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Review Essay

Arthur M. Schlesinger's Vision of America and the Multicultural Debate

by

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In April of 1990, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., published an essay in the Wall Street Journal entitled "When Ethnic Studies are Un-American."1 The publication of that article followed, by about eight months, the release of New York State's Department of Education's now controversial report—"A Curriculum of Inclusion."2 Interestingly, the publication of The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society also follows, by about seven months, the release of New York State's second and most current Education Department report calling for the development of a new multicultural social studies curriculum—One Nation. Many Peoples: A Declaration of Cultural Interdependence.3

What is most interesting about this second report is that Schlesinger, a member of that newly constituted Task Force, felt compelled to write a dissenting opinion in response to what many believed was a much more temperate report than the first. In his dissenting view, Schlesinger sounds a general alarm that is echoed in his book. He concludes his dissenting opinion by stating the following:

I would only beg them to consider what kind of nation we will have if we press further down the
road to cultural separatism and ethnic fragmentation, if we institutionalize the classification of our citizens by ethnic and racial criteria and if we abandon our historic commitment to an American identity. What will hold our people together then?4

This dissenting view forms the central argument and tone that is carried throughout his book. It is clearly alarmist and plaintive in tone and at times seems to distort or thoroughly misapprehend the intent of those interested in a revised historical and contemporary vision of America.

With the publication of *The Disuniting of America*, Schlesinger continues to be one of the most outspoken critics of the new multiculturalism. He, Diane Ravitch, and Dinesh D'Souza and a few others have been at the center of this national debate for more than three years.5

In his earlier articles, in his dissenting view, and now in his book, Schlesinger's apocalyptic vision of an America at the brink of ethnic and racial fragmentation sets the stage for an all-out assault on multicultural education reform, ethnic studies, and other discourses in the university and generally in the field of education. The publication of this book culminates several years of talks and articles (some with Diane Ravitch) warning America of the dangers of radical multiculturalism and “un-American” ethnic studies in our nation's schools and universities. The fact that Schlesinger is aware of his alarmist tone is clear from his comment, that he doesn’t “want to sound apocalyptic about these developments” (18). That is precisely how he comes across, however, and it must indeed be conscious and intentional because he persists in his conjuring of images at home and abroad that speak of the horrors of racial and ethnic conflict. This is a tone that preceded his membership on the New York State Review and Development Committee, and certainly predates the publication of the book here under review. One does not have to go further than the title of his 1990 article mentioned above—“When Ethnic Studies are Un-American.” Whether he demurs or not, Schlesinger certainly does come across as the harbinger of doom. The paragraph for which he is apologetic follows:

Watching ethnic conflict tear one nation after another apart, one cannot look with complacency at proposals to divide the United States into distinct immutable ethnic and racial communities, each taught to cherish its own apartness from the rest. One wonders: Will the center hold? Or will the melting pot give way to the Tower of Babel? (17-18)
Will the center hold? Indeed. Phrases like the “melting pot” giving way to a “Tower of Babel,” and the image of an America “divided into distinct immutable ethnic and racial communities,” [italics added] certainly do qualify as alarmist, and most certainly apocalyptic in tone, if not intent.

What he does, most deftly, is manage to turn on its head the entire edifice of American racism, marginalization, social and economic exploitation, and ghettoization of our nation’s ethnic/racial minorities, when he suggests that,

pressed too far... the cult of ethnicity has had bad consequences too. The new ethnic gospel rejects the unifying vision of individuals from all nations melted into a new race.

"Gospels" and "cults" and a rejection of unifying visions of America are very powerful images. I wonder if he really believes this?

Schlesinger also seems to put a great deal of stock in the words of Hector St. John de Crévecoeur, a French immigrant who settled in the American colonies in 1759: “Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of man” (12). With disclaimers regarding eighteenth- and nineteenth-century usage of the terms “race” and “man,” Schlesinger goes on to make his point about the Frenchman who was enthralled by the colonialist propensity for European intermarriage. The idea of English marrying Dutch, and Scotch marrying German, moved Crévecoeur deeply. And in turn, for Schlesinger, it would seem that Crévecoeur’s words represent the very spirit of this new “race of man.” Notice there is no mention here of Scots marrying Africans, or Germans marrying American Indians. This is critical because here again we see an idealization of European ethnic mixing and hear little, if anything, of non-European ethnics. Immediately following Crévecoeur’s commentary, Schlesinger’s very next words are as follows:

_E Pluribus Unum._ The United States had a brilliant solution for the inherent fragility of multiethnic society: the creation of a brand-new national identity, carried forward by individuals who, in forsaking old loyalties and joining to make new lives, melted away ethnic differences.....The point of America was not to preserve old cultures, but to forge a new American culture. (13)

This, in essence, is the underlying belief that propels so much of what Schlesinger sees in America’s promise and past. But his view
of this nation, and this nation's treatment of those who somehow could not and would not be forged into this new American race, are images that are in direct contradiction to one another.

Aberrations like racism, slavery, the continued marginalization of people of color, the conquest of southwestern peoples and lands, the unrelenting genocidal practice and policies against Native Americans, the exclusionary immigration policies designed to keep Asians out, and other historical realities, which stand in marked contrast to Schlesinger's vision of America, are presented as a kind of embarrassing side-bar not in keeping with his American dream.

These departures from the ideal version of America that Schlesinger is so intent on presenting are seen and proposed as an anomaly, something that has gone terribly wrong with that dream. They are never presented as being part and parcel of the social, cultural, economic and historical fabric of this nation. They are never presented as an integral part of how this nation has amassed its wealth and guaranteed its hegemonic position in the region, and indeed, in the world.

Schlesinger's thoughts about racism are particularly revealing of this conflict. While he comments that "The curse of racism was the great failure of the American experiment, the glaring contradiction of American ideals and the still crippling disease of American life," he also suggests that "even non-white Americans ["red", "black", "yellow", and "brown" Americans, as he puts it] miserably treated as they were, contributed to the formation of the national identity" (14).

American racism notwithstanding, Schlesinger goes on to reaffirm that "the vision of America as melted into one people prevailed through most of the two centuries of the history of the United States" (14). But now, as Schlesinger suggests, the "eruption of ethnicity" (note the language) has challenged that two-hundred year-old myth. Schlesinger proposes that the mythology was challenged by the civil rights struggles and the many other institutional challenges of the 1960s and '70s. However, we also know that this mythology, and its consequent racist and ethnocentric practices, had been challenged on many occasions throughout America's long history. The challenges came in many forms of cultural and political resistance, uprisings, and armed rebellions. And many other forms of cultural and political reaffirmation persist today, in our communities and in our institutions. And of course, let us not forget to mention this nation's Civil War, where the notion of e pluribus unum was contested in the bloodiest of all conflicts fought on American soil.

More recently, those who challenge the e pluribus unum mythology have decided to do so in the place where this nation's myths are promulgated, nurtured and passed on from one generation
to the next: our schools and our universities. So the struggle has been joined over who will shape the curriculum, who will tell or retell our nation’s mythology, and whose perspective or how many different perspectives can we consider as we begin to approximate historical truth. This is particularly critical, because as Schlesinger points out, “what students are taught in schools affects the way they will thereafter see and treat other Americans, the way they will thereafter conceive the purposes of the republic” (17). Up to this moment in history it would seem that the myth of inclusion has served some quite well. It would seem that most would agree when Schlesinger says that the “debate about the curriculum is a debate about what it means to be an American.” And this is a debate that Schlesinger and the purveyors of the great American myth can ill afford to lose. Although Schlesinger welcomes, in some measure, what he calls the “eruption of ethnicity,” he does so because he believes that the recognition of the achievements of “minorities subordinated and spurned during the high noon of Anglo dominance” (15), is long overdue.

I wonder whether—in this recognition—Schlesinger and others would look, in an age-appropriate way, of course, at the experiences at Mansanar and at Wounded Knee, at the medical experiments on African Americans and Puerto Rican women, at the exclusionary acts and the Jim Crow laws, and at a long, long history filled with experiences and conditions which belie his American dream. It is a truth made out of whole cloth that is sought after, not the simplistic half-truths and the incomplete remembrances of America’s past. It is a truth that combines perspectives and intersections of race, class, gender, and culture, and not one which attempts to trivialize the American experience by simply constructing a laundry list of ethnic “contributions.”

Schlesinger believes that those who promote ethnic and multicultural studies, those who denounce the melting pot, are also the ones who will “protect, promote, and perpetuate separate ethnic and racial communities” (15). Schlesinger turns the myth on its head. He points an accusing finger at the victims of racism and white ethnocentrism, and then concludes that what the proponents of multiculturalism really want is to “perpetuate separate ethnic and racial communities.” It is as if the barrios, ghettos, and reservations of America had been established, sustained, and perpetuated by those who have been consigned to these communities, and not by those who espoused and invented the American mythology of e pluribus unum. However, now Schlesinger asks his readers to accept the notion that those separate “colonies” (ethnic and racial communities) in America will be preserved and “perpetuated” by those who favor educational reform of its social studies curriculum. This stretch
of the imagination is much to ask of any reading audience, but some will buy it, hook, line and sinker.

There is something interestingly paradoxical in this idea, however. It is ironic that separation into "colonies" has in many ways produced a sub-cultural isolation that in many instances guaranteed and nurtured the continuity of language and distinct cultural patterns. Contrary to Schlesinger's understanding of these "enclaves," they produced their own brand of ethnic politics, ethnic churches and temples, and voluntary organizations which sought to raise funds from and for their own communities. Note that these efforts were not seen as inimical to the American dream—they were a vital part of that dream.

Moving beyond multicultural education, Schlesinger turns his attention to the proponents of bilingual education. Here, he distorts the assumed hopes of those engaged in the civil rights struggle and decries the scholarship of those exploring the Afrocentric model. In fact, Schlesinger believes that it is hard to "imagine any form of education more likely than Afrocentrism to have a 'terribly damaging effect on the psyche'" (94). Interestingly, he uses the words of Arturo Schomburg, renowned African archivist and scholar, to support his attack on current Afrocentric research. He notes that Schomburg "expressed his scorn long ago for those who 'glibly tried to prove that half of the world's geniuses have been Negroes and to trace the pedigree of nineteenth-century Americans from the Queen of Sheba'" (94). This section in the book is unquestionably an all out assault on the proponents of Afrocentrism. This is a most heated section, and one certainly worth reading.

His failure to understand bilingual education as pedagogy and not as a political movement is evidenced by his resurrection of Richard Rodriguez, one of the key Latino anti-bilingual education standard bearers of more than a decade ago. Even Rodriguez, in the heat of the US English Only Movement a few years ago, forcefully rejected the idea of legislating an official language for the United States.

Schlesinger sees maintaining literacy in one's native language as a way of encouraging fragmentation, instead of as an opportunity for broadening and enriching one's view of the world, and of maintaining America's multilingual literacy. His regressive arguments against bilingual education take us back fifteen years. He is simply unfamiliar with the literature of second language or even third language acquisition and its impact on cognitive and social development. His arguments against bilingual education are as patently political and ideological as are his arguments about the teaching of America's racial and ethnic history. And his comments about the "political correctness" debate are designed to feed the frenzy and the distortions of the popular press.
Arthur Schlesinger’s preeminent stature as an American historian has enabled him to enter a national discourse that has been ongoing for many years. What is astonishing about so much of this book is that Schlesinger, as a faculty member at the City University of New York, seems to be blind to what is present in his own environment. For example, his ethnic studies arguments fail to acknowledge the worthwhile presence of dozens of multi-ethnic studies departments and programs throughout the C.U.N.Y. system, and in particular the existence of centers and institutes for the study of Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, African Americans, Asian Americans, Italian Americans, Jewish Americans, and Greek Americans.

