EXPLORATIONS

IN ETHNIC STUDIES

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STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Explorations in Ethnic Studies is an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. The journal is to serve as an advocate for socially responsible research. Contributors to the journal, in response to their communities (academic and non-academic), should determine and propagate success models based on the realities of their constituencies. Contributors to *Explorations* should demonstrate the integration of theory and praxis. The journal affirms the necessity and intention of involving students, teachers, and others who are interested in the pursuit of "explorations" and "solutions" within the context of oppression as it relates to the human experience. *Explorations* provides an expanded communications network for NAIES members, disseminating national and regional information to a multinational audience.

CORRESPONDENCE

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GUEST EDITORIAL

Robert Yoshioka
President, NAIES
San Francisco, California

Let me begin this editorial by formally thanking Dr. Charles Irby, Past President of the NAIES, for his exemplary leadership over the past two years. The membership in general, and the Executive Council in particular, are indebted to Chuck for his commitment and hard work. The Association has grown strong as a result of Chuck's efforts. Our thanks to you, Chuck! We will continue to pursue the ideal of unity through diversity, in its many ramifications, during the next two years.

At the Association meetings in April, we were privileged to hear Mr. Patrick Montgomery of The Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights speak persuasively and compassionately regarding the status of countless persons throughout the world who are enslaved. Elsewhere in this journal is a membership form for the Anti-Slavery Society. I would urge each of you to actively consider membership in the Anti-Slavery Society as a matter of conscience, because as long as one person is bound, as long as one person is enslaved, each of us is diminished.

Over the years there has been expressed a consistent concern for the welfare of various ethnic/minority studies programs. This concern has variously taken the form of overt support for programs in trouble to inviting faculty and students to participate in the NAIES annual conference. It is not enough, anymore, in the face of growing educational, social, and political conservatism to invite minority/ethnic program members to participate in yearly meetings. In order for programs to thrive and not merely survive, it is important to have an independent forum to lend some substance or credibility to program evaluations. The NAIES is moving in the direction of setting up such a system for constructive program evaluations and would welcome any thoughts on this matter.

Over the years, one of the things that has distinguished members of various ethnic/minority groups in their struggles has been the fact that each group has usually had to go it alone. This situation is contributory to the generally agreed upon erosion in the field of ethnic/minority relations. The "divide and conquer" strategy is as old as the hills--and unfortunately just as effective as it ever was. The NAIES is one of the few national organizations that is committed to providing an ongoing forum for open and conciliatory discussions, where participants may come together to share experiences and gather new support. This issue is addressed elsewhere in this volume.

This volume focuses on a number of issues, but is principally engaged with the theme of the most recent NAIES conference: Women and Ethnicity. If you agree or disagree with points raised, please feel free to write and share your thoughts. After all, this is your forum, and without your comments and helpful suggestions, we are less than we can be!

THE ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND ITS COMMITTEE FOR INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

Our aims are in accordance with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948. They are:

1. The elimination of all forms of slavery including forced labour.
2. The promotion of the well-being of indigenous and other threatened peoples.
3. The defence of human rights in accordance with the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948.

If you are in sympathy with these aims you are invited by the Committee to become a member of the Society.

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

To The Secretary,
Anti-Slavery Society
60 Weymouth Street, London, England, W1N 4DX

I have much pleasure in contributing to the funds of The Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights the sum of _____ pounds/dollars per annum and wish to be enrolled as a member.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

An Annual Subscription of £4 and upwards will constitute the subscriber a Member of the Society (USA and Canada $7.00).

An Annual Subscription of £1 will constitute the subscriber an Associate Member of the Society.

Life membership is offered on payment of £75 (USA and Canada $150.00).

It is the Society's practice to send Members the Annual Report and copies of all Society publications, while Associate Members are sent the Society's Annual Report.

Individuals paying income tax in the United Kingdom should contact the Anti-Slavery Society for information concerning subscribing by Deed of Covenant.

EDUCATIONAL REFORM IN LOS ANGELES AND ITS EFFECT UPON THE MEXICAN COMMUNITY, 1900-1930

Gilbert G. Gonzalez
University of California-Irvine

The theme of equal educational opportunity was a major concern of the urban Chicano Movement in the late sixties. Chicanos accused the entire school system of racism and insensitivity towards the Chicano community. Schools, declared the activists, used institutionalized techniques such as intelligence tests and a tracking system to insure that disproportional numbers of Chicano children would be placed in vocational education courses or in classes for the mentally retarded.

Chicano activists pointed to low reading scores, high dropout rates (up to 50 percent of Chicano high school freshmen dropped out before graduation), high enrollment of Chicanos in courses for the educationally mentally retarded, and the exclusive use of English in the classroom as evidence that the educational needs of Chicano children were not being met. They demanded an end to IQ testing, tracking, emphasis on vocational work, and the disregard for Mexican customs and traditions and the Spanish language. Essentially, the demands recognized the viability of community control of schools. The proposed reforms were intended to serve the immediate interests of the Chicano community. The activists demanded that schools be a means for achieving economic and political equality and overall community development.

What are the roots of the antagonisms between school and community? It is only through an historical approach that the nature of the present relationship between the Chicano people and institutions of the dominant society can be made clear. The study of the role of mass public education in the Los Angeles Chicano community during the period 1900-1930 can provide insights into the present conflict between the Chicano community and the schools.

This study attempts to illuminate the historical development of inequality in the educational process. That inequality exists cannot be disputed, although there is argument as to whether or not it is justified. It is assumed that there is no justification for an unequal educational system.

It is very important to recognize the impact which monopoly capitalism has played in the twentieth century. It has served as the force behind the massive ideological and political reform in the United States known as the Progressive Movement. The schooling process has been part of this reform and has been designed accordingly.

The primary characteristic of monopoly capitalism is the extreme concentration of production and finance in the hands of a few giant corporations. Such corporations as Standard Oil, Chase Manhattan Bank, U.S. Steel, Morgan Trust, etc., control large portions of existing capital. At the turn of the present century, it was estimated that the Rockefeller and Morgan banks controlled one-third of the total wealth in the United States. There are many more examples, but the point is that concentration of ownership and production is characteristic of monopoly capitalism. Huge production processes are controlled by a small minority of the population.

The social and political aspects of monopoly capitalism can be summarized as follows:

1. Labor is highly socialized and concentrated in large units of production.

2. The socialization of labor makes it possible for workers to disrupt production nationally or in a specific branch of production for the first time in the history of capitalism.

