigil, and Robert Garcia, "Residence and Territoriality in Chicano Gangs," *Social Problems* 31 (1983):182-194.

[31]Moore, et al., 193.

[32]Thrasher, 217; Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928/1956).

[33]Moore, et al., 193.

[34]Moore, et al., 193; Jerome S. Stumphauzer, Thomas W. Aiken, and Esteban V. Veloz, "East Side Story: Behavioral Analysis of a High Juvenile Crime Community," *Behavior Disorders* 2 (1977):76-84; Dorothy M. Torres, "Chicano Gangs in the East L.A. Barrio," *California Youth Authority Quarterly* 32 (1979):207-222; Malcom W. Klein, *Street Gangs and Street Workers* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1968).

[35]Howard Erlanger, "Estrangement, Machismo, and Gang Violence," *Social Science Quarterly* 60 (1979):235-248.

[36]Erlanger, 237.

[37]Joan W. Moore, *Going Down to the Barrio: Homeboys and Homegirls in Change* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991).

[38]Moore, 1991, 9.

[39]Jankowski, 312.

[40]Bing, xiv.

[41]Bing, 151.

[42]Bing, 12.

[43]Bing, 15.

[44]Bing, 21.

[45]Zinn, 1982, 41.

[46]Zinn, 1982, 37.

[47]Jankowski, 312.

[48]Bing, xvi.

"No Certain Way to Tell Japanese From Chinese": Racist Statements and the Marking of Difference

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After the 1941 Japanese attack on the American naval
base at Pearl Harbor, a series of articles appeared si-
multaneously in American magazines. A 22 December
1941 article in *Time* gives advice to its Caucasian read-
ers on "How To Tell Your Friends From the Japs," as
does an article in *Life* magazine entitled "How To Tell
Japs From the Chinese." From the perspective of the
late twentieth century, the racism of these texts seems
obvious. At the time of their appearance, how did this
racism remain unmarked? This paper has two purposes:
the first, examining the way racist statements about
people of Japanese descent become established, as
well as the way those statements become connected to
pre-existing racist statements about people of Chinese
descent; the second, examining how articles and pho-
tographs in magazines such as *Time* and *Life* negotiate
this pre-existing "network of statements."

In the aftermath of the 7 December 1941 Japanese attack on
the American naval base at Pearl Harbor, a series of articles appeared
simultaneously in American magazines. A 22 December 1941 article in
Time gives advice to its Caucasian readers on "How To Tell Your Friends
From the Japs."[1] The article provides photographs of Japanese and
Chinese men and discusses their differing characteristics, as does a 22
December 1941 article in *Life* magazine entitled "How To Tell Japs From
the Chinese."[2] The 20 December 1941 issue of *Science News Letter*
offers advice from "one of America's best known anthropologists," Dr.
Ales Hrdlicka, a man known for his assertions that cranial measure-
ments could establish the genetic superiority of members of the white
race.[3] According to Hrdlicka (and his assertions are similar to those
found in *Life* and *Time*):

> You cannot tell the Oriental peoples in this country apart
> reliably and consistently by scrutinizing their faces. . . .
> [Hrdlicka] explains that when you pick out a Japanese
> or Chinese readily, as you can in perhaps 30% of cases,
> it may be the manner, or psychological expression that
> aids your judgment. Japanese have a clever, smarter
> expression, the reflection of materialistic and commer-
> cial interests. Chinese have faces that the anthropolo-
> gist finds "mild and friendly and interesting." This re-
> flects their philosophic and intellectual background.[4]

From the perspective of the late twentieth century, the racism of these
texts seems obvious, manifest rather than latent. How, then, at the time
of their appearance, did this racism remain unmarked?

We might argue that these articles and their accompanying pho-
tographs form what Foucault calls a statement (or, perhaps, we should
regard them as two statements, one photographic, the other linguistic,
that are joined together to serve one purpose).[5] As Foucault writes,"a
statement always belongs to a series or a whole, always plays a role
among other statements, deriving support from them and distinguishing
itself from them."[6] A series of signs (a sentence, a photograph, a para-
graph, an entire book) becomes a statement only when we can demon-
strate that it enjoys a specific relationship to other statements, a rela-
tionship not based on the materiality of the series of signs (written, drawn,
photographed), but on a shared filiation between elements in an
enunciative field. Two sentences, even if they contain the same series
of signs, can make different statements. Conversely, a photograph and
a sentence, while materially different can still make the same statement:
"a given piece of information may be retransmitted with other words [or
other signs]. . . . If the information content and the uses to which it could be
put are the same, one can say that it is the same statement in each case."[7]

As Barrett notes, Foucault's concept of the statement "enables
us to understand how *what* is said fits into a network that has its own
history and conditions of existence," a history that reveals, not the "truth"
of those statements, but the way those statements were *constructed as
true*.[8] Foucault goes on to state:

> Every statement involves a field of antecedent elements
> in relation to which it is situated. . . . It constitutes its own
> past, defines, in what precedes it, its own filiation, rede-
> fines what makes it possible or necessary, excludes what
> it cannot find compatible with it. *And it poses this
> enunciative past as an acquired truth*, as an event that
> has occurred, as a form that can be modified, as material to
> be transformed, or as an object that can be spoken about.[9]

This conglomeration of statements, each of which supports and depends upon the other statements *for* support, forms a discursive field, a network of statements, that posits itself as a "discourse of truth," with each statement working to establish the truth value of itself and the other statements in the enunciative field. This paper has two purposes: the first, briefly examining the way racist statements about people of Japanese descent become established, as well as the way those statements become connected to pre-existing racist statements about people of Chinese descent; the second, examining how articles in magazines such as *Time* and *Life* enter into and negotiate this particular "network of statements."

And, I want to ask also, how do these particular statements employ photographs? As Tagg states, "we cannot understand photographic meaning as an abstract system, as a *langue*, but only as a social practice involving specific institutional currencies, determining the way photographs circulate as social discourse."[10] Photographs are statements which depend on their filiation with other statements for their meaning and their status as "evidence" or "truth." Tagg goes on to state, "photographs do not and could not validate their meanings within themselves. The photographs' compelling weight is not phenomenological but discursive."[11] Photographs can manifest discursive effects, can exert "a force only within a much more extensive argument,"[12] only within "a field of antecedent elements in relation to which it is situated,"[13] and which by that situatedness, may affect other elements in that field.

"Japanese Taking Place of Chinese": Pre-World War II Marking of Racial Difference

> One group asked to describe the principal traits of the Japanese reported these most frequently as "sneakiness" and "intelligence"; in another study the great majority of respondents described the Japanese as "dishonest, tricky, treacherous," and accused them of being "ruinous, hard or unfair competitors". . . The response also recalled, in its emphasis on trickery and treachery, the nineteenth-century outcry against the Chinese. . . . Half a century of agitation and antipathy directed against Japanese Americans, following almost fifty years of anti-Chinese and anti-foreign activity, had by 1941 diffused among the West Coast population a rigidly stereotyped set of attitudes toward Orientals which centered on suspicion and distrust. This hostility reached maturity in the early twenties with the passage of the Alien Land Law and the Oriental Exclusion Act, and although thereafter it became relatively inactive it

was kept alive during the thirties by the stimuli of Japanese aggression and economic depression.[14]

In *Elements of Semiology*, Roland Barthes writes that "a privative opposition means any opposition in which the signifier of a term is characterized by the presence of a significant element, or *mark,* which is missing in the signifier of the other."[15] Barthes continues, "some linguists have identified the mark with the exceptional. . . . according to them, the *unmarked* is what is frequent or banal."[16] The unmarked functions as a ground for the marked term, operating as the norm against which the other term becomes marked as abnormal. For example, the phrase "healthy skin" is the unmarked term that determines the significance, the "exceptional" status of "unhealthy skin." Or, we might state that, in the context of late 1930s and 1940s in the United States, "Caucasian skin" functions as an unmarked term (the norm) in opposition to which other skin colors and races are marked (the other). This marking, rather than being merely linguistic (the difference being *only between linguistic signifiers*), produces political and social effects such as segregation, racial violence, exclusion of certain races from immigration, privileging of certain races for land ownership, while excluding other races from such ownership, etc.

Of course, we should not regard this sort of marking of another race as different from or in opposition to Caucasians as a "natural" or even consistent occurrence. Such marking had to be negotiated, fought for and won, as well as supported by numbers of statements and discourses that worked to establish the "truth" of that marking. In regard to immigration from Japan, Roger Daniels notes:

> Despite the fact that California was, by the end of the 1860's, already violently anti-Chinese, it is interesting to note that these early colonists from Japan were received with great favor. A typical newspaper editorial pointed out that "the objections raised against the Chinese . . . cannot be alleged against the Japanese."[17]

In the late nineteenth century, people of Chinese descent sent their children to segregated schools for "orientals," while the children of Japanese immigrants went to the regular public schools. These children were not marked as different from the Caucasian majority (they shared the same public space) in the same way that the Chinese American children were; that is, they were not marked *in opposition to* the Caucasian race; neither were they marked as "oriental." However, we should note, that even at this point, the stage was set for the negative stereotypes attached to the Chinese to be transferred to the Japanese. The initiative for encouraging Japanese immigration to Hawaii came from a white power

structure that had begun to regard the Chinese as "troublesome."[18] The Japanese were intended to function as a less "troublesome" labor force.

By the turn of the century, the marked difference between the Japanese and the Chinese began to be steadily effaced. In the 1890s headlines such as "Japanese Taking Place of Chinese" appear in San Francisco newspapers. As Daniels states, "the newspaper warned that, 'like the Chinese they come in contact with our white girls. . . . and many a family that would disdain to employ a Chinaman now see nothing wrong in hiring Japanese.'"[19] On 10 June 1893 the San Francisco Board of Education ordered all persons of Japanese descent "to attend the Chinese school."[20] However, at this point in time, the elision of difference that equated the Japanese with the Chinese was not well established enough for this order to be a success. In fact, this decision was reversed, by a seven to two vote, after "Board President F. A. Hyde said that 'to exclude [Japanese] from the public schools was an unjustifiable and unwarranted insult of the Japanese race.'"[21]

If people of Japanese descent were marked as "Caucasian enough" to attend public schools in 1893, the next few years would reveal extreme changes in attitude toward this group as "the nation generally and the West Coast in particular [began to develop] an attitude of suspicion and apprehension which was effectively exploited by the agitators for exclusion."[22] Collapsing the distinction between the Japanese and the Chinese allowed the same negative stereotypes to be applied to the Japanese and enabled the series of statements that made up the anti-Chinese discourse to become affiliated with the Japanese. Since these racial stereotypes had been successfully employed to exclude the Chinese, the anti-Asian activists hoped to use earlier anti-Chinese legal decisions as a basis for excluding people of Japanese descent from immigration to the United States.