These efforts are all around him. His colleagues have engaged in years of important research on these and many other groups. If you add women’s studies centers and programs, culture studies programs, and more recently gay and lesbian studies programs, what you have is a formidable array of scholarship and curriculum. However, these are all for naught in Schlesinger’s accounting; or perhaps, they are simply seen as contributing to his vision of a fragmented America. These varied centers and programs are the result of the work of scholars who, having seen the gaping holes in American history and the story of contemporary society, set out to fill these gaps with the stories of Americans never told by the traditional historian and other social scientists. Schlesinger states, “by all means in this increasingly mixed-up world learn about those other continents and civilizations. But let us master our own history first” (136). Further along on the same page he admonishes us to focus first on “our” history:

Belief in one’s own culture does not require disdain for other cultures. But one step at a time: no culture can hope to ingest other cultures all at once, certainly not before it ingests its own. As we begin to master our own culture, then we can explore the world. (136)

Let’s face it, if we had been doing this all along there would not have been the great uproar in the late sixties to establish ethnic studies, and now again, to revamp our curriculum. Traditional departments were absolutely bankrupt when it came to telling the full story of America. As many young men and women who were Latino, African American, Asian American, and Native American sat in university classrooms in a pre-ethnic studies America, listening to their professors expound on the glories of America’s past and present, there was a growing awareness that their own realities were simply missing from that same history that Schlesinger insists we master before moving on to other cultures and continents. Schlesinger’s quarrel with the “ethnic ideologues” erroneously leads readers to
believe that everyone interested in exploring any aspect of the racial and cultural history of America is one of those "zealots" hell bent on establishing separate "ethnic enclaves." I believe that the following passage amply demonstrates the depth of Schlesinger’s anger and considerable distortion:

But even in the United States, ethnic ideologues have not been without effect. They have set themselves against the old American ideal of assimilation. They call on the republic to think in terms not of individual but of group identity and to move the polity from individual rights to group rights. They have made a certain progress in transforming the United States into a more segregated society. They have done their best to turn a college generation against Europe and the Western tradition. They have imposed ethnocentric, Afrocentric, and bilingual curricula on public schools, well designed to hold minority children out of American Society. They have told young people from minority groups that the Western democratic tradition is not for them. They have encouraged minorities to see themselves as victims and to live by alibies rather than to claim the opportunities opened for them by the potent combination of black protest and white guilt. They have filled the air with recrimination and rancor and have remarkably advanced the fragmentation of American life. (130)

What can one say after one reads such potent distortions of what multiculturals and ethnic studies proponents are trying to do? The Schlesinger passage just quoted reminds me that ethnic studies practitioners continue to be sidelined in any discussion about race and culture in American society.

Not too long ago, this reviewer wrote an essay on the struggles of ethnic studies practitioners in the academy. In it I attempted to shed some light on the breadth and depth of the scholarly preoccupations of researchers in the field of ethnic studies. Far from being the ideologues caricatured by Schlesinger above, they are toiling in the fields of research, directing their efforts at telling the incredibly complex story that is America. And I might add, these researchers and teachers rarely if ever get their pieces published in the op-ed sections of great cosmopolitan newspapers, nor are they interviewed for
morning talk shows. America is accustomed to hearing the outraged responding to the outrageous, and this is what viewers get with their morning coffee. But they rarely hear and understand the following:

Critics like Schlesinger, Ravitch—and now D’Souza—and others never mention the abundance of social scientific and humanities studies that are, perhaps for the very first time and with alternative theoretical frameworks, exploring how poverty, ethnicity, and race interact with other societal and cultural variables to produce distinct education, health, political, psychological, and linguistic patterns. These critics never mention the fact that ethnic studies scholars are engaged in sociolinguistic studies, migration and immigration studies, second language acquisition research, the exploration of ethnic voting patterns, the epidemiological studies that might bring to light health problems limited to certain ethnic communities, labor market studies that look carefully at employment and underemployment patterns among distinct ethnic communities, the psychological research that examines the stress related to relocation and immigration, the studies that examine the oral and written traditions of particular ethnic communities, and so on. In essence, the arguments leveled against ethnic studies and the scholars who carry out these studies are for the most part superficial, simplistic, and manage to steer away from what is really being done in the field.

But this is not what captures the attention of the media. Schlesinger would much rather talk to the “ideologues,” whoever they might be. Make no mistake about it, there are ideologues on all sides of this complex issue.

Instead of bringing new light to this highly complex and volatile issue, what this book too often manages to do is to fan the flames of distrust between those who may have genuinely legitimate positions on how one reads the history of America and its present direction. Schlesinger’s entry into this debate, however, seems to have raised the stakes for curricular reform in American education. Those who are the gatekeepers—and Schlesinger certainly has positioned himself as one—seem to be worried about the shifts in
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thinking about race, ethnicity, class and gender in the academy. And, they are also worried about the demographic shifts predicted for the turn of the century. In fact, Schlesinger is sufficiently concerned about this issue to suggest (with some statistical support, I might add) that predictions of the emergence of a “minority majority” (people of color) in America are greatly exaggerated. But the point is that he is concerned, and that he does want to allay the fears of his reading audience. He suggests that if anti-assimilationist trends continue to threaten the unity of America, there is always the option of closing the door:

No one wants to be a Know-Nothing. Yet uncontrolled immigration is an impossibility; so the criteria of control are questions the American democracy must confront. (121)

He reminds us that we’ve changed the admission criteria before, and we could simply do it again:

The future of immigration policy depends on the capacity of the assimilation process to continue to do what it has done so well in the past: to lead newcomers to an acceptance of the language, the institutions, and the political ideals that hold the nation together. (121)

His language is quite unambiguous here—Close the door, if things get too threatening! The fact is that immigration policies have been driven by racial and ethnic preoccupations and have shaped race relations, practices and laws since the passage of the Naturalization Law of 1790.9

The discourse about race and ethnicity has spread well beyond ethnic studies and is now gaining ascendancy as a “legitimate” field of study in other academic disciplines. More than a bellwether, Schlesinger’s book represents an excellent example of the social and historic polemic which surrounds the continuing mythology of race, ethnicity, and the power that comes with being able to tell a nation’s history. But it is much more than this; it is Schlesinger’s vision of what America is, has been, and should continue to be. It is also a work that is typical of a new conservative genre in that it relies heavily on alarmist images, even apocalyptic ones, and a language that effectively supports this foreboding imagery and ideological bent.10

To support his argument, Schlesinger uses some of the most inflammatory language I’ve seen in years in the social sciences. The following sample words and phrases are used quite effectively and
frequently to bring home his message: “cult” of ethnicity, ethnic “gospel,” multiethnic “dogma,” the “militants” of ethnicity, multicultural “zealots” and “ideologues,” “tribalism,” “ethnic upsurge” and “global fever.” These and many more language devices seem designed to cast fear into the hearts of white middle-class America.

Of course, the use and abuse of language is critical in this debate as it is in any intellectual exchange. Most notable in this debate is the use of the term "multicultural." It is probably the most misused word in the lexicon of the cultural debate in American society. It can and is frequently used vaguely and euphemistically. However, if we attach the word “education” to it, we then enter the vaguest of domains. There is a “safe” kind of multiculturalism, one that is a “touchy feely” kind of cultural awareness and recognition, and there is a “radical” multiculturalism which seeks to transform not only the institution but the society that surrounds it and nurtures it. Lest we forget, there is also the rapidly spreading concern for the establishment of multicultural “curricula” in the university. And where there were minority affairs centers, and directors of these centers, our universities are now searching for administrators to lead and direct newly formed “multicultural” centers. Are these distractions somehow moving us further and further away from the continued problems of American education, and indeed American society? Are they a well designed distraction which redirects our gaze from some of the more pressing problems in these institutions? In fact, the way some administrators are currently redefining the meaning of multiculturalism may result in the demise of many ethnic studies programs and departments.

The current struggle to establish a department of Chicano Studies at UCLA, after years of administrative neglect, is a case in point. University administrators there see the peppering of Chicano studies courses scattered throughout the curriculum as a preferred multicultural form of ethnic studies. Their use of this concept is obviously diametrically opposed to the expressed interests of the students, faculty, and members of the community who support the establishment of an autonomous department of Chicana/o Studies, with its own budget, faculty and staff. So, how is it that we define the multiplicity of cultures and races that have always existed in American society? And, how is it that we set the boundaries for its study in education? And how can we argue intelligently about it if each of us continues to generate her/his own definitions of “the real issue.” Ultimately, what we see in Schlesinger’s book is his vision of America, and his vision of what’s gone wrong, and his fears of how the entire American experiment can be undermined and at any moment shaken to the core. I am by no means proposing a relativistic argument; I am simply suggesting that Schlesinger’s argument and
the power of his historical sweep are both compelling and misleading at the same time. His decision to use the word "disuniting" in the title is what propels much of the argument in this book, from beginning to end. The main title establishes the tone from the start.

At moments he feeds into the many distortions and confusions of this highly charged discourse, and at other moments he eloquently lays out his own ideological beliefs. It is a book to be reckoned with because Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., continues to be one of the preeminent voices in American history. Because of his stature, and because he brings a message that echoes a massive of social and cultural decline that is so pervasive in so many other arenas of American life, the reading public will listen attentively to what he has to say on this subject. There is little doubt that *The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society* is an important addition to an ever-burgeoning literature on the culture wars in American education. Whether one agrees with its central thesis or not, there is much to consider in this slender volume.

For all of these reasons, students in ethnic studies, history, political science, sociolinguistics, culture studies and anthropology should be encouraged to read this work as a supplement or as a main text in their courses.

**NOTES**


Jesse M. Vázquez is Professor of Education and Director of the Puerto Rican Studies Program at Queens College, City University of New York. In the School of Education’s Counselor Education Program he teaches courses in multicultural counseling, and theory and practice of counseling. In Puerto Rican Studies his courses focus on Puerto Rican and Latino identity and community. He is currently a member of a university-wide task force working on the development of a doctoral program in intercultural studies at the CUNY Graduate Center.

Dr. Vázquez, a regular contributor to NAES publications, is currently Vice President of the Association. In addition to his work on the NAES Executive Council, he is also a Council member of the Puerto Rican Studies Association. His most recent publications include writings on the multicultural education movement in the university, the complexity underlying the multicultural discourse, and the struggles of ethnic studies practitioners in the university of the 90s.
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When Marian Anderson passed away in April 1993 at the age of ninety-seven, the distinguished contralto was remembered as a gifted artist of great dignity and as a pioneer who shattered racial barriers in the arts. Indeed, most memorial tributes recounted her triumphant concert on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday, 1939. On that occasion, which became one of the earliest symbols of the struggle for civil rights in America, Anderson sang after the Daughters of the American Revolution denied her use of the recital stage at Washington’s Constitution Hall. Additionally, in 1955 Anderson became the first black artist to perform with New York’s Metropolitan Opera.

While she is deservedly remembered for those pioneering achievements, there is much more to Marian Anderson, whose career still would have been outstanding. Fortunately for readers not well acquainted with the life and work of this remarkable woman, Anderson’s acclaimed 1956 autobiography, My Lord, What a Morning, has been reissued as a part of the Wisconsin Studies in American Autobiography.

My Lord, What a Morning is, like its author, dignified and entirely unpretentious. Anderson reveals very little of her feelings and inner life in telling her story. She focuses instead on her struggle to build a singing career and spends considerable time discussing the details of her profession—from the rigors of touring, to the demands of study and practice, to selecting proper stage attire, to the preparation required to arrange a concert program. Anderson demonstrates that her success was due not only to her natural ability, but also to a great deal of hard work and self-discipline.

If My Lord, What a Morning is a testament to the value of hard work, it is also one to the power and influence of a loving family and community. Anderson not only enjoyed strong family support, but her church and community rallied to her aid at critical times early in her career, helping her to obtain voice lessons, and even suitable stage attire. Although she had to overcome the constraints of poverty and a racist society, she had the tremendous advantage of knowing that she was a loved, valued member of her family and community. Anderson frequently expresses her gratitude to those who helped her along the way, and it is evident that the love and support of her family and community were tremendous factors in her success.

Although Anderson is closely associated with the struggle for civil rights, her role in the movement was not overtly political. She refused to publicly comment on the DAR controversy, noting that “I
did not feel that I was designed for hand-to-hand combat.” Even after Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes invited her to perform at the Lincoln Memorial, Anderson was reluctant to do so. However, she eventually realized that she had a responsibility to perform, writing that “I could see that my significance as an individual was small in this affair. I had become, whether I liked it or not, a symbol representing my people. I had to appear.” Indeed, Anderson spent the years after her retirement in 1965 quietly working for civil rights causes.

Her anger at the prejudice she encountered is expressed in a very measured way. Her accompanist and tour manager did their best to shield her from discrimination and unpleasant encounters, and she acknowledges that she was privileged in that respect. Still, long after she achieved international fame, she continued to face racism and discrimination on a daily basis at home in the United States. Yet she speaks of such incidents in terms of the inconvenience they caused, rather than expressing anger or disgust.

Nellie Y. McKay’s excellent introduction places Anderson’s life and achievements in historical and political context. Indeed, McKay believes that Anderson’s restrained response to racism was a deliberate choice. At the same time that writers such as James Baldwin and Richard Wright were beginning to express their rage, Anderson consciously chose instead to live above racism. McKay suggests that Anderson wrote My Lord, What a Morning for young black people, and hoped to show them that it was possible to take a different path and to meet racism not with rage and anger, but with quiet resolve and personal dignity.

But for any audience, My Lord, What a Morning is an inspiring success story, one that provides valuable insight into the life of one of the truly great Americans of the twentieth-century.

Catherine Udall Turley
Arizona State University


The comparative nature of this book is its most outstanding feature. The editors and authors have all worked to make their approaches to the question of acculturation and ethnicity as comparable as possible across chapters—and across ethnic groups. The overall framework stresses the differing stresses that individuals in
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each ethnic group have had to struggle with in their quest to “become American.” It also emphasizes the importance of recognizing that no group is monolithic in its responses to acculturative pressures, that there is always a range of individual paths which might be chosen.

