EXPLORATIONS IN SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

NAES

Summer 1995
Number 15
The National Association for Ethnic Studies

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

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Book reviews for *Explorations in Sights and Sounds* should consist of critical assessments of multidisciplinary materials relevant to the discipline of ethnic studies. These evaluations should not exceed 500 words and must be typed and double-spaced throughout. All inquiries regarding book review information should be directed to our Book Review Editor:

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*Explorations in Sights and Sounds* (ESS) is published once a year by the National Association for Ethnic Studies for its individual members and subscribing libraries and institutions. Information regarding NAES memberships and subscriptions, address changes, claims for missing issues, sample copies, and advertising rates can be provided by directing requests to our national office: NAES/ Department of English/ Arizona State University / Box 870302 / Tempe, AZ /85287-0302; Phone (602) 965-2197; Fax (602) 965-3451; E-mail: NAESI@asuvm.inre.asu.edu; Web: http://www.asu.edu/ameth/naes/

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A Journal of Reviews of the
National Association for Ethnic Studies

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NAES Plenary Session
Saturday, March 19, 1994
Kansas City, MO

Moderator:
Jesse M. Vázquez
Queens College, C.U.N.Y., New York

Panelists:
Evelyn Hu-DeHart, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado
Rhett Jones, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island
Robert Perry, Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green, Ohio
Miguel Carranza, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska

Jesse M. Vázquez: Introduction

The primary intent of organizing the plenary that follows was to engage a number of dedicated and experienced ethnic studies scholar-activists in a focused conversation on the current state of ethnic studies in the academy. At this point many of us have been involved in ethnic studies for more than twenty years. The perspectives and observations offered in this monograph are transcribed from the recordings of the plenary. It offers the reader a far-ranging discussion of the field, its history, its struggles, its pedagogy, and some of its underlying principles.

It is clear that the climate, the politics, and the fiscal solvency of many of our colleges and universities have shifted dramatically since ethnic studies burst onto the campus scene in the late nineteen sixties and the early seventies. Many of us in ethnic studies are now facing serious challenges and perhaps new opportunities we never imagined possible.
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during the formative years of our programs, departments, centers, and institutes. From the early seventies, The National Association for Ethnic Studies (NAES) has been both an active participant and a chronicler of the emerging discipline of ethnic studies. This plenary was designed to offer yet another "report from the field."

What we wanted to do when we planned this panel was to reflect on the current state of ethnic studies and to begin to examine our progress in the university, where we are headed, and what we see as the most critical challenges facing us in the next decade. To that end, we invited four distinguished ethnic studies scholars who, for many years, have actively engaged in the creation of a variety of ethnic studies entities.

In preparation, I asked the panelists to consider a number of issues and concerns. First, our sense was that the audience participants would be looking for those national trends and patterns that may or may not match their particular campus experiences. The panelists' considerable involvement in the national discourse on ethnic studies, both written and oral, we believed would allow those gathered at the conference to begin to piece together a more coherent picture of what was actually going on throughout the nation.

Each panelist was asked to present a general commentary on what he/she believed were the field's major accomplishments, and what our greatest challenges and prospects might be for the next decade. In addition, some of the following questions were suggested by members of the NAES Council:

1. Given the national discourse on the subject of multicultural education/studies and the university curriculum, what is your assessment of the role that Ethnic Studies organizations, such as NAES, and ethnic studies programs can play in this national discourse?

2. One of the most basic aspects of establishing ethnic studies programs and departments in the early days was the principle of autonomy. And, what we may be seeing now as new programs emerge is an effort on the part of administrators to moderate that earlier period of autonomy by linking these new programs to established traditional departments. Do you think that control of curriculum, faculty selection, and the ultimate direction of our programs can only be achieved through autonomous academic entities? What role do you think autonomy plays in the success or failure of a program, department, center, or institute?

3. Another founding principle of ethnic studies was our involvement and concern for those issues directly shaping the community. Do you think that we have moved away from this aspect of our work as we have become more preoccupied with institutionalization? And, have you seen any evidence that our ethnic studies programs might be moving us back to that basic
issue of community?

4. Where is ethnic studies research taking us? What compelling national and international issues deserve more attention by ethnic studies scholars/scholarship? With the rise in popularity of postmodernist critique, deconstructionism, and culture studies, do you feel that Ethnic Studies research is shining the light in the wrong places?

5. On the matter of recruitment, tenure, and promotion, do you think that we in ethnic studies are improving in our ability to get through the tenure and promotion process and still hold on to the essential goals of our work?

6. On the matter of publications and ethnic studies scholarship, do you think that those who are in control of the publication process are continuing to lock us out, or are we beginning to make some headway in this critical arena of the mainstream method of measuring scholarly production?

7. Have you seen any evidence that ethnic studies scholarship is being used to shape public policy?

While a good many of these questions and issues were addressed by the panelists' presentations and touched upon in their exchanges with the conference participants during the Q & A period, some were clearly not covered because of the time limitations. But our hope is that these questions and concerns, as framed, will continue to provoke discussion on campuses throughout the nation.

The nature and content of any academic enterprise is dynamic and necessarily responsive to the greater social, cultural, and political context. The downsizing in corporate America is mirrored in the retrenchments and reconfigurations of programs and departments in the university. Witness the recent downgrading of the ethnic studies departments at the City College of New York (CUNY), where the administration, claiming fiscal exigency, dismantled four of the country's longest standing departments in academia. This only serves to illustrate the state of warfare that has existed since the inception of all of our programs and departments. And on a not too distant campus, only twenty city blocks south of the City College, the sustained effort on the part of Columbia University students to finally establish an ethnic studies department on that ivy league citadel resulted in a clear rejection by the faculty and administration. These and other academics around the country continue to distort and marginalize ethnic studies, some through a lack of understanding and others through a willful opposition to our principles. The same kind of resistance was evident during the protracted struggle several years ago at UCLA, but that effort resulted in the creation of a transitional program which will eventually lead to the formation of a
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Department of Ethnic Studies. Still, at the University of California at Riverside, the loss of their Chicano Studies program signaled yet another assault on ethnic studies.

We hope that the publication of this important exchange will serve to stimulate more discussion and clarity in our collective struggle to sustain ethnic studies, establish new programs and departments, and see these programs evolve in the next decade. Permit me to introduce the panelists:

Professor Evelyn Hu-DeHart is Director of the Center for the Study of Ethnicity and Race in America, at the University of Colorado at Boulder.

Professor Rhett Jones is the Director of the Center for the Study of Race and Ethnicity, at Brown University.

Professor Robert Perry is the Chair of the Department of Ethnic Studies at Bowling Green State University in Ohio.

Professor Miguel Carranza is Associate Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, where he has also been Director of that institution's Institute for Ethnic Studies. He is past President of NAES and serves as Editor of NAES Publications.

We will begin with Professor Carranza.

**Miguel Carranza**

I want to thank Jesse Vazquez for organizing this panel, as I see it as crucial that those of us in ethnic studies must take the time to assess and reflect on the role and place of our field in academe today. We cannot afford to believe that our place in higher education is well supported, and more importantly, secure within our academic institutions.

"It was the best of times, it was the worst of times." You probably recognize that as the opening line from the Charles Dickens novel, *A Tale of Two Cities*. I use it frequently to depict the current situation for Ethnic Studies in higher education. On the one hand you have colleges and universities trying to establish new and maintain their existing ethnic studies programs; while on the other hand, you have universities not wanting to adequately support these same programs and make them central to the core and mission of their institutions. Many are content to have these programs exist in name or on paper only without bringing these programs into the very central core of the institution. To do this would call for a major restructuring of higher education and many colleges and universities are simply not willing to be leaders in this movement because there may indeed be risks, and they are not willing to be risktakers.
In most instances ethnic studies programs and scholars find themselves as still being outsiders in the inside of the academic world. We find ourselves really on the outmost periphery and not part of the central academic core. An example is when you have a colleague ask, "What is your field?" and you respond, "I'm in Chicano studies." Her/his response is usually, "No. I mean what department are you in?" The implication is that Chicano studies is not a real discipline, and you must have a more legitimate affiliation. This frequently happens with faculty who hold joint appointments. These questions revolve centrally around issues of identity, marginalization and legitimacy. Now should this happen? Absolutely not!

A key issue in transforming institutions into becoming magnets for establishing ethnic studies programs is recruitment. Universities must actively recruit ethnic studies scholars for ethnic studies programs as well as for the more traditional departments (e.g. political science). I use the term traditional intentionally because all too often universities and colleges see ethnic studies programs as non-traditional, and therefore less relevant and not part of the academic centrality of the university. If you do not see the program as being central then you are less likely to actively recruit faculty members for that particular program.

Low supply and high demand has always been posited by administrators as one reason for not recruiting for ethnic studies programs. Too often we hear, "There are not enough ethnic studies scholars being trained and, as a result, they simply cannot be found..., but we would hire them if they existed." Actually, the problem is that minorities are not being hired. At first they were not getting into the applicant pool. This has been the case on many of the searches in which I have been involved. Candidates were not getting into the applicant pool, let alone making a finalist list.

Given the recent growth of the field of ethnic studies, these scholars are now being trained and are coming into the higher education pipeline. Now we are getting into the applicant pool. We are making the finalist list. We're actually being hired. More and more minority scholars are being hired. In fact, some administrators say that any person of color who has a Ph.D. can find a great job and make $50,000 anywhere. There is that kind of demand. You all agree with that. Right?

Wrong! No! One of the things that happens is what I call the "halo effect" for the superstars, where you have people who are deemed superstars who are being recruited. What appears to be 20 hires is actually only one or two superstars moving twenty times. We, as minority scholars, benefit very little from that superstar phenomena.

Another problem raised by administrators is that, "We don't have a critical mass on our campus. We just can't hire enough of you folk to get you on this campus to have a critical mass. We don't have enough to establish an ethnic studies program."
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Well, on some campuses and even at some of our most prestigious Research-I institutions—even when all those steps are being followed—you find very reticent administrators who don't want to develop ethnic studies departments. They don't want the permanence that a department entails. They see a real threat in that permanence.

Increased institutionalization should change the core. I underline should because as long as ethnic studies is defined as a non-traditional discipline, that's going to provide one of the major barriers for us becoming part of the academic core.

The issue of standards for tenure also needs to be addressed. Standards have been raised, but whose standards are they? They're very much the traditional higher education standards. We have some real problems in that approach. I've heard some horror stories in the past couple of weeks, that have affected some friends and close colleagues of mine. I'm disturbed.

Finally, I foresee significant changes in higher education. Ethnic studies needs to be prepared for these changes. One change is the new diversity requirements. Some of you are from institutions where there are new diversity requirements. Arizona State, Bowling Green State University and a number of other places have them. This is good news because with new diversity requirements you need to develop more courses focused on race, gender studies, and so on.

Another change I foresee is reallocation of resources. Reallocation is probably the new "R" word in higher education. We are no longer going to be addressing reduction of budgets but reallocation of budgets. Consequently, departments are starting to close ranks. They see reallocation of resources as more of a threat to them because they know the money is going to come out of somebody's hide and they want it to be somebody else's hide.

A further change on the horizon is that minority scholars will be increasingly hired in traditional departments rather than in ethnic studies or women's studies or other interdisciplinary units. Although minority professionals have high visibility in some ethnic studies programs, my overall assessment is that we are not expanding many of those programs. In fact, many ethnic studies programs are not strong programs or are not strongly supported by their institutions.

My personal experience at my institution is that ethnic studies is only a paper program that hasn't received a lot of support. For example, permanence implies bringing in tenure track faculty and starting to share control of the decision-making process.

In summary: I think it's clear that, in general, ethnic studies has not been allowed to share in the governance of higher education. Until it does, we will continue to be outsiders in the academic world.
Robert Perry

Here is how I avoid being marginalized in my position as chair of a department of ethnic studies: When people ask me what I do, even though I'm a professor of sociology, I refuse to emphasize that, except in the context of ethnic studies. I take the position that I am not primarily a sociologist, I am an ethnic studies person. That's what I tell people and that's how I respond to those questions. I know what their agenda is when they ask that kind of a question.

I tell all my junior faculty, "If you're uncomfortable with being in ethnic studies, if you're uncomfortable as an outsider in an insider's game, if you cannot be proud to be in ethnic studies and celebrate that by telling everybody where you work, you don't belong with us." This is because we're the "niggers" in academe. We need to be very clear about that. I tell all the incoming people, "You need to search your conscience and be sure whether or not you really want to be in ethnic studies."

In any case, in terms of contributions, ethnic studies has been, and is, a major impetus for curriculum reform in American higher education as we approach the 21st century. The result of this transformation has been the creation of a new curriculum grounded in an ideology that produces new assumptions and new perspectives.

Students of ethnic studies gain novel ideas and novel views of the American experience and an alternative conception of the makeup of American society. Questions raised concerning the primacy of traditional literary canons have come from ethnic studies. Questions raised about the telling and writing of traditional American history have been raised by ethnic studies. Questions raised regarding scientific racism as practiced in traditional social science research have come from ethnic studies. The colleges of music, education, and business have suddenly discovered multiculturalism. The recognition of these so-called new voices has been influenced mainly by ethnic studies.

The responses to the impact of ethnic studies in our popular culture are demonstrated by movies such as Glory, Malcom X, and Schindler's List. They have been influenced by ethnic studies. The issues concerning political correctness, multiculturalism, and post modernism, are influenced by ethnic studies. The development of women's studies, gender studies, and culture studies, and the current contributions that they are making to curriculum reform has come through ethnic studies.

Many of us in the field of ethnic studies recognize the magnitude of the impact that we have had within our discipline. This impact is not formally recognized by the traditional power brokers of higher education. As we continue to implement ethnic studies within the academic mainstream,
we still remain David in pursuit of Goliath.

Our status in higher education has been affected by our genesis. We were literally forced on academia in response to student demonstrations and the civil rights movements in the 1960s. The response of universities was to ghettoize, underfund, and understaff for failure. Certainly that was what their intention was at Bowling Green and at most other places too.

For those of us who have survived the legacy of our origins without compromising the values of our discipline, the challenges continue. One of our current battles is tied to the competition of traditional disciplines over the shaping of the multicultural discourse. There are several questions involved here: How do we institutionalize ethnic studies in the academic mainstream? How do we establish the academic base of multiculturalism and who should control that base? How do we address those who want only to preserve classic Eurocentric dominant education in our universities?

These arguments and debates have captured the attention of politicians, the national federal bureaucracy, journalists, and the mass media. Ethnic studies is particularly affected by people from the new right. Patrick Buchanan, for example, former presidential candidate, called for the scrapping of multicultural education. William Bennett, peripatetic peregrinator, and academic dilettante, also called a historian and a drug czar, has been highly critical of multiculturalism, arguing that we need to return to a core curriculum that emphasizes classic scholarship and western thought. Lynn Cheney was in charge of the National Endowment for the Humanities, and funds for curriculum development dried up during her reign. Diane Ravitch describes ethnic studies as being animated by the spirit of filial piety and fundamentalist notions of racial and ethnic purity. Camille Paglia sees a kind of fascism of the left occurring within ethnic studies. These people are primarily from the new right. They see what we're doing in ethnic studies as some kind of left wing McCarthyism.

However, one of the most far reaching accomplishments of ethnic studies has been our emphasis on the emic or the insider's perspective of people of color and the demand that this perspective be heard through every facet of education. With all due respect to my colleagues in anthropology, they didn't do a very good job of accomplishing that. We've made tremendous progress in that direction in the last 25 to 30 year period; Perhaps it was not their mission.

There are those of us who think that research should be relevant and important to the ethnic communities that we talk about. This is an extremely important contribution that we can make. This is a part of our program that we should maintain. We should ensure that our work is useful in our communities. Traditionally, higher education has not been interested in any kind of applied effects of the works that come out of the academy. Applying our research is what defines us and makes us
It is very important that we hold onto these traditions. We do have some challenges. We need to set standards for departments and programs. We need to have some common definitions regarding standards. Organizations like NAES can be responsible for becoming an accrediting body. We need that kind of leadership. We need that kind of political base. We need that kind of political voice, if we're going to be able to be players with all those other people who are now entering into the whole multicultural debate. We have to be a political force in helping to shape the intellectual discourse that's going on now. NAES can be very useful in that.

We need to strengthen the relevancy of what we do by making our work relevant to the ethnic communities and programs that we represent in our work. We need to capitalize on the policy implications of our work. Given the kind of demographic changes occurring in American society, there is a need for what we in ethnic studies can do to have some impact on policy. We can have an impact. If we produce research that can have some political impact, it then begins to reify what we're all about.

I'm going to leave some time for my colleagues and for you to join in on this discourse.

Thank you.

Rhett Jones

Good, afternoon everyone. I looked at these people and said "why them" and then "why me"? And I think after listening to the first two presentations, I've got that figured out. These people are profound deep-thinking people, and then you have me.

I have a reputation of being--dare I say--simple. I even have empirical evidence of this! Most of you have colleagues to whom you send drafts, manuscripts, and rough stuff for their feedback. They write on it and they send it back to you. I have a good friend, who's also a historian, and we've been doing this with each other for years. A few years ago he wrote to me and said, "You know, Rhett, my wife, who is not an historian, really likes your work. She reads it and she really gets a lot out of it." Finally, one year we were both attending a conference in California and he brought his wife to meet me. She charged up to me and grabbed my hand and said, smiling, "You're Rhett Jones! You're Rhett Jones! I just love your work. It's so simple!"

After years of reflection, I've decided to take that as a compliment. I'm sure that was her intention. This will be simple in the same sense.

I'm not going to talk about issues that have already been covered. I'm not going to talk about the achievements of ethnic studies. The papers and presentations that I've heard at this meeting, and publications, speak for themselves. Further, I'm not going to talk about the link between the community and ethnic studies, though we all know this linkage is
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important.

Some of you know that I've been at Brown since the establishment of the Afro-American studies program which is a de facto department. To the best of my knowledge, we are the only department in the university which requires reappointment, promotion and promotion-to-tenure letters of support from the people of the community, as well as scholarly letters and letters from students. This has been in our bylaws since 1980. We're serious about it. I'd be happy to talk to you about what we do, not for the community but with the community.

Instead of talking about what we have done, I'm going to talk about three challenges that I see for ethnic studies. I've been involved with multidisciplinary studies for more than 20 years. Working with people trained in different disciplines, I thought the basic problem would be vocabulary and terminology. Is an anthropologist's meaning of culture the same thing as literary scholar's? If they mean different things, how can they possibly work together either in research, in teaching or in the community?

As it turns out, that is not a very difficult problem at all. You can decide to use the terminology of the anthropologist. You can decide to use the terminology of the literary scholar. Or, you can make up one that will suit the problem that you are working on together.

The real problem, and I don't see much talk about it in ethnic studies, is what I call the nature of truth. We're all trained in what constitutes truth. We're not supposed to just make a good argument. We're supposed to document it and support it. However, since we are coming from different disciplines, there are different assumptions about the nature of truth. For example, I'm married to a psychologist. What some of those people consider to be truth is very strange stuff!