3. Socialist ideology became popular among the masses in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and violent confrontations between capital and labor occur frequently and with increasing intensity.

Internally, monopolization creates conditions which result in extreme social instability. Simultaneously, monopoly capitalism is in competition with other nations for control of resources and markets abroad. Class harmony at home is a necessary social condition for foreign and domestic expansion. Reforms, then, are needed to preserve existing social relations of production which are constantly threatening to break down. These considerations provided the impetus for the Progressive educational reforms which occurred in the early twentieth century. The aim of these reforms was to create an ideological unity and social stability between capital and labor and simultaneously to reinforce the division of labor in society through tracking, testing, and vocational training.

Within this general need to preserve the relations of production, racism played a leading role. In a nation which had historically relied upon foreign labor, the poorest were often those who were physically and culturally different. Thus, the ideological reflection of the class struggle was often expressed in racist and in anti-foreigner terminology. In the educational process, the existing social relations were strengthened by teaching the poor, and especially the non-whites, to see themselves as naturally inferior and to look upon the capitalist system as neutral, and even as a protector of their interests. The purpose of racism has not been to oppress non-whites by whites but to preserve capitalist relations of production. As such, it serves to separate working people on the basis of racial characteristics and, in so doing, prevents the development of class unity--a dangerous

condition which would undermine interclass harmony. The purpose, then, of racism during the domination of society by monopoly capitalism is to preserve and legitimize existing ideology and social relations through: 1) placing the burden of guilt for poverty upon the poor, the non-white, or the foreigner; 2) preventing the development of unity within the working class by stressing the primacy of "racial" characteristics as the basis for social organization; and 3) reinforcing the relations of production in all areas of the economy by attempting to neutralize class consciousness and to limit political action by working people.

Most historians of Progressivism contend that the Progressive Movement was a democratic movement--that is, one which functioned to protect the interests of the common person. This study disputes that commonly held opinion. The evidence assembled in this article argues that Progressivism promoted neither democracy nor equality in education. On the contrary, the evidence shows that educational reform originating during the period marking the rise of monopoly capitalism was anti-democratic and anti-egalitarian and, further, that educational policy in the United States has not been substantially altered since that time.

This study examines the curricular program of the Los Angeles City Schools during the 1920's and 1930's with special reference to the effect of this program upon Mexican children and, ultimately, upon the Mexican community. Education for the Mexican community in Los Angeles did not provide opportunities for social mobility. In fact, schools limited opportunities for upward mobility through an educational program that consciously reinforced the existing social relations, especially the critical relations between capitalist and worker that threatened to burst apart under the weight of monopoly capitalism.[1]

BACKGROUND FOR EDUCATIONAL REFORM

The evolution of the organization of public schools in Los Angeles paralleled the industrial, demographic, and bureaucratic changes in the city. Using 1880 as a point of departure, we find that in the following fifty-year period Los Angeles underwent a radical transition. In 1880, Los Angeles contained 11,000 citizens; by 1930, the population stood at 1,250,000 inhabitants. In that fifty-year span, Los Angeles had grown one hundred times. By the early 1920's, Los Angeles was increasing its population at the rate of 100,000 per year.

The extreme growth rate necessitated a public bureaucracy to care for the sprawling population and expanding economy. Between

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[1]This author explains in more detail the relationship between monopoly capitalism and Progressive education in "The Relationship Between Monopoly Capitalism and Progressive Theory of Education," *The Insurgent Sociologist* (Fall, 1977).

1910 and 1920, numerous municipal agencies were created. A Housing Commission and a Municipal Charities Commission were established, and the bureaucracy of the public education system was developed.

The social and economic changes naturally affected the educational system. The school population was nineteen times larger in 1930 than it was in 1900, although the population had grown but twelve times during that same period. The school population rose from 20,497 in 1900 to 404,351 in 1930 (Eales, 1955:104). The massive increase in the pupil population pressured the city into devising means to cope with the situation.

The Los Angeles City Schools were faced with enormous problems in their socialization function. Financial, physical, administrative, and educational matters could not be resolved with the old methods. Therefore, a process of school reorganization and reorientation became inevitable.

Between 1900 and 1930, the increasing enrollment could only be accommodated through a steadily enlarging organization. As an example, in 1900 only one high school served the secondary educational needs of the city; by 1930, there were thirty-one.

Special schools, curriculum, and course work were founded between 1900 and 1930 for those unable to read and for foreign students unable to speak English (Eales, 1955:125). At the same time, the Department of Vocational Education began to administer a regular program. In 1917 and 1918, the Division of Educational Research and the Department of Psychology were founded. In 1920, both were merged into the Department of Psychology and Educational Research. It was this department which exerted the greatest influence in curriculum and administrative reform affecting the Mexican community. It was also this department which was the nerve center of oppressive bureaucratic techniques in education.

The school district's educational system was directly affected by the general educational ideas being promulgated throughout the country. The district's associations of elementary and secondary teachers, counselors, and principals, as well as the central administration, lobbied for the most up-to-date approach to education. District publications (prepared by the Department of Psychology and Educational Research), such as the biweekly *Educational Research Bulletin*, for example, usually carried a book review section which informed counselors and teachers of recent, as well as past, publications in psychology and guidance. There were, in addition, frequent excerpts from books and lectures of well-known educators, including Dewey, Bobbit, Thorndike, and Terman; politicians such as Teddy Roosevelt and Wilson; and the lesser-known superintendents of schools of various cities who repeated the messages of the "experts."

Not merely through indirect means were the "experts" instrumental in developing the educational program. In 1924,

Dr. Franklin Bobbit of the University of Chicago was hired to direct the complete reorganization of the high school courses of study. Bobbit, who had previously participated in the commission which reorganized the educational system of the Phillipine Islands (to conform to U.S. imperialist ambitions), performed a similar task for Los Angeles while working out of the Department of Psychology and Educational Research (*School Journal*, 1921a:15). Those teachers who participated in the reorganization of social studies courses were asked to use all pertinent materials "emanating from Teacher's College, Columbia University, University of Chicago, The National Council, The Historical Outlook, etc., for study" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1924a:5).