The chapters are wide-ranging but not totally inclusive. There are chapters on African Americans, American Indians, German Americans, Irish Americans, Scandinavian Americans, Polish Americans, Jewish Americans, Italian Americans, Chinese Americans, and Mexican Americans. Although many other groups could have been included, the editors note that questions of timing and the availability of appropriate scholars limited the final choice of groups. This does limit the scope of the book. Nonetheless, interesting contrasts and comparisons emerge.

The editors state that they wanted their questions to be suggestive rather than prescriptive and that they encouraged flexibility in dealing with the questions they posed to each author. Each chapter includes a bibliographical essay on acculturation, assimilation, traditionalism and interaction with mainstream American culture, and there is a general bibliographical essay at the end of the book focusing on comparative works. The overall result seems to work. Although there is a bit of stiffness in some of the chapters, each chapter seems to have its own style and its own set of responses. The chapter on African Americans must, for example, address questions of segregation and stereotype more so than the chapters on European Americans, and the chapter on Native Americans must, of course, address issues of cultural diversity and sovereignty which are not relevant for most other ethnic groups in the US.

Stressing the comparative approach, and maintaining a focus on how each ethnic group has confronted issues of Americanization and assimilation, each chapter details the role of voluntary self-help institutions as intercultural conduits, the impact of “modernizing” forces on ethnic identity, and the political, social and economic strategies used by each group to assert its own unique culture and to protect it from total absorption into the mainstream. Also covered are the inevitable tensions between individuals of different generations.

Some interesting contrasts and similarities emerge from this exercise. The present origins of many Polish and Italian immigrants seem to have produced some unexpected similarities of experience between these two groups, which may help to explain some similarities in response (e.g., the development of fraternal and benevolent societies devoted to assisting new immigrants to acculturate while maintaining “old world” identities). Scandinavians, Germans and Jews seemed to have weaker ties to their “old country” lands than did Irish or Chinese Americans and thus tended to acculturate more readily. Chinese, Mexican and African Americans, having been
systematically excluded from "mainstream" economic opportunities for many decades, developed culturally isolated "pocket communities." Although Irish Americans spoke English and were geographically mobile, their sense of "old country" nationalism reinforced their ethnic identity in America. The way in which German American ethnicity was gradually erased contrasts strongly with the ways in which both Native American and Jewish Americans continued to strive for bicultural adaptations in which traditional culture is maintained alongside of "American" culture. The editors do a good job of bringing out such comparisons, but careful reading of this text should provide a great many more. This is a text that is highly recommended for ethnic studies scholars. The advantages of a comparative approach, and the sheer amount of bibliographic and historical detail provided, make this a book worth reading. One wishes only that more groups could have been included.

Harriet J. Ottenheimer
Kansas State University


This book is an unrevised third printing of eleven inspiring essays written by twelve social scientists who have devoted years of research to their respective fields. The book opens with an enlightening introduction by the editors, Pastora San Juan Cafferty and William McReady.

The essays in this collection raise important questions concerning the social agenda for Hispanics in this country in the 1990s. As we all know, US history cannot be properly analyzed without taking into consideration the important role played by immigration. Immigrants have come to the United States from practically all regions of the planet, and a large number of these immigrants, both in the past and in the present, have been Hispanic.

Hispanic newcomers arriving in the US now come in a time of diminishing resources and a decreasingly prosperous economy. New immigrants find themselves in a changing social context, and new questions must be asked and new agendas and different social policies must be established to address these changes.

This is the very purpose of the eleven essays in this book, which raise numerous concerns. The authors not only study the myriad problems that Hispanic communities are now confronting, but they also address the problems that continue to affect those
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communities years after arriving in this country. The researchers have looked closely at the failed efforts and approaches taken to resolve the problems of Hispanic communities in this country.

The heterogeneity of Hispanic groups and their diversity and complexity represent an enormous challenge to research theory and social policy. This demands a better understanding of the history of Hispanics in the United States, and this collection provides that history and context quite successfully.

Teresa A. Sullivan’s “A Demographic Portrait” sheds some light on the history of the Hispanic physical presence in the United States since the early European colonial experience in the sixteenth century. There are interesting references to the first encounters between the indigenous population of the southern and western regions of the United States and the Spaniards.

Pastora San Juan Cafferty’s “The New Immigration” studies recent Hispanic immigration to the United States in the context of previous immigration waves into this country, and shows how the US has responded to newcomers. Other outstanding essays offer fresh perspectives on such issues as Mexican American identity; the issue of language and assimilation; and education, employment, health care, criminal justice and political participation in the Hispanic community.

The collection ends with a conclusion by Cafferty and McReady, emphasizing the great diversity among Hispanics in the United States, and that diversity has influenced the way in which people are perceived and treated by the larger society. They point out that there seems to be some concern in the larger society, which is interested in creating policies which respond to the needs of various immigrant groups, and why the concern for policy is so great with regard to Hispanics.

There is no question that this is the best collection of essays about all aspects of the diverse Hispanic communities in the United States. This is the first time that we have the opportunity to see the problems of the Hispanic community studied by specialists in a variety of areas of social research.

Luis L. Pinto
Bronx Community College

This book is a recent addition to the Anthropology of Contemporary Issues series edited by Roger Sanjek. The author, now an Associate Professor of Anthropology at the National Tsing Hua University in Taiwan, worked as a research assistant on Sanjek’s New Immigrants and Old Americans Project in Elmhurst-Corona during the mid-1980s. This was the pilot study for what later became the Ford Foundation’s Changing Relations Project, a national study of the impact of post-1965 immigration on American society. Chen, a graduate student from Taiwan himself, noticed a sudden increase in Chinese immigration to New York City after 1982. He chose to conduct his field work in this emerging overseas Chinese community. As an observer who shares the newcomers’ broad cultural and linguistic traditions, and who is a recent immigrant himself, Chen presents a fresh and valuable perspective.

Chen’s book focuses on two multi-ethnic neighborhoods, Flushing and Elmhurst, in Queens, New York City. He divides his presentation into three parts: Chinese immigration and theoretical models, Chinese households of three classes (working class, small business class, and professional class), and community activities, including social services and Chinese churches. The author’s data includes a 100-household sample drawn more or less equally from each of the three classes mentioned above. He also participated in numerous public events, assisted newcomer Chinese in various ways, and closely followed the activities of several new Chinese voluntary associations.

Chen argues that the Chinatown image of Chinese American life is outmoded and misleading. Perpetuated in scholarly accounts as well as recent popular films (*Dragon*) and literature, this characterization suggests that Chinese Americans live in “isolated, homogeneous, and hierarchically organized communities” (viii ix). While the stereotype may have been reasonably accurate before the mid-sixties, when Chinese Americans were barred from many occupations and residential segregation was common, it no longer describes current life in localities such as Flushing and Elmhurst. For one thing, the new Chinese immigrants are very diverse in terms of class, ethnicity, language, and education. Some are highly trained professionals who interact freely with established Americans, live in middle-class neighborhoods, and rarely shop in Chinese stores. Others are wealthy investors who bring capital from Taiwan, renovate houses in run-down neighborhoods, and start small businesses. Many others work as poorly paid employees in restaurants or garment factories. No
single hierarchy or institution represents them all. Chinese Christian churches and the new voluntary associations discussed by Chen empower a small group of emerging political entrepreneurs, but in no sense “organize” Chinese immigrants as a whole.

Chen also opposes the Chinatown image because it can fuel anti-Chinese sentiment. He argues that Chinese immigrants have made very real economic and social contributions to Queens, which he calls a “world town.” Chen’s discussions of the Queens Festival and the emergence of women leaders are particularly interesting. In addition, his portraits of immigrant families vividly document the variety of newcomer experience. This book is a fascinating contribution to the rapidly growing ethnographic literature on the new immigration.

Janet Benson
Kansas State University


Nadine Gordimer received the Nobel Prize for Literature in October 1991, celebrating nearly half a century of her writing of her homeland, South Africa. The prize-giving precipitated the reissue of this survey of Gordimer’s work by Stephen Clingman, also a South African. His book was written as a doctoral dissertation for Oxford University. The second edition, under review in this article, is unaltered except for a “Prologue” in which Clingman examines Gordimer’s two novels that followed changes in South Africa: the release of Nelson Mandela and other African National Party leaders and the apparent breakdown of apartheid.

Clingman acknowledges the assistance of Gordimer in the writing of his book, and indeed, he seems blessed with intelligent insight. Particularly memorable are Clingman’s discussions on the writer’s art. How may great writing come out of conflict? Should a writer separate political belief and commitment to one’s craft? How does a writer deal with the shifting nature of history, and where in all of this is Beauty, Truth?

Clingman discusses each of the novels in turn in the light of Gordimer’s personal search. Issues such as feminism, sexuality and politics, black consciousness, language, and social structure are well-indexed and may be followed throughout Gordimer’s work. One may also extract references to historical events from the excellent index.

Clingman’s book also has an extensive “Bibliography and Sources” of Gordimer’s writing, fiction as well as non-fiction, and
commentaries on her writing. Noted also are books and articles of related interest: politics and history, censorship, local environment and travel, biography, letters, and autobiography. Also listed are works relating to African and South African history and literature.

The literary influences on Nadine Gordimer are clearly indexed. One is amazed by the range of her reading in the literature of many times and places. However, it is in South Africa that Gordimer has chosen to remain, to write within the system, at close hand to the clash of a country defining and redefining itself. Clingman’s subtitle, *History from the Inside*, is an ironic comment on the complexity of Gordimer’s orientation as a white South African who, being a woman and a Jew, is a member of further subgroups—inside, and yet outside.

With such historical, ethnic, cultural and sexual perspective has come prophetic wisdom evident throughout Gordimer’s writing (see the index entry, "Prophecy"). Each of the novels “ends with a vision, and it might properly be called an historical vision. It is a vision of the future, from the present, for the society and the characters with which it has dealt.” May Gordimer’s visions contribute to the raising of consciousness of people in all parts of our earth.

Martha A. Davies
Ames, Iowa


Written reminiscences have taken the form of a literary sub-genre and are very popular among Puerto Rican writers residing in the United States. This literary form not only is an integral part of a serious body of literature in Puerto Rican letters, but in most cases, constitutes the first step taken by many of our writers. Such is the case of Colon-Santiago’s first narrative experiment: *La Primera Vez Que Yo Vi El Paraíso (The First Time I Saw Paradise).*

Two of the best known literary examples of this type of writing are: *Family Installments: Memories of Growing Up Hispanic* by Edward Rivera (reviewed in *Explorations in Sights and Sounds*, Summer 1986, pp. 66-68) and *Down These Mean Streets* by Piri Thomas, probably the archetypical model that established the canon for this sub-genre among Puerto Rican writers.

Unlike Piri Thomas’s and Edward Rivera’s protagonists, who were born and raised in New York City and whose daily relations and social interactions are with a different society that saw them as racially, linguistically and culturally different, Colon-Santiago’s protagonist, Guiso, was born and raised in Puerto Rico. Guiso’s language
is Spanish, and he functions like a Puerto Rican who also has to confront the linguistic, cultural and racial prejudices of the dominant culture.

Guiso, the protagonist when the story begins, is a young man, twenty-five years old, the third and younger son of a Pentecostal family, who is coming to New York City for the third time. Now, he is accompanied by his wife, Ana Iris, and his two children. Colon-Santiago uses very effectively the “flashback” technique to tell this moving story. While sitting in the airplane, Guiso remembers all that had happened to him in his previous visits to New York and why he came here in the first place—the same reason why he is coming the third time.

The story line is constantly interrupted as Guiso’s mind wanders in the chronological time that it takes to make the flight from San Juan to Kennedy Airport. He reminisces about what has happened in his life during the past thirteen years, especially his drug use. He remembers his mischievous behavior in school and in his hometown of Cidra. That was the reason why he was sent to New York the first time. His parents thought that once in New York he would go to school, would make new and better friends and that his behavioral problems would be resolved.

Fortunately, Guiso has turned his life completely around. He has become a proud member of our Puerto Rican community. He is very active organizing literary workshops, is co-editor of a literary magazine. His poetry has been published in about half a dozen literary publications.

Colon-Santiago’s narration, besides being a good example of the reminiscent narrative subgenre, is also important on account of the innovative use that he makes of the language. The author uses, sometimes, very coarse language in narrating some of his most intimate experiences. This book presents a serious challenge for the literary critics if they pretend to analyze it according to the canon established by the academies and the moral and civil precepts that usually are used to judge a written text. What really saves this narration is that, putting aside the strong language, there is a vitality that sustains the story from beginning to end by the vivid and imaginative pictorializing of a human reality being lived by the author. This reality is lived today by thousands upon thousands of human beings all over the world where the drug addiction subculture is a serious problem.