I went to a conference at the University of Mississippi on black archaeology. It was the first national conference held on African American archaeology. I went because I'm interested in 18th Century history and archaeologists have been doing a lot of work in this field. I went to a session on Jamaica because it was an area of my interest. Everybody there was an archaeologist except me. One archaeologist was showing slides of glassware and commenting on them. All the archaeologists were getting excited and bouncing up and down and elbowing me saying "Look! Look! Look!" I couldn't see anything up there. It was simply glass to me. It dawned on me that I didn't know whether this was profound stuff or surface stuff or stuff in the middle because I didn't have the training to evaluate this evidence. I didn't. I had to rely on the other archaeologists' belief that this was profound stuff.

Another issue we need to consider is the connection between ethnic studies and "traditional departments." As a someone who works in 18th century history, these departments don't seem that traditional to me. Most of these disciplines aren't even 100 years old. Anthropology, sociology,
political science are considered traditions?

Moreover, they try to put us on the defensive by asking "What do we do?" Then their next question is "What are your methods? What are your theoretical assumptions?" I turn it around and ask, "What are yours?" They are no more unified in their theories and methodologies, then are we. I don't know a single discipline that is, but I will say this about anthropologists: at least they get their dirt out front. The newsletter of the American Anthropological Association, carries debates about how anthropologists can't agree on theories and methodologies.

If you want to get into a real fight in the history department you start by asking, "Are linguistic data, oral tradition, and archaeology as valuable as documentary evidence?" This is not an idle question. Asking whether or not oral evidence counts as much as documentary evidence is not an idle question because it hasn't even been 15 years since a lot of people were arguing that black people didn't have a history because they didn't have any written documents. Do you remember that? When they started looking for black documents in the 19th and 20th century, they found a lot of them. So many, in fact, that they don't know what to do with them. They haven't found as many documents written by black people in my period. Does that mean there were no 18th century black people? I think not. These issues we're talking about are worth exploring. We need to stop defining ourselves in terms of "traditional departments."

One last point has to do with what I think our research priority should be. As someone who was chair of a black studies program for 12 years, I have learned that you cannot tell faculty to do anything. It's nice to have people in the community come up and tell me "Why don't you tell your professors...? Well, actually, it would work better if they would talk to some of the professors. You want somebody to get something done? You talk to them. But for me to tell them what to do, that's the kiss of death.

We need to devote more of our resources to studying the relations among people of color and less resources to studying relations between people of color and whites. I'm not saying that we shouldn't continue to study those relationships because even though the demographics are changing for the foreseeable future, white people are still going to control the wealth and the political power in this country. Hence, we need to continue to study whites. By our own history and by our own commitment to our communities, we are well situated and well suited to begin the study of relations among peoples of color.

We've already started this at Brown. We had a conference recently where we addressed "Afrocentrism: Scholars of Color Respond." To my knowledge, this is the first time a panel of non-black scholars of color addressed Afrocentrism. Evelyn Hu-DeHart gave a talk. David Carrasco began his presentation by acknowledging how the efforts of black scholars influenced his scholarship. Russell Thurston, a member of the Cherokee nation, closed by saying, "If Afrocentrism means people talking
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over their own history, then as an Indian, I'm all for it."
I think we need more studies like that.

Evelyn Hu-DeHart

Well, I'm the youngest one here, and I don't mean by age. I am the youngest because I have the least experience in ethnic studies. I owe a lot to every one on this panel. I have cited and quoted every one of them in my own work.

The reason I am the youngest is that is I sneaked into ethnic studies. Actually, several of us probably sneaked into ethnic studies in the sense that we didn't begin our academic, intellectual career in something called ethnic studies which after all is quite new. The history of ethnic studies in fact parallels exactly my history in higher education and professional life in it.

I graduated from Stanford University in 1968 which is the beginning date of ethnic studies. I didn't go into ethnic studies. I went into something called area studies, particularly Latin American and Caribbean studies (the others being African studies and Asian studies). These are also called third world studies. I want to start out with that because I think there is often confusion between area studies and ethnic studies.

This confusion has carried over into a structural problem which we are now facing. Area studies has always been and continues to be organized in interdisciplinary or in multidisciplinary programs. Typically, they do not have faculty of their own. They draw faculty from the various disciplines and on paper they form a committee. Their commonality is their focus on a certain area of the world. This is all that is asked of area studies people.

The problem is that we ethnic studies people allowed ourselves to fall into that trap by thinking that ethnic studies can also be organized that way. And in fact, if you look around the country, most ethnic studies programs are still organized that way. A campus says, "Let's get ethnic studies together." They survey the departments. They ask who among the departments focuses on people of color and on the different ethnic groups which we call ethnic studies. They put these people together and now we have a program in ethnic studies.

There are drawbacks to this approach. None of the faculty have studied in something called ethnic studies. Further, no interdisciplinary work in the true sense of the word takes place under this format. I would be happy to engage any of you in a critique of this model of ethnic studies. However, I must say that this particular model has worked very well in getting ethnic studies into the curriculum. Most ethnic studies are formed under this area studies model with all its problems for ethnic studies.

One way for ethnic studies to be introduced into the curriculum is through other programs such as American studies which is an increas-
ingly common model that is to include or integrate some aspect of ethnic studies into an already existing American studies program. They do this at Brown to some extent.

Another model is to take an existing area studies program and put into it an ethnic studies component so you have such things as Latino and Latin American studies, Asian and Asian American studies, African and African American studies. It is a model of convenience. It works because it is an easy way for administrations to get ethnic studies on the books and into the curriculum.

If we consider all of these ethnic studies, the good news is that there are lots of ethnic studies programs all across the country. By one account, there are over 700 and I think there are many more. I believe that if you open up the catalogue of every college and university in the country, both big and small, from community colleges to big research universities, you will find something called ethnic studies today. Why is that? These are in response to a certain kind of public pressure. These are in response to the drive for diversity and multiculturalism, whatever those terms mean. We are so eager to get into the curriculum that we will take it every way we can no matter how it's handed to us. In the past, this approach might have been good and necessary. Yet, it is not good enough. We'd better watch out. We are facing some very serious problems.

Another issue in ethnic studies is both positive and negative. One reason why ethnic studies has received the kind of attention it has from administrators and why there are so many ethnic studies programs is the pressure for the administration to diversify the faculty. Administrators have learned that traditional disciplines simply aren't motivated to diversify their faculty. In response, they create ethnic studies programs to entice departments with additional positions, if they will hire someone that will do ethnic studies. Therefore, the new faculty member contributes from their department to an ethnic studies program. This indeed has worked well. But, we are reaping the problems of that convenience that we readily acceded to. There is an increasing confusion between ethnic studies as a discipline and as a field of study and affirmative action. This is a problem that we need to think about.

What happens is that a university says, "Well, we have enough ethnic studies people in place. We've done our affirmative action part." There are other variations of this thinking that we need to guard against because this mentality allows this confusion to continue. Note that, we acquiesced to it because we knew that was one way for us to get ourselves in the door. If that's the reason why administrators wanted ethnic studies, then we weren't going to quarrel with them. Now that we're in the door we are facing this colossal problem of administrators confusing us, in ethnic studies, with affirmative action.

There is another component to consider. Ethnic studies was born not only out of community demands but out of student pressure. John
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Stanfield, the great African American sociologist, coins this term I just love. He calls ethnic studies, "fire insurance programs" because the administrators are so afraid of having more buildings burning that they gave us what we wanted back then in the 60s. But that continues to this day. In the summer of 1993, at UCLA, the Chicano students went on a lengthy and painful hunger strike in order to get a Chicano studies program. Can you imagine? UCLA does not have a viable undergraduate Chicano studies curriculum. Those students had to do something very drastic reminiscent of the 60s and early 70s.

Also currently, we know that the resurgence of ethnic studies is due in large part to the changing and growing demographics of people of color. This is another force driving ethnic studies, creating the responsiveness of administrators to ethnic studies. Yet, here, another problem arises. We know that our origins have a lot to do with student demands and changing demographics. However, because of that and because of our commitment to students and community, but especially to the student issue, ethnic studies continues to be confused with student services.

Here we are, a group of ethnic studies faculty, and we have a center, and by the way Rhett's center and my center have almost exactly the same name, that's entirely a coincidence. When I first went to Colorado, our center, which is an entirely academic program, was listed as student services in the university bulletins. I had to ask the student services people to take it out. Not that we're not committed to students--all of us do that--but if they continue to view us as student services, they would never give us the respect and legitimacy that we ask for and need. I'm beginning to believe that this confusion is deliberate rather than accidental.

There are severe and growing tensions between ethnic studies, women's studies and cultural studies. It's one of the questions that Jesse put in the list that he sent to us for this panel discussion. Because of our politics and our history, we want to think of women's studies as part of the same movement as ethnic studies. I just don't think it's true. It's a disservice to continue to conflate women's studies and ethnic studies in the same breath because they are currently very different entities. Complicating this is the growing tension between women's studies and ethnic studies. If you look across the country, if you look at the national status of women's studies and if you look at the place of women of color within women's studies, then you know what I mean. I think that is something worth looking at and examining instead of just following tradition by just saying women's studies and ethnic studies are all in the same bag.

I'll give you one way of looking at it. The progress of women faculty all across the campus, and I mean white women faculty, is significantly higher than faculty of color. Universities do not want to acknowledge this or separate the statistics because they prefer to lump us all together to
show that they have made progress in hiring underrepresented faculty and promoting diversity. Our diversity requirements at Boulder are very problematic because it is either gender or racial/ethnic diversity. Students aren't sure what is being asked of them in this diversity requirement. We are unsuccessful in asking the university and curriculum committee to separate the two.

Furthermore, ethnic studies has been deliberately confused with non-western studies, international studies, and global studies. Let's think about the implications of that. Anything that's not white, elite or mainstream, becomes everything else. We're the catch-all along with everybody else who is outside this narrow definition. This kind of confusion does a disservice to ethnic studies. It allows people like Dinesh D'Souza to propose that there is a correct kind of multiculturalism and it is not ethnic studies. He tells that the high cultures of India, China, and Japan are the kind of "multiculturalism" that should be in the curriculum, not what we do in ethnic studies. We need to insist that we are not like non-western studies.

Finally, I want to mention one other confusion for you to think about. We need to distinguish ethnic studies as an academic discipline based on research and teaching from what is often called multicultural studies particularly in the schools of education. This is not to diminish at all what they do in the schools of education under the rubric of multicultural education, but to insist that what we do is separate and different. If we don't do that, ethnic studies scholars like myself, will continue to be asked, as is the case by my children's teachers in elementary school and secondary school, to come in and do multicultural training or other aspects of what they call at that level, multicultural education. This confusion is due to lumping together what we do in academic ethnic studies and multicultural education.

Ultimately, I think we need to heed everything that has been said this afternoon. Everyone has spoken about some really hard-hitting truths. If we are going to last and survive into the 21st century, we need to stop and think about what we are doing instead of going willy nilly into the future being grateful for everything that comes our way, without thinking about what we are being asked to do and how it is we are fitting into this framework of American higher education and the power structure of the American academy. We shouldn't have to be grateful any more for everything they throw in our paths. We should insist on defining what it is that we are, what it is that we need, and to refuse certain kinds of cooperation when they are not what we say we are all about.

Thank you.

Jesse Vázquez

Our panelists today have ably addressed issues of multicultural
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education, cultural studies, and conflicts of these areas with ethnic studies. They have discussed the question of autonomy and the structure of ethnic studies programs. They have addressed those issues which directly shape our relationships with the community, the origins of ethnic studies and their relationship to communities. They have asked, "Where is ethnic studies research taking us?" Additionally, the question of recruitment, tenure and promotion has been raised. Finally, they addressed the question of autonomy which takes us back to the founding principles of ethnic studies. I would now like to open the floor for discussion.

Q: If you could do anything you wanted to do, what would you do with ethnic studies?

A: Hu-DeHart: I would like to have a department. Currently, we have 10 faculty members but we don't have department autonomy. This is blocking our progress. We should discuss why the University of Colorado at Boulder put so many resources in building something in ethnic studies and is now stopping us dead in our tracks when we have gotten so popular and prominent in five years. The politics behind this is interesting to know. My wish is to have autonomy.

Perry: With regard to having that kind of organizational input, that kind of autonomy, I've been elected chair of the arts and sciences council. That is where you can get involved with the politics of your own survival. The politics of promoting ethnic studies requires that you become more politically astute in academe, more expert on how the bureaucracy works, and on being able to manipulate that bureaucracy. If you're not playing in that area, then you are vulnerable.

Jones: Can I just add something to that? I agree with what you both said. Departments are important. However, each institution is somewhat different and just to follow up, when I got to Brown, I thought that the Table of Organization said something about how the place was run. Dumb! Wrong! And as Bob says, it takes a while to figure out where the power really is. In the Table of Organization, for example, it might appear that a particular Dean has a whole lot of power. He has his budget and his slush fund, yet, all the power is really in the Provost's office. You have to learn how the institution works.

Second, generally I agree that departments make sense but you have to know what works at your institution. Departments might be key at your institution, but I've been at schools where departments are just paper. They don't have any real power. Power is at the Dean of the College's level or somewhere else. The bottom line is you have to know where the power is. You have to know how the place works. Then exploit that.

Vázquez: I guess I would also say in response that that reflects back to what Hu-DeHart said. You really have to know what ethnic studies is
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on your campus. What do you want it to be? Then you need to understand the structure of that university--its politics and governance structure. At some universities and colleges, it may make real sense to have a center--a research center--and not get involved with curriculum: At others, the departmental route may be the way to go. I’ve talked about it in terms of looking at multiple strategies for infusing ethnic studies the way you define it onto your campuses. You must define what you want ethnic studies to be. Then you must decide what is the best way to accomplish that on your campus. Is it by having a department? Is it by having a research center? Is it by having an institute? Is it by having an area studies type of program? How can you best create what you need? What do the students want, and how can we move the administration and others to add the kind of resources we need?

Q: I was wondering what are the sentiments of the panel on what an ethnic studies association can do on a legal level to stop harassment of an ethnic studies department or program by a university administration?

A: Perry: I think the National Association will, at some point, become involved in establishing or helping to establish guidelines, procedures and policies for ethnic studies departments, centers, and programs. These policies will define what we are all about, what our values are. We will eventually have a structure so we can actually mediate disputes that happen in ethnic studies across the country. We need a very strong national association for ethnic studies. This group needs to get to the point where we can give some help to you. I'd like to say this, when you pick a fight like that, you should know that you're going to win. You really need to know that you can win. Otherwise what can happen could be disastrous. I'm hoping that the homework that you did means that you know you're going to win this fight because you have the right to fight back.

Hu-DeHart: I want to interject some realism into this. It may be nice to think that an Association like NAES could do something like that. But the fact of the matter is, NAES has developed separately from other ethnic specific associations and continues to do so. There is the National Council of Black Studies, the National Association of Chicano Studies, the somewhat defunct Native American Studies Association, the Asian American Studies Association, the Puerto Rican Studies Association, the Caribbean Studies Association and so on. We have a plethora of ethnic specific associations in addition to NAES. All of us can only relate professionally to only one or two of those. I'm a little bit concerned that NAES may not yet be seen as an umbrella organization. In a way, that's not bad because ethnic studies is extremely diverse. I don't know how we would go about establishing accreditation guidelines and whether people would accede to that at this moment. But maybe that's the direction we need to think about if that's what we think we are: a discipline or a field.
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I don’t see that myself in the near future. Alternatively, I see the growth in the ethnic focused associations.

Q: All of you represent institutes, programs, centers that are in fact ethnic studies. Would you comment on the continuing development of ethnic specific programs?

A: Perry: I somewhat agree and disagree with Hu-DeHart. I think that NAES can be an umbrella organization that's speaks to the hundreds of ethnic studies programs that exist throughout the country. I belong to National Council of Black Studies. A colleague of mine belongs to National Association of Chicano Studies. But still we are together in an ethnic studies entity.

In my own case, we're talking about reconfiguration. The politics of that is people are going to come in and look at the strength and weaknesses of programs, not just ethnic studies but throughout the entire college. For example, I'm now the chair of the arts and sciences council. I am going to be a part of deciding how evaluation is going to be done within our college. It would be very useful for us in ethnic studies to have people from the National Association of Ethnic Studies come in to help with evaluating ethnic studies departments. I would be more comfortable with some of you folks coming in and looking at our program. This kind of organization can provide this role and it should. To some extent, we could get cooperation from the other ethnic specific organizations. We should try and enlist at least the heads of those programs to be involved in NAES in order to gain some additional political clout. If we’re going to be able to affect national and local policy, we need a strong organization. If organizations can come together, and participate together and yet maintain their own autonomy, we become a far more viable political force to contend with.

Vázquez: These issues are real. I see NAES as an umbrella organization. It's problematic when you talk about developing accreditation. It's not insurmountable; it's problematic. NAES needs to show even more support and encourage more scholarship in the area. We need to drastically increase communication between and among the various ethnic specific associations. We're trying to do that in NAES. We've developed a couple of plenaries in the past couple of years that have brought representatives together. Not only do we need to continue to do that, so we can talk about similar challenges that we face as well as and challenges that are different, but we also need to encourage other associations, (NCBS, Puerto Rican Studies, AAS) to continue that dialogue among themselves. We don't talk enough with each other, yet we face some of the same issues: the problem of legitimacy on campuses, promotion and tenure, and much more. We need to increase communication so that we can better link up with those associations. Fact is that many of our NAES members are also members of these organiza-
Hu-DeHart: But, we do need to be cognizant of the politics that continues to be behind ethnic studies. For example, when the Chicano students at UCLA went on a hunger strike, they would only settle for Chicano studies. There were people on the UCLA faculty who were trying to use the opportunity to develop a more comparative and cross cultural and multidisciplinary ethnic studies undergraduate department or program. Politically it just wouldn't go. Scholars and academics and even people linked to the community may know what should be in place. However, what the students and other people want may be different.

Additionally, let's speak the truth and put things on the table. African American studies is probably the oldest and longest established, and on those campuses where African American studies is well established with faculty and autonomy, even if the faculty knows otherwise, they are not genuinely ready to share that space with a broadly conceived ethnic studies unit. I have visited several campuses where there is growing tension among various groups of students of color. Asian American students--ironically the fastest growing group on campuses across this country--find that they have no academic presence in the curriculum. They look at black students on the campus, often a smaller, shrinking group and they see that African American studies is the largest ethnic studies type of program on campus. From the Asian American student point of view, they think they are disenfranchised in the curriculum. They go to the well-established African American studies program, and ask, "How about letting us in?" And, they find the door slammed in their face.

They continue to face this type of politics on campuses. We may all have a clear vision of ethnic studies that we can all agree on in principle but we have to deal with politics. The reason Boulder succeeded in having a center which retains four ethnic groups within an umbrella is that we didn't have a strong program in any of these four fields in place. So that it wasn't that hard to forge a different model of ethnic studies. But on campuses that I have visited, where you have one strong program or you have one strong demographic group, it just doesn't seem as easily achievable.