As tenBroek, et al. note, "speeches, resolutions, and articles coupling the two races were so frequent that California Japanese were led in 1901 to distribute leaflets requesting that they be differentiated from the Chinese."[23] In 1905, San Franciscans formed the "Asiatic Exclusion League," the first of many anti-Japanese organizations. The combination of politicians, pressure groups, and anti-Asian newspaper reports served to create an environment in which, not only could the Japanese be marked in *opposition* to Caucasians, but which repeatedly asserted the *necessity* of marking just such an opposition. These groups also worked to establish a discursive field, an accumulation of materials, issuing from various authoritative sources, that supported each other in such a way as to begin to emerge as "truth." The (lack of) validity of these assertions was unchallenged, and "the reiteration of the charge in the daily news convinced large numbers of Californians of its truth."[24]

By 1905, the growing power of Japan, and, in particular, the Russo-Japanese War (February 1904--September 1905), sparked the fear and suspicion that Japanese immigrants were the first leg of a "peaceful" invasion (during which the Japanese would propagate in such a number as to crowd the Caucasian race out), which would be followed by a military invasion that would see the resident Japanese join with the invading forces to together defeat the Caucasian race (the so-called "yellow peril"). An article from *Organized Labor* states that "a character-istic among the Japanese . . . is their propensity for spying", thus begin-ning to justify the necessity of anti-Japanese activity (to keep from being spied upon).[25] This stereotype became widespread, and, unlike the anti-Chinese propaganda, new technologies of mass reproduction en-abled the image to be propagated through a variety of media, thus dis-seminating further statements to support and be supported by a grow-ing anti-Japanese discourse, ranging from pamphlets to motion pictures. The existence of the "spying" stereotype, the various statements in cir-culation about the trickiness of and spying of the Japanese, provided an "enunciative past" which could then be posited as "an acquired truth" on which exclusion arguments as well as post-Pearl Harbor anti-Japanese-American arguments could be based.[26] The "yellow peril" argument (without the same emphasis on military invasion) had earlier been pos-ited against the Chinese and had effectively worked to exclude the Chi-nese from immigration by the end of the nineteenth century.

In the case of the relation between the Japanese and the Chi-nese in America, we can think of these groups as being represented by two separate signifiers which, through a century long process of nego-tiation, come to refer to the same signifieds, the difference between these signifiers becoming slowly and steadily unmarked. What was once a privative opposition ["the objections raised against the Chinese .... can-not be alleged against the Japanese"] "in which the signifier of a term is characterized by the presence of a significant element, or *mark*, which is missing in the signifier of the other" becomes effaced, while that which is initially missing in the signifier Japanese eventually becomes *marked* or *present* in that very signifier in which it was previously absent.[27] Con-cepts such as "treachery" and "trickery," or such as "the yellow peril," formerly attached to the Chinese, now become attached to both groups.

In 1906, the Japanese (and Koreans as well this time) in San Francisco were ordered to attend the Chinese school, an action that was rescinded only on the order of President Roosevelt, although the school board demanded a compromise decision this time around, a prom-ise to limit Japanese immigration at the price of allowing Japanese chil-dren to continue to attend regular public schools. [28] In 1913, the Alien Land Act "forbade land ownership only by 'aliens ineligible to citizen-ship,'" and both first generation Japanese and Chinese immigrants were ineligible to citizenship, using as a precedent a 1790 statute which re-

stricted naturalization to "free white persons."[29]The Alien Land Act of 1913 represents *legislation* that links together people of Japanese descent and people of Chinese descent, and does so for the purpose of excluding both these groups of people from owning land in the United States, an exclusion that elides any difference between the two groups and, at the same time, marks them in opposition to other racial groups. Other legislation and court rulings would follow, including the 1922 Tadeo Ozawa case, in which "the court decided that white meant 'Caucasian' and that Ozawa, although 'well qualified by character and education for citizenship,' was not a Caucasian. He was therefore ineligible under terms of the naturalization statute."[30] The U. S. Congress used this court case as a precedent by which they could pass the Immigration Act of 1924, which, without naming the Japanese, barred from immigration "aliens ineligible for citizenship," effectively cutting off any Japanese immigration in the same way that the Chinese were excluded fifty years earlier.

In the period of years between 1890 and the World War II era, we can see extreme changes in the marking of Japanese America, and we might posit several causes for this change: racial prejudice, commercial success by Japanese immigrants, the military and economic success of the Japanese nation, and perceived "insurmountable" religious and cultural barriers between Japan and the United States. The end of the nineteenth century saw an increase in the Japanese immigrant population, and, at the same time, an increase in financial success in various fields that had been predominately Caucasian, particularly farming. As Daniels notes, in Seattle by 1914 Japanese immigrants "dominated the public market, operating some three hundred of the four hundred stalls and stores."[31] By 1919, Japanese immigrant farmers accounted for about "10 percent of the total value of all California agricultural production."[32] This success transformed people of Japanese descent from being a cheap labor force to being (perceived as) a competitor in the marketplace. Although "Japanese agriculture in California--and elsewhere in the West--did not displace existing farmers," the visibility of the success led to claims "that Japanese farmers were driving out whites."[33] The political power and prejudice of white Americans in California and elsewhere led to legislative attempts to "inhibit the growth of agricultural entrepreneurship by Japanese Americans," and contributed further to singling out and marking Japanese Americans as a racial group to be agitated against.[34]

The actions of the Japanese nation would also influence the way Japanese America would be marked. The rise of Japanese military power threatened the economic system of European and American colonialism, a threat that found form as well in white America's attitude toward Japanese Americans. As John W. Dower notes, "Japan did not invade independent countries in southern Asia. It invaded colonial outposts which the Westerners had dominated for generations, taking ab-

solutely for granted their racial and cultural superiority over their Asian subjects."[35] Japan's emergence as an economic and military rival to the United States was reflected in white attitudes toward Japanese America. That rivalry led to an increasing number of statements from politicians and from the popular press that emphasized the existence of an "insurmountable barrier between Oriental and Occidental peoples."[36] American newspapers articulated this economic rivalry in terms of declaring Japan--and people of Japanese descent--a "'racial menace' as well as a cultural and religious one."[37]

American propaganda films of the World War II era picked up on and emphasized existing stereotypes of the Japanese as racially, culturally, and religiously different. Such propoganda portrayed the "Japanese Mind" as "being imprisoned in an ideological cage built of two unique elements: the Shinto religion . . . and belief in a divine emperor whose role was both sacred and secular."[38] As Daniels notes, even though "Christianity had made significant inroads among the immigrants from Japan and their children" by the beginning of World War II, this developing discourse concerning the "regimentation" and the religious "fanaticism" inherent to the "Japanese Mind" attached those stereotypes to Japanese Americans as well--mere immigration could not free the mind from its "ideological cage" or from its religious devotion and loyalty to the emperor.[39]

As Foucault notes, if a series of signs can be called a statement, "it is because the position of the subject can be assigned," and because that subject position can lend its authority to those statements, they can thus begin to implement power, and thus connect the statement not only to other statements in its enunciative field but also to relations outside that field--the manifold relations of power. [40] Legal statements such as the Alien Land Act of 1913 and the Tadeo Ozawa decision represent an implementation of power which would have real effects on people of Japanese descent, a production of truth which would authorize the exercise of power. Important here is the *position* occupied by the subject of enunciation. The subject speaking a particular statement "should not be regarded as identical with the author of the formulation--either in substance, or in function. He is not in fact the cause, origin, or starting-point of the phenomenon."[41] Rather the position of the subject of the statement "is a particular, vacant place that may in fact be filled by different individuals."[42] This place may be occupied by the press, by the court, by various individuals, each of whom speaks from a position endowed with differing authority, all of whom are involved in the production of truth--a production which enables the exercise of power.

An initiative proposed in California seven years after the passage of the Alien Land Act of 1913, a new law intended to "plug loopholes in the 1913 law," demonstrates how a coalition of statements "spoken" from various positions could effectively implement legal power

against Japanese America.[43] Sponsored by "a broad anti-Japanese coalition including representatives of labor, farmers, and middle-class patriotic and fraternal organizations" such as the Native Sons of the Golden West and the American Legion, California voters approved this proposition by a three to one vote after an "intensive, high-powered campaign" that included "unabashed support" from the state government and both political parties.[44] In this case, as in other legal actions, the economic, military, cultural, and religious tensions described previously caused increased circulation of statements about people of Japanese descent in the press, in scientific discourse, in right wing pamphlets, and in countless other places. Adding to this accumulation of statements were legislative and legal statements "spoken" from positions of power that served to validate the authority of this discourse on Japanese America, and that culminated in the implementation of power through the production of law.

"How To Tell Your Friends From the Japs": The World War II Marking of Racial Difference

[After Pearl Harbor, the Japanese-American] community quickly discovered that the legal distinction between citizen and alien was not nearly as important as the distinction between white and yellow, especially if yellow happened to be Japanese. Chinese Americans ... became aware of the difference. Many took to wearing buttons that proclaimed positively: "I'm Chinese." Some joined the white persecution with buttons that added: "I Hate Japs Worse than You Do."[45]

The existence of a racist discourse that links the Japanese to the Chinese and links both groups to negative stereotypes necessitates the appearance of such Post-Pearl Harbor articles as the ones in *Life* and *Time* in order to undo some of their own work. China becomes an ally, Japan an enemy, and the discourse must find a way to mark them as such. *Time*'s 22 December 1941 article, "How To Tell Your Friends From the Japs," despite the promise of its title, informs us that "there is no infallible way of telling them apart."[46] Worse, even the ordering eye of the scientist has troubles: "even an anthropologist, with calipers and plenty of time to measure heads, noses, shoulders, hips, is sometimes stumped."[47] To ease our anxiety at such a statement, however, the article provides "a few rules of thumb," and is accompanied by four photographs, one of a "young Chinese," which is paired with a photograph of a "young Japanese," one of a "middle-aged Chinese," which is, of course, paired with a photograph of a "middle-aged Japanese."[48]

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As Tagg states, "the transparency of the photograph is its most powerful rhetorical device."[49] That "transparency" often works to efface the socially constructed status of photographic images and presents them as "the direct rendering of actuality."[50] However, even such seemingly innocuous photographs as the four portraits that illustrate this article, rather than being transparent, are highly coded in order to carry certain messages to their audience. The two Chinese men are softly lit, clearly illuminating their entire faces, and each figure smiles slightly. The two Japanese men seem to be frowning (whatever the facial gesture, frown or not, it does serve to clench the muscles of the face, in opposition to the relaxed facial features of the Chinese men).

Importantly, the portraits of the Japanese Men are *partially* and *harshly* lit. Large sections of their faces are left in shadow--the type of lighting often used in Hollywood horror films to signify "villain." The construction (and the selection) of these images reinforces and is reinforced by the accompanying text, which states that "those who know them best often rely on facial expression to tell them apart: the Chinese expression is likely to be more placid, kindly, open; the Japanese more positive, dogmatic, arrogant," and we can certainly read dogmatism and arrogance in the clenched facial muscles of the Japanese men, and placidity in the relaxed, softly lit images of the Chinese men.[51] Each statement reinforces the truth of the other (although both statements tell us more about Caucasian stereotyping than about the objects of the discourse), a kind of tautology in which the same statement, presented in different materials (one linguistic, the other photographic), simply repeats itself as proof of its own validity.[52] At the same time, this statement refers to a network of statements which extends beyond it and which also supports the truth value of this particular text. Of course, the Japanese are dogmatic, arrogant, villainous, the very opposite of Caucasian, because an entire history of legal and popular press statements makes the very same point.