In the process of developing an educational system to conform to social reality, the social sciences became a central element in the creation of a cooperative citizen. This reorganization of the curriculum resulted in a social studies program whose principal objective was to promote the

> Ability to think, feel, act, and react as an efficient, intelligent, sympathetic and loyal member of the entire social group--that group that is prior to and above differentiation and within which social differentiation occurs. Large-group or citizen consciousness. Sense of membership in the total social group, rather than in some special class. (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1924:3)

That objective was in close correspondence with the expressed wishes of the businessmen and industrialists. In an article appearing in the *Los Angeles School Journal*, the Assistant Director of the Department of Psychology and Educational Research quoted a report of the American Management Association as an example of the broad purpose of education. That quote urged schools to

> . . . prepare the new workers for a better understanding of mutual dependence that employers and employees have upon each other . . . give the new worker those economic, historical and sociological facts which will enable him to judge the truth and soundness of the various doctrines, theories, nostrums, panaceas, etc., with which he may come in contact. (*School Journal*, 1925:28)

As an example of a local school program designed for the interests of local capitalists, the December 10, 1923, issue of the *Los Angeles School Journal* is noteworthy. In an article discussing the forthcoming Teacher's Institute, the topics and speakers were presented. The following composed the vocational education section of that Institute:

"Co-operation of Industry with the Schools"
Sylvester Weaver, Los Angeles Builder's Exchange

"Training for the Building Trades"
Godfrey Edwards, Los Angeles Builder's Exchange

"The King of Mechanics Wanted in Industry"
John E. Van Zant, Paul S. Hoffman Company, Inc.

"Trade Extension"
J. C. Greenburg, in charge of Trade Extension Work for the [Los Angeles] Sanitation Department

Local reform had designed a curriculum that sought to insure social stability and continued capitalist growth. In its most fundamental aspects, Los Angeles schools applied an educational theory that corresponded to the expressed wishes of employers of wage labor.

THE MEXICAN PROBLEM

Within the phenomenal economic spiral, the necessity for a sufficient labor force manifested itself, attracting a large movement of Mexican immigrants and descendants of Mexican immigrants into Los Angeles. Mexican settlements developed mainly in the Eastside in an area known as Maravilla. According to the 1920 Census, 30,000 Mexicans resided in Los Angeles, and by 1930, the number stood at nearly 100,000. Various estimates at the time placed the number much higher, from approximately 150,000 to 200,000. It is highly probably that Mexicans were undercounted. More important for this study than the exact number of Mexicans residing in Los Angeles is the number of Mexican pupils in Los Angeles schools. The school officials interpreted their roles in relationship to both Mexican pupils and the Mexican community. It was this relationship that conditioned the reform of school programs that ultimately affected Mexican children.

Throughout the 1920's, the numbers of Mexican children enrolled in Los Angeles schools increased according to their settlement in the area. In 1923, the total enrollment of Mexican children was slightly above 14,000, or 8.8 percent of the total school enrollment (*School Journal*, 1923a:9). In the next several years, the rise in Mexican enrollment and their concentration in the East Los Angeles area would direct the interest of the educational profession to resolve the "Mexican problem."

In 1926, the Los Angeles school system enrolled 218,097 pupils in all areas of elementary and secondary education. The numbers of Mexican children had increased over 11,500 since 1923 so that in 1926 there were 25,825 Mexican children enrolled, or approximately 11.5 percent of the total. Mexicans were the largest minority by far, followed by Blacks (approximately 5,000) and Japanese (approximately 4,000) (*School District Publications*, 1926:4).

Each year brought new arrivals to the labor market, so that by 1928 Mexican enrollment in Los Angeles schools had climbed to well

over 32,000. This figure represented a major portion of the total "foreign" enrollment in the schools. Not only were Mexican immigrants attracted, but many other immigrant groups as well. In 1920, the city's population was 576,673, of which 112,057 were foreign-born white persons. Nearly 20 percent of the latter group (or 21,598) were born in Mexico. In comparison, in 1910 the foreign-born population numbered 60,584, of whom 5,611 were born in Mexico (*School Journal*, 1921a:23). The overcrowded conditions that plagued the schools would surely reflect upon the attitudes of the educators. In 1922, the high schools which were built to accommodate 13,134 pupils had an enrollment of 17,770. In 1924, the elementary schools had 48,000 more pupils than they had seats.

The increasing enrollment due to economic changes was a problem, but the cause was racially interpreted. In 1922, an editorial in the *Los Angeles School Journal* lamented the increase in foreign-born, especially the Mexican-born, population. The article noted that " . . . during the decade, 1910-1920, while the total population increased 81 percent, the foreign population increased 85 percent, and the Mexican population 285 percent" (*School Journal*, 1922:17).

In another article appearing in the same journal, written by the President of the Board of Education entitled "Problems of the Los Angeles School Board," a description of the scope of the foreign-born problem was examined. It reported that " . . . ten percent of the students in the Los Angeles schools are foreign born. The last state census of children in Los Angeles over three years of age and under eighteen revealed that twenty percent of the parents were aliens." Mexicans, by virtue of their number, became the focus of the attention of the school district's administration.

A strong stand in the Mexican enrollment issue was taken by the Superintendent of Schools, Mrs. Susan B. Dorsey, in a speech delivered before the Principal's Club in 1923. She said: "The first duty of education is to equalize opportunities for every child . . . ." However, she continued:

> . . . it is unfortunate and unfair for Los Angeles, the third largest Mexican city in the world, to bear the burdens of taking care educationally of this enormous group. We do have to bear a spiritual burden quite disproportionate to the return from having this great number of aliens in our midst. This burden comes to us merely because we are near the border. . . . (*School Journal*, 1923:59)

She claimed that Mexicans came and went without establishing roots in the city, although depositing their "burdens." The superintendent further explained that the state and the nation should recognize this unusual problem and help shoulder the responsibility by providing state and federal aid. This sharing of responsibility is important, she continued, because if " . . . we Americanize them we

can live with them, but if we do not, crime will go on at an increasing rate . . . " (*School Journal*, 1923:59).

An assistant supervisor in the Department of Compulsory Education with special work among Mexicans wrote that the "Mexican problem in the Los Angeles School System is principally the product of poverty in the home which, in turn, is largely the appendage of the influx of immigrants from the Republic south of us . . . " (*School Journal*, 1928:154). The administrator traced this poverty to the "original raciality of the Mexicans . . . Mongoalian descent." He further explained this racial theory:

> The infusion of Spanish blood into Aztec and Maya veins has Latinized later generations since the sixteenth century. The mixture of the two is fundamentally responsible for the carefree, if not indolent, characteristic of the race. . . . The lofty spirit of independence of both races explains the composure of the present day Mexican under circumstances and conditions which would appall the Anglo-Saxon or American subject. (*School Journal*, 1928:154)

The same assistant supervisor stated that such alleged Mexican traits as lack of ambition, early sexual activities, and poverty could be resolved " . . . in the establishment of a labor bureau of preferred applicants under the auspices of the school board" (*School Journal*, 1928:154). His suggestion does not seem to have been implemented; at least there is no evidence of the establishment of such an employment agency in the literature.

THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD: THE DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY AND EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

The most important procedures put to use under mass compulsory education in Los Angeles were intelligence testing devices. These procedures were a monumental obstacle to educational opportunity for the minorities and the poor in general. Testing did not initially appear in Los Angeles as a fully developed pedagogical technique. As with most reforms, tests were first employed on a small scale experimental basis. Eventually, testing procedures were the core of the educational process.

Testing devices were first used in Los Angeles in 1917 under an experiment carried out by a hastily organized division within the school system that was given the title, Division of Educational Research. Its first task was to administer an "intelligence survey," using as the basis for the study administration of the Binet test to approximately 2,000 pupils.

How to deal with the variation of mental abilities became the task of another administrative body, the Department of Psychology, created in 1918 with the specific task of classifying tested pupils. The department estimated that, on the basis of the research, 5,000 elementary school pupils possessed an intelligence

too low to profit by the methods used in regular and ungraded classes (*School Publications*, 1919:3). The Department was given further responsibilities encompassing three main areas. These were: 1) the "testing of children's mentality and school accomplishment, 2) devising materials for individual instruction, and 3) supervising the special schools and classes" (*School Publications*, 1931:7) for advanced and retarded pupils.

The two departments, Educational Research and Psychology, were merged into one department in 1920. Originally a staff of two managed the offices, but by 1924 the staff numbered fifteen, and by 1930 the twenty-six staff members administered perhaps the most influential department in the educational bureaucracy of Los Angeles. With each staff increment, the responsibilities of the division also seemed to grow. In 1930,, the department had six major functions. These were:

> (1) High school research and guidance (counseling); (2) secondary school curriculum development; (3) elementary research and guidance; (4) special schools and classes (5) psychological clinic; (6) statistics. (*School Publications*, 1931:7)

Each area of responsibility was administered by a section within the department.

However, testing, classification (or homogenous grouping), curriculum development, and counseling were the four specific areas that reflected the basic core of principles of the entire department and, ultimately, of the city school system. Testing had become a monumental administrative procedure by 1929. In the school year 1928-29, a total of 328,000 tests were given to pupils of the elementary schools alone (*School Publications*, 1929:12). Largely on the basis of these tests, school children were placed in normal classes, gifted rooms, slow rooms, and/or classes for the "mentally retarded" (or "development" centers). More importantly, however, was the correspondence between test scores and social class. Significant correlations were drawn from intelligence surveys administered between 1926 and 1928.

One such study, carried out under the direction of the Department of Psychology and Educational Research, compared the intelligence and achievement of Mexicans to white Americans. The study provides insight into the effect of school policy on Chicanos. In 1931, a group of 1,204 Mexican grade school children were compared to a control group of 1,074 white American children. It was found that the median intelligence quotient for the Mexican group was 91.2, a figure approximately nine points below the "normal" quotient of 100 for an unselected population. The median quotient for the white American group was 105, considerably above that of the Mexican children and five points above the normal for an unselected population. However, it should also be mentioned that the Mexican group averaged twelve months above the age of

their white American counterparts. Grade for grade, Mexican children were one full year behind, or overage, compared to their white companions. The supervisor who directed the study concluded that the factors contributing to the low scores by Mexican children were: 1) language handicap, and 2) a "selection of a type of Mexican family who comes to Los Angeles." Furthermore, she added: "Most of the fathers of the children represented in the group belong to the laboring class" (*School Publications*, 1929:90-92). Upon the basis of the test scores, it was found that approximately 48 percent scored below 90. These children would automatically qualify for the slow-learner rooms. Of the entire group, nearly 18 percent qualified for classes for the mentally retarded.

Thus, there was a very high probability that nearly one-half of the Mexican children would find themselves placed in either slow-learner rooms or in classes for the mentally retarded. The remaining 52 percent had poor chances of ever being placed in an educational program other than the manual vocations.

THE EDUCATIONAL TECHNICIANS: THE COUNSELORS

Surveys such as the above only reflected the overall social levels of the school district. However, counselors, while they were concerned with homogenous groupings within schools, were consciously focusing primarily on individual pupils. Each elementary school counselor's report furnished "three separate listings of those children who need . . . special attention." First, there were those children with IQ levels above 125 who qualified for "gifted" rooms. These rooms were designed to give an enriched program to children of superior mental endowment (*School Publications*, 1929:12). At the other end of the scale, children whose IQ was 70 or below were candidates for "mentally retarded" rooms. On the basis of IQ alone, the students were considered for the group, or room, corresponding to their mental level. Once selected, the pupil was then given a series of tests designed to diagnose the interests and strengths upon which the teachers would base their approach to instructing the student (*School Publications*, 1929:12).

The segregation of children considered to be of abnormal mentality was founded upon three basic criteria: a) that the more intelligent pupils were to be accelerated; b) that the backward, or retarded, pupil restrained the superior pupils from progressing; and c) that they formed a stagnant pool of constant failures. Criteria were directly related to each other since the consensus was that the brighter pupils were held back by the slower pupils. Therefore, both groups were segregated. Only the "average" pupil was left alone to seek achievement in the world of mediocrity.

The counselors tended to view themselves as objective, scientifically trained professionals whose work was central to the proper functioning of the educational process. Their principal educational goal was the "satisfactory adjustment of the individual," guided by a "scientific attitude" (*Educational Research*

Bulletin, 1925a:13). Under the mantel of a science, counselors gave to themselves (and, in fact, were given) near absolute power and responsibility over the pupils with whom they came into contact through the medium of educational testing. When presented with the "scientific" results of the intelligence test, few could muster an opposing argument, and very few did in Los Angeles. All the evidence weighed upon the side of the scientific professionals. Indeed, the arguments appeared logical, well thought out, and progressive.