Jones: I don't think that scholarship and politics can be so neatly divided into those two categories. First of all, I think our students are not so much persuaded by what we say but by what we do, at least at Brown. They watch what we do as scholars of color. Do we support one another? Do we do joint scholarship? Do we turn up in one another's classes? Are we in one another's communities? When the Latinos tried to get a voters drive going, were there black studies professors there? Yes there were. That's what they look at and that's why we haven't had the problems at Brown. It goes back to the kind of scholarship that you do as well as the actions of the political establishment. I know about some of the incidents you talk about. There is a certain responsibility put upon black studies
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people because we were there first, and most of us feel it.

Hu-DeHart: But it's a divide and conquer mechanism...

Jones: Most of us feel it. Also, you've got to do your scholarship, you've got to publish, you want to teach your students yet you have this whole other set of responsibilities. We need to do more interdisciplinary work on relationships among communities of color. Our students need to see us doing it, and it needs to turn up in our courses and in our publications. That’s what needs to happen. But as for politics, as an old Chicagoan, I know that politics never takes care of itself. We have to take care of politics.

Q: Can we recruit students into ethnic studies and can they find jobs?

A: Perry: That's a primary myth that people in ethnic studies have. Can historians get jobs with B.A.s? Can sociologists get jobs with B.A.s? Can anthropologists get jobs with B.A.s? It's a question I think that people often ask. I've tracked people that we've graduated with ethnic studies B.A.s. They are more apt to get a job than those with B.A.s in history.

Hu-DeHart: I agree at the B.A. level, a B.A. in ethnic studies is as good a liberal arts degree as any. Most liberal arts degrees don't point you to a career. It's not like getting a business degree or accounting degree. Right? If you have a Ph.D. in ethnic studies, you are far more likely to get a job than if you have one in American history. That's the irony. There are more jobs than there are takers. But because most of us are not autonomous, we don't have enough graduate programs. We're not training people fast enough to meet the demand for people trained with ethnic studies to go out into the teaching force.

Q: Then I should give you my CV.

A: Hu-DeHart: What's your degree in?

Q: Comparative cultures which is American and ethnic studies.

A: Hu-DeHart: You might think so, but it may not meet other people's definition of ethnic studies. There are only two Ph.D. programs run by ethnic studies programs. Temple University's very Afrocentric African American studies Ph.D. and the Berkeley Ph.D., and that's it. If people look specifically not for comparative cultures, not for culture studies, but for ethnic studies with its very clear definition, there is only one place and they can't produce them fast enough.

Q: People on committees who are doing hiring in departments pay more attention to the name of the degree than to the curriculum?
A: Hu-DeHart: Well, if you're hiring a historian, aren't you going to look for a person with a degree in history first before you look for a Ph.D. in something else?

Jones: I think that's part of the issue that Miguel discussed. Usually--and this gets back to the whole question of autonomy--an ethnic studies unit has a certain kind of person in mind and they may say: "We want someone who does Chicano history or we want someone who does Native American art, or whatever." That's really the kind of person they had in mind and that means that person could have been trained anywhere in a "traditional" department or in something else. But they generally do have something specific in mind.

Hu-DeHart: That's really important to keep in mind, Rhett. If we hire in our ethnic studies center, if we want somebody trained in African American literature, we are looking for someone completely different than what the English department is looking for when they are looking for someone in African American literature. We may still call it the same thing but let me tell you, we are looking for very different people.

Vázquez: And that goes back to the founding principles of ethnic studies which departs radically from the principles and the practices of "traditional" departments. You have very different assumptions of what folks can and cannot do, and you have different kinds of operating guidelines.

Carranza: We just had a search that ended unsuccessfully. It was a joint appointment in Latino studies and psychology. Each had very different ideas about the person that would fill their part of that joint appointment and it so ended unsuccessfully. The psychology people agreed on the best candidate and Latino studies agreed on the best candidate and they turned out to be two different people. They weren't going to hire two different people so the search went down the tubes.

Jones: Can I speak to that? We have joint appointments at Brown. We've been at it a long time. We sort of learned the hard way that the time to negotiate the kind of person you want for a joint appointment is up front, before you even advertise. That might mean a lot of meetings. But, if you can't do it up front, you just don't do it. The other thing that we have at Brown is joint appointments in which Afro-American studies controls the slots. Once we make up our minds that we want someone say, for example, in modern popular culture, then we can go to American civilization--that's what we call American studies at Brown--and tell them, This is the kind of person we would like. Is this somebody you'd be happy with?" And they might say, "Yeah, but we'd like this, this, this and this." And we might spend the better part of an academic year working out an agreement. Then we do the search. The person is appointed and he/she holds a joint appointment in American civilization and Afro-American studies so long as they are at Brown.

Hu-DeHart: Who does the tenuring decision-making?
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Jones: Both, because it's a joint appointment. But that comes down to defining what you want up front and spelling all the rules out. Now if that person leaves the university, then the position reverts back to African-American studies. We could make another appointment with American civilization or with another department.

Carranza: Where's the tenure line?

Jones: The tenure is in both.

Q: What if the units don't agree on the reappointment or tenuring?

A: Jones: That shouldn't happen if you do your work right. We learned this the hard way. You have to do it step by step. We have had divided recommendations for appointments and in that case the person doesn't get appointed. That doesn't happen now as often as in the past.

Carranza: I just want to respond real quick to Rhett. I have an illustration that I could share. In this instance, there was considerable discussion ahead of time. It was during the time when I was the administrator in the dean's office. We felt that there was an agreement as to the kind of person that we wanted until the candidates came in. Then Latino studies said, "Here's this one we really like" and psychology said, "Here's this one we really like," and they were two different people. One other thing: at our university, tenure now resides only in one unit so that your tenure home is clear. I'm on the books as having a continuous appointment in both sociology and in ethnic studies (6-tenths in sociology and 4-tenths in ethnic studies). If they did away with ethnic studies, I guess I would be left with just 6-tenths in sociology. That might be an issue. They've now changed that. The university has said that you can only have a continuous appointment in one unit. Here's where the control of the position is very important. In this case, psychology was going to be the tenure home, the continuous appointment would be in psychology with a special appointment in Latino studies.

Perry: We have three joint appointments with five full appointments in ethnic studies. We have two with women's studies and one with sociology. For us, 60 percent of each appointment is in ethnic studies and it's negotiated up front. The other units only have input into the decision. They really don't even have a vote to block tenure or promotion. That's the kind of power you have to negotiate up front. You need that kind of protection in order to protect the survival of the candidate.

Q: I understand that a very large part of education is not just learning facts. It is a fact that students were participating in that aspect of education which led to the development of ethnic studies, but I would not have survived without ethnic studies. As I have been in the university I have discovered something that is quite frightening. According to the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, 89 percent of the faculty in higher education is whitenon-Hispanic. Ethnic studies is used as a unit for hiring people of
color. If the university must hire an "ethnic" they dump them in the ethnic studies department. They are not hiring blacks or Hispanics in traditional departments. They put you in another section where you are ignored as a less legitimate scholar. As a result, our scholarship is treated as more esoteric, meaningful.

A: Jones: Let me respond to the last part first. Esoteric and meaningless scholarship is found in traditional fields and in ethnic studies. I'm one of those people, as Evelyn said, who was old enough to start out before there was such a thing as ethnic studies. I had a full-time tenure track appointment in the department of history when tenure lines were created in Afro-American studies. I said, "There is no way that I'm going to sit over here in this history department when they are building something that's crucial to my people as a whole right across the street." I went to a dean and said, "I want a joint appointment." He said, "Well, what are we going to do with your slot in history?" I said, "That's your problem because I want it." You see, I don't think ethnic studies is illegitimate. I don't think that by being in an ethnic studies unit I'm losing anything. I certainly don't think the scholarship is esoteric. I think it's very relevant to the needs of our country.

Hu-DeHart: If you don't believe that about your own work in ethnic studies, then you don't fall into that line of thinking. That's what other people are saying about us and if we internalize it, then yes, we have fallen victim to that. But I want to say that we need to separate ethnic studies as a discipline and a field from affirmative action. Just because you're Asian American, African American or Latino, doesn't mean that all you do is ethnic studies. We do all kinds of things and we shouldn't just confine ourselves to ethnic studies. Similarly, there are non-people-of-color who are moving very energetically into ethnic studies. I hope that we will be able to open our doors more widely to people, based on their commitment and their work and not on their racial identity. We need to make that distinction. We just don't go hire any person of color off the street and think that person is eligible to do ethnic studies. We need to look just as closely as any other group of scholars at a person's credentials, commitment and values before we hire. We have white scholars in our unit.

Q.: The university remains 89.5 percent white, non-Hispanic. We have not fully integrated. . .

    Perry: That's not our job. . .
    Both: That's their problem. . .
    Perry: It's not ethnic studies' job to do that.
    Carranza: We should not let them equate ethnic studies with affirmative action.
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Hu-DeHart: That's right.

Carranza: We're going to hire five racial minority faculty and put them in ethnic studies and there's our affirmative action? No! Affirmative action is on multiple levels and that means that you can hire an African American chemist who does chemistry and not necessarily African American chemistry. That's the reality of it.

Hu-DeHart: Let's give an example. Shelby Steele is in the English department at San Jose State University and wouldn't feel comfortable at all in African American studies and vice versa and that's fine. It's great that we have this kind of diversity.

Carranza: Here's another example of the mentality and the identity question that's placed on minority scholars. You get an African American student in chemistry and his advisor says, "Do you want to be black or do you want to be a chemist?" He's telling this to a graduate student. This is the kind of mentality that you face and it comes out in terms of affirmative action as well. You hire these people and then you put them off into these programs.

I see ethnic studies as on a mission to the core, the academic core of universities and institutions. To do that, we have to recognize that we can become part of that core. We won't just resemble the core as it was before we got there, we will actually change the environment of the core. Ethnic studies should produce a change in the university.

Vázquez: Part of the original mission of ethnic studies was to be a transformative force in the university. On that note, I would like to bring this Plenary session to a close, and express our thanks and appreciation for this informative panel and to you in the audience for your attendance and participation. I am sure we all have much more to think about now. Thank you, all.

Editor's Note: A bibliography containing selected works published by these individuals on the subject of ethnic studies and ethnic studies programs is included here for readers' convenience.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY


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Jesse M. Vázquez, “Ethnic Studies Programs are in Danger of Being Lost in the Current Rush to ‘Universalize’ the Curriculum; Point of View,” *Chronicle of Higher Education* 16 (November 1988).


Beginning with a poetic title, Blue Dreams, the authors recount in depth as to how the Blue Dreams of the Korean American merchants in the East Los Angeles had shattered in the midst of 1992 riot that turned out to be “elusive dreams” in America (Blue symbolizes color of heaven, sky, and hope for Koreans).

The book not only portrays the Los Angeles riot surrounding the Korean merchants but also characterizes diaspora of the Koreans in America. The authors have also examined with scholarly insights the more complex socio-economic and political underplay the Koreans encountered in their “Promised New Land”: motives for emigration, class distinction, ethnic solidarity, micro-economic entrepreneurship, occupational downward syndrome, etc.

In the context as outlined in the foregoing, the authors engage themselves in comprehensive interviews and conversations with the victims, counselors, and social workers in order to obtain vast arrays of undistorted information, some of which have not been reported in the media. Moreover, the authors poignantly point out that the ongoing conflicts between the Korean Americans and the African Americans had not been newly rooted in the Los Angeles riot in 1992 but sprung up from the white resentment of the Blacks in America and was magnified by Korean’s discrimination against them which they had acquired in Korea prior to coming to the United States.

The authors have also observed insightfully that Korean Americans not only reveal discriminatory and provincial attitudes against other ethnic minorities in the United States, but also among the Koreans themselves based on their socio-economic status and the regional origins in their native land.

There have been numerous newspaper and journal articles on the Los Angeles riots. To this reviewer, however, this is the first book in America which has accounted for the many unspoken circumstances and issues surrounding the riots.

The language and the style of writing in the book are profoundly scholarly. Some readers, however, may find the two chapters “Diaspora Formation: Modernity and Mobility” and “American Ideologies on Trial” to be unnecessary for inclusion in the book, presupposing the main focus of the book to be on Korean Americans and the Los Angeles Riots as such. Some readers may also find the “Conclusion” in the book to be somewhat lengthy with reiterations of some of the theories and issues previously argued. It may be more powerful if the authors had recapitulated the salient points they intended to emphasize.
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Undoubtedly, the authors put together the book with enormous perception of and empathy toward the *Blue Dreamers* and the realities which transformed into "Elusive American Dreams." As K.W. Lee, a noted Korean journalist and the Freedom Forum awardee of 1994 put it, "*Blue Dreams* is a welcome exploration by outsiders into the vexing and largely invisible Korean American predicament in Los Angeles and the nation."

Eugene C. Kim  
California State University, Sacramento

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**Sherman Alexie. The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven.**  

A member of the Spokane tribe, Alexie writes the heart of a community that is joined through hardship, hope, land, and story. On and off the reservation, from the storytelling of Thomas Builds-the-Fire to Norma's fancydancing, a drumbeat of home follows everyone.

Alexie deals with what many Indian people in cities and on reservations across America experience everyday—pow-wows and all-Indian basketball games that are just as real as alcohol and other common tragedies like car accidents and the U.S. government's broken promises. With his poet's eye for vivid detail, Alexie pulls readers into the text, making us experience reservation life and, especially through his exceptional characterizations and poignant humor, inviting us to make an emotional investment in this community. The reader becomes both participant and observer via the different stories' first-person and third-person points of view. Also, throughout the book, reader and reappearing characters keep crossing each other's paths, as if the reader were a part of the community and thus fated to receive these fragments of community members' lives.

The reader identifies with the characters' ordinary situations, but we go deeper than identification when the ordinary becomes extraordinary, as it often does in this magical collection. "The ordinary," one of Alexie's narrators says, "can be like medicine." In the chapter for which Alexie takes an epigraph from Kafka's *The Trial*, we experience the eerie truth of the wonderful lies of storyteller Thomas Builds-the-Fire. Placed on the witness stand, Thomas confesses to the 1858 killing of two U.S. soldiers; he confesses to history. Thomas holds himself responsible
because as an embodiment of his people, he embodies the people's stories. He has inherited his ancestors' actions, just as whites have, though the white people in what the judge heatedly calls the "fucking court[room]" don't comprehend this.

In Alexie's vision of Spokane life, "it is always now. That's what Indian time is." Alexie writes of the past, present, and future—not a linear telling, but backwards and forwards and in the simultaneous present all at once, like remembering, a putting back together. The reader is encouraged to think about the past, owning instead of denying it. Because the history of white-Indian suffering is still festering, through Thomas's ludicrous, yet historically and temporally transforming confession, the reader (Spokane and non-Spokane) can realize and be absolved of the guilt of never-ending stories of ordinary horror, thus affording the extraordinary opportunity to heal the past, restoring to the descendants of all the sufferers the human ability too "smile [and] laugh again" and thereby make room for joy, new life, the future.

For the non-Native, this collection of short stories is a look at reservation life, a storyteller's gift to foster understanding. For American Indians, the book is a window into the life of another tribal community. For the Spokane, Alexie's vision is a reminder to everyone, even themselves, that the Spokane exist, living the reservation commonplace of tragedy and survival, but through the visionary power of the "tribal imagination."

Hershman John and Elizabeth McNeil
Arizona State University


Opening the volume is a brief introduction by Elizabeth Ammons in which she discusses the major premise around which this book is organized—namely, that “tricksterism” is a phenomenon in turn-of-the-century literature that, through tricks in authorship and narrative intention, disrupts the "master narrative" of the dominant racist Anglo culture. The articles concern works from a range of cultural backgrounds: Chinese American, Mexican American, Native American, European American, and African American. Each article includes endnotes and a list of works cited. The volume also offers contributors' notes and an index.

Two of the articles are less successful than the others. The connections between Frank Norris’s McTeague character and the Coyote trickster are unconvincing in Eric Anderson’s "Manifest Dentistry, or Teaching Oral Narrative in McTeagues and Old Man Coyote." Tiffany Ana
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Lopez’s “Maria Cristina Mena: Turn-of-the-Century La Malinche, and Other Tales of Cultural (Re)Construction” is a well-intentioned piece that, unfortunately, does not meet the more professional standard set by the best of the essays in the collection.

The only article by Ammons is her very short introduction. Annette White-Parks, the co-editor, does not include an introduction of her own. Besides inadequate editing apparent in some of the articles, like Lopez’s, the copyediting is clumsy throughout. For instance, Paul Radin’s name is spelled “Rodin” in White-Parker’s article. Radin’s early work on the trickster is probably the most well-known in the field. Other copyediting problems include inconsistently presented or omitted information in works cited segments.

In her introduction, Ammons cites disappointingly few works of trickster archetype/trickster discourse scholarship, as is true for the rest of the writers in the anthology. Jeanne Smith’s “‘A Second Tongue’: The Trickster’s Voice in the Works of Zitkala-Sa”—an interesting and well-written article—exemplifies the volume’s limited theoretical framework. Though citing a number of primary and secondary texts on Lakota (Sioux) myth and several of the few critical works available on Zitkala-Sa (who was Dakota, not Lakota, as Smith states), as far as trickster theory, Smith mentions only two significant works—and one of these, which is cited in most of the essays in the volume, is on the African American, rather than Native American, trickster.

Even though tricksterism focuses more on trickster authorship than on the function of trickster or trickster discourse, to use the term “trickster” in any scholarly regard seems to warrant a more in-depth awareness of theory on the archetype and on trickster discourse from oral through contemporary written literature. Though the articles do not do justice to the range of available trickster scholarship, nearly all offer valuable insights into the lives and works of particular authors, some of whom have been understudied to date.

Elizabeth McNeil
Arizona State University


People who are regarded as minorities by their dominant peers are pressured to establish their identity as citizens of a nation and as individuals of a distinct culture. Their identity may be articulated differently governed by such factors as language, race, gender, political and economical status, and so on. All of the fifteen essays collected in this
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book are purported to address various material conditions of discourse revolving around nation and ethnicity with special focus on linguistic conditions in the United States, the Caribbean, Europe, and Asia. These essays roughly fall into two categories according to their focus either on the styles or the content of the discourse in literature, translations, and heteroglossia. The quality of these essays is not uniform. Some are mere exercises in rhetoric with little substance, while some others have too narrow a scope or the points of argument are not clear. As a whole, this book will serve best for those who are interested in theoretical orientations or ethnic writers who are drawn to such figures as Mikhail Bakhtin and Jacques Derrida.

The first three essays deal with the phenomenon of linguistic hybridization which occurs in response to the conflict between nation and ‘ethnos’. In Arteaga’s An Other Tongue quadralingual Chicano poetry written in Spanish, English, Nahuatl, and Chicano is discussed. Tejasnini Niranjana, in Colonialism and the Politics of Translation is concerned with Puritanization and Protestantism in English translations of native verses from Kannada, a South Indian language. Linguistic hybridization in Irish nationalist desire for a single tongue in his Adulteration and the Nation: Monologic Nationalism and the Colonial Hybrid.