In this discourse, the Japanese and the Chinese have been traditionally associated as the same. By the late 1930s, a re-marking was well underway, necessitated partially by the Japanese war against China, which posited Japan as a nation to be feared and China as a potential ally. World War II solidified this re-marking, with the Japanese marked as enemy, and the Chinese marked as allies. At this point in time, the Caucasian majority suddenly found it necessary to distinguish between two groups that had long been regarded as the same (thus, the publication of such articles). Both groups, however, are so invested with a signified content that effaces the difference between signifiers that positing distinctions between the two groups is problematic.

Time's "How To Tell Your Friends From the Japs" tells us that some Chinese are taller than the Japanese, although the next "rule of thumb", somewhat contradictorily, tells us that "Japanese are likely to

be stockier and broader-hipped than *short Chinese.*"[53] However, the stocky, broad-hipped Japanese becomes, in the next rule, thin: "Japanese--except for wrestlers--are seldom fat; they often dry up and grow lean as they age. The Chinese often put on weight."[54] We are also told that the "Japanese are hesitant, nervous in conversation, laugh loudly at the wrong time," and that the "Japanese walk stiffly, erect, hard-heeled. Chinese, more relaxed, have an easy gait, sometimes shuffle."[55]

For these descriptions, *Time* magazine relies on already existing stereotypes of Asians. As Elaine Kim writes:

> There are two basic kinds of stereotypes of Asians in Anglo-American literature [and in other types of discourses as well]: the "bad" Asian and the "good" Asian. The "bad" Asians are the sinister villains and brute hordes, neither of which can be controlled by the Anglos and both of which therefore must be destroyed. The "good" Asians are the helpless heathens to be saved by Anglo heroes or the loyal and loveable allies, sidekicks, and servants.[56]

Time magazine, rather than providing any evidence for distinguishing between the Japanese and Chinese, simply plugs into these existing stereotypes, positing one group as the "Good Asian" (the placid, smiling, shuffling Chinese) and the other as the "Bad Asian" (the villainous Japanese).

As Foucault states in *Power/Knowledge*, "each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true."[57] The type of anthropological discourse illustrated by Ales Hrdlicka's article in *Science News Letter*, stating that "you cannot tell the Oriental peoples in this country apart by scrutinizing their faces," certainly functions as one of those ordered procedures for distributing "scientifically true" statements, although it certainly is not alone.[58] Daniels writes, "by the 1880's a respectable intellectual basis for an American racism was being developed by the curiously interacting labors of workers in various academic disciplines," who discovered that Anglo-Saxon peoples had "superior innate characteristics."[59]

The assumed superiority of the Caucasian race can perhaps be best demonstrated by an article ("Has Food Influenced the Stature of the Japanese People?") and photograph that appear in the January-December 1936 issue of *Hygeia: The Health Magazine*, published by the American Medical Association.[60] We should note that height, like the size of the cranium, was often used to demonstrate Caucasian superiority, with height signifying "Civilization," "Evidence of Racial Superiority," the taller races, of course, being considered as more evolution-

arily advanced. Virginia Smith, a sixth grade teacher, and the author of this article, writes that "at the end of a class period in which the sixth grade had been studying about the effect of various foods on the growth of people, one of the pupils happened to ask whether the food of the Japanese had been responsible for their short stature."[61] Her students noted the height difference in "ancient" Japanese (an average height for a male was found to be 61.4 inches) and the "modern" Japanese (average male: 63.11 inches). The height of the modern "American" (Caucasian) male, we are told, is 67.67 inches (and we should note that the modern American male seems to have sprung fully grown to his towering height--as the article provides no indication that Caucasians have undergone changes in average height). The students found that "children of Japanese parentage born in America are larger at all ages than are Japanese born and reared in Japan."[62]

The class concluded that eating practices had determined the various statures, and put on a play to demonstrate their findings. A photographed scene from this play accompanies the article:

> A small girl was chosen to represent the ancient Japanese. She carried a tray containing rice and tea. A larger girl was selected for the modern Japanese. She carried a modern Japanese dinner consisting of fish, rice, sweet potato vine leaves and tea. A *still taller* girl was selected for the American. She carried a *good dinner* of steak, baked potato, string beans, lettuce and tomato salad, bread and butter and milk. ... Rice kept the Japanese alive but did not help her to grow much, while green leafy vegetables helped her grow taller. The American ate green leafy vegetables and also drank milk, and so she was the tallest of the three.[63]

The accompanying image (which the above text seems to explicate) functions to chart out the evolution of the human races, showing progression from the ancient (the short) to the modern (the tall), with the "American" (read: Caucasian) at the end of the evolutionary chain, and the "modern Japanese" somewhere in the middle. Articles too numerous to count refer to Japan as a "medieval" or "feudal" society, and this photograph seems to equate their stature with their cultural advancement--somewhere in the middle ages, and still needing a *good dinner* of meat and potatoes to set them on the path to evolutionary superiority.

If *Time* magazine appeals to the existing stereotypes of the Good and Bad Asian, if *Science News Letter* appeals to a dubious anthropological discourse (as does *Hygeia*), the 22 December 1941 issue of *Life* magazine in an article (accompanied by photographs) entitled "How To Tell Japs From The Chinese," takes a slightly different approach, al-

though it also incorporates elements from those other articles. As does *Time*, *Life* posits a good and a bad, but that dichotomy is rendered in terms of the modern and the primitive, much like *Hygeia*. *Life* associates the "modern" with Caucasian physical characteristics, and the "primitive" with physical characteristics that could be described as "simian." Thus, the Chinese are represented as examples of "modern man," and are described in terms of characteristics associated with whites. The "primitive Japanese" are described in *simian* terms. According to *Life*:

> The typical Northern Chinese, represented by Ong Wenhao, Chungking's Minister of Economic Affairs . . . is relatively *tall* and *slenderly* built. His complexion is parchment yellow, *his face long* and delicately boned, his nose more finely bridged. Representative of the Japanese people as a whole is Premier and General Hideki Tojo . . . who betrays *aboriginal antecedents* in a *squat, long-torsoed build*, a broader, more massively boned head and face, flat, often pug, nose, yellow-ocher skin and heavier beard.[64]

Sundquist notes "the American propensity to depict the Japanese as simian creatures or vermin that could not be defeated but only obliterated," stating that "by the end of the war, the enemy had in some ways ceased to be human at all. Polls in the summer of 1945 indicated that up to 15 percent of Americans wished to 'exterminate' the Japanese."[65] Cartoons often depict the Japanese in simian terms, as a Japanese Ape with a "long torso," "short, squat legs," "flat nose," "massive cheek and jawbone," and "heavy beard." [66] Using the evidential status of photographs, *Life* attempts to have its audience read the accompanying images as *proof* of Japanese primitiveness (or primateness).

Four main images accompany the article, two facial portraits, and two full-length photographs of bodies. In all four photographs, *Life* has *written directly on the images*, a move that would normally disrupt the truth-value of the photograph--would indicate its mediation, that the image had been doctored. However, the writing here has the opposite effect, and I will come back to this point. The first photograph is identified as "Chinese public servant, Ong Wen-hao," from North China. *Life* notes that the North Chinese have Caucasian-like features, with their "longer, narrower face," although the Southern Chinese (who are not pictured) have "round, broad faces." The words written on the image have lines drawn from them to particular areas of the photograph, and tell us that the Chinese have a "parchment yellow complexion," "more frequent epicanthic fold," "higher bridge," "lighter facial bones," "longer, narrower face," and a "scant beard." We should note that scientific sounding phrases such as "epicanthic fold" function to reinforce the truth value

of these statements by implying a relation between them and a "discourse of truth"--science. The photograph named as "Japanese warrior, General Hideki Tojo" bears the following descriptions: "earthy yellow complexion," "less frequent epicanthic fold," "flatter nose," "heavy beard," "broader, shorter face," and "massive cheek and jawbone."[67] Most of these terms fit the stereotyped image of the Japanese as a lower being on the evolutionary scale, as apelike.

The third photograph represents three "tall Chinese brothers." The writing on the image points out that these Chinese are "tall and slender" with "long legs," although the caption does note that "when middle-aged and fat, they look more like Japs."[68] We should note that the Chinese have grown substantially since their description in *Time*, which asserts an average height of 5 foot, 5 inches. *Life* states that the Chinese average 5 foot, 7 inches, and sometimes go over 6 feet. The fourth picture depicts two "Short Japanese admirals," who are described as "short and squat" with "shorter legs" and a "longer torso." Again, the description here could easily be applied to the various drawings of the Japanese as apes.

In his discussion of photographs produced for the Leeds City Council in 1896 and 1901, and used as evidence by advocates of slum clearance, John Tagg writes, "if the apparatus here was proposed to operate as a controlled extension and aid to the trained and expert eye, the photographs it produced function as a kind of *mouth*," but a disembodied mouth unattached to a subject, "a mouth that spoke for itself ... wordlessly enunciating its incontrovertible evidence; yet a mouth that had to be given a voice by the public health experts who imputed that they alone could read its lips . . . [and who produced] the patient translation of what ought to be already evident."[69] Similarly, what would normally be considered a disruption of the evidentiary status of the photograph, tampering with the image by writing on it, becomes in the case of the *Life* photos "the patient translation of what ought to be already evident," the photos and captions working to wordlessly enunciate a series of statements that serve as incontrovertible evidence for each other.

Within and between these particular articles, we find a number of contradictions, which indicates the establishment of a new discursive field, one that marks and asserts the difference between people of Japanese descent and Chinese descent. These statements appropriate from already existing discourses (Good Asian/Bad Asian, endowing the Chinese with characteristics normally reserved for Caucasians) in an attempt to change filiation with some statements in order to re-align themselves in relation to *other statements*, as a way of positing a new "enunciative past." The contradictions also indicate that these statements find it necessary (and difficult) to work against the already established enunciative field that marks the Japanese and Chinese as the same, and these articles reveal the struggle to undo that marking.

Notes

1 "How to Tell Your Friends From the Japs," *Time*, 22 December 1941: 33.

2 "How to Tell Japs From the Chinese," *Life*, 22 December 1941: 81-2.

3 "No Certain Way to Tell Japanese From Chinese," *Science News Letter*, 20 December 1941: 394. Hrdlicka's influence extends beyond the audience of *Science News Letter,* for he also worked as an official advisor to Franklin Roosevelt. Eric Sunquist writes, "he advised the President, with Roosevelt seeming encouraged, that Japanese perfidy and brutality had a specific racial basis measurable in such phenomena as skull size." [Eric J. Sundquist, "Japanese-American Internment: A Reappraisal," *The American Scholar* (Autumn 1988): 529-547.]

4 *Science News Letter*, 394.

5 Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge,* trans. A.M. Sheridan Smith (New York: Pantheon, 1972).

6 Foucault, 99.

7 Foucault, 104.

8 Michele Barret, *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault*, (Stanford University Press, 1991), 126.

9 Foucault, 124, [emphasis mine].

10 John Tagg, *Grounds of Dispute: Art History, Culture Politics and the Discursive Field* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), 85.

11 Tagg, 103.

12 Tagg, 103.

13 Foucault, 124.

14 Jacobus tenBroek, Edward N. Barnhart, and Floyd W. Matson, *Prejudice, War and the Constitution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 62.

15 Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967),76.

[16]Barthes, 76.