Not only was the Department of Psychology and Educational Research in a break with past methods of administration and education, it was also carrying out a crusade to convince the entire school system that the "scientific method" was the correct approach to education. The literature of the department reflected this crusading spirit imbued with a self-righteousness and moral indignation at those who failed to recognize "science." In 1923, the Director of the Division of High School Research of the department wrote that one of the duties of the counselor was to " . . . sell his mission to the teachers and to act as a leader in the faculty in the cooperative study and solution of the modern problems of education" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1923:1). Merely by being given a wide range of responsibilities, it was inevitable that the scientific professionals would enlarge their image. Their feelings of omnipotence can be understood by their functions, which were (according to their literature) to result in a "more accurate classification of pupils for purposes of instruction" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1925:1).

The director of the department emphasized the importance of scientific techniques in an article appearing in the department's journal. She wrote:

> Every situation investigated, every child tested is, or should be, a research problem, and strictly scientific procedure should be observed. Data scientifically obtained and treated can, if properly recorded and evaluated, be used at any time as the basis of conclusions which may prove a genuine contribution to educational and psychological knowledge. (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1925b:2-3)

A high school principal exclaimed that it was " . . . only with the advent of the counselor that we have had our thinking organized and set upon a scientific foundation." He added that not only was the counselor invaluable in the administration and program, counselors also kept him "fresh in . . . educational philosophy and assisting me in presenting to the faculty those studies which get at the actual facts" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926:2).

However, it was not merely in the administration of tests and in the computing of quotients that counselors were involved. Counselors were told that their role was a means to an end, that is, they were to set " . . . up the best possible educational and life

career program for Johnny . . . " (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1925c:3). It was not simply a matter of formulas and data; counselors were using a means through which human beings could be more accurately socialized to the society in which they lived. The scientific method was only a means through which a socialization process could be more accurately and efficiently achieved. Somehow the recognition of individual differences was perceived to be a humanistic breakthrough. The ideological nature of the educational process was mystified in the numerous myths of the educational program--myths that were in essence part of the educational process itself. "The school counselor has developed in recognition of the individual differences existing among children," wrote the assistant director of the department. Furthermore, he added that for normal pupil growth to proceed, the educational procedures must be modified so that the "school may be fitted to the child" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1925c:5).

The director was most emphatic in exclaiming that the recognition of individual differences " . . . both in innate ability and in personality make-up" had resulted in the need to modify curricula and teaching methods. Guidance, she continued, " . . . based on carefully collected and evaluated data, is our only hope of diminishing the enormous waste in human material which an inflexible school system necessarily produces" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926a:1). The proclaimed ideology of the scientists was a mixture of the highly technical and the humanistic, but, in fact, it was a method of intensifying individualism within children in an orderly and efficient manner. The corresponding results were a social stratification of schools within the Los Angeles school system.

COUNSELORS: THEIR FUNCTION IN THE SCHOOLS

Only by examining the day-to-day work of counselors as outlined by the department's guidelines and reports can we accurately assess the importance of the counseling program in the school program. These operations involved four main areas: (1) testing, (2) school surveys, (3) classification, and (4) curricula. The Report of the Committee on Analysis of High School Counseling in Los Angeles is an important source because it reveals in detail the function and operation of counselors (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926a:2-6).

Counselors became involved in their schools through a step process of "gathering . . . facts about the individual children and about the school as a whole." When these facts were tabulated, a "scientific guidance program" became possible. Each child was to have "a complete social case history." Information gathered included:

> . . . age, mental and chronological, the intelligence quotient, the nationality, the father's occupation, the amount of retardation or acceleration, the achievement status in the various subjects, the physical defects, the outstanding

> character qualities, and the pupil's general attitude toward the school. (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926a:2)

Once these facts were assembled, a "complete picture of the school as a whole" could be projected. The picture was referred to by counselors as the school survey, an analysis of the factors necessary for the counselor to carry out his assignment. This survey also assessed the schools' efficiency in the

> . . . various subjects, the central tendencies of the individual mental abilities, the amount of retardation and acceleration in various grades, the opportunities for social development, the moral status as shown in the number of disciplinary problems occurring, and the physical vitality as manifested in the attendance and health records. (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926a:3)

Several tasks occupied the major portion of the high school counselor's time; two of these were student and school surveys and curriculum. The counselors had to be thoroughly knowledgeable about the courses offered in order that proper guidance could be given. However, guidance was still dependent upon the occupational opportunities available "in the community." Thus, counselors undertook surveys in cooperation with the Department of Vocational Education and " . . . in cooperation with the occupations teachers of the city." Committees were formed from the cooperative effort which assembled "data concerning the various lines of work." This data included " . . . a description of the job, the preparation required for entrance, the income, the opportunities for learning and advancement, and the number of workers in demand" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926a:3).

The occupational surveys were realistic to the point of delineating occupations open to racial and ethnic groups. The report stated that

> Some of the specific studies being undertaken by these groups include surveys of the occupations suitable to and firms employing Negro, Mexican, and Jewish help. (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926a:3)

It was not unusual that Blacks, Mexicans, and Jews were singled out for special guidance consideration. However, it was "chiefly on the basis of test scores that pupils are classified into equal ability groups" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926a:4). Nevertheless, teachers' recommendations, achievement test scores, and educational records were also used in the classification procedure. The report made clear that only " . . . when there is strong evidence that a child is of very low potentiality, will the counselor suggest to him a vocation which is apparently within the range of his ability" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926a:4). Furthermore, the report added, it was good for the child to keep the curricula at his or her level: "The counselors seek, with the help of

tests, to free children from the possibility of attempting tasks far beyond their ability and to avoid the resulting pain, discouragement, and humiliation" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926a:4).

Thus, high school students were placed at an "individualized" learning level corresponding to an occupational position waiting to be filled. The tests invariably selected the poorest students for occupations that were of the manual variety, and since these were not of high social value, counselors exerted "a great effort" to raise their importance in the consciousness of the students. The report stated it as follows:

> A great effort is made to overcome the traditional feeling that it is unworthy and ignoble to enter anything but the professions . . . he need not feel disgrace that he is not preparing for one of the professions. (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926a:4)

Through a bit of mental engineering, the real difference in pay and social status between manual occupations and professional occupations was to be overcome. All one had to do was to "think" he was equal to another, and equality resulted. However, students were not given the opportunity to fully exercise their capabilities and desires. A number of techniques were used to distinguish mental levels of students. Some schools gave colored cards to each student admitting "them to the proper classes." These cards stated whether their work was "Honor College Recommended," "College Recommended," or "High School Graduation." "In other high schools the teachers were given lists by the counselor indicating each child's group." In another school, the counselor prepared a directory with pertinent information on each student, such as IQ, "previous number of failures, and a group . . . in which he should be enrolled" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1926a:5).