Eugene Eoyang in his Seeing with Another I: Our Search for Other Worlds ‘brings up relationships between selves and others from the intercultural perspective. The ‘others’ happen to be Chicanos for Jean-Luc Nancy who conjectures that being Chicano means to be mestizaje without identity. Norma Alarcon opposes Jean-Luc’s notion of mestizaje from the postmodernist and feminist viewpoint, arguing for the complex possibilities of ‘identity-in-difference’ in her Conjugating Subjects: The Heteroglossia of Essence and Resistance. Gerald Visenor’s Ruins of Representation is practically a native American writer’s version of Derrida’s essays on ‘difference’. The notion ‘difference’ is applied to distinguish female Caribbean writers in close connection to their ‘rhetoric of obliquity’ according to Michael Cooke in his essay of the same title. Cordelia Chavez Candelaria in her Difference and Discourse of “Community” in writings by and about the Ethnic Other(s) dismisses a common myth of undifferentiated communal harmony among ethnic minorities.

The last five essays are concerned with multi-lingualism in different cultural and political circumstances. Tzvetan Todorov, a Bulgarian exile in France, explains that his bilingual- and biculturaldo not function across linguistic ‘spheres’ in his Dialogism and Schizophrenia. Ada Savin makes a sharp distinction between bilingualism by choice and by colonial force. Whereas Savin sees that linguistic and cultural hybridization in Cervantes’ poetry have a decentralizing effect on the unifying tendency in language in Bilingualism and Dialogism: Another Reading of Lorna Dee Cervantes’s Poetry, Bruce-Novoa considers that the dialogic tactics of Chicano authors is a necessary step toward
monologic nationalism for the rise of diverse Chicano communities in his *Dialogic Strategies, Monological Goals: Chicano Literature*. The use of bilingualism in nineteenth century Chicano poetry ridicules linguistic and social acculturation by replacing Spanish with English according to Luis Torres in *Bilingualism as Satire in Nineteenth-Century Chicano Poetry*. In *Nacer en Espanol*, Edmundo Desnoes rounds up discussions on bilingualism with a pessimistic note that the clash between Spanish and English since the time of Arameda will never end. Such diverse viewpoints on the interesting subject of heteroglossia as are presented are thought provoking, but is it intentional or accidental that no reference is made to active research and massive findings about bi- or inter-lingualism in a range of academic disciplines?

Kumiko Takahara
University of Colorado


An anthropological linguist specializing in the language and texts of the Karuk people of northwestern California, and editor of the bilingual collection *Coyote Stories* (1978), William Bright has made his latest volume of "Coyoteana" and "Coyoterotica" accessible to anyone interested in the Coyote Trickster. Bright has lived a long time with Coyote stories and in *A Coyote Reader* approaches his subject with care and respect. The volume includes references and an index.

Though Bright uses a few twenty-dollar words and fails to translate a couple of European-language phrases, in eighteen short chapters he engagingly discusses the mythic Coyote. With each section focusing on a different aspect of Coyote's behavior, "Coyote the Lecher" and "Coyote the Survivor" are, as one familiar with Trickster literature would predict, twice as long as other sections.

As Bright explains, his intention is to present both "ethnopoetic" translations of "traditional" coyote stories and the works of contemporary "coyote-poets." Offering Meso-American and western U.S. coyote texts, included are Bright's translations of a number of Karuk Coyote stories and adaptations of other tribal oral texts that had been previously translated by anthropologists. Peter Blue Cloud, Leslie Silko, Simon Ortiz, and Wendy Rose are among the contemporary Native American poets represented, while nontribal writers include Mark Twain, Gary Snyder, Dell Hymes, and Jarold Ramsey.

Bright briefly introduces each piece, contextualizing the work geographically, multiculturally, in literary history, and in terms of possible
ties between mythic Coyote attributes and Coyote behavior explained by zoological research. Because throughout the book he attempts to interweave the reader's understanding of each of Coyote's traits, some of Bright's critical discussions becomes redundant. The repetitive structure would work extremely well, however, for undergraduate students studying trickster literature or literature of the American West.

If instructors do adopt this text, they should be sensitive to a couple of small problems with wording. In the "Coyote the Survivor" section, for instance, a long excerpt from Snyder's *The Old Ways* (1977) reads in part, "So, why do modern writers and some young people today look to Native American lore?... [T]here is something to be learned from the Native American people about where we are." Even though Snyder goes on to make an excellent point about white Americans' becoming more sensitive "to the spirit of place" rather than imposing values of European landscape onto this continent, the "we" above is exclusive and could marginalize non-Anglo students. Another problem of exclusivity is one that Bright addresses in "A Note about Terminology," saying that though he is stuck with gender bias in quotations, he will not use the exclusive term "Man(kind)" in the segments of text that he has written—yet he does use "man" several times.

*A Coyote Reader* is challenging, in that Bright introduces the reader to scholarly theory about this paradoxical mythic figure. Yet the volume's real charm lies in its wonderful range of Coyote lore, not omitting the scatological and never, as Bright explains early anthropologists were wont to do, translating those parts into Latin.

Elizabeth McNeil
Arizona State University


In this superb work which is the first full-scale biography of a man who played a major role in the drama that is African American history, Dickson D. Bruce, Jr. emerges as both a master of archival detective work and story-telling. This professor of history at the University of California at Irvine depicts lucidly why Grimké, though not of the stature of Booker T. Washington or W.E.B. DuBois, "was a major figure of his time" and that "his thought and actions were considered of great significance by his contemporaries." "His life," Bruce sums up quite aptly, "was a testimony to his efforts to confront both the demands and limitations posed by the racist world in which he had to live".

This excellent biography can be divided into three parts. The first section details Grimké's life as a slave and later as a freedman. Although he was the son of a slaveholder of a prominent South Carolina family who
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died during the younger Grimké’s early years, it was his illiterate slave
mother who provided the sustenance and guidance for him and his
brothers. After the war, he, along with his brother Francis, attended
Lincoln University (Pennsylvania); and later with the assistance of his
abolitionist aunts, Angeline and Sarah, Grimké became the second
African American to graduate from the Harvard Law School. After a
marriage that ended in divorce, he was a participant in local and national
politics, first as a Republican and later as a Democrat, and the author of
biographies of Charles Summer and William Lloyd Garrison. Further­
more, Grimké was the American consul to the Dominican Republic during
the years between 1894 and 1898.

The second and longest part of this biography treats Grimké’s life
during the ten years following his return from the Dominican Republic at
age 50—a period that Bruce describes as "the most ambiguous [period]...of
his life". During these times, Grimké was a prolific writer, and took Booker
T. Washington’s accommodationist position to task, while at the same time
working closely with the Washington machine. This section ends in 1914,
with Grimké, as Bruce describes it, "finding his place in the NAACP a
source of satisfaction and effectiveness...".

The third and final section depicts Grimké’s role as president of
the nation’s largest branch of the NAACP, which was located in Washin­
gton, D.C. Battling segregation with some success at times, Grimké’s
career finally came to a close with his linkage to young Black radicals,
such as A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, and his retirement from
the NAACP in 1925. Growing silent, he died February 25, 1930, after a
long illness.

I have one reservation about this splendid work—Bruce’s ap­
proach often seems too cautious. Primarily because Grimké was such a
complex figure, he demands a more psycho-analytical treatment than
Bruce offers. A bolder presentation would have perhaps given this reader
more insights into Grimké’s ambiguous and vacillating positions. No
matter. This work can stand on its own and will be a valuable addition to
the growing body of literature on African American leadership.

Vernon J. Williams, Jr.
Purdue University

344 pp., $19.95.

Melissa Roanhorse is having a tough day. Her mother has a
drinking problem, her fish keep dying, and she has to contend with the
everyday pressures of being a high school sophomore which, by them-
selves, are enough to keep most of us from remembering those teenage years too nostalgically. So when Falke, an ancient vampire who's been sleeping off a coma for the last hundred-odd years, shows up offering immortality and a ticket out of Albuquerque, there's no wonder that Melissa takes the offer and runs. What's a little blood-sucking compared to algebra?

The task of rescuing Melissa falls to her grandfather, Michael, a Navajo sheep herder, and her English teacher, Diana Logan, who has been having her own personal problems, and, frankly, needs the exercise. A.A. Carr's *Eye Killers*, the first novel by the documentary filmmaker, follows the story of their efforts, which require Michael to recover traditional Navajo songs and ceremonies from which he has deliberately turned away.

This may sound like Coyote-meets-Count Dracula, and, to a certain extent, it is. But Carr is too skilled a storyteller to let the task of cultural explication become onerous. Moreover, he lets his characters puzzle with us over what a trio of vampires (Falke has friends) could be doing in a novel full of Indians—and vice versa. In fact, the biggest accomplishment of the novel may be that this surprising mix of characters and traditions strikes the reader, finally, as not so surprising after all. Carr, himself of Navajo and Laguna Pueblo descent, carefully draws from his knowledge of Navajo tradition and the rich history of European horror to give us more than a my-culture-can-beat-your-culture standoff. *Eye Killers* is a suspenseful drama in which Carr's characters make use of and improvise upon their cultural inheritances to survive both the extraordinary events that form the center of the novel and the ordinary trials that lie in its interstices.

And like all vampire novels, and all horror stories for that matter, *Eye Killers* is about survival, about overcoming destruction by learning to understand it. For Michael and Diana, this calls for more than an understanding of those traditions that they hold dear; it forces each of them to actively engage with beliefs and practices that differ from their own. At a time when people increasingly fear that such pluralism might drive us apart, Carr has crafted a story in which it convincingly binds his characters together.

Michael Elliott
Columbia University
Many chronicles of the Civil Rights Movements seem to depict the activities of men such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael), Bobby Seale, and other important persons. Though they merit the attention they receive, it is quite apparent that the central role of women has been omitted. Sexism among historians and those involved in the movement have concealed their centrality. This work attempts to address that situation by recounting the importance of women such as Ella Baker, Mary Fair Burks, Septima Clark, Doris Derby, Fannie Lou Hamer, Zilphia Horton, Dr. Lillian Johnson, Denise Nicholas, Rosa Parks, Gloria Richardson, Bernice Robinson, Jo Ann Robinson, Eleanor Roosevelt, Modjeska Simkins, plus the Woman's Division of the Christian Service of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Church and the Boston YWCA.

These writings emphasize that women were in the vanguard of planning and leading various civil rights actions. For instance, Mary Fair Burks and Jo Ann Robinson were only waiting for the appropriate moment to act in Montgomery. Structures were already in place to support the action of Rosa Parks. Schoolteacher Septima Clark and beautician Bernice Robinson created the citizenship classes that enfranchised over 200 Blacks to vote, almost all for the first time in their lives. The SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) took over that existing project in 1961, enfranchising 50,000 others. Doris Derby and Denise Nicholas organized the remarkable Free Summer Theater (FST) to empower themselves and other African American women activists. The YWCAs, usually not considered the “hot bed” of radicalism and like the YMCAs at the time, were segregated. This did not prevent African American women in Boston from initiating a variety of projects to develop activist strategies that promoted more positive race relations.

The book also recounts the critical role played by the Highlander Folk School, the institution formerly located in Monteagle, Tennessee. It was at Highlander that a great many of the civil rights leaders received education and training in civil rights strategies and tactics. Women were key in the creation of Highlander and developed its social, cultural, and educational programs. Rosa Parks, for instance, initiated the Montgomery bus boycott two months after her training at Highlander.

Though this book can not provide ample depth in so many spheres, it is still a very good general work from which one might gain considerable insights. It is a good supplementary work for those teaching the Civil Rights Movement and who want to address issues of sexism and empowerment.
Building With Our Hands is a milestone in the development of Chicana Studies and its possibilities. This multidisciplinary anthology critiques the cultural, political and economic conditions of Chicanas in the U.S. by voicing their struggles against race, class, gender, and sexual oppression.

The volume is divided into three innovative multidisciplinary parts. Part I, "Acts of Domination," juxtaposes historical, ideological, cultural studies, and psychoanalytic approaches to illustrate Chicanas' subordination and contestation. The section includes articles on Amerindian women's rape, the construction of a Chicana feminist subject, and psychoanalysis. The juxtaposition of the three articles provides an excellent overview of the history of Chicana oppression. The richness of this section also stems from its theoretical approach, and Perez's invocation and critique of psychoanalysis from a Chicana perspective are valuable constructions of Chicana feminist theory.

Part II, "Cultural Representation/Presentation," links historical and contemporary forms of resistance and accommodation employed by Chicanas/Mexicanas against racial and sexual oppression. Gonzales and Veyna's respective articles illustrate women's resistance and survival in the nineteenth century. Ruiz's oral histories are accounts of adolescent acculturation process in the '30s and '40s. Fregoso applies feminist film criticism to analyze patriarchal accounts of Chicana motherhood in two Hollywood films. This section represent the dual axis of Chicana oppression: constructed as a subordinate subject and countering such constructions.

Part III, "Contested Domains," can be read as a comparative analysis of positivism, ideological analysis, and feminist theory. The topics covered are of contemporary importance including immigration, family decision-making processes, double shift, education, and elderly life. On their own, the articles make significant contributions to their respective disciplines in spite of outdated methodologies and data. Crummett applies new insights to analyze migration decision-making patterns based on family and class structure; an approach later cited by de la Torre. Segura debunks cultural deprivation theories and voices Chicanas' experiences with institutional racism and sexism in the school system. Pesquera's application of feminist theory to define housework as a "political struggle" advances Chicana feminist theory. Facio's documentation of the plight of Chicana elderly and their agency provides an analysis of the construction of gender roles for male and female elderly.

The introduction and conclusion of the volume includes Chicana scholars' positions on the status of Chicana studies. These vignettes can...
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be read as a dialogue between Chicana scholars' experiences and theoretical debates. Building With Our Hands focuses on the necessity for interdisciplinary work that blurs traditional artificial boundaries; but it does not measure up to such expectations. Disciplinary boundaries are not displaced, even though theoretical debates about the applicability of non-Chicano theories (French feminist theory, psychoanalysis, Marxism, etc.) to the Chicana experience are present.

Building With Our Hands provides an excellent foundation to understand Chicana/Mexicana experiences. It is a good source for Chicano/a studies, women's studies, history, sociology, and American studies courses. As the name of the anthology indicates, the advancement of Chicana studies is the result of the struggle and sacrifice of many Chicana scholars.

C. Alejandra Elenes
Arizona State University

Rita Dove, foreword. Multicultural Voices. (Glenview, IL: ScottForesman, 1995) 496 pp., $15.00 cloth.

Multicultural Voices gathers together an impressive array of writers and writings in a textbook aimed at secondary school readers. The book not only includes several of the more obvious and well-known authors—Toni Morrison, Louise Erdrich, and Amy Tan, to name a few—but also anthologizes a number of younger and less widely known writers whose contributions are equally provocative. While the bulk of the selections are either short stories or excerpts from novels (Zora Neale Hurston's Their Eyes Were Watching God and Rudolfo Anaya's Bless Me, Ultima are among those excerpted), the editors have also selected poetry, essays, and one short play, Denise Chavez's The Flying Tortilla Man. Even though everyone will be able to think of a favorite author who is not represented (where is Amiri Baraka?), the range and quality of the book's selections will make it a valuable classroom resource.

The texts here have been well-chosen for an adolescent audience; they encompass a variety of experiences and attitudes that will be sure to broaden the cultural awareness of any student in an accessible and entertaining way. The marginal "culture notes" help in this regard, despite their unevenness. (John F. Kennedy is the subject of such a note, while the Mexican President Porfirio Diaz is not.) The book also provides useful translations of non-English words in the margins, through I noticed that it tactfully avoided addressing "mierda." Furthermore, teachers will probably want to create their own study questions to replace those in the book, which exhibit the usual mix of acuity and inanity familiar to textbook readers.
Selections are organized under thematic rubrics—some of which work well ("Image Makers"), others of which don't ("The Crossroads of Culture"). In fact, the absence of a strong, if only provisional, heuristic scheme for understanding where these works fit in to the literary "mosaic" of the United States marks the book's weakest point. Teachers will probably want (if not need) to devise their own order for teaching these works depending on their own classroom goals. Moreover, teachers will want to be wary of the dangers that a book like Multicultural Voices presents. Multicultural Voices is far from being anything like an actual literary history of multicultural writing in the United States; such a history would have to reach back to the nineteenth and even eighteenth centuries to include authors such as Phillis Wheatley, William Apess, Frederick Douglass, and Sui Sin Far. With the exception of two representatives of the Harlem Renaissance, this book remains the exclusive domain of post-World War II writers. There are good reasons for such a chronological bias, but the book would be more aptly named "Contemporary Multicultural Voices" or "Multicultural Voices Today." More important, there would be a danger in an education in English in which students held their "American Literature" textbooks in one hand and their "multicultural" books in the other. The two should not, and cannot, be so easily separated.

These "multicultural" voices, after all, continually speak to more popular, more "mainstream," ones. It is no accident that John Wayne, Fred Astaire, and Johnny Carson all make appearances in this volume. These works engage with our semiotically saturated culture to help us understand what the messages that bombard students (and teachers) daily might mean—and toward learning how to broadcast viable alternatives. They help us, in other words, to learn about the difference between who we are and what others imagine us to be, and about the impossibility of completely disentangling the two. Such goals speak to the import of literature in a media-soaked age—to make students literate enough to read the world around them—and to the necessity of integrating a book like Multicultural Voices into the English classroom.

Michael Elliott
Columbia University

Peter Eichstaedt. *If You Poison Us: Uranium and Native Americans.* (Santa Fe, NM: Red Crane Books, 1994) 263 pp., $19.95 cloth.

"The history of our nation's relations with American Indians is one of ignorance, indifference, exploitation and broken promises." This statement opens journalist Peter Eichstaedt's book, *If You Poison Us: Uranium and Native Americans*, an examination of this abusive history supplemented with personal interviews, government documents, and a detailed
bibliography. Eichstaedt's account of how America's quest for uranium led to mining on reservation lands, consequently poisoning both the land and the miners, is a useful study for someone working in Native American or justice studies while still remaining accessible to a general audience.

By relating both the mining companies' and the government's abuse and neglect of Native American miners and mill workers, Eichstaedt consistently points out ironies in the sequences of events he describes. For example, evidence that uranium mining was dangerous to mine workers' health had been available by the 1920s, but preliminary safety standards were not established until the 1950s. Moreover, health and safety policies—even when instituted—were not enforced as the states and the federal government each denied responsibility for ensuring miners' health and safety.

Not until 1967 did Congress decide to act. After a series of committee meetings, hearings and debates, mining companies were required to comply with preliminary safety standards immediately and the official regulations by January 1, 1969. But, as Eichstaedt writes, for miners who were suffering and dying from lung cancer, "the regulations had come too late" (93).

The remainder of the book describes the struggle by former Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall to obtain monetary compensation for the miners and joint attempts by Native communities and the Department of Energy to institute land reclamation programs. Yet another irony of this chapter in history is that no federal standards exist for uranium mine clean-up projects.

Although Eichstaedt points out numerous injustices in this work, his portrayal of these injustices is neither emotional nor reactionary. Eichstaedt also provides the reader with background information. He describes the complexities of American Indian land and mineral rights policies and also outlines the history of radium use and provides a scientific, yet comprehensible, explanation of how uranium poisoning takes place in the human body. A time-line describing major events and policies, however, would have been a helpful reference tool as it is sometimes difficult to remember all the governmental acts and departments to which Eichstaedt refers, but the book contains an extensive index which helps alleviate this problem.