This narration is sprinkled with a lot of linguistic terms that are only known to sociologists and by the people closely associated with this subculture. Colon-Santiago as narrator-protagonist quite often introduces plays on words taken from the street Spanish spoken
in the different scenarios where the story develops. This appropriate
use of the language adds more realism to the story when this version
of street-smart language is used.

There is no question that Colon-Santiago makes a unique
contribution to the ever-growing body of Puerto Rican literature
written by natives of the island or by immediate descendants of
Puerto Ricans living in the diaspora.

Luis L. Pinto
Bronx Community College

(Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1991) 222 pages,
$14.95 paper.

According to the *Guinness Book of Records*, Eskimos Egingwah,
Ootah, Ooqueahand Seegloo, along with African American Matthew
Henson, became the first humans to stand on the North Pole. The
date of their famous journey to “where no one has gone before” was
April 6, 1909. However, they were denied the status of “co-discov-
erer” with Robert E. Perry, who came along about forty-five minutes
later. Perry’s reward to Henson for reaching the Pole before him was
to ignore Henson from that time. The names of the Eskimos were also
dropped from history.

Professor Allen S. Counter is a Harvard professor of neuro-
sience and director of the Harvard Foundation for Intercultural and
Race Relations. He received permission from Denmark in 1986 to
travel to Greenland to conduct audiological studies on Eskimos.
While there he located the octogenarian Amer-Eskimo sons of Henson
and Perry, plus great-grandchildren. While in the Arctic Henson had
a son named Anaukag, while Perry had two sons—Kali and his
deceased older brother, also named Anaukag. Counter learned that
both men wanted to go to America and meet their American relatives
before they died. At this point the book documents the amazing
stories of history, culture, determination, near-misses, love, embar-
rassment, denial, family relations and other themes to bring “The
North Pole Family Reunion” to Harvard.

The two men were treated entirely differently by their fami-
lies. When word reached the Henson family, everyone vied to be the
host for their Eskimo relatives. In contrast, the Perrys greeted the
news through an official spokesman with stony silence and not one
Perry family member attended the ceremony held at Admiral Perry’s
grave at Arlington National Cemetery (though Robert E. Perry, Jr., did
greet his half-brother at the Perry home in Augusta, Maine.)
Counter also tells the stories of Henson and Perry and how they met, and how Henson got to be on Perry's team. In many history books, Henson is described as a servant or valet, but Counter explains that a valet was the highest rank a black man could have in the United States Navy at that time. He describes Henson's skills—he was the only member of the team who could speak the Eskimo's language, and it was he who could build and repair the sleds. He was also so expert in handling dog teams that even the Eskimos were impressed. Counter also gives us a glimpse into Eskimo culture and their stories surrounding the lives of Henson and Perry. The tale ends with Counter's successful attempt to rebury Henson's remains from New York's Woodlawn Cemetery to Arlington, near Perry's grave. Though Anaukag Henson recently died, fundraising allowed five Amer-Eskimo Hensons to attend the ceremony.

This is an exciting and moving account of the history of contact between two Americans—one black and one white—and a Polar Eskimo community. Anyone from high school and beyond will find it accessible, though it is a scholarly work.

George Junne
University of Colorado, Boulder


*Grandma's Latkes*, written by Malka Drucker (who wrote the acclaimed Jewish Holiday Series published by Holiday House) and illustrated by Eve Chwast, accomplishes three things simultaneously: it is an instructional story on the preparation of latkes, it retells the story of the origin of Hanukkah, and it is an endearing story of the passing down of a tradition from one generation to another. The book works successfully on all three levels, and children from the ages of six to ten will be able to understand and appreciate its rich multiplicity.

At its basic, most plot-driven level, *Grandma's Latkes* tells the story of Molly helping her grandmother with the preparation of the traditional latkes. The narration is meticulous in its detail, from the fact that the recipe calls for "one onion with three potatoes," to the admonition to Molly from Grandma that she not get her face too close to the sputtering grease. The story of Antiochus and Mattathias is interrupted when Grandma teaches Molly how to get pieces of eggshell out of eggs with another piece of eggshell. All in all, the action in the kitchen gives children a real feeling of a "hands-on"
approach to learning. The final page of the book even includes a recipe for "Grandma's Latkes," which is a welcome addition to a book that would ignite the curiosity of many would-be chefs.

When Molly questions why they eat latkes during Hanukkah, Grandma responds that it reminds them of the oil. She then tells the story of how the wise man Mattathias, who lived near Jerusalem, defied the Syrian king Antiochus by refusing to eat meat from a pig. His oldest son, Judah Maccabee, and his four brothers led a small army against Antiochus and his thousands of soldiers, with a resulting miraculous win. The second miracle occurred when a small drop of oil was sufficient for the Menorah to burn for eight days. Molly later concludes, when the rest of the family is gathered, that "Hanukkah is about miracles." With the correlating story of the food preparation, the religious teaching here is given with a keen understanding of how children learn by doing, by questioning, and by reaching their own conclusions.

Overriding these two levels of narration is the sense of family continuity that the carrying on of tradition helps so much to establish. At the beginning, Grandma points out to Molly that the recipe they are using is in Molly's great-grandmother's handwriting (even though they will expand it, suggesting that change is sometimes necessary in the keeping of tradition). Molly and Grandma share a close camaraderie in this particular preparation, and at the end, Grandma, giving Molly a kiss, tells her that she now knows enough to teach her own grandchildren.

As in any family and/or religious tradition, knowing the stories is basic to that tradition's continuity. The storytelling in Grandma's Latkes, on all three levels, succeeds in understandably making connections that children might not otherwise recognize. It is ultimately a story in faith, faith in a job well-done, faith in religion, faith in family, and faith in tradition.

Laurie Lisa
Arizona State University


In this children's explanatory tale, Fox persuades Mole to go to the moon on a braided grass rope. After Mole slips from the rope and is carried to earth on the back of a bird, he digs a tunnel, which explains why Mole chooses a nocturnal existence. The simplicity of
the story, with its trickster characteristics of Fox, belies the actual experience of reading this visually stunning, bilingual, timeless tale.

Lois Ehlert's illustrations, inspired by ancient Peruvian textiles, jewelry, ceramic vessels, sculpture, and architectural detail, dominate and enhance the oversized pages of this book. Perhaps especially appealing is Ehlert's decision to use a glimmering silver as the color of the fox, rope, and moon. This idea came from a pre-Columbian legend mentioned in *Sweat of the Sun and Tears of the Moon: Gold and Silver in Pre-Columbian Art* (University of Washington Press, 1965) by Andre Emmerich. In this legend, gold was depicted as the sweat of the sun, and silver, the tears of the moon. Enhancing the visual appeal is the fact that the story appears, page by page, in both English and Spanish. The result is a more multicultural experience than that usually found in children's books, and the story comes alive for children of all ages (including the adults who read to them).


Laurie Lisa
Arizona State University


This is a delightful book. Using the words of over two dozen individual residents of Pearl City, Florida, the authors have put together a group autobiography with both historical and sociological significance. A brief introduction provides background and methodology, and two final chapters by Evans and Lee provide analytical insights and theoretical perspectives on questions of history, sociology and social geography.

The blending of voices in the narrative chapters is an effective technique; one gets a strong sense of Pearl City as a community. In these eight chapters the residents of Pearl City reminisce about such diverse subjects as the early years of the community (from before World War I to the years of the heaviest settlement in the twenties and thirties), opportunities for work (mostly farm labor in the early years, employment on nearby military bases in later years), making use of local resources for food (fish, turtles, and alligators) and
recreation (fishing, swimming, picnics and beach parties). Insights are also provided into the development of churches and schools in the community and access (or relative lack of it) to medical care. A discussion of relations with whites emphasizes how these have changed over the years, and the recollections regarding housing emphasize how segregation has affected the availability of land for the African American residents of the region and, in turn, has affected the growth patterns of Pearl City itself.

A chapter on community brings home the strong sense of community that developed in Pearl City over the years and hints at how well this sense of community may serve future generations. The narrative chapters alone provide a strong sense of how Pearl City developed and what it must feel like to have been a member of this remarkable community. Two analytical chapters conclude the book and provide an excellent counterbalance to the narrative chapters, effectively highlighting the major themes that emerge from the narratives. Most important seems to have been self-reliance: That Pearl City had its own church, school, and recreational facilities seems to have made it possible for its inhabitants to develop and maintain a strong sense of community stability, while existing on the "margins" of Boca Raton. It will be interesting to see how current economic pressures will affect this community in the future. A principal question is whether these localized institutions will break down as land is sold to outside commercial interests. Evans and Lee are not particularly optimistic about the future for this community. One hopes they are wrong. One fears they are right.

Harriet Ottenheimer
Kansas State University


The marvelous narrative ability of Carlos Fuentes has already been discovered by the many readers of his fiction. They will find here how well he has turned his remarkable talents to the writing of history.

Many books have been published in 1991 and 1992 in commemoration of the quincentennial celebration of the “discovery” by Europeans of the “new world.” Fuentes’s work, I feel, will be the history that is remembered and reread by historians. We find a work written by a humanist, a writing about a “rich cultural heritage”
that is enlivened by fine commentary. It is, to my mind, a literary work of the first order. The graphic writing is supplemented by fine drawings, pictographs and paintings.

It is important to recall, as he reminds us, that the richness of Latin-American culture has roots in three continents: Africa, North America (Indian), and Europe. The work is written “passionately” because of the work’s intimate relation to Fuentes the writer and the citizen. He does well in choosing the metaphor of the mirror, for he asks, “Is no the mirror both a reflection of reality and a projection of the imagination?”

Fuentes traces the diverse ancestry of the Iberians, displaying the Moro influence upon the tablado flamenco and the bullring “culture.” He explains clearly and at length the formation of the Spanish character and ideas, as well as the development of the Spanish language. He expands upon the Moorish influences upon the county during the extended period of conquest.

It is natural that Fuentes focuses upon the crucial year 1492. He is able to contrast the civilized factors of Iberian culture and the cruelties of the New World Spanish conquests. He dramatically portrays the symbol of La Malinche (the raped one) and the related foundation of a multicultural civilization in Mexico and other Latin American countries.

In Part III, “Children of La Malinche,” Fuentes returns to Iberian history and the pictorialization of the Spanish Empire with its flowering of “El Siglo de Oro,” the age of Cervantes in literature and of Velasquez in painting. Fuentes succinctly states that “Cervantes teaches us to read anew and Velasquez teaches us to see anew.”

Fuentes continues as our guide on this unique historical journey with a trip through the baroque age in Spain with all its contradictions, and then through the age of Goya. In the eighteenth century period Fuentes spotlights the Indian and the black revolutions in the Western hemisphere and the great admiration of peoples for the success of the American “revolution.”

Consequently, decisions were made that the peoples of Latin America had to look to their own “destiny.” The exciting history of events of the nineteenth century are underlined by Fuentes through his attention to the accomplishments of Bolivar and San Martin, and to other events in Mexico—the failure of Napoleon III to place Maximillian on a throne, and the triumph of Juarez, followed by the reigns of the caudillos and tyrants in many governments. He follows the course of Mexican “democracy” through the governments of Diaz, Madero, and others to that of Obregon. It was the Mexican Revolution that inaugurated the twentieth century for the Mexicans.

Finally, in Part V, Fuentes treats Latin America, contemporary Spain and the Hispanic United States. Fuentes is an optimist.
looking to the future. He feels that Latin America cannot fail if attention is paid to the empowerment of its peoples. There has to be a need to adapt to their social demands.

Initiatives born of social crises, he hopes, will grow and spread. He utters the hope that politicians will become imaginative in their visions, as imaginative as the writers and artists have been. Fuentes's book gives us all a sense of pride of living contemporaneously with such a writer who offers us all an agenda for the future based upon the richness of legacies. In short, this work, as was suggested before, is a treasure for us to cherish.

Cortland P. Auser
Yorktown Heights, New York


This fascinating and insightful book is a comparative ethnographic study of Vietnamese and Soviet Jewish refugees. While a voluminous refugee and immigrant literature exists, much research follows a narrow, policy-driven focus rather than an independent academic tradition. Authors also tend to concentrate on specific ethnic groups rather than examining parallels or contrasts between groups. Gold, however, asks the broader question of how refugees create ethnic communities which facilitate “accommodation without assimilation” (Gibson 1988). In the process of comparison, he produces novel conclusions as well as hypotheses for further testing.

Gold, who is a sociologist, conducted fieldwork in northern and southern California between 1982 and 1990. He contacted new arrivals by working as an English teacher, serving as a resettlement worker, teaching a job-finding class for Soviet refugees, and serving on the Los Angeles Jewish Federation’s Immigrant Integration task force. In addition, he carried out extensive interviews with refugees, service providers, and other individuals knowledgeable about these newcomer groups. Gold possesses both a service provider’s perspective on the “refugee business” and the intellectual breadth and objectivity of a social scientist.