The director of the High School Research Division of the department was much more blunt in his frank assessment of the role of counselors. He wrote that the job of the counselor was " . . . that of the placement of the misfit" (*Educational Research Bulletin*, 1923:1).

Teachers were urged by the department to "be conversant with the economic and social conditions in which they teach, so that they may the easier guide pupils towards selecting activities which the parents will consider worthy and will support" (*School Publications*, 1929:46). Thus, prior to the benefit of an IQ test, students were already categorized into educational areas corresponding to their socioeconomic level. In the counseling and guidance that followed, the categorization was reinforced until the schools became a microcosm of the society which they served. Children were placed into general occupational preparations through various pedagogical devices. That which concerns us here is vocational, or manual, training.

The first means of placing children into manual training was the development rooms and centers for the alleged "mentally retarded" of the higher elementary grades. In 1928-29, a total of 2,554 children, representing only one-fourth of the referrals, were enrolled in this program, which was designed as an educational program for the mentally defective. Each child was "programmed" with due consideration to a great variety of factors, such as " . . . the child's health and nutrition, his emotional stability, his social development, his chronological age, his mental age, his particular grade placement in the vocational or fine arts, and his particular industrial adaptability" (*School Publications*, 1929:71). Once enrolled, there was no means of returning these children to normal classes. Their problems, their social level, became permanently fixed within the normal operation of the institution. The philosophy of the development centers was rigid: each child "must become a part" of the "industrial world." No alternatives were possible. The average IQ of the students was approximately 63 (*School Publications*, 1929:80).

The limits of a "successful accomplishment," or achievement, were external, or social, and impinged upon the classroom. The development centers and classes were " . . . located in the sections of the city where there was greatest need for them." Thus in 1930, of the eleven centers, ten were located in areas characterized as "laboring class" communities. Enrollment figures clearly describe the social level of the students, since attendance varied with the agricultural work seasons:

> The children enter in Fall, due to the seasonal employment in the country, where the children and their parents are employed picking fruits and nuts. The enrollment reaches the peak in the Spring when many centers and rooms have to maintain waiting lists. The month of June usually brings an appreciable exodus when the children and their parents go out into the fields to harvest the onion crop. (*School Publications*, 1931:116)

Each center's program was based upon some type of manual work. Each center had a "full-time manual education teacher and a full-time crafts teacher. The larger centers had a full-time agricultural teacher and the smaller centers had the service of an agricultural teacher two or three days a week." The centers divided the course work for boys and girls, reinforcing the existing sexual division of labor found in society. Centers were "equipped with a home economics unit" which consisted "of a cooking room, cafeteria, sewing room, and laundry. . . . " A manual education unit served the male students. It consisted of a " . . . main workroom, a lumber room, a paint room, and a tool room; a hand-work unit with provision for loom weaving, clay-work, basketry, and miscellaneous types of craft work" (*School Publications*, 1931:115).

The center's population was largely "from foreign homes" and was handicapped by a language "problem," according to a survey of nearly 1,600 children taken by the Department of Psychology and

Educational Research (*School Publications*, 1931:122). Mexicans, Blacks, Russians, Asians, Jews, and Italians were represented among the children. Blacks were segregated into two centers; Mexican children constituted the entire population of one center, one-third in two others, and one-fourth in two more. In all, Mexican children were highly represented in five of the eleven development centers.

The development rooms produced no skilled labor for the economy, nor was there any appreciable relation between training and later occupation. Of the 325 who graduated from the development centers in 1928-29, 65 were working in agriculture as fruit pickers, 60 sold newspapers, and the remainder were scattered over a wide range of unskilled manual occupations (*School Publications*, 1929:89-90). Even though there seemed to be no relation between the graduates' occupations and the training program, there was, nevertheless, a definite attempt to train the students for particular occupations. Apparently, at times the plans were successful. One administrator found that training girls in laundry work enabled them to hold positions in large laundries when they left school. In fact, he stated, " . . . several employers have told us that a dull girl makes a very much better operator on a mangle than a normal girl." Furthermore, he stated, " . . . fitting the person to the job reduces the turnover in industry, and is, of course, desirable from an economic point of view" (*School Publications*, 1929:87). That "perfect fit" was also a result of the psychological conditioning that the schools so eloquently struggled to inculcate.

CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION IN THE HIGH SCHOOLS

As industrialization proceeded, the labor needs of industry were reflected in the district's educational program. By 1930, the larger outlines of educational reform regarding testing, teaching, counseling, and curriculum development had already been institutionalized in Los Angeles. All that needed to be done was to fill in the particulars, especially in curriculum development. It was made clear by the fledgling Division of Educational Research "that the demands of commerce and industry must be met so far as they represent the general need . . . " (*School Publications*, 1918:5).

The purpose of schooling was interwoven with and, ultimately, shaped by capitalism. The preparation of students to enter "the business and industrial world" was more than just an abstract preparation for "life." It was an education molded by the interests of capital. The director of Vocational Education understood the responsibility of schools: "Since Los Angeles is more and more becoming a manufacturing city, the demand for men and women for industry is clearly evident" (*School Journal*, 1920:7). School administrators were quite disturbed, for example, that in a survey of eighth grade boys it was found that "[n]o one had determined to enter an automobile factory" (*School Journal*, 1920:7). Furthermore, the survey found that pupils' vocational aspirations and

labor needs clearly did not correspond. This was found to be an unnecessary and inefficient barrier to the smooth transition from school to work. The solution to the problem was thought to be proper placing of students in school work commensurate with their aptitudes and abilities. "If the change of interest can be brought about during the school career," stated a report of the Los Angeles City Schools, "a large saving in time and energy for the pupils and their future employers may be saved." Moreover, the report continued, it

> . . . is not uncommon for the labor turnover in business houses and in factories to exceed 200 percent per year. This is very expensive as each new employee must become accustomed to his new place before he is able to do his best work, and a large part of the labor turnover is due to dissatisfaction and unrest on the part of the employee. (*School Journal*, 1920:7)

By 1920, the Los Angeles School District had organized an efficient approach to balancing curriculum and labor needs. Teachers of vocational education held biweekly conferences " . . . examining minutely the basic occupations listed in the U.S. Census Classification of Gainful Pursuits, to determine just what should be the definite content of class instruction . . . " (*School Journal*, 1920:7).