The story Eichstaedt tells attests to the fact that Anglo stands as a vivid example of a long standing Navajo joke:

Each time a group of white men arrived, the Navajos asked:

What are you looking for? In the 1920s the answer was oil; in the late 1930s and the early 1940s it was vanadium; in the 1950s, 1960s, and the 1970s it was uranium. In the 1990s it is spirituality. (41)
Perhaps by the year 2000 the Navajos—and other Native peoples—will not have to ask that question.

Dorie S. Goldman
Arizona State University

María, Espinosa. *Dark Plums.* (Houston, TX: Arte Público, 1995) 221 pp., $9.95 paper.


Published within the same year, *Dark Plums* and *Longing* both delve into the darker side of the human psyche. Similar in topic, the novels explore the complex relationship between love, sexuality, and power. While *Dark Plums* gives its readers a voyeuristic look into the life of Adrianne, a young, insecure Chilean-American woman who seeks to find herself through various sexual encounters with men and women, *Longing* leads them through the painful psychological recovery of American Jew Rosa and the simultaneous mental breakdown of her Chilean husband, Antonio. In addition, each novel focuses around the female protagonists' struggle for inner strength and confidence. Although *Dark Plums* and *Longing* pursue provocative issues and display María Espinosa's flair for capturing the psychological effects of the erotic, the story lines and language in both novels lack originality and ultimately fail in sustaining the reader's interest.

In *Dark Plums,* nineteen-year-old Adrianne leaves her home in Houston and goes to New York where she immediately embarks upon a number of sexual encounters with strangers. At the root of her reasoning for these indiscriminate acts is the belief that she should offer men what she can and attempt to please them because they will reciprocate with love and acceptance. As the novel progresses, the reader learns that much of Adrianne's inadequate feelings about herself are due to an unhappy relationship with her mother and the death of her father. In essence, through sexual relationships, she hopes to gain the "family" she never had. Eventually, two men become prominent figures in Adrianne's life: Alfredo, a Cuban-American artist who cruelly abuses her and turns her into a prostitute in order to support himself, and Max, an aging Jew whose guilt over letting his family die in the Holocaust because of his own lust propels him to court Adrianne and ultimately marry her, making her an heiress to a small but significant fortune. In addition, Adrianne has an on-again/off-again lesbian relationship with Lucille, a wealthy woman who is dying of breast cancer.
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Spanning over three years, the novel focuses mostly on the year that Adrianne is forced to prostitute herself for Alfredo. With each chapter, Adrianne falls deeper into despair, at times even wishing one of her clients would kill her. However, the reader has a difficult time sympathizing for Adrienne because most of her actions appear so contrived. For example, Adrienne repeatedly finds Alfredo cheating on her and stealing her money and yet refuses to believe that he might not love her. In fact, she believes he is her "salvation." As her thoughts reveal: "It was as though she were inside a dark tunnel and only he could lead her out. The price was believing in him" (122). Trite comments such as these abound throughout the novel and often interfere with the narrative. The reader is made aware too often that Adrienne's well-being depends on her autonomy from men. The dichotomous roles that the men play, Antonio as her sexual desire and Max as a father figure, along with the other clues Espinosa provides as to Adrienne's state of mind are too obvious. Complete with a weight problem, the haunting memory of an abortion, and an addiction to diet pills, Espinosa inevitably creates a character who reads more like a psychology textbook case than a real woman.

In her second novel, *Longing*, Espinosa is able to overcome some of these characterization problems. Not as heavy-handed as *Dark Plums*, the story traces the relationship between Rosa and Antonio, a couple brought together by an unexpected pregnancy. While it contains some love and passion, the marriage is also a stormy, unhealthy union that brings out the worst in both characters. Rosa is a young woman recovering from a nervous breakdown whose paranoia and desire for stability drive her to behave irrationally and Antonio is an unemployed journalist whose temper and bad luck leave him bitter and abusive. Both of them seek comfort in their sexual union as well as in extramarital affairs. In addition, Espinosa continues to explore sexuality by introducing lesbian, homosexual, and bisexual subplots. Told from a number of different perspectives, *Longing* incorporates the inner thoughts of everyone in Rosa's family, all of whom are dealing with some type of sexual issue.

Like Adrienne, Rosa finds herself completely dependent on a man for support and direction. And like Alfredo's character, aware of her vulnerability, Antonio relentlessly abuses Rosa physically and emotionally in order to feel some sort of control over his own dismal life. Yet, Rosa and Antonio emerge as more believable, compassionate characters because they often display awareness and self-reflections. For example, Rosa realizes early on that she must escape her situation if she is ever to become whole again. Likewise, at times Antonio recognizes that he behaves as he does because his failures fill him with contempt.

However, *Longing* suffers from excessive melodrama. It is not surprising that Rosa is as psychologically damaged as she is when her entire family is so dysfunctional. None of the characters ever appear
completely sane, and the reader can almost assume that they are not far
from their own breakdowns. In addition, Espinosa's reliance on sexual
desire as the cause for much of the family's repression eventually
becomes tedious.

While Espinosa makes bold attempts to introduce erotic, contro-
versial topics into middle class drama, she is unable to achieve the
delicate balance between desire and reality. Also, her flat language and
two-dimensional characters too often leave the reader unsatisfied. For
better examples of erotic women's writing that also address issues of
ethnicity, readers should seek out works by Gloria Anzaldúa, Cherríe
Moraga, Sandra Cisneros, and Ana Castillo.

Maythee Rojas
Arizona State University

Philip S. Foner and Daniel Rosenberg, eds. *Racism, Dissent, and
Asian Americans from 1850 to the Present: A Documentary History.*
(Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993) 311 pp., $55.00 cloth.

Numerous historical studies discuss racism against Asian Ameri-
cans as well as their resistance to racist policies, practices, and thought.
While this scholarship correctly stresses the predominance of racism, it
contains passing references to non-Asian individuals and organizations
who supported better treatment and the rights of Asians. Foner and
Rosenberg argue that these small numbers of supporters were dissent-
ers from prevailing anti-Asian racism and that they deserve greater
attention because they represent the existence of more than one per-
spective of Asian Americans.

Foner and Rosenberg's book consists of documents, including
excerpts from pamphlets, reports, books, articles, editorials, letters,
speeches, lectures, debates, sermons, laws, and testimony before
government committees. These are organized into six sections that deal
with laws against Chinese and Japanese immigrants and opposition to
these laws; statements sympathetic to the Chinese and Japanese by
public figures and organizations; demands by clergymen for justice and
humane treatment of the Chinese and Japanese; support for the rights
and organization of Chinese and Japanese workers by labor leaders;
African American views of Chinese immigrants; and the legal rationale
for the removal and interment of Japanese Americans, challenges to the
latter, and the movement for redress.

The editors have compiled an impressive array of information
regarding the varied supporters of Asian Americans and their activities,
which range from expressing sympathy to acts of protest and interracial
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solidarity. The book contains materials from lesser-known sources and others more widely recognizable such as Mark Twain, Frederick Douglass, W.E.B. DuBois, Carey McWilliams, and the Industrial Workers of the World. Especially noteworthy is the portion of the book on the labor movement, given its usually strong hostility toward Asians, and the section on African Americans, which provides observations by members of one racially oppressed group about another.

This book has two primary shortcomings. Despite its title, it only contains (with a few exceptions) documents pertaining to early Chinese and Japanese immigration and settlement or Japanese Americans during World War II. It should have included materials on other Asian American groups, and from 1945-present—a period that encompasses the postwar civil rights struggles—increasing levels of political activity, and dramatic growth and greater diversity of the Asian American population.

A more serious shortcoming is the relative lack of historical analysis. Foner and Rosenberg do describe the content and context of the book’s documents in a short general introduction and brief section introductions and headnotes. However, these only begin to deal with the underlying question of why various non-Asians supported Asian Americans. Many clergymen, for example, seemed to be imbued with humanitarian or democratic ideals. Certain labor leaders and unions were interested in promoting worker unity. African Americans often opposed the white supremacist emphasis of anti-Asian discrimination. Any systematic analysis needs to consider the forms of support and their explanatory cultural, social, political, ideological, and economic factors. Any analysis will be complicated by the fact that some advocates were at least partly affected by the pervasive racism of their eras. One indication of this are statements that have a paternalistic or condescending tone or that affirm common stereotypes and misperceptions of Asians.

Overall, Foner and Rosenberg present good documentary evidence for the significance of non-Asian Americans. What is needed now is a more extensive investigation of this topic so that it can better contribute to an understanding of the complexities of racism and interracial relations in American society.

Russell Endo
University of Colorado


George M. Fredrickson, Edgar E. Robinson Professor of United States History at Stanford University, has written a magisterial volume
that complements his earlier explorations in his highly acclaimed *White Supremacy* and in some of his major essays in a collection, entitled *The Arrogance of Race*. Yet, unlike the earlier works, which compare the predominant white racism and ethnocentrism in race relations in the United States and the Union of South Africa, *Black Liberation* focuses on the political ideologies of “organic” African American and Black South African intellectuals. Fredrickson, to my mind, demonstrates convincingly that historically the ideology of “color-blind universalism” has been both more potent and effective—in more cases than not—in countering the overt claims and actions of white supremacists in both countries than “racially exclusive nationalism.”

Color-blind universalism manifested itself, he argues cogently, in attempts of African Americans and Africans during the nineteenth century to secure the ballot on the same basis as whites; in the early policies of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the South African Native National Congress; in Marxist or Communist inspired Black protest movements during the years between the 1920s and the 1940s; and finally in the American nonviolent civil rights movement and the African National Congress’ Defiance Campaign of the 1950s. Conversely, racially exclusive nationalism manifested itself in Black religious nationalism in both the United States and South Africa during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; in Pan-Africanist and Black populist movement during the 1920s—especially in the ideas and actions of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association and the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa; and finally in the American Black Power movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s and the Black Consciousness ideology in South Africa during the 1970s.

Fredrickson admits that there were many consistent advocates of the aforementioned ideologies, yet shows that most intellectuals “were actually seeking to combine the essential insights provided by both orientations”. Thus, the role of white dissenters in the struggle for Black liberation was often—though not exclusively—determined by which orientation was ascendant. As a result, in our present times when ethnic groups seek “to firm up their boundaries,” it is impossible to revive Martin Luther King, Jr.’s philosophy of “a beloved community”.

Fredrickson believes that history can help Americans solve this thorny and perhaps hazardous problem if they follow the lead of South Africa—that is, if there is “a heroic contribution of some whites to the cause of black liberation”.

Yet perhaps, there is another possibility; why not seek to eliminate a system of greed that turns even members of the same ethnic group against one another?

Vernon J. Williams, Jr.
Purdue University
In this challenging book, Lewis R. Gordon applies Jean-Paul Sartre's notion of bad faith to anti-Black racism. Gordon argues that bad faith—an individual's attempt to escape personal anguish by choosing to ignore evidence that runs counter to his cherished beliefs—underlies the phenomenon of anti-Black racism. "The Sartrean position raises the question of racism as a form of bad faith since it is a form of evasion of human reality," Gordon writes (92).

A tedious discussion of bad faith occupies the first third of the book. The volume's later parts, however, develop original ideas well worth the effort. At its best, the book courageously takes on the senior and more renowned philosopher Anthony Appiah, broadening our philosophical, as opposed to sociological or psychological, understanding of racism. Because races are social constructions and do not exist in any genetic sense, Appiah concludes that racism, which he says depends upon the false taxonomy of racialism (placing individuals into racial categories), is irrational. Gordon, however, says that there would be no need for racialism if there were no racism. Our society's need for racial categories stems from institutionalized racism.

Gordon also challenges deconstruction and Marxism. He notes the Marxist tenet that racism divides the working class. "Yet, among blacks, it can be argued that the problem with class is that it wrecks black solidarity" (179). By attempting to identify with the white bourgeoisie, affluent Blacks fail to acknowledge their socially inescapable connection to poor blacks. Thus, Gordon boldly asserts, Blacks, too, can fall prey to bad faith by choosing to ignore evidence that their class status does not exempt them from racism.

Because bad faith is a matter of choice, anti-Black racists bear responsibility for their dehumanizing attitudes toward Blacks. This is Gordon's most important conclusion. Whereas Appiah ends up dismissing racism as irrational, Gordon's belief that racism, however ugly, is a choice and therefore rational makes individuals accountable for their bad faith. Although this work deepens our understanding of the nature of anti-Black racism, it does not prescribe action, as Gordon forthrightly acknowledges. Perhaps the book's strides toward the demystification of anti-Black racism are enough for one volume.

Although Gordon's prose mostly avoids jargon, his argumentation demands careful attention. Most readers to whom Sartre is unfamiliar will struggle with the text. Gordon also switches writing styles at various points in the volume as if it were a collection of essays rather than a book-length monograph. The result is at times jarring. The patient reader, however, will be rewarded with Gordon's numerous insights.

David Goldstein-Shirley
University of California, Irvine
In this ambitious book, Carl Gutiérrez-Jones musters ideas from Critical Race Studies, Critical Legal Studies, and literary scholarship to explicate the relationship between Chicanos and the law. Contrary to the notion that American jurisprudence is a neutral, value-free institution, the author argues that, as Chicano and especially Chicana artists have depicted, the legal system's emphasis on individual responsibility ignores the economic and social milieu entangling Chicanos. The broad scholarship, incisive analysis, and careful reasoning make this book a valuable contribution to our understanding of the Chicano experience.

For example, the author notes how Luis Valdés's film *Zoot Suit* exposes the anti-Chicano bent of American justice by depicting the prejudicial tactics used by the judge against the Pachuco defendants in the Sleepy Lagoon murder case of 1942, which led to the Servicemen/Zoot Suit riots in Los Angeles. Although such counter-hegemonic criticism is nothing new, Gutiérrez-Jones's willingness and ability to probe more deeply in this instance—as in others—add rare subtlety to our understanding of American social institutions vis-à-vis Chicanos. He explains that Valdés's bracketing of the implicit guilt of the protagonist's brother effectively renders the issue of innocence or guilt irrelevant. According to Gutiérrez-Jones, Valdés implicates the socioeconomic system, which the law protects and perpetuates, rather than a Chicano defendant who may have been guilty according to American law. Valdés thus validates a "Chicano community perspective" (45) which resists the court's scapegoating ploy enabled by the law's rhetorical emphasis on the individual. The author argues that Valdés's strategy exemplifies Chicano artists' resistance to the dominant legal discourse by questioning the myth of disinterest underlying American law.

After discussing the resistance in male Chicano art, Gutiérrez-Jones then critiques it. In his most daring chapter, he turns to Chicana writing to expose the masculinist orientation of Chicano resistance and criticism. Carefully placed in the context of the "specific Mexicano iconography of rape and the politics of shame it mobilizes" (109), the author's argument traces subtle parallels between Chicana writers' exposés of rape and the American legal system's treatment of Chicanos. In both situations, he provocatively argues, an illusion of consent masks the violence of the domination.

The book adds significantly to the Critical Legal Studies project of exposing the hidden, false assumptions of legal discourse by demonstrating how Chicano artists present images of resistance to the system. Moreover, it complicates legal-rhetorical issues by presenting Chicana critiques of Chicano critiques. In its methodical analysis of texts ranging...
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from the film *Giant* to *American Me*, and from Helen Hunt Jackson's novel *Ramona* to recent fiction by Cherrie Moraga, the volume is at times dazzling in its ability to engage institutions on many fronts and on many levels. Despite the wide-ranging resources cited in the text and in twenty-two pages of endnotes, and despite manifold, multilayered arguments, Gutiérrez-Jones never loses control of the work. Many readers will, indeed, be rethinking the borderlands between Chicanos and the law.

David Goldstein-Shirley
University of California, Irvine


In this superb reconstruction of the life of Rayford W. Logan, Kenneth Robert Janken, an assistant professor of African American studies at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, draws on his protagonist's somewhat tormented life to document the veracity of John Hope Franklin's thesis that, "it was the American Negro scholar's dilemma to be obligated constantly to challenge the notion of black inferiority". Put another way, despite Logan's credentials—he held a Ph.D. from Harvard University in history; wrote twelve books, including the classic, *The Betrayal of the Negro*; edited several others, among them, *What the Negro Wants*; and penned hundreds of scholarly articles—his racial identity negated all of his assets. For a person who believed that he was different from most other African Americans, the snubs of the white establishment were extremely disconcerting. "Yet time and again," Janken reminds us, Logan "sought its [white academia's] approval."

Janken's easily accessible volume thoroughly documents Logan's contradictions and his strengths and weaknesses as he traces his life from its humble beginnings in Washington, D.C., to Logan's Pan-Africanist stance in France in the 1920's; to his pioneering voter registration drives and citizenship schools in the South during the 1930s; to his activities in fighting racial discrimination in the United States' military in the 1940s; and finally to his embattled career as a history professor and administrator at Howard University from 1938 until his death in 1982. Those persons looking for an unblemished hero in Logan will find Janken's account disappointing.

Contemporary nationalists would be disturbed by the fact that Logan—to use Janken's words—"spent most of his life from adolescence on struggling to be accepted by the white world." In addition, "his regard for the West was so high that it was inconceivable to him that African
Americans should desire to separate themselves from it." Furthermore, Logan "scorned [the term] 'black' because in his view it glorifies 'Negritude' and disdains the European origins of Negroes".

Ironically, contemporary integrationists and assimilationists would also find Logan's views alien to their ideology, for Logan felt the civil rights movement "had no concept of the history of the struggle for racial equality and the progress made since the nadir." Thus, the movement appreciated neither the achievement of legal equality nor the importance of legal methods for achieving it. In short, according to Janken, Logan's "self-appointed role as movement gadfly was a balm for the wounds he suffered by being denied a permanent seat at the leadership summit".

Despite the brilliance of Janken's work, I have two reservations about this well-crafted biography. First, the volume is poorly copy edited. The editor made numerous comma splices; and he/she could not determine whether or not African American should have been hyphenated. Second, when Janken attempts to account for Logan's mental breakdown during his tenure as a United States serviceman during World War I, he becomes involved in simplistic and amateurish psychoanalysis, stating: "The cause of his [Logan's] outburst, while ostensibly a bombardment, was in fact the accumulation of racial insults and harassment Logan had to bear".

Nevertheless, Janken has provided us with a beautifully sensitive portrait of a second-tier African American intellectual and activist whose contributions to his times and our own had been previously ignored.

Vernon J. Williams, Jr.
Purdue University


Moose Meat Point Indian Reserve is the home of about seven hundred Ojibway in Canada. Intended as "an amusing account of Indian-white man relationships," Basil Johnston's *Ojibway Tales* presents twenty-two true stories of mishaps and confusion resulting from Ojibway and white people's inexpenience with or misunderstanding of each other's culture. Indeed many of the tales are quite amusing, poking gentle fun at Ojibway and white man alike, but often the humor is that of slapstick comedy—the foolishness of the characters is the reason we laugh at rather than *with* them. On the back cover, it is suggested that both Ojibway and the withes are "gently satirized," but often that which is here termed "gentle" actually becomes off-putting to the reader. The stories range in quality, some of the tales are only minimally humorous or entertaining,
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and one wonders whether Johnston may have benefited from a more selective approach to compiling the book. This and other somewhat disturbing elements within the tales detract from the book's purpose—to illustrate, albeit partially, "that sense of wit and humour that forms an integral part of the Ojibway peoples and their character." Ultimately, Ojibway Tales is a text that may be better enjoyed in part than as a whole.