[17]Roger Daniels, *The Politics of Prejudice: The Anti-Japanese Movement in California and the Struggle for Japanese Exclusion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962),3.

[18]Roger Daniels, *Asian America: Chinese and Japanese in the United States since 1850* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988) , 101.

[19]Daniels, 1988, 111.

[20]Daniels, 1988, 101.

[21]Daniels, 1988, 111-112.

[22]tenBroek, et al.

[23]tenBroek, et al.,23.

[24]tenBroek, et al., 62.

[25]As quoted in tenBroek, et al., 26.

[26]Foucault, 124.

[27]Barthes, 76.

[28]Daniels, 1962 ,42.

[29]Daniels, 1988, 139.

[30]Daniels, 1988,151.

[31]Daniels, 1988, 134.

[32]Daniels, 1988, 144.

[33]Daniels, 1988, 144.

[34]Daniels, 1988, 137.

[35]John W. Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race and Power in the Pacific War* (New York: Random House, 1986), 5.

[36]Dower, 7.

[37]Dower, 7.

[38]Dower, 20.

[39]Daniels, 1988, 170.

[40]Foucault, 95.

[41]Foucault, 95.

[42]Foucault, 95, [emphasis mine]

[43]Daniels, 1988, 145.

[44]Daniels, 1988

[45]Daniels, 1988, 145.

[46]*Time*, 33.

[47]*Time*, 33.

[48]*Time*, 33.

[49]John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 35.

[50]William Stott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), 77.

[51]*Time*, 33.

[52]In regard to the evidential status of the photograph, or its capacity to depict the "real" see, for example, Pierre Bourdieu, *Photography*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 77. Bourdieu writes, "But at a deeper level, only in the name of a naive realism can one see as a realist a representation of the real which owes its objective appearance not to its agreement with the very reality of things (since this is only ever conveyed through socially conditioned forms of perception) but rather to a conformity with rules which define its syntax within its social use, to the social definition of the objective vision of the world; in conferring upon photography a guarantee of realism, society is merely confirming itself in the tautological certainty that an image of the real which is true to its representation of objectivity is really objective."

[53] *Time*, 33, [emphasis mine].

[54] *Time*, 33.

[55] *Time*, 33.

[56] Elaine Kim, *Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982), 4.

[57] Michel Foucualt, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings,* ed. and trans. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980), 131.

[58] *Science News Letter*, 394

[59] Daniels, 1962, 66.

[60] Virginia E. Smith, "Has Food Influenced the Stature of the Japanese People?" *Hygeia: The Health Magazine* (January-December 1936): 555-56; See also H.L. Shapiro, "Certain Aspects of Race," *Asia* (June 1940): 323-26.

[61] Smith, 555.

[62] Smith, 556

[63] Smith, 556, [emphasis mine].

[64] *Life*, 81, [emphasis mine].

[65] Sundquist, 537.

[66] For an examination of the animalization of people of Japanese descent (and of Japan's depiction of Americans); see also Dower, especially pp. 77-93 and 182-87.

[67] *Life*, 81-82.

[68] *Life*, 82.

[69] Tagg, 1992, 105.

The Pan-African Movement and American Black Political Fiction 1920s to 1950s: Themes of Alienation

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This paper focuses on the role of the writer as a social activist. Accordingly, I examine novelist/essayists who published during the Harlem Renaissance period 1920 to 1930 and in some cases beyond. I am interested in part in the Pan-African movement as it impacted on this era of Afro-American history. The central question explored is what are some of the dynamics that exist between the writer, movement elites, movement rank-in-file, and the broader Afro-American community? The central focus is on the kind of interactions that take place between the writer as a political activist, movement elites, and movement activists. The following writers seem to reflect this particular period - W.E.B. Du Bois, Claude McKay, Langston Hughes among others.

The Harlem Renaissance: A Historical Overview

What makes a novel political is its subject matter. Politics need not be the central focus of a piece of fiction so long as it is interwoven throughout the story and has at least a secondary impact on the characters. The author may be both observer or participant observer in the events recorded within the novel. Alienation, as a theme in most political fiction, has many different facets. It has social, psychological, and, in certain situations, political ramifications. There has been a tendency in the recent past to define "political fiction" in a far too narrow sense "as fiction focusing on the lives of politically prominent individuals," an example being Robert Penn Warren's *All the King's Men*.[1] The purpose here is to somewhat broaden the parameters.

A major point to explore in this paper is to what extent can a certain genre of novels be a source for predicting the rise, transforma-

tion, or decline of social movements? I think the answer to this question may be partially dependent on such factors as: 1) when a novel is published and the size and composition of the readership, 2) the circumstances surrounding the publication of the novel, especially where publisher demands may tend to alter the content of the novel in a political direction or which could obscure the intended message, 3) the author's craftsmanship and communications skills, 4) the author's identification with a cause, 5) the communications processes between the author and the leadership of a movement which can often speak to the maturity level of the movement as well as the author's, and 6) the communication processes between the author and the movement's rank-in-file. The above points are difficult but not impossible avenues for empirical research. Of the six points, the question of links between author and social movement is most significant and also quite complex. The careers of W.E.B. Du Bois and Claude McKay have been selected for exploration in this paper, although I will also touch on a few additional authors.

It can be assumed that even the most popular novel, i.e., widely read work, reaches only a small segment of the population, particularly now with the advent of television but also during the period under discussion. Thus, politically oriented novels do not, in most cases, reach a mass audience. Their impact is therefore an indirect one--from author to the reader--to a much larger audience.

It may be that the author who identifies with a social-political movement has the ability to reach a broader public, thus contributing to its efforts to expand and win support. The author thus becomes a spokesperson. Can the author or the artist retain artistic integrity under these circumstances? This is the dynamic I will return to later on in this discussion.

What Constitutes 'Black Political Fiction'?

What has been said about politically oriented novels holds true to a large extent for black political fiction. The Harlem Renaissance era was an important historical time frame in black America. It was a period in which African Americans were struggling to regain their African identity within an American context. The black intelligentsia took the lead in this process, or at least a significant segment of it was active in this endeavor, including people like Du Bois and McKay. The Harlem Renaissance reflected a clash between intellectual stirrings and political ideological controversy over goals and the tactics necessary to achieve those goals. The Pan-African movements of 1919 through 1929, and in some cases well into the 1930s, contributed to the process of consciousness raising.

To the extent that it was a single movement, Pan-Africanism represented the growing awareness that people of color, in this case

black people, were in fact a force in international politics even though they were still fighting the centuries old effects of European colonialism; effects which are still being felt on the continent of Africa as this paper is being written. In many ways the current conflicts pre-date the arrival of European colonialism but were nevertheless exacerbated by its arrival. Even the deliberations of the League of Nations (1919-20s) were impacted by the Pan-African movement. In any case one cannot discuss the Harlem Renaissance period without at least acknowledging the presence of Pan-Africanism as a vital force.

Pan-Africanism fed into the Harlem Renaissance period by breaking the isolation of African Americans from their historical roots. As with any social movement that crosses geographical boundaries and even oceans, it had within it conflicting ideological currents. It is also not surprising, given the geo-political realities of the time, that the impetus for the Pan-African movement had its beginnings outside the African continent lead by people like Du Bois and George Padmore. The major conflicting currents were black nationalism and Marxism, with divisions in each camp. These currents were also a part of the Harlem Renaissance era. In many ways, the Harlem Renaissance movement embraced Pan-Africanism and resisted it at the same time, and this was certainly a central part of the politics of identity. Pan-Africanism was a movement for cultural renewal, revitalization, and in some cases cultural transformation; and thus at times it was and still is at war with itself.

To this end I will offer a brief analysis of literary works published during the later part of the 1920s and, to a lesser extent, the 1950s, since the impact of the Harlem Renaissance extends beyond the 1920s. In many ways they reflect the process of struggle toward consciousness raising. In fact if one were to examine Du Bois' *Dark Princess*[2] and his later work--*Black Flame*: *The Ordeal of Mansart*,[3] *Mansart Builds a School*,[4] and *Worlds of Color*[5]--one can see a continuing theme unfold. The trilogy is not strictly autobiographical but does contain features that have those overtones.

Alienation and the Black Identity--1920s to 1950s

W.E.B Du Bois' political activism is well known, as are his journalistic writings and essays. His fiction pieces are less well known but deal with issues and themes covered in his non-fiction.

Dark Princess and his *Black Flame Trilogy* are linked together in terms of thematic development, yet the trilogy is a far more extensive piece of work published late in his multi-faceted career. The trilogy actually depicts an important crossroads in his political evolution. In 1961 he openly declared his support of the U.S. Communist Party as the final segment of *Black Flame - Worlds of Color* was published. However, Du Bois had always supported socialist ideals since fairly early in his career

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and part three of *Black Flame* represented the culmination of his politi-
cal evolvement despite attempts, fairly successful during the 1950s, to
ostracize and isolate him from the Afro American community.

As Part One--*The Ordeal of Mansart* opens the reader finds that
Manuel Mansart's father was murdered by members of the Ku Klux Klan
because he was attempting, with some success, to organize black and
poor whites against the landed aristocracy in the South, most likely Geor-
gia. The murder took place the same night Manuel Mansart, the princi-
pal character in the trilogy, was born. Part Two--*Mansart Builds a School*
picks up the story about twenty years later as Mansart became a black
educator. This facet of the story is somewhat autobiographical except
that Du Bois was not born in the South but in New England of a mixed
racial heritage. The last segment *Worlds of Color* depicts Mansart at a
fairly late stage in his life. He traveled abroad to Europe and Asia and
this represented an important turning point in his life. Again, the time
frame is more than suggestive. In the book the time period is circa 1936
highlighted by the rise of fascism in Europe and Japanese militarism in
Asia. Part Three came out on the wake of the McCarthy period 1950-57.
It is also important to remember that Du Bois died in 1963 during the
historic march on Washington. At the time he was working on an edition
of the Encyclopedia Africana in newly independent Ghana. Thus, *Black
Flame* literally covers the life span of one of the greatest men of this
century.

To some extent Du Bois stood above the internal in-fighting that
was a frequent fact of life in left-wing politics throughout the 1920-1950
period. The question of how one "stands above" internal in-fighting within
a social movement is itself complex. Somehow Du Bois was able to
retain his commitment and avoid most of the battles over personal egos.
I do not mean to suggest that he was totally immune to these kinds of
pressures, but, for the most part, he did manage to retain a sense of
balance over the years.

Unlike certain other writers of the period, for example Jean
Toomer and Jesse Fauset Nella Larsen, Claude McKay was also very
much the participant observer at least during the first two decades. This
is one of the significant differences between him and Du Bois, who re-
mained active throughout his life. McKay was a co-editor of *Liberator*

magazine, a socialist periodical of that era. He also brought a West Indian caribbean perspective to the African American experience. He was primarily a poet but his novel *Home to Harlem* stirred up almost as much controversy as Carl Van Vechten's *Nigger Heaven* published two years earlier, and for many of the same reasons. Du Bois attacked both Van Vechten's and McKay's writings in his editorials appearing in *Crisis* magazine. Most of the criticisms of the two novels revolved around what many people felt was a one sided portrayal of life in Harlem. Van Vechten, who was white, was attacked because many people felt he betrayed the confidences of people he interviewed while doing research for his novel. As a friend of Mabel Dodge, patron saint of the Greenwich Village movement, he served as a link of sorts with the Harlem Renaissance people.