Vocational courses thus became arranged to suit the needs of the business and industrial world. Simultaneously, pedagogical goals were based upon these needs. Thus a "boy or girl" applying for a position and confronted with the embarrassing question, "What can you do?" was a pedagogical problem. The schools were to prepare students so they might be spared the agony of the employer's question. "The employer," stated the school district's report, "expects immediate service and production . . . " (*School Publications*, 1922:5). Thus the question "What can you do?" became a legitimate pedagogical problem resolved through the public school's program.

The question was not applied universally since it was modified by IQ tests, achievement scores, teachers' assessments, and grades. Students were chosen for vocational courses primarily on the basis of the IQ test and other selected criteria. The results of these methods reflected the class structure of society. Students of low socioeconomic status, as well as those with low IQ's, were given far narrower choices for entering the wide range of education available.

School administrators held on to the belief that the individual "blossomed" within an individualized curriculum. One wrote that "education is merely the manner of training the mind and body that will enable the individual to best adjust himself to his environment, with the incidental advantages of economic independence, self-realization, and . . . happiness" (*School Journal*, 1920:7). However, he continued, as far as vocational education was

concerned, it was the "dull pupil" who was particularly suited for such a self-fulfilling experience. Lack of mental ability was no longer a cause for failure, for somewhere along the line there was an individualized course of study that corresponded to one's IQ. Following Lewis Terman's "discovery" that an IQ score could indicate the general occupational aptitude, courses of study were arranged along the lines indicated by the IQ score.

However, vocational courses were not entirely the result of the school district's initiative. The local Chamber of Commerce, as well as individual businessmen, not only supported the schools but also worked closely with them.

The cooperative efforts of the schools and industry proceeded "upon very practical lines and registered remarkable success," wrote one administrator (*School Journal*, 1921:3). The manager of the Industrial Department of the Chamber of Commerce agreed:

> The interest of the businessmen in the schools of Los Angeles is naturally keen, inasmuch as he helps pay the bills of the schools. But his interest does not end there in dollars and cents. Employees of his concern are the products of the public schools and their efficiency depends in large measure upon the methods employed in the schools. (*School Journal*, 1922:16)

The cooperative spirit produced positive results. Vocational education was placed on more equal terms with the regular school subjects, and a committee, formed of representatives of the Chamber of Commerce and the Board of Education, met on a regular basis to resolve pedagogical questions involving vocational work. It is not clear how long this committee operated, but what is clear is that a steadily enlarging scope of educational activities brought both the Chamber and the school district into quite close cooperation.

The Director of Vocational Education wrote in 1924 that "Los Angeles was fortunate in bringing about . . . most wholesome cooperation in the schools . . . from business and industry." He added:

> In this city we hold that for the normal child education should be liberal and general in the earlier years of the child and remain so until the senior high school. However, in a city so large we find groups of children, usually of adolescent age, who more readily obtain their general education through actual participation in various shop activities. For those, vocational education often is of great advantage. (*School Journal*, 1924:41)

Not only were the higher administrative levels in close touch with business and industry, counselors also regularly surveyed the employment possibilities in the school's immediate community. One principal urged his colleagues " . . . to be in close touch with the leading businessmen and women in his district, for through them

he can sense the desires and needs of his people, at the same time gaining the confidence of the community as a whole" (*School Journal*, 1926:13). A principal of a high school noted the cooperation and exclaimed, the "Chambers of Commerce and other similar organizations . . . have aligned themselves with the schools in carrying out educational programs and campaigns" (*School Journal*, 1922b:6). A teacher at a high school wrote:

> Before sending boys and girls out to accept positions they must be taught that, technically expert though they may be, they must ever keep in mind that their employers carry the responsibility of the business and outline the work, and that the employees must be pliant, obedient, courteous, and willing to help the enterprise. . . . (*School Journal*, 1927:16)

Los Angeles schools were particularly boastful of their relationship to capital. An editorial appearing in the *Los Angeles School Journal* (1927:44) summarized the situation well: "Teachers and business people are alike in building the future. Such cooperation as exists in Los Angeles is a long step toward an amalgamation of education and life."

Each of the regular junior and senior high schools offered vocational courses for males and females, although the distribution of these courses was not equal. Some senior and junior high schools had extraordinary numbers of vocational courses, while others had only one or two. Not surprisingly, in the east side where the bulk of the foreign born resided, a concentration of vocational courses was evident. The two east side schools, Lincoln and Roosevelt, had unusually high numbers of vocational courses. Of the thirty-one high schools operating in 1932, only eight offered "class A" all-day vocational courses for males. Class A schools set aside "three clock hours for trade instruction . . . one and one-half for trade instruction, and one and one-half clock hours for academic instruction" (*School Journal*, 1927a:9). There were a total of thirty-one class A courses available at these eight schools. Lincoln and Roosevelt offered seventeen of these; Fremont, located in another predominantly working class section of the city, offered nine class A courses. Thus, three high schools offered twenty-six of the thirty-one class A vocational courses. They were all in working class sections of the city.

The number of non-class A vocational courses for males clustered again around the working class neighborhood schools. Lincoln had seventeen of these courses, Roosevelt offered eighteen, and Jefferson had eleven. University High School, on the west side, offered only one vocational course and one of the class A variety. The emphasis is more significant when it is recognized that only eighteen vocational subjects were made available.

The evidence strongly points to the heavy emphasis upon vocational work in certain sections of the city, particularly the east side where the bulk of the Mexican community resided.

Virtually no vocational work was being done in at least half of the high schools in 1929; yet in that same year, Lincoln, Roosevelt (on the east side), and Jefferson (in the Mexican-Black central section) combined made available for their students forty-six of the seventy regular vocational courses taught in the entire city. Roosevelt and Lincoln alone offered thirty-five vocational courses (*School Journal*, 1927a:9).

Vocational courses for girls, aided by state and federal funds, followed similar distribution patterns. For instance, homemaking was offered at only four schools: Lafayette Junior High (with an enrollment of 36 percent Black, 14 percent Mexican, and 30 percent Jewish) (*School Journal*, 1927b:23), Belvedere Junior High (51 percent Mexican), Hollenbeck (Mexican and Jewish), and Jefferson (mixed working class). Lincoln offered dressmaking, millinery, and power sewing. Roosevelt offered dressmaking, sewing, power sewing, and personal hygiene. What this in fact meant was that of six vocational subjects for females, Lincoln offered three, Roosevelt four, and Fremont two. Only seven schools taught vocational courses for women. All of them were located in immigrant and poor neighborhoods (*School Journal*, 1927a:10).