Vietnamese and Soviet Jews constitute the two largest refugee groups to enter the United States between the 1970s and 1990. Both groups fled from communist countries; both are characterized by relatively high levels of education and urban experience; and both participated in an organized resettlement process. These groups differ as well. For example, Jews have long been established as an American
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ethnic group, while the Vietnamese are recent arrivals. Soviet Jews are more similar in terms of class and religious background than the Vietnamese, who are highly diverse. And while the Vietnamese possess extensive experience in running small businesses, Soviet Jews lived in a society where the state controlled many aspects of life.

In comparing these two groups, Gold examines several issues of theoretical importance to refugee adaptation: reactions to minority status, effects of group history on the development of ethnic communities, and the significance of earlier business experience on refugee entrepreneurship in the United States. Like many recent social scientists, Gold views ethnic communities as a positive influence in refugee adaptation. He takes the contemporary position that ethnicity is flexible and situational, providing a basis for community organization in new contexts.

Gold's most important contribution is his examination of factors influencing ethnic group solidarity. He argues that societal tolerance, resettlement programs, socioeconomic disadvantages, and cultural issues may simultaneously promote ethnic solidarity and lead to assimilation. Ethnic consciousness emerged as a necessary but not sufficient condition for collective action (the highly diverse Vietnamese, with a history of activism, were more effective at group formation than the relatively homogeneous Soviet Jewish refugees). Gold finds that among these newcomers, small-scale local groups and networks predominate. However, ethnic consciousness, and perhaps political power, is slowly growing.

Both specialists and undergraduate students will enjoy this book, which features refugees as creative actors rather than helpless beneficiaries. It is enriched by frequent quotes from interviews and two beautiful photographic essays.

Janet E. Benson
Kansas State University


Nisei, meaning American-born second-generation Japanese, is an epic scale undertaking of the recording of a brief but eventful history of the Japanese immigration to America by a Japanese American journalist. The book consists of twenty-seven chapters which are divided into three parts. The initial focus is on the settlement of the first generation Japanese immigrants in the 1870s, mainly in California and the Pacific states. Then the topic shifts to the emergence of a substantial Nisei population during the 1930-40 period, followed by their maturation through prewar segregation and
the wartime internment experience. The third part accounts for the post-internment social ascension of Nisei as respected Americans, along with their success stories in practically every social position and professional field. In legal areas, the determined struggles of Nisei for equality and justice were finally fulfilled when their alien parents who had been “ineligible” for reasons of their racial origin were finally granted citizenship. Their efforts were extended into the 1960s until racial barriers were removed from the immigration law.

The final chapter, “Afterward,” which was added to the 1969 original text, is a detailed account of the Japanese Americans’ campaign to redress wartime injustice under the effective leadership of the JACL (Japanese American Citizens League). Among several positive outcomes, Executive Order 9066, established to evacuate west coast Japanese Americans as a security risk, was successfully repealed in 1976. They also won the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, the presidential apology for wartime injustice, which enacted the restitution of payments to approximately 60,000 surviving former internees into law.

Probably no other immigrant group has experienced the severity of discrimination nor been held accountable for conflicts between the US and the country of their ancestry than Japanese Americans on the west coast. In the 1940s race was a legitimate basis to single out an ethnic group, condemning them as a threat to national security, and confining them in detention camps. The Nisei had to persevere these adversities with discipline and hard work which they inherited from their immigrant parents. On the other hand, unlike their alien parents, they were thoroughly American in outlook and aspired to integration into mainstream America by demonstrating unshaken patriotism and loyalty. Hosokawa succeeds in portraying Nisei in these terms. The book is not a rigorously objective history of Nisei, however, and is marked with personal prejudice and deficiencies. In glorification of a handful of Nisei achievers during the postwar era, for example, the destiny of the majority of Nisei population in ordinary walks of life was virtually forgotten. The reader is little informed of such matters as their post-internment social diaspora and cultural assimilation, reconstruction of their lives, and in particular, their parental roles in ensuring or disrupting ethnic continuity. In addition, no explicit acknowledgement was given to the larger civil rights movement which was concurrent with the Japanese American “Redress,” which, even if indirectly, paved the way to repair the human right violation committed against the Japanese Americans.

Kumiko Takahara
University of Colorado, Boulder

Can "separate but equal" really be equal? How do we achieve equality through remedial preferential treatment? Does America's "meritocracy" dictate inequality? These compelling questions are addressed in Donald Jackson's *Even Children of Strangers: Equality Under the U.S. Constitution.*

Jackson utilizes numerous Supreme Court decisions to challenge Americans' quasi-religious faith in the term "equality," even in the face of gross inequality that touches the lives of almost all Americans. Jackson's study focuses almost exclusively on the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause, tracing its judicial history from ratification to its broadened application in answering immigrant, gender, and corporate claims for protection.

Central to Jackson's thesis is the recent trend of invoking individual-regarding equality to sustain reverse-discrimination claims, undermining the corrective legislation of the 1960s. This legislation offered affirmative action policies as remedial solutions to the group discrimination endured by African Americans and challenged America's fascination with merit-based equality.

The Court's decision in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* (1978) christened this renewed faith in individual-regarding equality, interpreting the Fourteenth Amendment to equally protect individuals regardless of past group discrimination. This decision promoted a judicial retreat from affirmative action remedies, demonstrated by Jackson's discussion of recent employment cases where the Court found in favor of reverse discrimination claims.

*Even the Children of Strangers: Equality under the U.S. Constitution* refers to a book that is primarily concerned with the African American struggle to secure their rights under the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. The title is misleading on two grounds. First, African Americans were never "strangers" to the American legal system; they were often the victims and redeemers of it. To imply that African Americans are "strangers" to American legalities is to nullify all their contributions in this country while affirming the misguided notion that America is a "white" nation. This is an unfortunate oversight by Jackson.

Secondly, the subtitle suggests a much broader examination of equality and the United States Constitution. The contents of the book are narrowly confined to a historical interpretation of one clause in one amendment. One only needs to compare this work with
Derrick Bell’s *Race, Racism, and American Law* to comprehend the limits of Jackson’s work in reference to his overly inclusive subtitle.

Although the introductory chapters are weighted down with superfluous information, they aptly reduce a variety of legal cases to their simplest form without compromising the complexity of the issues involved. Included is an excellent index, bibliography, table of cases, and notes that help explain some of the legal terminology and case specifics that are not requisite in the body of Jackson’s argument but are requisite to understanding the entirety of the cases. The result is a book that accomplishes Jackson’s desire to write “an accessible book about a complex subject.”

Jennifer Dobson
University of Washington


This series of conversations between French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss and French journalist Didier Eribon was first published in French in 1988. Happily, it has now been translated into English and can be more widely read in the English-speaking world. It is, in a sense, a guided autobiography, although one gets the impression that Levi-Strauss resists revealing too much of himself to Eribon and his readers. Nonetheless, one gains significant insights into the man and his world in at least two different domains: the personal and the academic. Ethnic studies scholars should find both of interest.

On the personal level, there is a brief but vivid account of his struggle with anti-Semitism in France, especially during the 1930s and 1940s. The discussion touches on the racial laws passed in France during World War II, the loss of a teaching job as a result of those laws, American efforts to rescue European intellectuals, and a final escape to New York to wait out the end of the war. Although he doesn’t say as much, one senses that his subsequent work on racism draws in part from these experiences.

Of particular academic interest for readers of this journal, Levi-Strauss provides a succinct description of the anthropological stance against racism and of his role in that debate. In particular, he discusses his two UNESCO pamphlets, *Race and History* (1952) and *Race and Culture* (1971), and expounds on some of the issues raised in
those works. He comments, as well, on multiculturalism in ways that should interest ethnic studies scholars. He states, for example, “All cultures are the result of a mishmash, borrowings, mixtures that have occurred, though at different rates, ever since the beginning of time. Because of the way it is formed, each society is multicultural and over the centuries has arrived at its own original synthesis. Each will hold more or less rigidly to this mixture that forms its culture at a given moment” (152-53). And he notes that “There is no country more the product of mixture than the United States, and nonetheless there exists an “American way of life” that all inhabitants of the country are attached to, no matter what their ethnic origin” (153).

“Succinct” is probably the most descriptive word for this book. It is a slim volume and at times Levi-Strauss seems like a reluctant interviewee, resisting Eribon’s praise, claiming little, if any credit for his successes. Erion, on the other hand, does a fine job of drawing out a broad range of interesting tales and of providing an intriguing portrait of Levi-Strauss, of anthropology, and of European and American cultures.

Harriet Ottenheimer
Kansas State University


Scholars of the history of race and race relations social science should be deeply indebted to Jeffrey C. Stewart for uncovering and meticulously reconstructing these extant lectures by the philosopher better known for his later contributions to the Harlem Renaissance than his social scientific theorizing: Alain LeRoy Locke. The book is an invaluable source on the thought of an African American intellectual on the subject of the nature of race relations during the Progressive Era and on its relationship to ethnic and class relations as well. So fecund are these lectures with insights and hypotheses which deserve further investigation and analysis that it would require a work of equal length to do justice to this collection of lectures. As a consequence, this review focuses only on Locke’s treatment of race, race prejudice, and race relations.

One of the numerous strengths of this African American’s lectures is their assault on the conception of biological race. For
Locke, the concept of biological race—albeit still subject to clarification —was a “scientific fiction.” Drawing on the work of the father of modern American anthropology, Franz Uri Boas, Locke argued that biological race differences were negligible: “Because of differences [in] anthropological [factors], points of comparison have now been reduced to such a narrow margin in each instance that the variation between individuals of the same race, and even the same nation, more than outspan the maximum variability between what are regarded as cognate races of mankind” (5). As a result Locke thought it necessary to draw a distinction between racial differences and racial inequalities. Racial inequalities, according to him, were to be explained “in terms of historical, economic, and social factors”; while racial differences were to be explained “in terms of anthropological and ethnological factors and predicing another cause and effect [basis] for the relation between the two” (9). Since race, as most contemporary scholars agree, is a social or cultural phenomenon, Locke concluded that “any true history of race must be a sociological theory of race” (11).

More problematical for most recent scholars, and an indicator that he was indeed a prisoner of his times, is Locke’s analysis of racial prejudice. Believing that since ancient times racial prejudice had been “automatic and instinctive,” it is not surprising that Locke held what the Swedish political economist Gunnar Myrdal called a “laissez-faire, do-nothing” approach in reference to the potency of the law in changing race relations in establishing a modus vivendi between conflicting racial groups. “It would seem,” Locke remarked, “that in the majority of instances, almost as there is any recognition or sense of a difference, the law springs up to help confirm it and perpetuate [the difference]” (49). Written in the period when the Supreme Court’s decision in Plessy v. Ferguson had legitimized Jim Crow, Locke concluded on a fatalistic note that: “One of the saddest phenomena with which the study of society can concern us is the way in which every legal, every customary, prescription accentuates and perpetuates differences [and] handicaps which would perhaps pass off as temporary accidents if they did not have the sanction and the perpetuation of the legal or the customary forms. [This is the] stereotype function of the law” (49).

In reference to the relationship of race relations, Locke argued: “Race issues are only very virulent forms of class issues, because as they can be broken up into class issues they become possible of solution in society” (70). Furthermore, he perceived a similarity between race relations and ethnic relations. For Locke, the relations that existed between dominant and minority groups in Europe, which were separated not by skin color but rather by speech
Explorations in Sights and Sounds, No. 13 (1993)

dialects, customs, and religious faith, were the basis for group domination and exploitation.

Those of us with historical hindsight might disagree with Locke's pronouncements, but there is no doubt that his views which were brought forth in 1916 are worthy of serious discourse. This book is highly recommended for those persons interested in a theoretical discussion of deeply disturbing and perplexing problems of race in the early twentieth century.

Vernon J. Williams, Jr.
Purdue University


On December 29, 1890, at the Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, there occurred one of the most bloody and tragic events in American history—the massacre of hundreds of American Indians by the US Seventh Cavalry at Wounded Knee Creek. A principal factor precipitating this atrocity was the American government's misperception of the so-called Ghost Dance which had spread from the Great Basin and Plateau into the Great Plains. Just a week before the massacre, James Mooney (then a young employee of the Smithsonian Institution's Bureau of Ethnology) had headed west to study the Ghost Dance phenomenon. Field work over the next four years convinced Mooney that the Ghost Dance was not a militaristic enterprise aimed at armed rebellion against the United States. It was rather a religious movement based on indigenous values which the whites had failed to understand.

Mooney's tome was originally published in 1896 as part two of the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology. His study has long been considered a classic crosscultural study—perhaps one of the finest pieces of American ethnology undertaken in the nineteenth century. It includes not only good descriptive data, but also the participant-observer approach, cross-cultural comparisons, and a theoretical framework which are among the essentials of modern anthropology and perhaps of ethnic studies as well. Although an abridged paperback version was edited by Anthony F.C. Wallace and published by the University of Chicago Press in 1965, Mooney's complete opus has not been easily accessible for research and teaching. The reviewer is especially aware of this problem since Mooney's original report, a required source in more than one course, disappeared from the Iowa State University Library some years ago!
Mooney's study is now reprinted and available in its entirety with the original pagination. The new edition's insightful introductory essay by Raymond J. DeMallie includes references to more recent considerations of the Ghost Dance and adds to the contemporary utility of Mooney's pioneering work.