Such tales as "They Don't Want No Indians" and "Sign of the Times" are delightfully funny illustrations of bureaucracy and cross-cultural misunderstandings. In the first tale, an Ojibway's attempt to bury a fellow Indian who has died becomes a tangle of red tape that rings true in its frustrating buck-passing, and the critique of that bureaucracy is communicated through humor quite effectively. In the second, a government plan to subsidize upgraded housing on the Moose Meat Point Indian Reserve goes awry when the delayed shipment of toilets and lumber to build outhouses is misinterpreted by the Ojibway as equipment to build ice fishing houses. The surprise of the government official when he finds the Indian fishing through the hole in the toilet seat is the winsome note on which the collection of tales ends.

Unfortunately, there are elements to the collection that detract from Johnston's stated purpose. A disturbing trend of characterization throughout the book adds to this reader's sense that the intended "gentle" satire actually verges on rather vindictive portraiture. Specifically, the recurring descriptions of white female characters becomes distracting and disturbing. Throughout the text, Anglo women are described as "scrawny," "quivering," "scruffy," "frowzy," "ignorant," "unwashed," and often hostile "little" creatures. We see them almost universally as women who "scurry," "sulk," "lisp," "splutter," and scorn their way through the tales, and they are sent repeatedly into fits of quivering lips and blanched or flushed faces as a result of their interactions with Ojibway. While Ojibway women are often portrayed as strong and responsible, their male counterparts are usually quite the opposite—drunk, greedy, headstrong, closed-minded. For example, in "Moose Smart: Indian Smart," a foolish attempt to copy white man's ways—if a cart can be pulled by a horse, why not a canoe by a moose?—seems motivated both by laziness and by pride. One male character named Whistling Wind chortles, "if [whites] could see us now the wouldn't think Indians were so stupid." In the end the Indians lose both the moose and the canoe. Again, the gentleness of this satire needs to be questioned.

Two of the tales in this collection are autobiographical, and it is in these that Johnston's tone is most successful, for in each he is recounting his own experiences. (It is interesting to note, by the way, that the negative characterizations of white women mentioned above are found particularly evident in these two tales, told from the first person perspective.) It is when he retells the stories collected from others that his tone becomes intrusive at times. There is a sense in some of the tales that
Johnston's attempts to make a passage or descriptive phrase more "literary" has actually altered the original, informal tone of a funny tale told among friends. For example, describing a proposal scene between two young Ojibway, Johnston writes: "Bezhinee allowed herself the luxury of gazing briefly at the sparkling diamond on her finger before shoving her hand in the pocket of her cardigan. Her fingers constantly explored the unaccustomed outline and hardness of the first ring she had ever owned." Such lines are evocative and would serve to strengthen a short story, but here they are counter-productive, unnecessary. The voices of unique, individual Ojibway storytellers are difficult to distinguish because the tone of most tales is similar to that of the autobiographical selections. Johnston does acknowledge that the act of translation in a problematic one that creates a barrier "to a fuller exposition of Ojibway humour."

Johnston notes in the foreword that the tales collected here reflect a point of transition for the Ojibway of Moose Meat point; the people of these tales struggle with the tenuous balancing act between assimilation and progress and cultural and spiritual preservation. Certainly the tales are valuable in that they offer a look at the everyday manifestations of the white man's effect on native peoples. In his forward, Johnston dedicates the collection to storytellers and to the people of Moose Meat, and "especially to the white man, without whose customs and evangelistic spirit the events recounted would not have occurred." His tone is sarcastic here, and when Johnston later takes a conciliatory stance toward the white man, describing Canadian government policy reform beginning in the 1960's as "enlightened," he seems not entirely comfortable in doing so. He begins the book with a list of dichotomies, adjectives describing the Ojibway in positive terms—having "individualistic, resourceful, informal, proud, imaginative"—and the white man in negative—having "haste, overbearing, force, and decisiveness." Such description is predictable and understandable in light of recent history, but the tales do not serve to acclaim the Ojibways' qualities as much as they do to mock them. The collection of stories in criticizing the white man, but Ojibway Tales fails to illustrate the Ojibway character Johnston set out to celebrate.

Vanessa Holford Diana
Arizona State University


Catch Colt describes Gros Ventre writer Sidner J. Larson's experience as a mixed-blood Native American looking for his heritage, identity, and personal direction. Although minority fiction writers (such as
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Rudolfo A. Anaya and Leslie Marmon Silko) have addressed this theme, non-fiction discussions of mixed-blood Native American lives are lacking. Larson's autobiography, however, is only moderately successful because he fails to make readers identify with his struggle as a member of "two different worlds at the same time...with a degree of non-acceptance by both."

While Larson talks about joyous times, personal challenges, and moments of confusion, he tells the reader about his wide range of experiences rather than transforming them into concrete, meaningful images. For instance, he writes that a particular university teacher "taught me to believe that someone like me could live a life of the mind," but we never learn what that professor said or did to make this impression.

Such generalizations are present throughout the book. Speaking of his mother's family, Larson observes:

... the family was made up of genuine characters who were personable, entertaining, forceful, and each in his or her own way quite talented. the men were good with animals and looked larger than life on horseback. The women were capable at cooking, canning, putting up and setting by, and did not stand for much foolishness.

This description reads like a Western fiction cliche, for these phrases are equally applicable to Anglo settlers and the Native Indians Larson is describing. Larson never convinces the reader that "the women...did not stand for much foolishness," nor does he illustrate how the men were "larger than life on horseback." More problematic, however, is that Larson never explains how these "genuine characters" influenced his ability to manage his "dual life in white and Indian worlds," and he even seems to ignore the dual ethnicity issue in the latter third of the book.

That Larson is influenced by Native American writers is clear by his themes and references to other Native authors. But these allusions to well-known works of American Indian fiction seem self-conscious, as if Larson needs them to justify his own experiences. When describing a friend who returns from Vietnam depressed and unstable, Larson writes: "He reminded me of the character Abel from Scott Momaday's book *House Made of Dawn.*" Many people reading this book would make that connection for themselves or, conversely, someone not familiar with Momaday's novel would be frustrated by what would be a puzzling literary reference.

Near the end of *Catch Colt,* Larson writes: "Because I allowed myself to become an outsider to family, landscape and tribal identity, I was, after a while, poorly equipped to cope with the challenges [of the modern world] that arose." These lines reflect a theme common to minority fiction—the importance of family, identity, and the land. Thus,
while Larson rightfully concludes that Native Peoples' survival in the modern world depends on a connection to family and the earth, the story Larson tells to lead us to this conclusion is far from compelling and fails to convince us of this truth.

Dorie S. Goldman
Arizona State University


Employing a broad multi-disciplinary approach which includes history, anthropology, economics, demography, ecology, and political science, Meyer, a U.C.L.A. historian, has created a sensitive and sweeping analysis of the creation and metamorphosis of the Anishinaabeg ("Chippewa" or "Ojibwe") who eventually located in contemporary Minnesota on the White Earth Reservation. Eschewing stereotypes of Indians as mere victims of Euro-American history, Meyer shows how the Anishinaabeg—themselves internally heterogeneous—transform, adapt, innovate and respond according to their own interests and to changes around them.

This carefully crafted case study chronicles the ethnogenesis of these highly mobile and adaptable people in the region of Sault Ste. Marie, their life as subsistence hunter gatherers, and their subsequent engagement in the fur trade and migrations. The Anishinaabeg utilized intermarriage with Europeans as a form of alliance, thus creating a subgroup (Metis) which historically acted as intermediaries between the two groups.

It is in the interface of ethnic identity, legislation, and economic activity that Meyer makes an outstanding contribution to the study of ethnicity and ethnic relations. She shows how Anishinaabeg ethnicity is not static but fluid and how it has historically been utilized for manipulation and economic gain. She accomplishes this through a fine grained analysis of legislation affecting the Minnesota Anishinaabeg.

In 1867 the reservation was 'set aside' by the Federal Government for the assimilation of the Anishinaabeg. Its diverse ecosystem was judged optimal for both the continuity and gradual transformation of the life ways of these peoples. Despite contestation, both full bloods and mixed bloods (Metis) were deemed eligible to live on this reservation. These identifiers, mixed and full blood, are not merely genetic but more importantly behavioral markers which play a significant role in reservation history.

The Nelson Act of 1889 sought to assemble all Anishinaabeg
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onto the reservation and to allot the land to individuals. The Steenerson Act of 1904 provided for additional allotment of acreage. While the Burke Act of 1906 stressed a continued protection of native resources by the federal government until individuals were competent based on their 'industriousness,' the Clapp Amendment of 1906 claimed adult 'mixed bloods' as competent by virtue of their genetic makeup.

Ultimately, incorporating a world systems model, Meyers points to economic forces which work to alienate land from the Anisnabeg. For the convenience of land alienation many tribal members were classified into the mixed blood category based on spurious anthropological reckoning and outright fraud. By 1920 the majority of reservation land, today a mere 7% of its original extent, had been alienated.

The Anishnaabeg themselves fought to determine their own future. The conservative faction attempts to expel the *Metis* who aided the outside timber and land interests but the federal government intervened to stop this action. This breaks an important Anishnaabeg form of internal political action—group splitting when accord cannot be reached. Meyers, in her conclusion, shows that the Anishnaabeg continue to act for their own interests in their quest to restore their lands and rights.

Meyer is impartial to all sides in this very complex historical situation, showing advantage and disadvantage to positions taken by all groups involved. She is also careful to point to blatant injustices in the past and their ramifications for the present. The work provides a superb bibliographic essay and is well illustrated with comprehensive maps and photographs. I highly recommend this work for those interested in ethnicity and its historical importance for social, political, and economic spheres.

Raymond A. Bucko
Le Moyne College


The result of a 1990 conference on "The Social Significance of Creole Language Studies" sponsored by Pomona and Pitzer of the Claremont Colleges and the University of California, Los Angeles, this stimulating collection of six papers enriches the field of pidgin and creole studies by "exploring the manner in which language and language choice reflect and mediate the social landscape."

The purpose of the conference was "to discuss and share views on the nature of the social situation of the language with which they [the participating scholars] work." In the spirited "Introduction," the editor argues that most linguistic attempts at establishing the "legitimacy" of
creole languages in society have ignored their social and political dimensions by "measuring" them against monolingual models of language usage. Answering to the definite need for studies that address issues pertaining to creoles' standardization, to the intimate relation with the culture in which these languages flourish or the culture in which they sometimes struggle to survive, and to educational policies that more often than not plan inequality for their speakers, this volume successfully provides insight on "language and power, identity, and loyalty" as factors which aid in understanding and explaining creole language situations.

Although it is surprising that none of the guest contributors works in the area of sociolinguistics—a subfield of linguistics which is closely associated with discussions on linguistic identity—the variety of perspectives represented (linguistics, anthropology, and education) displays a fruitful kaleidoscope of ideas. Mervyn Alleyn's paper, "Problems of Standardization of Creole Languages," clearly elaborates on his strong defense of Jamaican as an autonomous natural language and as a symbol of national identity. This is a concept he has always passionately supported vis-à-vis Western traditional but, from his standpoint, controversial analyses. In "Language Standardization and Linguistic Fragmentation in Tok Pisin," Suzanne Romaine shows first-hand knowledge of Papua New Guinea's linguistic and social struggle for national integration as English and Tok Pisin claim urban and rural speakers respectively. Surprisingly enough, Donald Winford's article on "Sociolinguistic Approaches to Language Use in the Anglophone Caribbean," although otherwise quite sensitive to the need for preserving the speakers' identity through the institutionalization of their creoles as official languages, totally ignores the problems of some anglophone creole speakers, those members of coastal minorities whose languages vie for survival in Spanish-speaking Central American nations. In keeping with his tendency to question provocatively all theoretical constructs on which creolization is based, Salikoko Mufwene argues in his paper, "On Decreolization: the Case of Gullah," that, according to his observations, creoles are unlikely to decreolize (i.e., to change their acrolectal structure), since their dynamic and vital interaction in social networks along ethnic lines keeps the speakers' identity and loyalty alive. The situation described by Karen Watson-Gegeo in "Language and Education in Hawai'i: Sociopolitical and Economic Implications of Hawai'i Creole English," reminds me of the unsurmountable multilingual educational problems of Third World countries, which should hardly be a likely scenario for a region in the United States. Finally, Marcyliena Morgan's "The African-American Speech Community: Reality and Sociolinguists," drives home the need for sociolinguists to view language as a link to culture and ideology, and not just the key to success.

The book has been carefully edited; there was only a minor oversight: Footnote No. 18 is missing (142). All the papers have been
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meticulously documented by useful bibliographies. By addressing and analyzing the complex social issues that surround the existence of creole languages, these scholars have not only provided an animated intellectual discussion, but they have also greatly strengthened the cause of their speakers.

Anita Herzfeld
The University of Kansas


Too often, the study of humor lacks the very thing it analyzes. That is one of the reasons Don Nilsen's humor bibliography is such a pleasant surprise. In the cataloguing and describing of the seemingly endless number of humor books and articles, Nilsen has managed to capture the tone of the subject while still doing this tedious job impressively.

The structure of the book makes finding a source relatively easy. Chapter titles, such as "Humor and Ethnicity," are clear and directive, and the subheadings within chapters, such as "The Humor of Native American Ethnicity," easily point a researcher in the right direction. The Appendix is especially helpful to those working toward publication, for it lists journals, magazines, publishing houses, individuals, and organizations which deal specifically with humor.

Chapter six is divided into three sections covering ethnic humor in general, Black ethnic humor, and Native American humor. In the third section, Nilsen introduces the bibliography by discussing the major differences in the way Native Americans view the world, including cultural differences in time, wealth, nature, and relationships, thus leading to their different sense of humor. He also identifies the two most common comic symbols: the coyote and the "ritual clown," which also serves "a moral function" by showing the people "how not to behave." Nilsen's specific discussion in the introduction is limited mainly to the Navajo (mentioning Apache and Hopi only once apiece), but his bibliography lists over twenty books and articles useful for more specific study.

It is in these introductions that Nilsen's own appreciation for humor surfaces, making them not only informative but also delightful. Nilsen combines knowledge definitions, distinctions, and scholarly quotations— with examples to illustrate as well as to entertain. For example, in the introduction to "Jokes, Riddles, Hoaxes, and Stand-up Comedy," Nilsen recounts one of Steven Wright's jokes: "He talks about how he found a strange light switch in his house that didn't turn anything on or off.
So just for fun he kept switching it until he got a call from a lady in Germany telling him to 'Cut it out!'"

The introductions also give valuable information about the characteristics and trends of various forms of humor. True, they are mainly generalizations, but they are generalizations which create a basis from which a researcher can move forward for further study. *Humor Scholarship* is not, of course, a book to be read cover to cover, but it is a valuable reference tool to keep handy on the shelf for anyone interested in reading or writing about humor.

Barbara A. Bennett
Marian College


Tricksters in Native American thought often include the gambler and skinwalker. Traditionally, the character of the gambler appears in order to test a person, who must play and win a life and death game so that the individual (specifically) and the tribe (generally) will survive. And, according to anthropologist Larry Sunderland, a Navajo skinwalker ostensibly inserts a bone into a victim's body without breaking the skin. This action often results in mental and/or physical injury, illness, and death. The bone can only be removed ceremoniously by a shaman (*hitaili*); both the gambler and skinwalker are shapeshifters. During the Morning Star Ceremony, which is demonstrated in *Bone Game* and was ended by Metalsharo (Pawnee) in 1813, a maiden's body would be painted half black and half white, staked to the ground, and shot full of arrows in a Dionysian ceremony. Owens delicately intertwines these three ceremonies and figures in a story filled with action, mystery, and surprises.

Similar to the traditional gambler, who collects scalps and hands of victims, *Bone Game* opens with the students and faculty at the University of Santa Cruz (where Owens taught Native American Literatures) in a frenzy because the head and hands of students have started to wash up on a nearby shoreline. The plot is further complicated because Dr. Cole McCurtain, who suffers from "ghost sickness" (96), must stop his slow alcohol-induced suicide before he can face his destiny and stop the murders. The protagonist in *Bone Game*, Cole (Choctaw/Irish, middle-aged, survivor's guilt, divorced), is the unwilling and unknowing hero who must confront the gambler/trickster/skinwalker. Although Cole seems aware of the magnitude of what he must do, his traditional family rushes to assist him because, as the medicine man Luther states: "This story's
Gerald Vizenor, the academic trickster, states that "that game, the four ages of man [and woman], continues to be played with evil gamblers in the cities" (Interior Landscapes: Autobiographical Myths and Metaphors, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990, (180)), and similarly, throughout his text, Owens implies that this mortal game is still being played.

In Bone Game the trickster/gambler/skinwalker is both literal and mythical in this text where Owen's (Choctaw/Cherokee/Irish) has the past and present, dreams and waking, real and surreal, and natural and supernatural exist simultaneously. Owens text is easily accessible to both Indian and non-Indian alike, and he effectively grabs his readers and shakes them into a realization (which would be shared by Mikhail Bakhtin) that myths and every day reality exist simultaneously (157)—maybe we had better start listening.

Julie LaMay Abner
California State University, San Bernardino

W.S. Penn. All My Sins are Relatives. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995). 257 pp., $25.00 cloth.

W.S. Penn writes with wit and cleverness, but also with passion and love, about himself, his blood relatives, and his spiritual relatives. If the sins of the father are visited upon the son, Penn is doubly doomed by his need to understand his grandfather's generation as well as his father's. It is his grandfather and his father, as well as numerous others, to whom the book is dedicated, and it is this line of family members who have created the writer and critic who explores his own life as a mixed blood by simultaneously exploring the lives of his relatives and of his relatives and of other writers such as Wendy Rose, Leslie Silko, and Mourning Dove.

Penn lives and writes in the shadows of trickster coyote, Chief Joseph, other writers, and his family, among others. He seeks his own identity through words, recollections of Nez Perce history, advice from his grandfather, and the writings of his contemporaries. Penn's identity is forged by both white and Indian ancestry, and both sides have struggled to take control. In looking back, he recognizes the negative influence of his white mother and harshly relates her desire "to want us not to be Indian" (55). In the end, he must grapple with the issues of his own identity and says, "I had to invent myself, to live" (52). Penn's book is autobiographical, but it is not linear and seldom chronological. Time and life (or lives) are circular and experiences repeat themselves through generations and throughout individual lives. In discussing time, Penn notes,
“Time was more than a structure imposed upon stories. Time...had to do with everything” (97).

As Penn moves from the personal and individual—although the entire book is personal—to a broader consideration of writing and storytelling, he notes that his Grandfather taught him that “everything true was story” (91). As a writer, he recognizes that the Indian autobiographer finds that the individual’s life in relation to the history and background of his people is more important than the individual’s day-to-day experiences. This theory guides the writing of his own life experiences in the book. The relationship of stories to the past and to other stories is crucial; the process of creating new stories is more important than the individual story itself.