The title *Nigger Heaven* was meant to be ironical in tone. Indeed the same phrase "Nigger Heaven" appears in context in McKay's novel. It is spoken by one of the minor characters in the story:

> I should think the nigger heaven of a theater downtown is better than anything in this heah Harlem said Sussy. When we feels like going out its better we enjoy ourse'f in the li'l corner the white folks' low us, and then shuffle along back home. It's good and quiet ovah in Brooklyn.[6]

The above can be contrasted by dialogue spoken by another relative minor character in *Home to Harlem*. It too is highly suggestive of class conflict within the African American community. The lines are spoken by Miss Curdy: "I never did have anytime for Harlem....When I was high up in society all respectable colored people lived in Washington. There was no Harlem full of niggers then. I declare!"[7]

In Van Vechten's novel the principal character Bryan Kasson introduces the phrase "Nigger Heaven" in this context:

> Nigger Heaven! Nigger Heaven! That's what heaven is. We sit in our places in the gallery of this New York theater and watch the white world sitting down below in the good seats in the orchestra. Occasionally they turn their faces up towards us, their hard, cruel faces, to laugh or sneer, but they never beckon. It never seems to occur to them that nigger heaven is crowded, that there isn't another seat, that something has to be done. It doesn't seem to occur to them either, that we sit above them, that we can drop things down on them and crush them, that we can swoop down from this nigger heaven and take their seats. No, they have no fear of that! Harlem! The mecca of the new Negro! My God![8]

Looking back on this period I get the impression from reading these two novels and reviews of them, including those from the black press as well, that some of the criticisms were knee jerk reactions. This is not to imply that McKay's and Van Vechten's works were without stylistic problems, particularly with the lack of fuller development of the main characters--Jake Brown and Bryan Kasson.

During the Harlem Renaissance era, Langston Hughes, Claude McKay and Du Bois each had direct ties with organized political movements. Hughes was probably the more widely read of the three, with the possible exception of Du Bois' articles in *Crisis.*[9] Their ties, however, were ambivalent especially with the various leadership elites. Some of this ambivalence can be traced to clashes of personality, disagreement over movement tactics in a given situation, arguments over the meaning of particular events, or often a combination of these factors. A distinction should be made between being aligned with a movement and being tied to a particular political party. There is also the question of being a party sympathizer and/or a member subject to the discipline of party membership. All these factors suggest different kinds of pressures.

It has been argued in times past that a writer who is subjected to the discipline of a political party cannot retain his/her artistic integrity. The charge has more often than not been leveled at writers who were members of the Communist Party.[10] I would argue that it depends on how one chooses to define artistic independence and, more importantly, artistic integrity. Furthermore, it depends on whether the party in question has a sufficient sense of its goals as well as the tactical sense of how to reach them. The writer who identifies with a movement rather than a political party faces a different set of problems related to the diversity of social movements like the civil rights movement, women's liberation and so on. Their goals are more often than not ill-defined and the tactics are usually adapted on a day to day basis. In this situation the artist as social activist has little sense of direction. This is not to imply that the artist is incapable of plotting his/her own sense of direction. However, it is a different matter if one is to identify with and work for a specific social cause. The question then becomes how does one use their talents for the benefit of the movement and at the same time perfect their craft? This can be a complex process which may depend on such factors as clearly defined goals, coherence in the development of sound tactics, and the degree of internal dialogue within the specific political organization. It might be better for the artists who are committed to revolutionary ideals to align themselves with a political party rather than a broad based social movement.

Hughes remained relatively aloof from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), yet continued to function as an artist committed to revolutionary ideals as he saw them. McKay became disillusioned during the 1930s as did many others. The reasons

for such widespread disillusionment are many and vary with each individual artist. Du Bois remained active even after his break with the NAACP leadership. Except for *Dark Princess* and the trilogy most of his writings are in the non-fiction genre. I also believe that Du Bois was a better historian than either Hughes or McKay due in part to his academic training, as well as his unique sense of history. It appears that Du Bois moved from a generalized commitment to social change to a particularistic commitment in 1961, keeping in mind the historical factors then in place at that time. Certainly the rise of the African independence movements and the U.S. Civil Rights movement were among the major social forces of the period. There is little doubt that his nonfiction journalistic writings had a greater mass appeal than either of his two fiction pieces. However, his non-fiction writings did reach a small but growing elite within the African American community.

In describing the Harlem Renaissance movement and its essential difference from the Greenwich Village movement of the same period, observers such as Harold Cruse and Nathan Huggins noted that "whatever difficulties of art for the white man, the American Negro has a special burden."[11] There was a dialogue between the black novelist and other members of the elite structure within the African American community. There exists, as suggested earlier in this paper, an indirect link between novelist and social movements. Where the author has a direct involvement with a cause and attempts to perfect his/her craft in the furtherance of that cause the link may be more direct depending on other historical factors. The author attempts to build support, or at least empathy, for the cause in the broader society.

The Greenwich village movement, dominated by white artists and intellectuals, and the Harlem renaissance, led by their black counterparts, shared a common frame of reference in that they were highly critical of mainstream American society. However, as Huggins observed in talking about the Negro's special burden:

> His art is self-consciously national while, at the same time, special--ethnically regional. It attempts to speak with two voices, once from the stage of national culture, and the other from the soul of ethnic experience.[12]

All newly arriving immigrant groups have faced the problem described by Huggins. However, African Americans differed in two important respects--first, they faced the problem of surviving in a color conscious society and a hostile environment, and second, they were not newly arriving immigrants, especially during the early part of the renaissance period - 1920s. This is an important part of the historical context.

Potential Linkages Between Novelist and Social Movement or Political Party

Previously, in this discussion, I made a distinction between broadly based social movements and an ideologically oriented political party. It is an important distinction to make especially for the writer who is also an activist who seeks to use his/her skills to promote a cause. I contend that the line between art and propaganda is a thin one at best, if not non-existent. The question is not whether there is a message, but what is that message? In a sense some of the questions raised earlier in this paper might well apply to all serious literature in a broader context having to do with the total human condition. My focus has been on literature which has a fairly well defined political-philosophical theme that attempts to go beyond current events commentary, although this could serve as a part of its central thrust. A social movement provides inspiration for the writers who in turn use their skills and insights to inspire a movement. Thus an important dynamic can be established. A political party, on the other hand, can provide the writer with discipline, assuming it also includes a framework for meaningful dialogue between the writer, party leadership, party rank-in-file, and outside supporters. This kind of situation can also lead to cross pressures, albeit in a framework from which the writer can operate.

How the writer approaches the theme of alienation is of no small importance, particularly since it is such a broad theme. Judging from his works of fiction, Du Bois tended to focus on the notion of powerlessness and the means to overcome it. He did not dwell on hopelessness, yet he was well aware of the complexities of bringing about social change. Both the novel *Dark Princess* and the trilogy end on a note of hope but continuing struggle. Thus, his writings can be seen as epic works in every sense of the term. Du Bois's sense of history is what kept his commitment alive. His eventual link with a specific ideological framework helped to further anchor him up to that point in time.

George Padmore, who collaborated with Du Bois during the period 1919-29, represented and gave voice to one of the major streams of Pan-Africanism. For him, as well as others, marxism was seen as irrelevant to the African experience. On the other hand, Du Bois saw marxism, and many still do, as blending into the African political and economic developmental process. There remains the ongoing struggle for cultural identity. In the long run Pan-Africanism will continue to struggle to redefine itself on the continent and elsewhere. The artist will play an important role in this process, and this is particularly true for the black artist.

Notes

[1] Robert Penn, *All the King's Men* (New York: Modern Library, 1953).

[2] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Dark Princess* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1928).

[3] W.E.B. Du Bois, *The Ordeal of Mansart* (New York: Mainstream Publishing, 1957).

[4] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Mansart Builds a School* (New York: Mainstream Publishing, 1959).

[5] W.E.B. Du Bois, *Worlds of Color* (1957), 59,61.

[6] Joseph Blotner, *The Modern American Political Novel* (Austin, TX: University of Texas, 1966).

[7] Claude McKay, *Home to Harlem* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928), 98.

[8] McKay, 98.

[9] Carl Van-Vechten, *Nigger Heaven* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926).

[10] Eugene Lyons, *The Red Decade* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1941).

[11] Nathan Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 195.

[12] Huggins, 195.

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Eating Attitudes of Native American and African American Women: Differences by Race and Acculturation[1]

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Thirty-four Native American and twenty-eight African American women responded to eating disorders and acculturation measures. African Americans appeared to have greater concern about their body weight and shape than Native Americans. Among all, those who were more acculturated to the U.S. white culture reported more concerns than those who were less acculturated. Also, normal weight women tended to have higher anorexia scores than overweight women as well as a diagnosed anorexic group. Open-ended questions elicited feelings about U.S. symbols of beauty, one's physical self, and usage of standard English. The conceptualization of acculturation to white society and acculturative stress is used to understand the study.

Introduction

The white dominant culture of the United States (U.S.) has led the way in decreeing that being very thin is a necessary component to being considered an attractive woman.[2] While some cultures have traditionally found plumpness and even obesity in women to be attractive,[3] the emergence of thinness as a symbol of beauty for U.S. white women may be affecting non-white minorities in the United States as well.[4]

The Western cultural phenomenon of judging thinner women more attractive has been accompanied by an increase in the incidence of anorexia nervosa and bulimia.[5] At first, these eating disorders were seen only in young white middle and upper-middle class U.S. women.[6]

However, Gray, Ford and Kelly[7] and White, Hudson and Campbell[8] implied that African American women who tended to endorse strongly the U.S. dominant white culture were at risk of developing anorexia nervosa and bulimia. Some other authors have been even more emphatic about this assumption regarding African Americans.[9] Garb, Garb and Stunkard[10] and Rosen, Shafer, Dummer, Cross, Deuman and Malmberg[11] found that Native Americans too were susceptible to developing anorexia nervosa and bulimia.

Silber[12] noted that adolescent Hispanic girls who learned English more quickly than their parents and took on the role of language brokers for their mothers as well as a parental function were found to have a tendency for anorexia nervosa. Leon and Finn[13] stated that as Hispanic women become more attuned to North American preferences about physical beauty and more vulnerable to subsequent problems of low self-esteem, distorted body image, and feelings of loss of control, they become more vulnerable to anorexia nervosa and bulimia. Such discussions led to this investigation on the effects of high and low levels of acculturation on the eating attitudes of Native American and African American women.

Constructs of Acculturation

Acculturation has numerous theoretical underpinnings. Currently in psychology, Sodowsky and her colleagues[14] understand acculturation as a U.S. immigrant group's stress reduction process of adaptation, as it attempts to reduce the majority-minority group conflict over cultural value and power differences. Use of the concept of acculturation appears as early as 1880. Acculturation has traditionally been used by anthropologists and sociologists as a means to describe a process that occurs at a group level as opposed to at an individual level. An example of this is provided by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits' anthropological definition in 1936.

> Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups. . . . under this definition acculturation is to be distinguished from culture change, which is at times a phase of acculturation.[15]

Narrowing this wide, sweeping perspective, the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) in 1954 defined acculturation as

> . . . . culture change that is initiated by the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems.

Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from noncultural causes, such as ecological or demographic modifications induced by an impinging culture. . . . Its dynamics can be seen as the selective adaptation of value systems, the processes of integration and differentiation. . . .[16]

Although SSRC referred to "internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits" and "the generation of developmental sequences and the operation of role determinants,"[17] its definition continued to be group-centered, with the individual seen as a structural part in systemic change.

It was Berry[18] who said that just as cultural and extracultural systems influence the individual, the individual influences these systems too. Berry began to look at psychological acculturation of the individual whose cultural group is experiencing acculturation. He pointed to the individual's acculturation responses in six psychological areas: language usage, cognitive style, personality, cultural identity, relationship attitudes towards the dominant group, and acculturative stress. These factors, as well as many others that continue to be identified,[19] all interact to create a multidimensional profile related to acculturation. Cuellar, Harris and Jasso have argued, "One cannot assume that a minority is highly acculturated simply because he or she is fluent in English".[20]

Acculturative Stress

In psychology, as proposed by Berry, one way to understand the individual experience of acculturation is to measure a person's acculturative stress. While the first five psychological responses are "shifts" or behaviors that are variations of precontact (that is, prior to meeting the dominant group) behaviors, acculturative stress stems from the very process of acculturation and is "mildly pathological and disruptive to the individual and the group." [21] The stress elicited is a coping response to drastically new life events and cues the acculturating individual to possible dangers or opportunities. While a certain amount of stress may be necessary or helpful in alerting the individual to respond to new situations, too much stress can threaten healthy adaptation. Thus, Berry, Kim, Minde and Mok state acculturative stress could be a "reduction in health status (including psychological, somatic and social aspects) of individuals who are undergoing acculturation, and for which there is evidence that these health phenomena are related systematically to acculturation phenomena."[22] For instance, studies have related frequent, high maximum alcohol consumption of Mexican American men to level of acculturation and acculturative stress.[23] One study,[24] using a statistical

model, showed that for an Asian immigrant sample, level of acculturation, extent of ethnic friendships, and age were significantly related to acculturative stress, while age at the time of immigration and years of residence in the U.S. were significantly related to acculturation.

However, individuals undergoing acculturation do not necessarily experience mental health problems. The level of acculturative stress can vary considerably depending on a number of individual and group characteristics. Berry et al's[25] understanding of the probabilistic impact of mediating variables upon acculturation and stress was used for conceptualizing the present study. According to Berry, the first mediating variable includes the nature of the dominant society which includes factors such as its pluralistic or assimilationist ideology. Acculturative stress is less predominant in multicultural societies than in monocultural societies. Multicultural societies tend to accept diversity and encourage support structures for diverse groups. Monocultural societies, such as the predominantly white society of a midwestern city which was the setting of the present study, are more likely to expect diverse groups to assimilate the dominant group's standards.

The second mediating variable, according to Berry, refers to the nature of the acculturating group. Individuals who voluntarily participate in the acculturation process, such as voluntary immigrants, and who are more permanently established in their communities, such as ethnic groups, experience less stress than those whose contact with the dominant group is involuntary historically (Native Americans and African Americans, the subjects of this study), who are refugees, or sojourners making temporary contact.

The third mediating variable is the mode of acculturation adaptation chosen: assimilation, integration, rejection, or deculturation. Berry[26] found that among nine groups of "Amerindians" in northern Canada, those communities with the highest stress levels were those a) with the least cultural similarity to the dominant group, b) who had some contact, and c) who preferred the rejection mode of adaptation. Conversely, those minorities in Canada with the least amount of stress had more initial cultural similarity to the dominant group, had experienced more contact, and preferred the integration mode of adaptation. For these minorities acculturation was a choice and not an imposition.[27]

In the present study, we conceptualized variations of the above combination. We thought that Native American and African American women, while having low cultural similarity with a midwestern dominant group of German and North European origins, would have frequent contact with the monocultural dominant group through common education, work, and neighborhood settings. This unavoidable and perhaps enforced frequent contact would influence higher acculturation in some subjects and less in others. We wished to find out who between the two groups would experience more emotional difficulties. While

findings have shown that high acculturation for immigrants has a converse relationship with adjustment difficulties,[28] we were not convinced that higher acculturation would always imply less difficulty in all mental health areas, especially for minorities who are native to the U.S. Sodowsky et al.[29] showed supportive evidence for this argument in their review of the literature on the acculturation of Hispanics and Asians.

The study of acculturative stress is relatively new, with recent investigations into the acculturative stress of US-born and immigrant Hispanics[30] and Asians.[31] Some other authors,[32] in addition to referring to the effects of values-conflicts and racism, have recently tried to identify mainstream disorders in Hispanics and Native Americans, such as substance abuse and dependence, eating disorders, post traumatic stress disorder, sense of hopelessness, loss of identity, inability to express strong feelings, and truancy. Although they have used a framework of acculturation, these authors have not shown a systematic relationship between levels of acculturation or Berry's modes of acculturation adaptation with any of the mental health disorders identified by them. Also these articles tended not to consider gender differences in psychological difficulties. These articles are thought-pieces and applied in nature and, while very useful clinically and for hypothesis-generation, they are not empirical.

We hoped that the present study would make a distinct contribution to the mental health literature on U.S. minorities because we were empirically investigating whether differences in the acculturation of Native American and African American women would be related to disordered eating attitudes that have been shown to be prevalent among white middle class girls and women. The study's objectives to investigate a) the presence of an observable psychological health status disorder and b) the way this disorder is related to the way the individual is experiencing the acculturation process are primary aspects of the definition of acculturative stress.[33]

Psychological Dimensions of Eating Disorders

A distinctive feature of anorexia nervosa appears to be an inability to identify one's own feelings and a profound sense of ineffectiveness, which the women try to compensate for through strict control of their weight.[34] Some research has suggested that bulimic women suffer from a particular stress associated with wanting to fulfill many separate roles in their lives and with sex-role conflict.[35] Minority women in the U.S., whose lives are characterized by acculturative stress, in addition to racial inequity, lack of power, and low socioeconomic status, may also be unable in their struggles to feel and name their diverse feelings of ineffectiveness. These women too experience a role overload as mothers, single parents, and primary family wage earners as well as the pressures of strong

gender role expectations of their cultural groups which, additionally, come into conflict with the woman's role favored by white feminists.

One definition of being overweight is the state of having a minimum of 10 to 20% excess over the ideal body weight, as determined by the Metropolitan Life Height and Weight Tables, United States Public Health Service.[36] People being overweight is a major problem in the United States today where 35% of the population is overweight.[37] In this study, we attempted to find out whether race, acculturation, and overweight versus normal weight were related to anorexic and bulimic eating attitudes of Native American and African American women. Additionally, in order to understand personal concerns, we asked the women through open-ended questions to express their individualistic feelings about beauty, body image, and the need to speak standard English.

Method

Subjects

Thirty-four Native American and 28 African American women participated in the study. These women were contacted at two minority social service organizations in Lincoln, Nebraska: the Indian Center and the Malone Center.

Tribal self-designations of Native Americans. The Native Americans represented a number of different bands of one nation. Sixteen Native American women said that they belonged to the Omaha tribe, and eight said that they belonged to the Sioux. The remaining women indicated the following or a combination of the following: Santee Sioux, Lakota Sioux, Rosebud Sioux, Yuchi Creek, Choctaw, North Cheyenne, Winnebago, Omaha Sioux, Cherokee, and Oglala. Thus, the Native Americans were representative of one nation.

Racial self-designations of African Americans. Twenty African American women called themselves black, and five called themselves African American. One called herself Negro American, and one Negro. Thus, the majority of African Americans called themselves black and African American, which terms imply political and racial consciousness in African Americans.

Age. The Native Americans ranged between the ages of 12 and 62, and the African Americans ranged between the ages of 12 and 68. Thus, the Native Americans and African Americans covered a wide age range.

Weight. The subjects reported their weight. Thirty-eight percent of the Native Americans were determined to be overweight, judging by the 1983 Metropolitan Height and Weight Tables. Three percent were determined to be underweight, while 59% were considered to be of normal weight.

Forty percent of the African Americans were determined to be overweight. Ten percent were considered to be underweight, while 50% were considered to be of normal weight. Thus, both the African Americans and the Native Americans had a relatively high rate of being overweight.

Education. The average educational level for the Native Americans was a high school diploma or a GED. The average educational level for the African Americans was a high school education plus hours at a community college or university, which was somewhat higher than that for the Native Americans.

Annual income. The average annual income for the Native Americans was $7,100, which at the time of the study was below the poverty level of $10,989 set for the United States.[38] The average annual income for the African Americans was $12,000, which was higher than the average income for the Native Americans.

Procedures

All the women were given the Eating Disorders Inventory (EDI),[39] two subscales of the Majority-Minority Relations Survey (MMRS),[40] three open-ended questions, and demographic items. The researchers personally handed out the survey to each subject. A cover letter stated that participation was voluntary and anonymous. There was a 95% return rate.

Instruments

The Eating Disorders Inventory (EDI). The EDI is a 64-item self-report measure with eight subscales that help determine whether an individual has either anorexic and/or bulimic eating attitudes. Its authors[41] report a full scale internal consistency reliability of .94, and a range of .76 and .87 for subscale internal consistencies.

In addition to the subscale Drive for Thinness, only three other EDI subscales were analyzed: Ineffectiveness, Interpersonal Distrust, and Interoceptive Awareness. These three subscales were specifically chosen (from among the other subscales which the subjects also answered) because the characteristics that they measure, such as feelings of worthlessness and not being in control, feelings of distrust of others, and a lack of awareness of emotions and sensations, may help to measure important acculturative stress experiences of U.S. minority women. Drive for Thinness was also included because we wanted to find out whether the minority women also experienced the white cultural pressure to be thin.

Majority-Minority Relations Survey (MMRS). The MMRS is an acculturation instrument that has been previously used to measure the acculturation attitudes of Hispanics and Asian Americans.[42] Only two

subscales, Perceived Prejudice and Social Customs, consisting of 31 items, were used. The seven-item Language subscale was not used because we assumed that the sample spoke primarily English in a monocultural white environment.

For both Likert and multiple choice items, the lowest value indicates strong affiliation with the majority group, suggesting assimilation or high acculturation; and the highest value indicates strong affiliation with one's minority group, suggesting rejection of the dominant culture or low acculturation. The authors report internal consistency reliabilities for Perceived Prejudice, Social Customs, and the full scale as .92, .89, and .95, respectively.[43]

Open-ended questions. Three open-ended questions were asked. The first question asked respondents how they felt when they saw slender white women on television and in magazines depicted as the typical symbol of beauty. The second question asked subjects to explain how much their feelings about their physical self affected their feelings about themselves overall. The third question asked subjects whether they spoke the same English as preferred by the white dominant group. A second part to the third question was that if the subjects spoke differently with different groups, how did this feel to them.

Data Analysis

Cronbach coefficient alphas were determined for the full scales and the subscales of the instruments used. The Native American and African American groups were compared, with racial self-designation as the independent variable. A multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed on the four EDI subscale scores, the dependent variables. A significant MANOVA F ratio for race at the .01 level was followed up with univariate analyses of variance (ANOVAs) for each of the four EDI subscales. The Bonferroni adjustment procedure, utilized to correct for Type 1 error owing to multiple univariate analyses, set the significance level at .01 for each ANOVA.