Of particular relevance to ethnic studies are Mooney's definition of the Ghost Dance pretty much in native terms and his crosscultural comparisons with movements better known to the western world. He saw some apparent cultural universals in operation as humans throughout time and space have struggled to regain the "paradise lost." In Mooney's words, "The doctrines of the Hindu Avatar, the Hebrew Messiah, the Christian millennium, and the Hesunanin of the Indian Ghost dance are essentially the same, and have their origin in a hope and longing common to all humanity" (657). Among the other exemplars discussed by Mooney are the Shakers, Flagellants, Mohammedans, and Methodists. One could also add modern Irish nationalism, Zionism, Pan-Indianism, Black Power, and other twentieth century movements to this list. These are among the phenomena which social scientists have labelled revitalization movements, Messianic movements, contra-acculturative movements and nativistic revivals. They are all cultural processes which draw upon past cultural traditions and relate them to contemporary scenes. They provide the basis for many of the individual and group identities which we in ethnic studies define and attempt to utilize in pursuing goals of crosscultural understanding and tolerance. Thus we are indebted to Mooney's comparative and theoretical insights as well as his indefatigable field research. DeMallie and the University of Nebraska Press deserve our kudos for reprinting this important book.

David M. Gradwohl
Iowa State University


African people have been a presence in Europe for thousands of years. As the author notes, "Julius Caesar brought Black legions to Germany, and many never returned." A significant percentage lived in Germany until the sixteenth century. In more recent decades, French African troops and African American troops were in Germany during World War I. Some left children there and a handful even
stay to live. In World War II African American soldiers fought there again. Some remained for the occupation and some retired there. Again, some came home leaving their children, who, according to various articles, were believed to have “special problems.” Also after World War II, American families lived on army and air force bases all over Germany and attended American schools there, including African American families.

Germany’s colonial period seemed to usher in racist attitudes against people of African descent, leading to their forced sterilization during World War II. The authors clearly detail Germany’s increasing racial intolerance that still is in evidence today, playing itself out in the continuing attacks on Turkish German citizens and Turkish nationals. The authors provide that history to give context to the individual stories of the women themselves.

The ages of the women range from thirteen to seventy and all have African or African American fathers. Almost all had no contact with other black children. They had to live within a racist German society that sells “Moor Head” and “Nigger Kiss” candy in stores and where other Germans continually treat them as “also-persons.” (Blacks are “also” persons). Katharina Oguntoye explained that since “we’re not perceived as European, internally we develop the feeling of being different.”

As the life stories of the women unfold, it becomes evident that they have a range of identities they have been able to find within being German and of African descent. As African Americans have been doing for almost two hundred years, they are continually discussing terms which they feel apply to them. While May Optiz and Corinna N. seem to identify themselves as German, Katharina identifies herself as black. Ellen Wiedenroth, on the other hand, owns up to “being a German—and being Black.” A frightening theme that emerges is fear of neo-Nazi attacks on them. Ellen said that people like her were walking targets who can’t even just “walk around.”

The book documents the lives of Afro-German women and their struggles against the interconnected issues of race, gender, and class. In a country that lacks major black communities, these women struggled in almost complete isolation in their search for identity. This is an important work by other hyphenated people of the African diaspora.

George Junne
University of Colorado, Boulder
In the introduction to this excellent collection of critical essays on multicultural autobiography Payne states that what sets this work apart from most other works on autobiography, is “the attempt in this volume to bring together different critical voices, each speaking from an area of expertise on a particular American cultural tradition.” Drawing on concepts developed at the 1982 Reconstructing American Literature Institute at Yale, Payne did not impose any theoretical orientation on the eleven contributors. Consequently, while the contributors have relied upon the current criticism and commentary on the blossoming field of autobiography, each is a recognized scholar in the cultural traditions about which they write. In his introduction, Payne gives an overview of earlier notable contributions to autobiographical writings and views *Multicultural Autobiography* as furthering the understanding of the recent, most productive trend in this field: the employment of pluralist approaches to redefine the American experience.


As would be expected, many pivotal issues are raised in these essays that deserve critical attention and discourse for the field of
multicultural autobiography. For example, Ruoff provides a clear example of bicultural autobiography in the work of John Joseph Mathews. Foster focuses on the “in-between” period after the Civil War but before the end of the century and gives an account of the difficulties Keckley encountered in controlling the circumstances of publication, the first of many such accounts in this volume. Sau-ling Wong considers issues of the ethnic autobiographers conflicting “obligations” to her own ethnic community as well as to “outsider” readers, in addition to charges of fictionalization in autobiography. Saldivar, by including American authors not in the United States, demonstrates that political boundaries may be obscuring our perception of cultural relationships.

As Payne states in his concluding remarks in the introduction, there are still cultures absent from this volume that need to be explored, such as personal histories of Irish Americans, Puerto Ricans, Arab Americans, and immigrants from East India and Korea, and he hopes that this volume will inspire others to add their voices to the true cultural diversity of American life writing. As he says, “[t]here is much work, much exploration, to be done before we decide what is the ‘essential’ American language and character.” Multicultural Autobiography is certainly a leap toward the goal of giving recognition to the true multivocal diversity of American lives.

Laurie Lisa
Arizona State University


The subtitle of this book is apt. Its authors paint a rich and varied portrait of recent and turn-of-the-century immigrants to America: Vietnamese and Cuban refugees, Mexican, Chinese, Polish and Irish laborers, Indian professionals, Korean entrepreneurs. Unlike many works which focus on a particular nationality or type of immigrant, Portes and Rumbaut attempt a broad comparative sketch. The result is an enlightening synthesis of a very large literature. The authors discuss origins—who the immigrants are and why they come; the context of exit, or conditions under which people leave home; issues of adaptation (economic, social, and psychological); and contexts of incorporation, such as local labor markets, affecting immigrants’ integration into American society.
The authors take diversity as their major theme. Not only do national origins vary, especially today, but also educational levels, occupations, and legal status. Portes and Rumbaut distinguish four types of immigrants: labor migrants, professional immigrants, entrepreneurs, and refugees or asylees.

Types of immigrants share similar characteristics, regardless of origins. The authors follow this typology while discussing the spatial location of immigrants within the United States, strategies for economic mobility, acculturation, language acquisition, mental health, and political participation. They dispel myths and stereotypes by emphasizing variation within and between nationalities. At the same time, the authors attempt to allay fears of established citizens by emphasizing immigrant adaptation; for example, the shift from home-country monolingualism to English monolingualism by the second or third generation.

Portes and Rumbaut are optimistic about immigration's impact on American society. Taking a critical perspective on orthodox economic approaches, they argue that employer labor demands and prior relationships between countries, not poverty per se, initiate and maintain migrant flows. Most immigrants are self-selected in terms of education and ambition; the majority are young, tax-paying workers who enrich our society through their labor and skills.

Alejandro Portes is a sociologist who has focused on theories of immigration, the Cuban immigrant experience, and Latino immigration in general; Ruben Rumbaut is a nationally-known specialist on Southeast Asian refugee mental health. The book reflects their research interests and priorities, focusing on comparative issues rather than ethnic identity. Although the authors meet their goals, some readers will miss a fuller discussion of newcomer cultural traditions.

While the book has sufficient statistics, maps and tables to provide a good basis for the authors' arguments, it is enlivened by photographs and individual case studies. This is an excellent text for college classes. Both general audiences and specialists will enjoy the book's readable style and clear explanations of complex issues.

Janet E. Benson
Kansas State University
This book on Plains Indian music and dance goes far beyond its geographically indicated target. It provides an instructive view of musical performances as a paradigm for understanding cultural continuity and change not only among American Indians in general but, I submit, many other ethnic and minority groups. Powers’s discussion includes descriptive material pertaining to the movements and costumes involved in Plains Indian tribal and intertribal dances. He also reviews and critiques a number of available audio tapes and records which should be of special interest to readers of *Sights and Sounds.*

Powers draws upon his thirty years of ethnographic study, ethnomusicological analysis, and participant observation in the subject about which he writes. Since many sections of the book are reprinted or revised versions presented and/or published elsewhere (especially in the journal *Ethnomusicology* and *American Indian Tradition*), each chapter can stand alone. But Powers has drawn the material together in a meaningful way with a lucid and succinct introduction, a challenging final chapter (cleverly entitled “Have Drum, Will Travel”), informative chapter notes, an extensive bibliography, and useful index.

For those interested primarily in the narrower topic, Powers provides a good deal of information pertaining to previous studies of Plains Indian music and dance, various typological frameworks, kinds of musical instruments used, and regional variations in costumes. There are also clear descriptions of the morphology of songs, the formats of powwows, and the structure of the War Dance which is the dance form most widely practice at intertribal gatherings.

At a more general level, Powers’s discussion is particularly intriguing since it deals with aspects of American Indian culture which outsiders can observe with relative ease, especially at powwows which are generally open to the public. These opportunities offer insights and a gauge to other aspects of the cultural system which are more private but nonetheless parts of the evolving historical continuity. In vehemently eschewing the term and conceptual underpinnings of “Pan-Indianism,” Powers distinguishes between tribalism and intertribalism among American Indians. Although the two are often intermixed at powwows and other arenas, their goals are distinct. Powers argues that “Tribalism reinforces ethnic identity,” and relates music and dance to other social and cultural categories which are meaningful within individual tribes. Intertribal music and dance reinforce American Indian identity at a higher level.
where this identity is directly threatened by "non-Indian influences" (40-41). Thus we can look at music and dance as they operate both within and between groups of American Indians and see some different though related functions being achieved in regard to individual and group identities.

Central to Powers's presentation is the conviction that Plains Indian music and dance are not remnants of a dying culture. They are rather vibrant expressions of an ongoing tradition which has roots in the past and which, as all aspects of cultural systems, is constantly changing. With no apologies for my pun, Powers's viewpoint is upbeat. In his words, "What we are witnessing today in the form of tribal and intertribal events is not so much a revival or revitalization as it is a vitalization of American Indian culture" (159). This conclusion could no doubt be applied with profit to many other human groups as well.

David M. Gradwohl
Iowa State University


The chapters presented here are searching for the basis for ascribing social and cultural values to the cityscape and the built urban environment.

So begins The Cultural Meaning of Urban Space, a compilation of urban case studies edited by Robert Rotenberg, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Director of the International Studies Program at DePaul University, and Gary W. McDonogh, Visiting Professor and Director of the Growth and Structure of Cities Program at Bryn Mawr. These twelve very diverse chapters attempt to understand the construction of an urban landscape from the cultural and social perspectives of those groups that experience and manipulate the landscape. It is the "discourses" of those groups that give meaning and structure to the landscape:

A discourse focuses on a subset of experiences for a group within a large body of social experiences. The idea of discourse enables us to break up the unwieldy idea of culture into smaller, definable units. Each set relates to particular groups of people, such as conquistadors, urban planners, commercial developers, gardeners or neighborhood residents. As people participate in the
discourse, they act on their understanding to disproportionately shape to their purpose the urban places they control. (Introduction, xvi)

Architects, urban designers and developers are often trapped within their own cultural frames of reference, designing for others according to their own discourse, or assumption, of the way the world works. This book helps to dispel the notion that things ought to be a certain way by showing a multitude of discourses that sometimes are at odds with each other, politically, socially, and culturally. It is in this complex “noise” that cities are born and grow. The designers of contemporary urban environments must learn that the urban cannot be designed using utopian, formally-universal rules that transcend cultural and societal needs, without manipulating those rules to the specific needs of those who live in the urban place.

The various chapters, most of them originally presented as papers in a 1990 American Anthropological Meeting, show how complex and socially political the design of the urban environment is. The book is divided into three sections, each looking at the urban environment at a different scale. The first section, “Language of Place,” addresses the relationship of language and the meaning of place to those groups that live and experience the urban environment. The papers in this section ask the questions: Who controls the use of space? Who controls the meaning of space? What are the correct or incorrect contents of a space?

Gary McDo nogh addresses many of these questions in “The Geography of Emptiness.” The many different cultural definitions of “vacant” and “empty” are explored using case studies of Barcelona and Savannah, Georgia. Each group using the same space has a different notion as to what the space means and what it can contain. The residents of a neighborhood and the homeless have different attitudes regarding the use of a local park, and the question arises: Who controls the use and meaning of the park?