In the second half of the book, Penn discusses the influences of other writers both on his own writing and on critical views of Indianness. The stories of Mourning Dove are brought together with those of his grandfather to weave together an autobiography that is both personal and communal. He analyzes the life and writings of John Rollin Ridge, seeing within his writing the tensions of the mixed blood writer who is drawn toward a redefinition of himself which is finally only artifact and not a real life. In the chapter “Respect for Wendy Rose,” Penn writes about himself and other writers for many pages before describing Wendy Rose as a writer who writes “reclaim her identity” and thus is representative of many mixed blood writers. As Penn says, “All good stories contain in themselves something about the act of storytelling or story writing” (179), and the mixed blood writer must in each act of composing recreate the self in relation to a tradition and a past.

In this book, Penn fights the stereotypes of Indians and of mixed bloods created by misinformed but frequently well-meaning critics, academicians, and readers. In the end, he writes that “identity is found in a lonely vision” (231). For the mixed blood, identity is both creation and recreation of self within a world that wants the convenience of labels but suffers because of them.

Penn’s book is an important examination of single life within the contexts of history, of Indianness, and of other writers. In the end, he becomes Coyote, transforming himself as he recreates himself as a mixed blood writer who is not “representative” but at the same time is a product of definition that is frequently imposed upon “the other” without consideration of individual identity formation.

Gretchen M. Bataille
University of California, Santa Barbara
Until I read Jewell Parker Rhodes very finely crafted novel, *Voodoo Dreams*, Marie Laveau, the New Orleans voodoo queen loomed invincible, beyond the reach of anyone: man, woman, Black, or white. But in this novel Rhodes skilfully humanizes Laveau by presenting the majority of characters, including our heroine, as scared people motivated by their insecurities and fears. Those who are bold enough to seize the opportunities presented to them, such as John, Marie Laveau’s vicious lover, exploit their power and manipulate others for their own glory. The Marie Laveau that we meet in this novel is the third in a line of voodooienne; she is a novice priestess, and a victim of domestic violence, which is perpetuated by her own distorted sexual attraction to John. John was also her mother’s lover and his actions precipitated her mother’s death. Mostly, Marie Laveau is a victim of ignorance.

Because of her mother’s death, she was reared by her grandmother, the first in the line of Marie Laveaus, who fails to instruct her in the teachings of voodoo. After the death of Marie’s mother, her grandmother, overcome by grief and fear, flees New Orleans, retreats to a rural area, and raises Marie in ignorance. As a result, Marie is shut off from her private history, embodied by her mother. Throughout this novel, the reader witnesses Marie’s search for self identity and meaning. When Marie and her grandmother, forced by circumstance, return to New Orleans, Marie hopes to find some evidence of her mother, and failing she wails: “All my life, I’ve just wanted to know myself. I don’t know anything about me. And what other people know of me is lies. Even if I died, the lies would live on”. And indeed, many of the lies take on a reality of their own so that when possessed by Damballah, the powerful Marie Laveau that the voodoo worshipers observe is a far cry from the naive woman abused by John.

Jewell Parker Rhodes is not merely re-writing the life of Marie Laveau, she also writes about the role and function of religion, in this instance voodoo, for the masses of disenfranchised, formerly enslaved Africans in nineteenth century New Orleans. “For many, Voodoo was an escape from the daily brutality of their lives. Marie was their show queen, leading them into the realm of imagination. For others, Voodoo was salvation.” Rhodes uses Marie to explore how those who are oppressed cope and maintain a sense of self. She portrays Black people who, in order to survive, constantly redefine themselves in the often very confusing world that they find themselves in. “She [Marie] could reinvent herself. She could become as strong as he was”. And indeed our heroine gains strength and breaks John’s hold on her, thereby freeing herself from the tyranny of fear. But Marie Laveau’s victory is not singular, it signals the possibilities for the masses who attend the voodoo ceremonies hoping to
experience the magic and escape, if but temporarily, the harsh realities of their lives.

Rhodes' *Voodoo Dreams* is a remarkable achievement. Through her vivid imagery, the reader experiences another world. The characters are so tangible they walk off the page, multi-dimensional and real, carrying with them the fears that direct their lives. *Voodoo Dreams* is an effective weaving of myth, magic, and fiction into art.

Opal Palmer Adisa
California College of Arts and Crafts


In recent years there have been many novels, collections of short stories, and editions of poetry published by Mexican-Americans, but the works by Cuban-Americans have not been as plentiful. *African Passions,* the first published collection by Beatriz Rivera, is a promising but not altogether satisfying contribution to the corpus of Cuban-American writing. It is sometimes brilliant and imaginative, sometimes not very inspiring, with eight stories (several of which are interrelated) ranging from the humorous and well-conceived to the rather tedious.

The best is the title piece, which chronicles the demise of a long-term relationship between a Cuban-American couple from different socio-economic backgrounds. As the pair seeks a burial place for a dead cat, they are accompanied by the Afro-Cuban gods of Santeria (akin to the more widely-known practice of Voodoo) who, summoned by the woman, provide a humorous view of the gods and their activities in her support. Several stories are about the pursuit of the “American Dream” and the degree of success or failure of that pursuit among Cubans. The best of these is “Once in a Lifetime Offering,” where Kiki (also a minor character in another tale) finds herself caught up in a typical American middle class career chase. Her pursuit is also one of identity terminating in her voyage to Cuba, an act which causes her friends to declare: “Normally, people leave their countries to find jobs here... This is the land of opportunity. So what does she expect? To find a job in Cuba?”

The weakest story is “Bells,” in which Cristina pursues another kind of dream, that of finding the perfect man. She is a wealthy over-achiever (PhD., world traveler, Spanish language television reporter, Jujitsu expert) who is so exasperating that in the end the reader is left indifferent to her fate. “The Battery-Operated Drummer Bear” is about Cristina’s father, an overbearing millionaire advertising executive who claims to have invented the term “Spanish Market.”
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Two good selections that are relevant to readers of ethnic experiences are “Grandmother’s Secret” and “Paloma.” The former does a respectable job of delineating family ties and local color in the Cuban-American community while it also depicts the differences between the older generation of immigrants and the assimilated generation of their grown children. The latter focuses on the experiences and plight of the huge number of illegal Hispanics in the United States. Although it is sometimes confusing to follow, it contains some of the most poetic writing in *African Passions*. It suffers, as do several other stories, from too many characters, too many complicated relationships, and too little character and story development.

The author presents a portrait of a dozen or so willful, occasionally obsessed women, regularly amusing, sometimes tired, and relentlessly driven. Even with the shortcoming noted, Beatriz Rivera shows a great deal of promise of becoming a significant voice in the growing Cuban-American literary community.

*Carl R. Shirley*
*University of South Carolina*

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**Clovis E. Semmes. Cultural Hegemony and African American Development. (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1992)**

The purpose of this book is to examine cultural aspects of hegemonic relations between White Americans and African Americans, a neglected topic which the author believes should provide the basis for African American Studies programs. Although Semmes establishes culture as the focus of his analysis, political and economic forces are clearly important for understanding the position of Black Americans in the changing social organization of the United States. Defined as regularity in subjective states, culture is theorized as interacting with social organization, as institutional settings frame cultural expressions and vice versa.

Despite the rather narrow definition of culture, the author analyzes a wide variety of cultural forms and elements related to Black American experience. These include both routine activities and artistic work as well as the constraints on cultural expression at different points in time, the availability of resources to support cultural creativity, the effects of positive forms, and the reasons for maladaptive ones.

Critical to the author’s argument about the centrality of culture is the notion of cultural hegemony, the systemic negation of one culture by another, which forms one end of a dialectical process whose manifestation is dehumanization. Cultural hegemony is theorized to create the need for cultural reconstruction among Blacks, a life-affirming, humanizing response to cultural negation. This theoretical approach is offered
with reference only to its relation to the work of Black scholars and those concerned with the African American experience. However, this work can be understood as well as an important contribution to recent critical analyses of modern society and the subordination of minority cultures by such authors as John Ogbu, Zygmunt Bauman, and Joel Spring.

The uniqueness of this book, however, is that it builds on the cultural discussions of previous efforts which focused on the political and economic exploitation of African Americans. Drawing on the work of E. Franklin Frazier and Harold Cruse, in particular, the author reveals the importance of culture by illuminating how culture interacts with political and economic orders to create contradictions and dilemmas for Blacks in different historical periods. The theoretical framework informs substantive analyses of several key concepts and topics: The implications of legitimacy for mental health; cultural production, economics, and the media; the role of religion; health conditions and their effects on development; and cultural revitalization.

Several flaws distract from the contributions of this work, however. Greater theoretical clarity is needed in several discussions of culture and its relation to power and economics. Additionally, the lack of any visual aids (graphics, photographs, inserts), the type-face selected by the publisher, and the lack of breaks in the text make for tedious reading. Nevertheless, this book offers detailed, interesting discussions of the theories and research of early Black scholars as well as provocative analyses of African American culture and social dilemmas and potential solutions to develop problems. This book is well worth reading for these contributions as well as for its inspiration for the analyses of other non-White groups’ experiences with the dynamics of assimilation in American cultural history.

Carol Ward
Brigham Young University


Janet Spector has written a book which is enjoyable, enlightening, and though-provoking reading. Those involved in anthropology, history, gender studies, and ethnic studies would do well to read this small volume carefully and ponder its issues. As she promises in the book’s subtitle, Spector presents archaeological evidence pertaining to the Wahpeton Dakota (Eastern Sioux) within a framework which lacks the Eurocentric and androcentric perspectives which too often characterize the study of American Indian pasts.

The book pivots around interpreting an awl, a punch-like imple-
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ment traditionally used by women in working animal hides for clothing, containers, and tipi covers. The awl has a tip of iron derived from Euro-American trade. This fact provides part of the basis for placing the artifact in time and historical context. Of native manufacture, the antler handle of the awl exhibits patterns of lines and dots, some of which are filled with red pigment. Interesting sleuthing and utilization of “ethnographic parallels” allow Spector to interpret these lines and dots as signifying something more than mere decorative designs. In doing this she clearly demonstrates feminist and American Indian perspectives.

In chapter 1 (“Archaeology and Empathy”) Spector identifies her academic background in archaeology and candidly states her scholarly interests and personal biases in dealing with American Indians, past and present. Chapter 2 (“What This Awl Means”) is the kind of summary one might expect as a concluding chapter in a traditional site report. Spector weaves a tale which lacks formal citations and assumes the reader knows the archaeological evidence she excavated during four seasons at the Little Rapids site (the Wahpeton’s Inyan Ceyaka Antonwan) in southeastern Minnesota. She also assumes that the reader knows the intricacies of what archaeologists call the “direct historical approach” and the wealth of available ethnohistoric and ethnographic information on the Dakota Indians including the significance of the paintings and sketches produced by Seth Eastman, a soldier-artist stationed at Fort Snelling during the mid-nineteenth century. Eastman’s images accompany the text and vivify the story. As an archaeologist, I am generally familiar with these sources; I found this chapter to be a real gem. The non-archaeologist, however, should not think that all one has to do is pick up an isolated artifact and tell an authentic story about the past. Spector’s appropriate uses of documentary sources, oral tradition, and scientific controls are reviewed in chapters 3 through 6: “Other Awl Stories”, “Cultures in Conflict”, “Cycles of the Moon”, “First Traces Uncovered”, “Glimpses of Community Life Part I”, and “Glimpses of Community Life - Part II”. Lists of recovered artifacts and remains of plants and animals appear in appendices.

Regarding chapter 2, Spector honestly states that “I wrote the story of how the awl might have been used and lost” (18). She almost certainly steps outside the strict bounds of evidence in attributing the awl specifically to Mazaokiyewin, the grandmother and great grandmother of three informants and colleagues of Wahpeton descent. On the other hand, given the available evidence, we can assume that the awl was a woman’s implement; and, given Dakota methods of reckoning kinship and the important matter of cultural continuity, the awl’s owner would be considered a “grandmother” of living Wahpeton. Thus Spector’s putting a “face” on history is instructive and her observations in the Epilogue (“What Does This All Mean”) are socially meaningful and ethically challenging beyond the delightful pun.

David M. Gradwohl
Iowa State University
The burgeoning scholarship on the avant-garde in jazz of the 1950s and 1960s still accounts for only a small number of scholarly jazz-related publications. Though the ascendance of interdisciplinary, cultural studies paradigms leave open many pathways to discussions of avant-garde jazz, David G. Such's *Avant-Garde Jazz Musicians* incorporates little of the cultural criticism Ronald Radano offers in his equally new *New Musical Figurations: Anthony Braxton's Cultural Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). Such instead focuses multiply on what avant-garde musicians say about their music's position a handful of topical devices which head chapters in the text. From considering "Labels," an indispensable issue in music criticism —since so much knowledge is vested in its nominal category—Such discusses predecessors to the "out jazz" period from the mid-late 1950s onward, citing bebop's revolutionary reputation and its figureheads as worthy precursors to such musicians as Cecil Taylor, Ornette Coleman, and many of the more recent player/composers whom Such interviews.

While an important historical achievement, Such's analysis of the lineage remains formalist in its unfolding of musical processes that literally echo earlier eras. He then discusses economic issues intertwined in playing music that is both resolutely non-commercial and indeed thrives on the proverbial, "live" moment to develop. Economics, he reports, dictates a near-mandate to "out musicians" that they either "alter their style of musical performances to fit more acceptable commercial models" or forego the developmental crescendos which accompany performance in public. Such reports that "most out performers living in New York City" have only "two or three" opportunities to perform publically each year. This discussion brings Such's true scholarly "moment" to light: while he wants to contextualize "out music" of the 1980s by discussing the 1960s and earlier, those eras, too, have received scant satisfactory scholarly work to date.

Such continues on to discuss how metaphor functions in his coining of the term "out music" and documents the frequent directional "upward" and "outward" which characterize this music. Closing with chapters on "world views" and "culture" as they relate to "out music," Such caps a project that hints strongly at directions for further research and future projects. In trying to cover the whole expanse of musical entities, from the intricacies of producing a performance to the performance itself and how that performance is disseminated, Such sets himself a task worthy of a far larger and more in-depth text than his.

The upside here is that Such's text is brief and compact and thus perfect for use in an introductory course, say, on the aesthetics of the Civil Rights movement or (obviously) jazz itself. I am predisposed towards
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recommending it alongside perhaps LeRoi Jones' (Amiri Baraka) *Blues People* (New York: William Morrow, 1963), since the latter text situates itself also on the historical axis of what Jones called the "changing same" of African American musical aesthetics and its more fully and challengingly developed historical context. Such, in this regard, picks up roughly where Jones leaves off and offers nice transcriptions and splendid insights as both a musician and an ethnomusicologist.

Andrew Bartlett

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Originally published in 1972 and re-issued in 1993, *Violence in the Black Imagination* was an early attempt to overcome the pitfalls of what some academicians have termed disjunctive scholarship. Ronald Takaki reminds us that too often fiction is analyzed narrowly as an art rather than as social documents that might be useful not only to those studying literature but also to those examining history. Reviewing three fictional works, Takaki makes a case for their use as historical sources. He asserts that “black fiction not only adds to our already limited number of ante-bellum black written documents, but also represents a particularly important genre of evidence” (12). Nineteenth century fiction, according to Takaki, lends insight into the *feelings and emotions* African Americans harbored towards slavery—in sight often lost in traditional historical sources.

Takaki re-issued and expanded this book in response to the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion. Taking issue with the soundbites and superficial reporting used to characterize the rebellion, Takaki calls for the historical contextualizing of this seemingly sudden explosion of violence: “More than ever before, we must examine our past in order to understand the roots of racism and its legacy of racial conflict and violence” (6). To provide this contextualization, he turns to three fictional essays: “The Heroic Slave" by Frederick Douglass, “Blake: or, the Huts of America” by Black nationalist Martin Delany, and “Clotel: a Tale of the Southern States" by William Wells Brown, a pioneering Black novelist.

*Violence in the Black Imagination* contains these nineteenth century texts, corresponding review essays offering historical background about the authors and the factual events providing backdrops for these stories, and analysis of the conception of violence that is a common theme among all three. “The theme of violence,” notes Takaki, “provides a provocative angle from which to probe the complexity of [Black people’s] daily lives and the intricacies of their thoughts on...the destiny of
Douglass' narrative is based on the 1841 mutiny aboard a slave ship. It is a story of personal liberation through the only means available—violence. In Delany's work, the protagonist moves beyond personal liberation, instead, risking his own freedom by organizing slave insurrections throughout the South and Cuba. Violence, in this case, works toward emancipation of the race rather than of individuals. In Brown's story, the use of violence is seen through two lenses. First, one is introduced to the overwhelming violence used by whites against their slaves. This, however, is challenged by a second level of violence employed by the slaves as they resisted such oppression.

Through these stories, the image of violence against the oppressor in the Black mind takes the shape of resistance, liberation, and emancipation. Perhaps, by understanding violence in these terms, the causes and motivations of contemporary urban rebellion might take on a new and more clearly defined meaning. This is the essential message in *Violence in the Black Imagination*.

Jennifer L. Dobson
University of Washington


Eileen Tamura's new book on the first American-born generation of Japanese immigrants to Hawaii is a well-researched and readable study of the period in the early twentieth century, largely between the world wars, when Japanese immigrants to Hawaii realized they were not going to return home and that they would have generational conflicts with their children, entitled to U.S. citizenship as their parents were not until 1952. An outgrowth of Tamura's 1990 dissertation, "The Americanization Campaign and the Assimilation of the Nisei in Hawaii, 1920 to 1940," *Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity* develops the original topic and works back to the beginning of Japanese immigration to Hawaii, but does not work forward past 1940 to record the monumental changes that occurred in Hawaii. Tamura uses numerous personal interviews she conducted with Nisei and always supports her general statements with anecdotal quotes from the subjects themselves. While not an oral history, this study nevertheless employs oral material to document research statistics. As a result, the text comes alive; the reader hears real voices, sometimes in Pidgin English or Hawaii Creole English, but more often the educated voices of the generation caught between two cultures which had much in common (educational goals, "puritan" work ethic, family and community values) but also much that conflicted (American individualism
versus Japanese group consensus, voicing opinions versus keeping a low profile).

Much of Tamura's discussion of education has to do with the conflicting agenda of the haole elite (ruling Caucasians) teaching "American values" to immigrant children while at the same time keeping them in their place (i.e., in the plantation economy). If the principles of Americanization involve striving for excellence and expressing individualism, how can children simultaneously be taught to accept their station on a rural sugar plantation? Issues of race and class undercut the professed American sense of equality. As Tamura says in her preface: "Ironically the Nisei goal of economic advancement was more mainstream American than that of the Americanizers' goal for them, that they be good, docile plantation workers" (xiv). Thus the American school system, while teaching Americanization, succeeded all too well. Attempts were made to create a two-tiered educational system of English Standard Schools for mostly Caucasians and regular public schools for ethnic immigrants. Too often there was blatant racial discrimination to keep bright and qualified ethnics out of English standard public schools; this was particularly directed against the Japanese, the largest ethnic group by far in Hawaii during most of the twentieth century. Now I understand why my son's school, Mid-Pacific Institute, has an overwhelmingly Japanese-American student body. Tamura notes that "more than half of the students at Mid-Pacific Institute during the 1920s through the 1940s were Japanese" (117). In contrast to Punahou, the haole private school, other private schools welcomed Japanese students. These patterns persist even today.