Native Americans and African Americans were then combined as one minority sample and placed into two groups, one representing more acculturated women and the other representing less acculturated women. Frequency distributions were studied to categorize subjects as less acculturated or more acculturated. On the Perceived Prejudice subscale, those subjects ($n = 22$) who had scores equal to or greater than 72 were determined to be less acculturated. Those subjects ($n = 24$) who had scores equal to or less than 63 were determined to be more acculturated. On the Social Customs subscale, those subjects ($n = 24$) whose scores were equal to or greater than 40 were determined to be less acculturated. Those subjects ($n = 19$) whose scores were equal to or less than 30 were determined to be more acculturated. The

intermediate groups (Perceived Prejudice subscale: n = 16, range 71-62; Social Customs subscale: n = 19, score range 39-29) were dropped from the analyses of acculturation group comparisons. A MANOVA was performed, with acculturation as the independent variable for each dimension, a) Perceived Prejudice and b) Social Customs; the dependent variables for both MANOVAs were the three EDI subscales: Ineffectiveness, Interpersonal Distrust, and Interoceptive Awareness. A significant MANOVA F ratio for each acculturation variable at the .05 level was followed up with univariate analyses of variance (ANOVAs) for each of the three EDI subscales. The Bonferroni adjustment procedure, utilized to correct for Type 1 error owing to multiple univariate analyses, set the significance level at .01 for each ANOVA.

The assumption of homogeneity of variance-covariance matrices was tested by Box M ($p > .20$) for the three MANOVAs performed, and there was no violation of the assumption. A table of mean scores of overweight and normal weight Native American and African American women on all the EDI subscales was developed and considered against the mean scores of an anorexia nervosa criterion group studied by the authors of the EDI.[44]

Subjects' responses to three open-ended questions were content analyzed to identify recurring themes for each question across all subjects. The percentage of subjects expressing each theme was determined.

Results

Cronbach coefficient alphas for the EDI were as follows: full scale alpha = .94; subscales: Drive for Thinness alpha = .81; Ineffectiveness alpha = .87; Interpersonal Distrust alpha = .72; and Interoceptive Awareness alpha = .82. The Cronbach coefficient alphas for the MMRS subscales were as follows: Perceived Prejudice alpha = .82; and Social Customs alpha = .69.

Comparison Between Native Americans and African Americans

A significant MANOVA for race, $F(4,53) = 8.79$, $p < .01$, was followed by univariate analyses (ANOVAs) on the four EDI subscales. A significant difference was found for Drive for Thinness, $F(1,60) = 11.37$, $p < .001$. The African Americans (M = 11.75) showed a significantly higher Drive for Thinness than the Native Americans (M = 7.59). Figure 1 provides profiles of mean differences between the two groups on the four subscales. An examination of the mean scores of both groups revealed that African Americans additionally had higher scores on Ineffectiveness ($p < .02$) and Interoceptive Awareness ($p < .05$). Native Americans had a higher score on Interpersonal Distrust ($p < .05$). (The Bonferroni adjustment required probability level of .01 to achieve significance.)
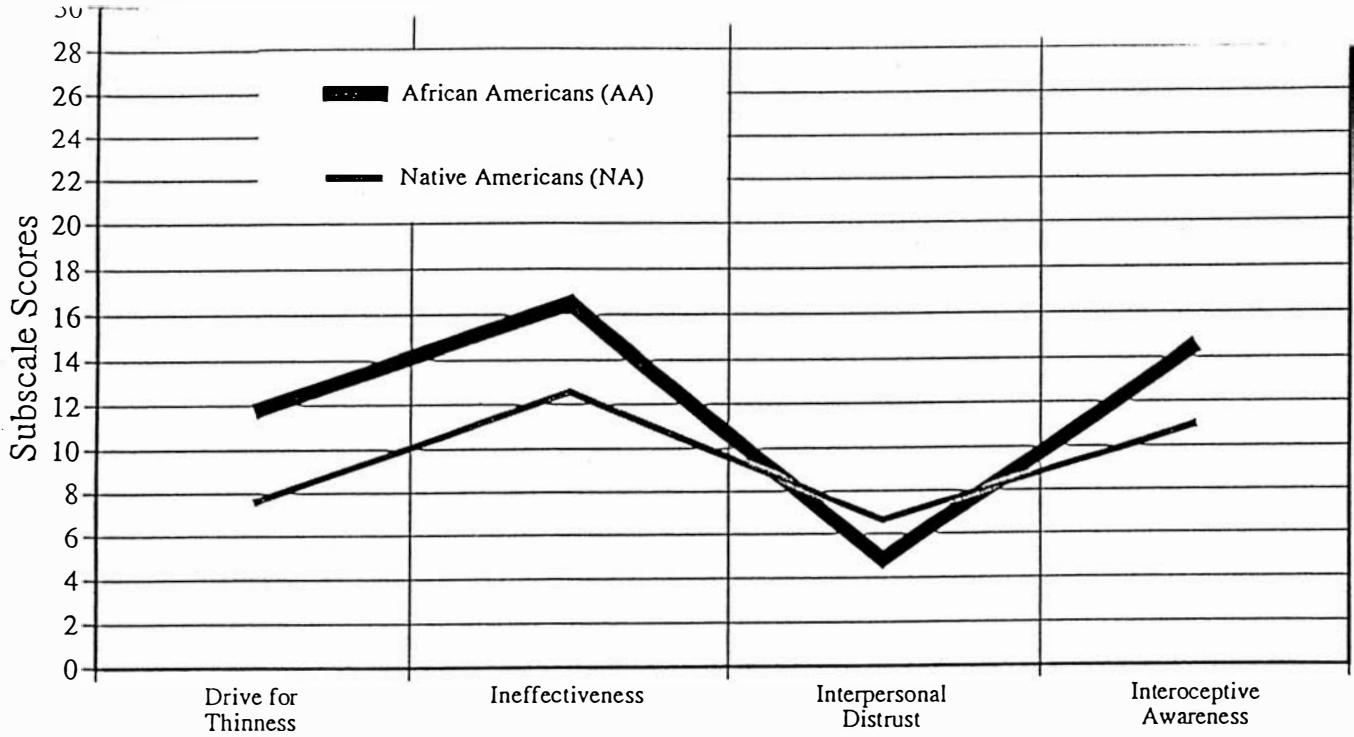
	Drive for Thinness	Ineffectiveness	Interpersonal Distrust	Interoceptive Awareness
AA x̄ =	11.75	16.50	4.82	14.57
NA x̄ =	7.59	12.56	6.65	11.00
	p<.001	p<.02	p<.05	p<.05

Note: The probability values indicate the differences between mean scores of African Americans and Native Americans.

More Acculturated and Less Acculturated Women

Significant MANOVAs were found for more acculturated and less acculturated women: (a) Perceived Prejudice, $F(3,42) = 3.85$, $p < .03$; and (b) Social Customs, $F(3,39) = 2.36$, $p < .04$. Significant ANOVAS were found on three EDI subscales for the Perceived Prejudice acculturation dimension: $F(1,44) = 7.8$, $p < .003$ (Ineffectiveness); $F(1,44) = 4.1$, $p < .01$ (Interpersonal Distrust); and $F(1,44) = 4.93$, $p < .01$ (Interoceptive Awareness). Significant ANOVAs were found on the same three EDI subscales for the Social Customs acculturation dimension: $F(1,41) = 6.2$, $p < .01$ (Ineffectiveness); $F(1,41) = 6.3$, $p < .01$ (Interpersonal Distrust); and $F(1,41) = 4.3$, $p < .01$ (Interoceptive Awareness).

For the Perceived Prejudice acculturation dimension, more acculturated subjects ($M = 17.0$ for Ineffectiveness; $M = 8.42$ for Interpersonal Distrust; $M = 15.58$ for Interoceptive Awareness) showed more problematic attitudes than less acculturated subjects ($M = 11.59$ for Ineffectiveness; $M = 5.70$ for Interpersonal Distrust; $M = 11.73$ for Interoceptive Awareness). For the Social Customs acculturation dimension, more acculturated subjects ($M = 16.10$ for Ineffectiveness; $M = 8.99$ for Interpersonal Distrust; $M = 14.95$ for Interoceptive Awareness) showed more problematic attitudes than less acculturated subjects ($M = 11.83$ for Ineffectiveness; $M = 6.04$ for Interpersonal Distrust; and $M = 11.77$ for Interoceptive Awareness). Table 1 provides the means and standard deviations of the more acculturated and less acculturated groups on the three EDI subscales.

Overweight and Normal Weight Native Americans and African Americans

Table 2 provides all EDI mean scores of Native American and African American overweight versus normal weight women. Table 2 also includes the mean scores of the anorexia criterion group presented by the test developers.[45] For both minority groups, normal weight women showed a tendency for higher scores on the EDI than the overweight women as well as the anorexia nervosa criterion group.

Open-ended Questions

A total of 33 Native Americans (97%) and 25 African Americans (89%) answered at least one of two open-ended questions. The percentages given are based on these totals (that is $n = 33$ and $n = 25$).

Thirty-two Native Americans (97%) and all 25 African Americans (100%) responded to the question: How do you feel when you see slender white women on TV and in magazines exhibited as the traditional symbol of beauty? Responses were divided into three groups, those which indicated a negative or critical reaction, those which indicated a neutral reaction, and those which indicated a positive reaction.

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Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations on Select EDI Subscales for Less Acculturated and More Acculturated Groups

Acculturation Groups	n	Ineffectiveness		Interpersonal Distrust		Interoceptive Awareness	
		M	sd	M	sd	M	sd
Perceived Prejudice Subscale							
More Acculturated (Scores $\leq$ 63)	24	17.00	7.2	8.42	4.5	15.58	6.0
Less Acculturated (Scores $\geq$ 72)	22	11.59	5.3	5.70	4.6	11.73	5.8
Social Customs Subscale							
More Acculturated (Scores $\leq$ 30)	19	16.10	6.6	8.99	4.7	14.95	6.1
Less Acculturated (Scores $\geq$ 40)	24	11.83	6.4	6.04	3.7	11.77	6.2

Note: Higher cut-off scores on the Perceived Prejudice and Social Customs subscales of the MMRS indicate less acculturation, and lower cut-off scores indicate more acculturation. On the EDI subscales, Ineffectiveness, Interpersonal Distrust, and Interoceptive Awareness, the higher the scores, the more problems in eating attitudes and behaviors are indicated.

Table 2

Mean Scores on All EDI Subscales of Overweight and Normal Weight Native Americans and African Americans and

an Anorexia Criterion Group

	Native Americans		African Americans		Anorexia
	Overweight	Normal Weight	Overweight	Normal Weight	Criterion Group
Drive for Thinness	5.40	8.72	8.50	13.30	13.80
Bulimia	12.20	14.67	9.13	13.70	8.10
Body Dissatisfaction	5.60	8.39	4.13	13.20	15.50
Ineffectiveness	12.20	13.78	16.25	15.70	12.10
Perfectionism	6.80	6.61	3.63	4.50	8.60
Interpersonal Distrust	6.80	7.56	8.88	9.80	6.40
Interoceptive Awareness	10.70	14.72	11.88	15.80	11.40
Maturity Fears	9.60	8.89	10.38	10.80	5.60

Note: Mean scores of the anorexia nervosa criterion group have been provided by the authors of the EDI (Garner & Olmstead, 1984).