The second section, “Place in the City,” looks at the interrelationship between various conditions within the urban environment. Donald S. Pitikin reminds us that the meaning of a space is socially constructed. In field studies of Mediterranean outdoor life, he makes note of how the street in provincial Italian towns becomes an extension of the indoor residence. The street is demarcated by chairs and other furniture brought from inside the adjacent houses. The universal notion of the “public” and the “private” becomes blurred, the street becoming a kind of “open air Salotto, during the ritual passeggiata, the stroll up and down in the hour before dinner, when everyone has the chance to offer a presentation of self and perform an assessment of the presentation of others” (98).
The final section of the book, "Planning and Responses," is about the application of urban planning processes, and the impact of that application on the meaning of the urban environment. The economic driven attitudes among most developers and planners is "if we build it (culture) they will come." Margaret Rodman rejects this idea, proposing that the urban is a product of human culture. She advocates experience-based approaches to constructing urbanism, designed according to the discourse of those involved.

The importance of this volume is not in the recitation of the statistics, facts, and figures of the various case studies, but in the realization of the complexities of urban design for those who construct the urban environment. This book should be used to educate against the creeping intolerance for situations or discourse that do not agree with "our own." It helps to broaden the discourse about what we can do to design contemporary environments that will be flexible and tolerant of differing points of view. It is only then that the designer of a city can change his or her attitudes about the single-minded design of the city and search for methods of urban development and design that can compliment the diverse groups that make up and give meaning to the urban environment.

Douglas D. Brimhall
Arizona State University


*Contra El Viento (Against the Wind)* is an autobiography that reads like a novel. This biographical narrative is divided into four parts. The novel itself uses the device of a writer-narrator who pieces together the history of his life from the moment of his birth to the most difficult times, now being faced by the Suarez family as they confront the most daily grueling demands and special attention from a beloved member of the family, who suffers from Parkinson's and Alzheimer's disease.

This is a bold and enthralling story which grasps the interest of the reader from beginning to end. In the first two sections the writer-narrator chronicles all the important moments in the life of the protagonist, Juan Suarez, from the moment of his birth passing through his early childhood and early adolescence, and the very important moment in his life when he meets Carmen, the love of his life. The writer-narrator harps on all his strategies to make sure that he gets the approval and respect of Carmen's family. At the same time Juan works very hard to establish a reputation as a young, intelligent,
aggressive and smart businessman. After Juan married Carmen, he was very happy and worked even harder than before. His business became very prosperous, but all changed in 1959, when the Cuban Revolution began.

The third story of this book is entitled "Passion for Liberty." Here the gruesome days of the first year of the revolution is told in all details. In this part of the book the author makes the best use of the first-person narrative technique, allowing the story to become more profoundly meaningful. We can see how dangerous it was for the protagonist and all the people close to him to survive and not be caught in a web of tyranny and deceit and how finally they came out of this ordeal.

This might well be one of the first times that the point of view of the people who had been so deeply affected is so vividly and rightfully told in such an impassioned manner. The reader becomes so involved with the story, with the end of the narrative giving the impression that he/she is closer and has a better understanding of the official accounts of those important historical events in Cuban life and history.

The last part of the narrative is entitled, "Ella" ("She"), and is the tragic story of two lovers who have to face the most humiliating adversity that human beings could encounter when one of them suffers the devastating effects of both Parkinson's and Alzheimer's diseases.

Contra El Viento is not only the story of Juan Suarez and Carmen his wife, and all their struggles to survive, but is also the story of the most resilient, hard-working, and devoted people who had worked so hard, where ever they happened to be, to get back what was lost almost thirty-five years ago. The whole story is told with the economic, religious, cultural and historical account of the Cuban people in the background.

The historical references go back to the late nineteenth century in Spain, Europe and continue all the way through this century in Cuba and later on in the diaspora where the Cuban people are in the novel; direct references are made to the Cuban communities in Union City, Miami, Puerto Rico, and in other parts of the United States.

This narration is an x-ray picture of the whole macrocosm of Cuban life from the beginning of this century until Good Friday of 1991 when the last chapter of the novel also emphasizes the efforts and struggles of the Cuban people into an Americanized culture while maintaining together the pieces of their rich Cuban heritage.

Juan Suarez, the writer-narrator, is undoubtedly one of the authentic spokespersons for his Cuban American community. He has become an eloquent and promising voice of his generation. This is the first major work penned by him in this genre.
Contra El Viento (Against the Wind) is, as the editor Dr. Blanca Garcia has so rightfully pointed out, "a profound book which takes the reader in a journey through the peaks and valleys of life; and it presents a philosophy of life which was true yesterday and still is today. Hard work and the will to work hard is the necessary ingredient which permits the meaningful realization of all dreams and aspirations." This is one of the great lessons that we can teach to our present young generation and one of the most valuable legacies that we can leave for future generations. There is so much to be learned by all. Contra El Viento should be recommended as an example of what the strong desire to succeed, hard work and fortitude really mean.

Luis L. Pinto
Bronx Community College


If one is seeking a text to help expand the multicultural approach in a course on contemporary fiction or literature in general, a new collection of short stories by Virgil Suarez may be a successful addition. Welcome to the Oasis and Other Stories has the virtues of compactness in 124 pages and of variety in the length of the six works included, as well as a reasonable cost. An instructor would have the option of including the entire volume in her syllabus, which would provide an assignment easily encompassed in one or two class meetings. Or she could tuck in any one of the tales, ranging from fifty-four to eight large-print pages, wherever they might fit the design of the course.

Suarez’s characters are Hispanic Americans of the Cuban variety, with the flavor of fried plantains, the rhythm of the mazurka, and the fervent editorials of La Opinion as the background scene, whether the actual locale is Los Angeles, Miami, or somewhere in between. In his novels, such as Latin Jazz (1989), he has cogently analyzed the experience of the exiles from Castro’s or Batista’s Cuba as they struggle to integrate into the United States, often contrasting the attitudes of the earlier emigrés—such as the nineteenth-century cigar-makers in Key West and Tampa—to those of the newcomers who have moved in two or three generations later. Among his most poignant contrasts are those between the upper-class arrivals, who fled the leveling pressures of the Communist regime, and the Marielitos, who got out when Castro cynically (and pragmatically) responded to America’s offer of asylum by sending off the inmates of his prisons and mental hospitals.
Although the earlier novels concentrate on the class structure among the Cubans who were born on the island, the stories of this volume focus on their offspring—the new Americans born as natives on the mainland. Their problems tend to be less specific to the emigré and more universal among the youth of this country. While their parents and grandparents contended with a working knowledge of English, the trials of eking out a living in a hostile economy, and the apprehensions of bringing up children by inherited standards that often clashed with the surrounding mores, the youngsters worry about what other American boys and girls worry about: parents, jobs, school, drugs, the opposite sex.

Perhaps that is the primary message of multicultural literature—that the concerns of all Americans are basically the same, in spite of the individual cultural context. In these stories, the situations are familiar to all readers, even though the protagonists are named Quiroga, Candelaria, or Quezada. In “Welcome to the Oasis,” a lad without family connections takes the job of painting a rundown apartment house, only to find himself drawn into the explosive jealousies surrounding a seductive tenant. In “Headshots,” four college boys on a weekend jaunt into New Orleans experiment with hallucinogens, with nearly catastrophic consequences. In “Dearly Beloved,” an estranged son-in-law suddenly understands the loneliness and despair of his wife’s mother. In “Settlements,” the son of divorced parents struggles for stability in his own love affair. A high school boy seethes with summer resentment when he must accompany his father on ice-cream truck rounds when he would rather be swimming. Such tensions are universal in the lives of American youth, not only of those whose native tongue is Spanish.

Suárez’s narrative skills are varied and fruitful. His dialogue is authentic and compelling. In some stories a first-person voice holds the ear; in two others the present-tense action lends immediacy, as in the violence that breaks out in the family-run gambling game of “Full House.” Occasionally, there is expression of sympathy and appreciation for the self-sacrificing role of women in the male-dominated Cuban society. Danny, a high school boy who resents his father’s exploitation of his mother, thinks: “How does she do it? How does she juggle all the things that she does at the same time: cooking, dishes, laundry, cleaning?” Not to mention employment at the cannery. Such observations add much to the worth of these insightful paradigms.

Frances Hernandez
University of Texas at El Paso

Originally published in 1916, this autobiography of Lucy Thompson was accidentally rediscovered in the 1970s by Peter E. Palmquist when he was doing research on the photographer Emma B. Freeman. Palmquist sought out a copy of the book and what he found was Thompson’s attempt to tell about her Yurok life in English, a language difficult for her to use to explain traditional Yurok culture. The original publication was poorly edited and locally printed, and, although this reprint has been edited to make it accessible, serious scholars might wish to compare this version to the original, which is available at the Beinecke Library at Yale University and elsewhere.

Lucy was born in the village of Pecwan in 1853 and married a white man, Milton James Thompson, in 1875. They lived for many years along the Klamath River and by 1910 had moved to Eureka, California. They had three children. Lucy outlived her husband and died on February 23, 1932, at the age of 79.

This reprint is introduced by Julian Lang, a Karuk traditional singer, dancer, and tribal scholar, who places Thompson’s story within the geographical and cultural contexts of the Klamath River Indian communities of California. He likens Thompson’s book to oral storytelling, ”a seemingly (but not really) disorganized mosaic of experiences, anecdotes, and reminiscences” (xvii). Thompson’s audience is local whites, and she attempts to relate to them in images and language they would understand. At the same time, she criticizes those Indians who are progressive and would abandon their traditions for assimilation. She is sometimes critical of her people for not being worthy of their noble Yurok heritage, and she believes that intermarriage has changed the traditional class system of her people. She provides no explanation for her own choice to marry outside of her tribe.

In several short chapters, Thompson provides information about traditional medicine, stories, dances, and history of geographical places. Although she indicates that most of the doctors were women, there were male doctors who had different roles in the tribes. Indian wealth was tied to a moral and spiritual code combined with a strict class system common to many tribes in the Northwest Coast area. The World Renewal Ceremony and the White Deerskin Dance are described as well as the Jump Dance. Changes in these traditions and others were the result of the influence of miners and settlers, particularly between 1849 and 1900.

Lucy Thompson’s lifetime was a time of confusion and change for the people. In her preface, she identifies herself as “a pure full-blooded Klamath River Woman” (xxix). She places herself into a
tradition where women had tattooed chins and spiritual leaders were called *Talth*. Among her people, she maintained her Native name; it was those outside the culture who knew her as Lucy Thompson. The name of “Lucy” was given to her by Bill McGarvey, the proprietor of a local store. McGarvey's store had several owners over the years, several of whom sold excessive amounts of alcohol to the Indians.

There were three kinds of traditional marriage described by Thompson: “high marriage” of the *Talth* class, the “half-married” among the slave clans where the woman owned all the property, and the “middle class” marriages which resulted from bartering and trading agreements. Discussing the customs of marriage and family, she relates that the birth of twins of the same sex resulted in one being raised and the other neglected and allowed to starve to death.

The Yurok had a rich storytelling tradition, and Thompson tells of creation and of the “white” people who used to live in the Klamath River area. Many of her “traditional stories” are remarkably close to Christian biblical stories; however, concepts of Heaven and Satan, a traditional “Christ” figure called Po-llick-o-square-ick, and an Indian “Samson” who was betrayed by his wife who burned his hair off, and a flood, all appear in her stories of the tribe. The stories also include mermaids who sat on rocks in the river and combed their long hair.

Lucy believes only she and her father remained as *Talth*, the highest class among her people. She believed when she wrote her book that she was the end of the religious line and with her death the religion would end. The book provides interesting insights into the beliefs and traditions of the Yurok people at the turn of the century when there was an increasing amount of influence from “outsiders.” Although there have been changes, the traditions did not die out. Julian Lang relates that the World Renewal Jump Dance was held in 1982, revitalizing the traditions Thompson describes. Lucy Thompson would be pleased that the tradition she described did not pass away with her generation.

Gretchen M. Bataille
Arizona State University
Explorations in Sights and Sounds, No. 13 (1993)

The introduction’s title to Re-made in Japan, “Domesticating the West,” captures precisely the characteristics of the contemporary westernization of Japanese culture. The book is a collection of twelve papers which were originally presented at the American Anthropological Association meeting in 1986 at the University of Hawaii. Japan’s economic success has global receptions, ranging from admiration and envy, to resentment. Yet the role of Japan as an avid importer and consumer of western products and ideas is not appreciated. On the contrary, quick adaptation of the Japanese to western culture arouses curiosity, wonder, and even mockery from Eurocentric perspectives. The contributed papers aim at, with various degrees of success, correcting the mistaken notion of the westernization of Japan being a mere infatuation with the exotic West. Unfortunately, the papers are of uneven quality; some are poorly articulated, while others stray from the theme. In addition, there is no sequence or interrelationship among the papers. One can only deduce from the better presentations a uniform message that Western merchandise is transformed and naturalized to Japanese tastes as the Japanese themselves experience a self-rediscovey in the process.