One thing missing from Tamura's study is at least some discussion for what happened during and especially after World War II to the Nisei in Hawaii. A political revolution took place in the mid-1950s with fundamental and far-reaching implications. During the elections of 1954 and 1956, Japanese-American democrats, most of them World War II veterans, were elected to the state legislature. Since that time, they and their descendents have essentially controlled the state government and the public school system. Tamura explains these origins: between the wars public school teaching was one of very few professions open to the Nisei, so they often became teachers rather than professionals in other fields. But the Nisei generation succeeded finally because of World War II. Tamura devotes a small general paragraph to post-1940 developments on page 237. While I realize Tamura's study concentrates on the 1920-40 period, it would give readers a necessary perspective on the results of this generational struggle if they understood just how successful and powerful the Nisei in Hawaii later became.

Tamura's scholarly apparatus is carefully in place. Included in the appendix is a table of "Firsts among Japanese Americans in Hawaii," comprehensive notes to chapters, an extensive bibliography, and an
index. Missing from the bibliography is one book that should probably be cited and that includes oral history material from prominent Nisei, Okage Sama De: The Japanese in Hawaii by Dorothy Hazama and Jane Komeiji (Honolulu: Bess Press, 1984). All in all, Americanization, Acculturation, and Ethnic Identity is an excellent and focused contribution to the study of Japanese Americans and is a reminder that this stereotyped "model minority" suffered decades of racial discrimination without much complaint and persevered quietly (Governor George Ariyoshi's campaign motto in the 1970s was "quiet but effective"), steadily, and surely in Hawaii to achieve a remarkable public dominance by the second half of the twentieth century.

Ann Rayson
University of Hawaii


This collection is aptly titled, for it is fabulous and a pure delight to read. Film director and writer Jesus Salvador Trevino is a worthy successor to such Chicano luminaries as Mario Suarez and Rolando Hinojosa with his creation of microcosm of a Mexican American community—Arroyo Grande, Texas. His blending of the real with the magical and the surreal along with a whimsical tone also links him to Ron Arias. The title story gives the reader an introduction to the collection of six interrelated tales since main characters in all the stories are observers of the sinkhole, and all the objects that float to the surface provide catalysts for plots in others.

The Fabulous Sinkhole is playful and full of wonderfully quirky characters, including Chicano authors who show up to marvel at the increasingly large hole. Members of the crowd take away things that float to the surface that are peculiarly useful to them. For example, a twelve-year-old aspiring writer fishes out a 1965 model Smith-Corona typewriter, which provides a frame for the story “An Unusual Malady.” The reporter who is sent to cover the event retrieves a fountain pen, and he and his pen show up many years later in Arizona in the final story, “The Great Pyramid of Aztlan.” The most unusual item is a 1949 Chevrolet Fleetline which appears in the tale titled “Attack of the Lowrider Zombies,” a splendidly imaginative piece in which Latino cinema stereotypes arise from the dead and proceed to murder the movie executives who have been dehumanized them for decades. “Last Night of the Mariachi” provides a link to the past as it shows changes in the cultural tastes in Arroyo Grande. Juan Alaniz, who takes a silver dollar from the sinkhole is a musician who has
played traditional music at a local bar for thirty-two years. He and his *conjunto* are fired in favor of more contemporary, younger musicians. During the group’s last performance, all the ghosts of the great Mexican musicians and singers show up to pay tribute. The tale ends as Juan puts the silver dollar in the tip fishbowl for the new musicians.

Treviño’s work starts off gently with a warm picture of quaint characters in a Chicano community, but during the course of the collection revs up to the point of full blown social satire when he reaches “The Great Pyramid of Aztlan.” This delightfully funny story is about a pyramid scheme, literally and figuratively, as a group of Chicanos seek federal funding to construct a monument to their heritage in the Arizona desert. So many politicians, government funding agencies, philanthropic groups, and even foreign governments latch on to the seemingly innocuous and socially bland enterprise that it winds up creating a worldwide sensation, causing international focus on the Mexican-Americans: “Before the piramide, no one knew who or what Chicanos were. Now, we have twenty reps in congress and a half-dozen senators.” The tale and the collection end on a note of optimism as the pyramid’s creator, aptly name Zapata, muses that the pyramid “has shown what we can do with our own institutions. It’s allowed us to get someplace we hadn’t been before.”

*The Fabulous Sinkhole* ranges from the quaint, humorous, and gentle, to the fantastic, satirical, and ironic. It is a rich, well-written, and brilliantly conceived view of a microcosm of Chicano life in the late twentieth century.

Carl R. Shirley
University of South Carolina


Since there is usually a two year period of time that elapses between the acceptance of a manuscript by a university press and its publication, we must commend William H. Tucker, who is an associate professor of psychology at Rutgers University, in his anticipation of contemporary controversies in reference to the relative abilities of *races.* Tucker argues that there is continuity in the thought of racists, which over the past two centuries include anthropometricians, eugenicists, and segregationists. “The imprimatur of science,” Tucker argues cogently, “has been offered to justify, first slavery and, later, segregation, nativism, socio-political inequality, class subordination, poverty, and the general futility of social and economic reform.” For Tucker, the attempt to demonstrate that one race is genetically "less intelligent than others has been scientifically valueless and socially harmful." Scientific research
into racial differences has, in essence, resulted in the "legitimation" of racist ideology. Nevertheless, Tucker is not pessimistic about winning the battle with racists. "America's democratic political traditions," he writes, "have prevailed, and today universal suffrage, equal rights under law, and the guarantee of other civil liberties to all citizens are no longer up for debate; where demonstrable infringement has occurred, there is generally outrage and prompt redress."

Despite my fundamental agreement with most of Tucker's arguments and my belief that he has told the truth, I do not think he has told the whole truth. By focusing most of his attention on racists, Tucker has virtually ignored that antiracist discourse, which began with the poet Phillis Wheatley during the period of the American Revolution, manifested itself in the abolitionist crusade—due primarily to the perceptible influence of African Americans such as Frederick Douglass and James McCune Smith—permeated the social sciences after 1920s because of the domineering presence of the German-Jewish immigrant and father of modern American anthropology, Franz Boas, and reached the peak of its influence in the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. By giving attention to this tradition of colorblind egalitarianism, Tucker would have come to grips with why the racist tradition until recent times in the United States has been proactive, rather than reactive. Put another way, the parameters of the discourse on the purported relative abilities of the so-called races of mankind have traditionally been framed by racists.

It should also be noted that the first four chapters of this book is merely cover ground that has been treated in greater depth in older historical works. Nevertheless, Tucker's real contribution is his definitive refutation of Jensenism, his call for the necessity of regulating racial science, and his demonstration that the attempt to prove the innate intellectual inferiority of some groups "is probably scientifically chimerical and certainly lends itself to socially pernicious ends."

In short, this book deserves the close attention of all scholars and laymen interested in a study in the exercise of futility which mars the study of race.

Vernon J. Williams, Jr.
Purdue University


When looking at issues of ethnicity and mental health we are constantly reminded that there is, at present, no unified paradigm to guide either the practitioner or the research scholar. What we do know is that the human organism is a socially constructed being. We also know that
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there are species-specific human needs that play out in the formation of mental well being; there does exist a common denominator, if you will, of optimum conditions and relational situations that underly all human development. Mental health is an arena where the universality of human needs meets the specificity or relativity of cultural ways and experiences. Hence, mental health becomes an arena in which the organic realities of social structures like racism, sexism, etc., reveal themselves. Unfortunately, too many prefer to operate as if their practice and services did not in fact interface with the realities of onerous and destructive social structures (ie., ignoring racism and sexism and enforced poverty and all the other biases that drive the American way is still the preferred denial system of far too many individuals who create and administer mental health services). In Asian Americans, Laura Uba gives us a masterful overview of psychological research on Asian Americans and dispels any notion that contemporary mental health theory and practice has come anywhere near addressing the needs of this particular population. Her work is all the more powerful because she does not lecture, she presents. And her presentation carries impact because of her comprehensive approach to the literature and her clear and authoritative style of writing.

Always holding to her central thesis that human behavior and personality patterns must be analyzed within the social and cultural context in which they take place, Uba introduces her audience to the diversity and unique historical experiences of each of the groups that are commonly lumped under the category Asian American. She frequently qualifies her own work by reminding us that this diversity defies summary. In her review of the research that has occurred, she calls our attention to the paucity of the application of good theoretical models to the study of Asian American mental health.

Uba is at her strongest when she integrates discussions of racism into her work. By noting discrepancies in accepted research practices such as the frequent use of Euro-Americans as the control group, thereby anointing that group as the norm, Uba provides a critique that is useful to all scholars and consumers of ethnic research on Asian Americans, such as the preference for the use of trait theory over psychoanalytic or cognitive behavior theory. Uba also gives insight into how the very processes of research can operate as tools to obfuscate social injustice, like racism. It is in these areas that her work makes a general and critical contribution to the literature in ethnic studies.

While most of the research is summarized in narrative form, the few tables provided are particularly informative, especially in demonstrating the need to recognize the wide diversity that constitutes the category Asian American. Uba does give herself the liberty of frequent interpretation that allows her to be more than a chronicle of findings. Her theoretical offerings are insightful and enrich our understanding of the importance of
always maintaining a dialectical view of empirical findings.

Uba’s writing is frequently marked by disclaimers that remind us of the inadequacies of the present level of research. While at times this proliferation of disclaimers may frustrate the reader by emphasizing what we don’t know, Uba balances her critique with rich identification of questions that broaden our view and are excellent guides for further research. What we receive is a valuable and comprehensive review of the research and graduate students meaningful to all scholars in the field of ethnic studies.

While the book is also informative to those practitioners in the field who are delivering direct services to Asian American clients, it is not an indepth treatise on personality patterns or identity, as the title may imply. It is, rather, a concise reminder that personality and identity are co-created aspects of human beings and are inseparable from the social realities in which we grow and live. Uba’s discussions of predictors of mental health, cultural patterns in the perception of mental health processes, and culturally influenced styles of communication stimulate our general awareness and point to the constant need to see ourselves as no more or less than the culture that trained us. As such, I would recommend this book to practitioners who are attempting to broaden their ability to offer culturally and ethnically sensitive treatment.

Throughout her work Uba reminds us that scientific research is a continually evolving process of discovery; and it is not an activity destined to end with the achievement of some list of ultimate truths. She also reminds us that the very activity of science can be used to generate systems of “knowledge” that are then used to justify the status quo and further the existence of oppression. This has always been acutely true in the field of psychology, and remains so today as we once again see wide media attention given to the publication of the latest resurrection of the bell curve theory of intelligence. Because of all of these reasons, Uba’s work is a timely contribution to the field of mental health and Asian Americans, and a valuable voice in the general advancement of ethnic consciousness in American culture.

Linda Gonzalves
Highland Park, New Jersey


This book evolved from the spring, 1991 special issue of “Daedalus, the Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences”. Tu Wei-ming presents a collection of perspectives of the Chinese identity. These essays stand alone well, some are more relevant and better written than others (as will be addressed in this review), but
they collectively fail to provide a coherent unified interpretation. The chapter topics are somewhat related but the continuity among them is weak (which should not be interpreted as a shortcoming of the individual chapter authors).

Tu Wei-ming, editor of the book, opens with an essay offering thought-provoking premises regarding the meaning of being Chinese. He concludes that the meaning of being Chinese is less of a political orientation and more of a human orientation comprised of ethical-religious aspects. This view is indirectly reiterated in other chapters.

"The Inner World of 1830," by Mark Elvin, while interesting reading, is highly speculative and should be acknowledged as such. Elvin draws conclusions about Chinese identity in 1830 and seeks to connect these conclusions with present day China. His essay is grounded in the assumption that his speculative conclusions are accurate.

The move to the next chapter by Vera Schwarcz (dealing with history, memory, and cultural identity in twentieth century China) exemplifies the weak transitions among chapters. Her discussion of the May, 1919 and May, 1989 protests is intuitive as is her finding "walls of the mind are far more entrenched, far more dangerous than those rising out of the soil".

Ambrose Yeo-chi King does a fine job of describing and assigning importance to *mien-tzu* (face), *jen-ch’ing* (human obligation) and *kuan-hsi* (personal relationship). Again, the transition from the previous chapter is weak, but this essay gives concise descriptions of these phenomena and establishes their relevance sociologically.

L. Ling-chi Wang presents a clear interpretation of the changing identity of Chinese in the United States. This chapter does the best job of addressing the situation for Chinese when they are among non-Chinese. It stands well by itself. Wang establishes five types of identities that have evolved among the Chinese diaspora and proceeds to substantiate these identities.

Victor Hao Li shares personal experiences of being a sojourner in "From Qiao To Qiao". It is short (eight pages) but gives an intimate interpretation of his return visits to China, while spending most of his years in the U.S. This chapter does the best job of relating the ethnic experience. It lacks external substantiation but, as a personal remembrance, it is not expected to be extensively footnoted. It is the story of one person and his experiences.

In other areas, the footnotes (345 in the entire book) are more than adequate in placing views of the authors within the context of the literature. The fifteen page glossary of terms (*pinyin* spelling and characters) is especially helpful. The subject/name index and contributing author descriptions are beneficial.

The eleven chapters of this book convey eleven distinct perspectives of the Chinese ethnic experience but a unified voice is not established by joining these individual essays together as a book.
Number 15 (Summer 1995)


Jim Schnell
Ohio Dominican College

Television has been one of the most influential media in constructing the racialized social image of Asian Americans. Through meticulous examinations of roles and stories given to Asian Americans in television and combined with careful analysis of political and social events, the author successfully reconstructs a comprehensive history of Asian Americans in the entertainment world over the period of the past five decades. In fact, this book merits more than a mere media study of Asian Americans for its delivery of a critical view of historical relationships of the United States with Asia which are responsible for creating continuously popular and distorted images of Asians.

There are seven chapters under the illustrative headings *White Christian Nation, Asians in the American West, War Against Japanese America, Asian Americans and U.S. Empire, Southeast Asian America, Contemporary Asian America,* and *Counterprogramming.* They superbly chronicle the precarious formation and maintenance of Asian American communities through the eyes of television. Early portrayals of Asian Americans were closely related to their menial occupations which placed them in total subordination to their white superiors and which has become to some degree a permanent fixture of their TV representations even up until today. The strength of Asian settlers and their contributions to the economy of the West by Chinese railroad laborers or Japanese farmers were ignored in popular characterization of Asians as docile and inarticulate beings in western melodramas such as *Bonanza* and *Gunsmoke.*

Precipitated by intense hostility against the Japanese at the outbreak of the Pacific War, 110,000 Americans of Japanese ancestry were removed from the West coast defense zones to ten inland internment camps. This sensational event, however, was not told to the public in television programs. Not all of the Japanese Americans went to the camps quietly in submission to the Executive Order. Some Japanese Americans distinguished themselves with courageous acts of demanding constitutional rights or by leading mass protests by the internees, but commercial television was not interested in making heroes out of the non-stereotypical Asians.

During the cold war period, television undertook a mission of anti-communism propaganda for which stories of Asian orphans became the most exploited subjects to condemn communist evil and justify American involvement in warfare in Asia. The American defeat in the Vietnam War led to the prolific production of military melodramas which euphemized essentially the colonial war in the Southeast Asia into a sad American tragedy. In the absence of national pride to celebrate the war individual bravery and heroism on battlefields were romanticized, creating a generation of new heroes personified by Sylvester Stallone, Chuck Norris,
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and the like, whereas the Vietnamese perspective of war was peculiarly silenced.

It was only in documentaries and talk shows that Asians were treated fairly and their problems given a serious look. The steady flow of Asian immigrants since 1965 is building up visible communities. These new Asians who are spreading into enclaves of other ethnic minorities are causing interracial hostility much to the guilt relief for white liberals to know that racism is universal under appropriate social conditions. On the other hand, Asians as strong economic competitors have also renewed the hatred and resentment of white supremacists. In commercial television, however, Asian Americans are still excluded from sharing time as well as playing parts of true self without Euro-American distortion. In the brief but illuminating epilogue, the author makes three suggestions of changing the situation by increasing public-supported independent filmmakers, facilitating their access to commercial media institutions, and accelerating legal-political challenges to discriminatory employment of Asian professional writers in the television industry.

Kumiko Takahara
University of Colorado


Paul Zolbrod is known well by scholars of Native American studies for his work on the Navajo and for his commitment to the understanding of Native literature. In this book he takes bold steps to redefine much of what scholars have taken for granted about criticism and definition of the writings and performance literature of Native peoples. He is to be both commended for his approach and questioned.

In challenging the language of contemporary western literary criticism, Zolbrod must use the language that already exists, and herein lies the confusion. Poetry, song, literature, sacred texts, performance—all are incomplete in and of themselves to describe the body of material Zolbrod examines. He begins by stating, "This is a book about poetry" (vii); however, the definition of poetry Zolbrod uses is his own. In the first chapter, he states, "traditional Native American material is not literature strictly speaking." These two statements form the crux of his argument; and the book seeks to explain his meaning and to explicate his new definition of poetry: "I'd define poetry as that art form whose primary medium is language, whether written or spoken (or sung); whether recorded in print, on video or audio tape, or whether packaged in the human memory according to various mnemonic techniques" (7). For
Zolbrod, the term "poetry" has replaced the more common term "literature." Drawing on Geertz, Luchert, and Derrida, and influenced by Tedlock and Rothenberg, Zolbrod argues the value of Native materials with examples from his long-standing work with Navajo traditions as well as examples from the Iroquois. The story of creation, a ceremonial prayer of thanks, the story of the formation of the Iroquois confederacy, and the condolence ritual all serve to model Zolbrod's central thesis concerning definition of these works as poetry.

Although this book challenges assumptions about literature, and about Native literature in particular, it is less convincing than it might be because Zolbrod relies so heavily on comparisons with Anglo American and European writers. He appears to be still tentative about his conclusions and admits that in his comments about the lyricism of some of the translated work there is really no way to know if the translations mirror the cadence or quality of voice of the original.

In the end, Zolbrod seeks "a system that promises initial simplicity in formulating distinctions and permits comparison and contrast as objectively as possible" (121). He is accurate in stating that many readers and listeners do not understand the relationships between orality and the written word, and he provides a structural paradigm in which the dramatic and narrative intersect with the lyrical and colloquial. The book includes a helpful glossary as well as a substantial bibliography that provide both a context for the discussion and a clear understanding of Zolbrod's use of language and definition.

His argument, finally, is for a recognition of the value of the oral materials that have either been ignored or categorized as "other" in demeaning ways. It remains for others to apply his theoretical construct to additional examples.

Gretchen M. Bataille
University of California, Santa Barbara
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