Among the Native Americans, 66% of the women wrote negative or critical comments (e.g., "I feel fat and ugly."). Also in the negative category, 24% of the women used the words "jealous" or "envious" in their responses. Twenty-five percent made neutral comments (e.g., "I feel okay."), and 9% made a positive remark (e.g., " . . . . I think they're beautiful!").

Among the African Americans, 80% wrote responses that could be categorized as negative or critical (e.g., "It's limiting what beauty is . . ."). Twenty percent of the subjects wrote responses categorized as neutral (e.g., "It doesn't bother me."). There were no positive responses.

Thirty-two Native Americans (97%) and twenty-four (96%) African Americans answered the question: How much do your feelings about your physical self affect overall how you feel about yourself? These subjects were grouped into five categories. Those who had misunderstood the question; those who believed their physical self did not at all affect how they felt about themselves; those who believed their physical self affected somewhat how they felt about themselves; those who believed that their physical self affected a great deal how they felt about themselves; and those who did not know.

Among the Native Americans, 34% wrote responses that indicated that their feelings about their physical self affected a great deal how they felt about themselves (e.g., "My physical appearance affects my mood almost always."). Thirty-one percent misunderstood the question (e.g., "I feel I need to lose weight."). In the given example, the subject expressed a negative feeling, but did not inform how much that negative feeling affected her feelings about her self overall. Nineteen percent of the women indicated that their feelings about their physical self affected somewhat how they felt about their overall self (e.g., "25%"); 13% of the women indicated that their physical self did not at all affect how they felt about themselves (e.g., " . . . . there are more important things than physical self."); one woman wrote, "I really can't say, because I don't know."

Among the African Americans, 54% wrote responses that indicated that they had misunderstood the question (e.g., "Physically, I am not satisfied with all of my body parts, but emotionally I am very confident in myself and things that I do."). This statement expressed a negative feeling but did not inform how much importance the subject placed on her physical appearance.). Twenty-one percent indicated that their physical appearance affected somewhat their overall feeling about themselves (e.g., "A small portion of my physical appearance decides how I feel about myself."); 21% indicated that their physical appearance affected a great deal how they felt about themselves overall (e.g., "A great deal, because it is a key component in development of one's self-esteem."); one woman indicated that her physical appearance did not at all affect how she felt about herself overall (e.g., "I feel good about

myself regardless of my physical self."). No one indicated that they did not know.

Most acculturation instruments and studies in psychology measure self-reported preference of and proficiency in English language usage versus usage of one's ethnic language or language of one's original culture. A great amount of English usage is considered an indicator of high acculturation.[46] We expected the Native Americans and African Americans of this study, as opposed to immigrants, to speak English most of the time. However, owing to the fact that the English language has been modified by linguistics of many former colonized nations, as can be seen in the case of West African pidgin and Indian English, and is spoken in many forms in the U.S., such as, Hawaiian English and black English or ebonics, we asked "Do you speak the same English as that preferred by the white majority group?" The subjects were asked to mark one of the following response choices: only, most of the time, when with members of the white majority group, rarely, never. All 33 Native Americans (100%) and 24 African Americans (96%) answered the question.

Among the Native Americans, 47% indicated that most of the time they spoke the type of English preferred by the white majority group; 41% indicated that they only spoke that type of English; and 12% indicated that they spoke that type of English when with members of the white majority group. No subjects indicated "rarely" or "never" with regard to speaking the type of English preferred by the white majority group.

Among the African Americans, 71% indicated that most of the time they spoke the type of English preferred by the white majority group; 13% indicated that they only spoke that type of English; 8% indicated that they rarely spoke that type of English; one person indicated that she spoke that type of English when she was with members of the white majority group; and one person indicated that she never spoke the type of English preferred by the white majority group.

Twelve Native Americans (36%) and 11 African Americans (44%) responded to the second part of the third question, "If you speak English differently (examples: accent, word order, grammar, vocabulary, slang) with different groups, please describe this experience." Responses were grouped into three categories: those who expressed a positive experience, those who were neutral in their responses, and those who expressed a negative experience.

Of the Native Americans, 58% expressed a neutral experience, 33% expressed a negative experience, and one person expressed a positive experience. Among the African Americans, 82% expressed a neutral experience; 18% expressed a negative experience, and no one expressed a positive experience.

Discussion

Much of the research on anorexic and bulimic eating attitudes has studied young white females from the middle and upper middle classes. This study investigated whether U.S. minority women, Native Americans and African Americans, who live in a midwest unicultural white society would also report anorexic and bulimic attitudes. John Berry's[47] psychological constructs of acculturation adaptation and acculturative stress were used as a framework to understand minority women's attitudinal reactions to the power status and social customs of white society and their stress-related response of problematic eating attitudes.

Comparisons Between African American and Native American Women

The African American subjects generally showed more problems on the select EDI subscales than the Native Americans and scored significantly higher on Drive for Thinness. Since a higher socioeconomic status has been shown to correlate with the likelihood of developing an eating disorder,[48] the African Americans' relatively higher average income ($12,000) compared to that of the Native Americans ($7,100) could have predisposed them to developing more troublesome attitudes around food. The African Americans also had a relatively higher average educational level (high school education plus hours at a college or university) when compared to the Native Americans (a high school education). The African Americans also appeared to report less strong emotions than the Native Americans about the need to speak one way with whites and another way with their own cultural group. Therefore, minority women who attain increasing socioeconomic status may approximate the attitudes of white middle class women.

The sociopolitical experience of being oppressed by whites for more than 200 years may have forced many African Americans to adopt white attitudes[49] and forego their own culture or be less engaged with it. One could argue that Native Americans were also forced to assimilate with the white culture at the expense of their own culture. However, it appears that African American women have been more successful than Native American women in working within the establishment. Nonetheless, this proximity to white attitudes is not necessarily reciprocated by acceptance from the white reference group and this, no doubt, is a stressful experience. It is ironical that while educational and income equity needs to be established for minority women, those that access it may be exposing themselves to a whole lot of new problems.

More Acculturated and Less Acculturated Women

In their study of the Hispanic Stress Inventory, a measure of stress related to cultural issues, Cervantes et al.[50] found that native-born Hispanics showed stress as they felt increased pressure to assimilate with the U.S. dominant culture. Maladaptive behaviors such as excessive drinking may be used by some Mexican American males to cope with acculturative stress, and increased drinking by both male and female Mexican Americans has been related to increasing levels of acculturation.[51] Feelings of marginality, that is, feeling that one does not belong to either group, are problematic,[52] as are feelings of pressure to conform.[53] However, the acculturation findings appear somewhat different for Asians. While findings show that first-generation Asian immigrants and sojourners perceive more prejudice than Hispanics,[54] level of stress and level of external locus of control both decrease and self-esteem increases with succeeding generations of Asians who were more acculturated. Similarly, in their study of the Cultural Adjustment Difficulty Checklist, Sodowsky and Lai[55] showed that higher acculturation of Asian immigrants was related to lower acculturative stress.

The majority of Native American and African American women in this study reported that they were acculturated to standard English, and many showed pragmatic acceptance of situations requiring language flexibility. However, even though the majority of women was acculturated to the English language, and many showed high acculturation in other assessed dimensions (i.e., Perceived Prejudice and Social Customs), responses to open-ended questions (i.e., how the media represents female beauty, and how their feelings about their body affected their self-esteem) indicated that more than half showed a lack of a close relationship with the white dominant group, anger at the dominant group, alienation, poor self-esteem, and identity confusion, characteristics identified by Berry et al.[56] and Sodowsky and Lai[57] as components of acculturative stress. Identity confusion, such as, subjects wondering which group they belong to, is an effect in psychological acculturation's variable of cultural identity,[58] which recently has begun to be investigated by the ethnic identity literature.[59]

Native American and African American women who reported more acculturation also showed more distress on Ineffectiveness, Interpersonal Distrust, and Interoceptive Awareness than those women who reported less acculturation. The implication may be that as minority women become more acculturated to the white American culture, they may be at risk for endorsing attitudinal problems of white American society. We propose that more acculturated minority women do not feel empowered in white American society. A higher score on Ineffectiveness may signify that as the non-white women attempt to adapt to the dominant white culture, they may become increasingly aware of their outgroup

status, and thus may manifest stronger feelings of ineffectiveness than those women who reject the white culture. Also, the more acculturated group's higher score on Interpersonal Distrust may suggest that minority women associating more frequently with the dominant white group may be distrusting because they have personally experienced institutional, cultural, and individual racism. Finally, the more acculturated women may score higher on Interoceptive Awareness owing to possible feelings of confusion and ambiguity that may arise out of their experiencing conflicts of values of two cultures. The acculturative stress of trying to cope constantly with cultural conflicts may cause the women to lose touch with and to fail to identify accurately their intimate sensations.

Overweight and Normal Weight Women

The subjects in this study had a slightly higher proportion of being overweight (40% among African Americans and 38% among Native Americans) than the general population (35%).[60] Eating attitudes of U.S. minority women that lead to their being overweight need to be studied. It is to be noted that given the low income of both Native American and African American women, ranging between below the U.S. poverty level and sightly above, becoming overweight may be a reaction to earlier deprivations. The second author, an immigrant, has noticed that many "Third World" immigrants fleeing economic deprivation gain weight in the U.S. owing to the abundant availability of food and the fat contents of such food. In a number of Plains Indian cultures, being overweight has traditionally been seen as being representative of greed. Greed is considered the opposite of generosity, a highly valued characteristic. Greed is considered to harm not only the individual but also the entire community. Thus the overweight of minority women may also need to be studied from the acculturation point of view.

Even though this was a study of self-reported attitudes and not a diagnostic study, we would like to point to the relatively high scores on the EDI of both Native American and African American normal weight women, when compared to the overweight women in the two groups and to the anorexia nervosa criterion group.[61] The higher EDI scores of the normal weight U.S. minority women warrant some concern about the stresses of these women. Apparently these minority women doubt or find fault with their normal condition.

Future Research

Since anorexia nervosa and bulimia appear to be affecting more Native American women and African American women than before, it is becoming increasingly important to do research on this topic with these two minority women's groups. An important study would be to administer

the EDI to groups of African American and Native American women, so as to develop minority norms in comparison to a minority anorexic and bulimic criterion group and not to overlook the differences of minority women from white women.

Future research needs to pay attention to this study showing that acculturation and acculturation-related difficulties differ both between racial groups and within racial groups. Individuals of the same race or ethnicity with different experiences may have different acculturation processes and different difficulties. Also, it would be important to identify variables that may be helpful in reducing acculturative stress. Suggestions that acculturative stress may be reduced by a belief in one's inner resources, voluntary close relationships with individuals of the dominant group,[62] high self-esteem, a sense of personal control,[63] extensive family network/support, and a reduction of prejudice in the dominant society[64] needed to be further investigated. However, some of these stress-mediators may be conditions of the privileged in a racist society.

Notes

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