Japanese department stores and tourists are the main importers of western goods. These imports, however, become unmistakably Japanese through the function of the cultural mentorship undertaken by Japanese department stores (“The Depato: Merchandising the West while Selling Japaneseness,” Millie R. Creighton) and the traditional Japanese custom of gift-giving (“Shopping for Souvenirs in Hawai‘i,” Fumiteru Nitta). Even the English language comes to serve the Japanese exclusively, bearing little resemblance to the English spoken by the donor (“For Beautiful Human Life,” James Stanlaw). Japanization of the West occurs in other unexpected areas such as haute French cuisine (“A Japanese-French Restaurant,” Jeffrey Tobin), the Tokyo Disneyland (“Bwana Mickey,” Mary Yoko Brannen), and Argentinean tango (“Tango in Japan and the World Economy of Passion,” Marta E. Savigliano) once the West came into contact with Japan’s history, social system, and the Japanese ego.

Japanese consumption of the West extends to its customs and ideologies which, however, have little impact on traditional patterns of Japanese life. “Tractors, Television, and Telephones: Reach Out and Touch Someone in Rural Japan” (William W. Kelley) and “Alienation and Reconnection in a Home for the Elderly” (Diana Bethel), respectively, account for the Japanese struggle to recover a sense of community on privatized, mechanized farms and in one western-

The reappraisal of western influence in contemporary Japan through consumerism promises a new paradigm for the relationships between the dominant and dominated cultures. From the book's amusing episodes on flamboyant consumption by the Japanese, however, a coherent, critical discourse on Japan's consumer culture does not come forth.

Kumiko Takahara
University of Colorado, Boulder


*Puerto Rican Writers at Home in the USA* is the most recent, best edited and most complete anthology of literary texts, written in English, by the superstars of Puerto Rican letters residing in the United States of North America.

This marvelous collection of verse and prose includes samples of the finest literary texts penned by Puerto Rican writers during the past five decades. The first and oldest writer included is Jesus Colon (1901-1974), and the youngest is Martin Espada, born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1957.

The anthology opens with a very moving and informative introduction by the editor, Faythe Turner, where she explains her journey through Puerto Rican culture and literature. She further explains how she met most of the authors included in the anthology in her trips to places like the Nuyorican Poets' Cafe and how she was moved by the "bountiful literature that was coming from the Puerto Rican community in New York." She rightly points out that, "the seventies had seemed filled with promise for New York's Puerto Rican writers" and offers a chronology of the best literary pieces written in those years by writers like: Piri Thomas, Victor Hernandez Cruz, Pedro Pietri, Jose Angel Figueroa, Nicholsa Mohr, Sandra Maria Esteves and others. Most of these writers are still alive and very active, and a new generation has increased their numbers, but they still confront the same problem, "they are still published mostly by journals with limited distribution and by small presses. . . ."

In Walter Lowenthal’s anthology, ten Puerto Rican male writers were included. Best known among them were: Victor Hernandez Cruz, Jose Angel Figueroa, Felip Luciano, Julio Marzan and Pedro Pietri. Joseph Bruchac included five Puerto Rican writers in his anthology of 1978. It is probably the first time that two Puerto Rican women writers were included in an anthology of American literature. This great honor was bestowed on Sandra Maria Estevez and on Lorraine Sutton.

The road has been paved for Efrain Barradas, who in 1980, made one of the greatest contributions in the field of Puerto Rican literature when he compiled, in Herejes y Mitificadores, the best works by nineteen Puerto Rican writers and put them together with the best introduction that so far has been written about Puerto Rican writers in the United States.

The fact that Barradas’ anthology is bilingual makes his compilation very valuable; most of the literary pieces are offered both in English and Spanish; Faythe Turner goes one step further. Besides including additional samples of the best work by eight of the authors that Barradas included in his anthology, she presents the works of other Puerto Rican writers less known because most of them are younger, belong to the new generation, and as Faythe Turner points out, “In 1978, Puerto Rican writing in this country was concentrated heavily in New York, produced by members of the Puerto Rican community there who knew each other and frequently saw and talked with each other. In 1990, that geographical concentration has weakened.” Now they are scattered all over and most of them are college graduates with teaching positions in departments of languages and literatures in colleges and universities in all regions of the country.

One of the strengths of this anthology is that all writers included, in one way or another, have exalted the Puerto Rican ethnic perspective, and in so doing have added a fresh outlook in this much expanded subject matter. Aurora Levins Morales states: “I am what I am / A child of the Americas / A light-skinned mestiza of the Caribbean./ A child of many Diaspora, born into this continental a
crossroads. / I am a Puerto Rican, I am U.S. American / I am New York Manhattan and the Bronx. / A mountain-born, country-bred, home-grown jibara child." Faythe Turner, in selecting the literary pieces to be included in this anthology, was very careful about not including pieces that were already known because they were included in previous anthologies.

The editor used a very novel approach in organizing the material to be included in this anthology by giving the reader a sampler of both literary forms representative of the works of every one of the writers included in the anthology. Five of the ten less known Puerto Rican writers included in this anthology are women: Magdalena Gomez, Luz Maria Umpierre, Judith Ortiz Coffer, Rosario Morales and Aurora Levins Morales. This anthology also presents the unique situation where the works of both mother and daughter are included in the same collection, such is the case of Rosario Morales and her daughter, Aurora Levins Morales.

A very useful feature in this anthology is that preceding each writer's selections there is a picture and a personal statement or short biography about the life, background, education, publications and community involvement of every writer.

The much debated concept, in some circles, that modern literature has reached the end of the road, as a dead-end street, is no longer true and has been transcended, in part, by the great contributions of ethnic literatures. A point in question is the case of Judith Ortiz Coffer, one of the women included in this anthology who authored the novel, *The Line of the Sun*, published by University of Georgia Press and was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize. Ortiz Coffer, Ed Vega, Martin Espada, Magdalena Gomez, besides Nicholasa Mohr, Pietri and Pineró have won National Endowment for the Arts or PEN fellowships. Some of the writers in this compilation have been included in the *Heath Anthology of American Literature* and, as Faythe Turner so aptly points out: "a good measure of what is recently beginning to be included in the canon of American Literature. Puertoricaanse literature in Nueva York which includes work by Pietri, Pineró, Thomas and Vega has just been published in Holland."

This anthology has opened the door for new voices previously unheard, a new breed that will give the reader a more vibrant vision and a total rejection of the "melting pot" in favor of a more radical pluralism and an attack on national and world colonialism. Some of the poems included are sprinkled with Spanish words and bicultural images that reverberate powerfully, giving new life and meaning to our American literature. The description that Arthur Ramirez has given for Chicano literature could be used to describe the literary pieces that Faythe Turner has so aptly chosen for this compilation: "Minority poetic talent, distinctive insights from within
another culture, radically new and different reinterpretations, vast resources of vitality and talent. These need not be ignored or wasted, need no longer remain in obscurity, outside the mainstream."

Thanks to the efforts of visionary people like Faythe Turner, these many new voices that have emerged will be heard, appreciated, understood and heeded. We hope that in some way this effort to make this new literary dimension represented by the works of these seventeen writers will help in the eradication of misunderstandings that lead to mistreatments, injustice and oppression.

Recently, Abraham Rodrigues, author of the novel *Spidertown*, pointed out that his English teacher once told him "there was not such a thing as a Puerto Rican writer." To this teacher and to all skeptics about the quality of writing among Puerto Rican writers, we suggest that they should get in touch with Faythe Turner, if still there are any doubts, or to just see by themselves what she has so professionally and artistically put together in this anthology.

*Puerto Rican Writers at Home in the USA* is a treasure of good writings. It will be a valuable acquisition by libraries of ethnic studies in colleges and universities all across the land, recommended as useful reading for high school students and to any reader who enjoys reading something exciting and different.

Luis L. Pinto
Bronx Community College


*Women, Race, and Ethnicity* had its origin in a series of reading lists prepared by the office of the University of Wisconsin System Women's Studies Librarian in the mid-1980s; this newest edition supersedes an earlier June 1988 release. Containing almost 2500 sources, this volume provides a selective, annotated list of college-level print (including special journal issues and chapters in anthologies) and audiovisual resources, emphasizing recent materials on ethnic women in the United States (only a few Canadian materials are included). References are classified under twenty-eight disciplines and topics—such as Anthropology, Education, Literature, Poetry, and Psychology—and further subdivided by ethnic group: Asian and Pacific American women, Black women, Euro-American women, Indian women, Jewish women, and Latinas. There are, within each topic, subsections labeled "General and Cross-Cultural Studies."
Although the compilers of this 202-page volume have attempted to be as comprehensive as possible, omissions are inevitably going to occur. For example, in the Native American section, Literature: History and Criticism, noted scholars—such as Gretchen Bataille, A. Lavonne Ruoff, Greg Sarris, and Kay Sands, to only name a few—are not listed. Also, in an effort to supplement their available material, the compilers included older listings from small presses and non-profit organizations and agencies. In addition, the nonprint materials, films, videotapes, audiotapes, and slide sets are annotated according to reviews, filmographies, and distributors' catalogs, thereby providing a summary rather than an analytical assessment of the material. Still, the volume is a good starting place for many undergraduate students in women's studies courses who need fundamental sources on ethnic women in a variety of professions.

Laurie Lisa
Arizona State University


*Working Cotton* is based on poems from Williams's *The Peacock Poems*, a National Book Award nominee. Based on her childhood experience in the cotton fields of Fresno, this poignant story tells of a migrant family's day from the point of view of a child, Shelan, who is "a big girl now. Not big enough to have my own sack, just only to help pile cotton in the middle of the row for Mamma to put in hers." From dawn until dusk, the family works the field.

Written in a dialect that is lyrical, and that at times resonates with the cadence of a spiritual, the story evokes a wide range of emotion, from Shelan's pride in how fast her daddy can pick cotton, to her longing to play with other children her age ("But you hardly ever see the same kids twice, 'specially after we moves to a new field," ) to the uncertainty of being a child faced with responsibility too soon. The drawings by Byard depict the moments of toil, struggle, kinship, and natural beauty of the people and the landscape in a panoramic style that is poignant and beautiful. The final two images, a late-blooming cotton flower and the family walking toward the sunset, we want to hope, suggest some promise in this hard life.

Perhaps one of the best aspects of this beautifully written and illustrated book is the fact that it would cause a child to ask more questions. The life of migrant workers, as told through the eyes of a child, brings up many issues about race, socioeconomic conditions, and how families struggle to stay together and survive. When Sherley
Anne Williams, best known for her widely acclaimed novel *Dessa Rose*, and Carole Byard, whose illustrations for children's books have twice won the Coretta Scott King award, team together to produce a children's book, the result has to be magical and evocative. It is.

Laurie Lisa
Arizona State University


*Immigration Reconsidered* presents the latest paradigm of migration studies from some of the leading scholars in three disciplines. Contributors include historians Samuel Bailey, Sucheng Chan, Philip Curtin, Kerby Miller, and Virginia Yans-McLaughlin; sociologists Suzanne Model, Alejandro Portes, Ewa Morawska, and Charles Tilly; and political scientists Lawrence Fuchs and Aristide Zolberg. Several individuals have degrees or interests in more than one field. This book is the outcome of a conference held to celebrate the Statue of Liberty's Centenary. The papers are carefully chosen, of high individual quality, and integrated more than most collections of essays by scholars' responses to each other and the editor's analytical overview.

The authors place American immigration history in a broad comparative framework ranging in time from the slave trade to recent migration flows from Asia and Latin America. The book makes the point that national boundaries are artificial. Immigrants move across them like clouds over the earth in response to an international labor market. Throughout much of the last four hundred years, the United States has been on the periphery of world capitalism. It is neither unique in terms of its immigrant experience nor a "melting pot." Not everyone wants to come to America; not everyone stays (between 25 to 60% of all immigrants have returned to their countries of origin). Repatriation and immigration elsewhere are common alternatives. This book is valuable because it seeks to avoid an ethnocentric or parochial perspective and to place American immigration in a wider context. It also compares the labor market experiences of African Americans with those of European and Asian immigrants and documents the complex relationships between these groups. Most work on American immigration does not.

Specifically, what is being reconsidered here? The editor and other authors, especially Morawska, criticize an older immigration model (still very much alive in popular discourse) which emphasizes
assimilation and human capital theory. The classical assimilation model views linear acculturation to American mores as both inevitable and desirable. Human capital theory focuses on individual characteristics and strategies of self-improvement. However, recent social science research emphasizes structural analysis, such as the effect of local labor markets on immigrant success or failure, and collective rather than individual strategies.

This book disappointed the reviewer in only one respect. Although the editor is clearly sympathetic to anthropology and ethnographic methods, no essays by anthropologists appear in *Immigration Reconsidered*. Synthesizing recent approaches to immigration among historians and sociologists was probably a formidable enough task without adding yet another discipline. However, it seems unfortunate to exclude representation by a discipline which is inherently comparative and cross-cultural, and whose practitioners have produced rich discussions of ethnicity.

Janet E. Benson
Kansas State University
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