A very special example of the vocational emphasis for Mexican children was the case of the San Fernando Elementary School. The school principal requested that the school, "attended entirely by Mexicans" totalling 600 students, be officially changed "to become a Mexican Industrial School" (*School Journal*, 1923b:23). The superintendent of schools and the Board of Education were favorably disposed to such a change in school purpose, which was to "better fit the boys and girls to meet their problems of life in the future years." The regular school work was thought to be appropriate for the lower grades, "but the older children will have a longer time to finish their academic work, and will have more vocational training." The latter was to consist of a pragmatic program:

> The girls will have more extensive sewing, knitting, crocheting, drawn work, rug weaving and pottery. They will be taught personal hygiene, home-making, care of the sick. With the aid of a nursery they will learn the care of little children. The boys will be given more advanced agriculture and shop work of various kinds. (*School Journal*, 1923b:23)

It is not clear whether the school actually operated as a Mexican Industrial School since there is no further mention in any of the school's publications. What was significant was the continual emphasis upon vocational education for Mexican children, even to the point of creating a Mexican Industrial School.

In conclusion, the Los Angeles educational program in the 1920's and early 1930's was characterized by an adherence to general Progressive techniques and philosophy. Los Angeles had reached a stage in its development during the 1920's during which educational reform became necessary. These reforms insured that the Mexican

community would be subjected to a narrow, one-dimensional educational program that stressed non-academic vocational course work. Channelled into these courses by the counseling program, Mexican children became a major portion of the students in vocational course work and in slow learner classrooms.

For those thousands of Mexican children in public schools, education was not an opportunity for social mobility. Instead, their education was designed to benefit the interests of capital. Simultaneously, Mexican pupils were being trained in numbers far out of proportion to their percentage of the school population for predetermined occupations in the economy, usually in the lowest paying categories, which most of their fathers and mothers had entered upon immigrating.

Los Angeles was not alone in implementing such an educational program. A 1933 study by the U.S. Office of Education reported identical schooling programs in the Los Angeles, Denver, San Antonio, and El Paso school districts. Their common approach placed Mexican pupils " . . . into a course of study suited to their needs," which was a non-academic curriculum emphasizing manual training (U.S. Department of the Interior, 1933).

Thus, the normal operation of free, mass, and compulsory education was one means by which the Mexican community supplied the capitalist economy with an "educated" labor force. The schools, agents of social stability, served the public, but only after that service had been molded to the specifications and the interests of monopoly capitalism.

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THE ASIAN WOMAN IN AMERICA*

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Both females and males, regardless of their racial ethnic group, are seriously limited in their information about Asian women. Far too often the system educates individuals about race and sex as two distinct and separate categories. Consequently, Asian women, as well as other women of color, are viewed either as members of their ethnic group or their sexual group, and rarely as members of both groups simultaneously. This paper presents an overview of the historical context and the present-day status of Asian women in America as well as implications for education and change.

Asian women have been in the United States for over 120 years. Their roots were started in the 1850's when a large influx of Chinese came into this country. These immigrants entered the United States with hopes of earning enough money so that they could return to China and buy land. They had no intention to reside permanently in this country. Natural catastrophies of flood and famine and the political disasters of unrest and rebellion in China were factors causing the Chinese to seek their fortunes overseas. Within this mass movement, there were few Chinese women. In fact, by 1890, there were only 3,868 Chinese females compared to 103,620 Chinese males (Jung, 1974).

One of the inevitable conditions resulting from the disproportionate sex ratio between the Chinese male and Chinese female was prostitution. According to Jung, several hundred Chinese prostitutes arrived by ship from Hong Kong as early as 1852:

> The majority of these women were not originally prostitutes but had been sold to men in Hong Kong who later forced them into prostitution. (Jung, 1974)

This condition existed through the years. In the late 1880's and early 1900's, the Chinese women in the United States were severely oppressed as they were mere slaves and sexual commodities.

The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited the entry of Chinese women who were not the wives of classes of Chinese exempt from the Act. Those classes were merchants, students, and teachers. Since the bulk of Chinese immigrants were laborers,

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their wives, if they were married, were not allowed to immigrate. This situation further added to the imbalanced sex ratio. In addition, states passed miscegenation laws which prevented Chinese males from intermarrying with white females. The result was that Chinese immigrant men lived out lonely, desolate lives in this country while attempting to amass their fortunes. The development of a Chinese bachelor society was a product of the imbalanced sex ratio.

Chinese women were permitted to enter this country in 1943 when the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 was repealed. Amendments to the Immigration Act of 1924 and the War Brides Act of 1947 promoted family unity and helped to equalize the sex ratio in the Chinese American population. However, this population is still experiencing the consequences of the Exclusion Act as reflected in the highly imbalanced sex ratio in certain age categories.

The life of Chinese immigrant women in this country has been described by Jen:

> Once settled in America, the Chinese immigrant mother is faced with the economic struggle of survival in a strange, hostile country. She is too often the "cheap labor" for white America's ruling class . . . sewing a $50.00 dress for 50¢, washing dishes at a "cheap" Chinese restaurant, making beds for tourists in a luxury hotel, or keeping house for those who just "love their industrious, amusing Chinese domestics." (Jen, 1971)

The lives of Chinese immigrant women have been patterned on the Confucian ethic--to serve their fathers in youth, husbands in marriage, and their sons in old age. The basic elements of Chinese society were filial piety and the strong family unit. Consequently, Chinese women have sacrificed for their families without complaint because all of their hopes are expressed through their children. Their individuality becomes defined in terms of their role within the family and the family's position within society:

> She demands from her daughters and daughters-in-law subserviance to their husbands careers and wishes. "It is the woman and her mother who is chastised when her home, cooking, or children are unpleasant," she tells us. And when either sons or daughters are involved in politics, she implores us not to challenge the authorities. When we protest against the racist war or go on strike for Asian studies programs, she cries and tells us that we must be faithful to the welfare of our family, that all else is beyond our concern. (Jen, 1971)

The cultural values of passivity and submission are passed on to Chinese American females who are born in this country.

The immigration of Japanese women was similar to that of Chinese women in that very few came during the late 1800's. However,

unlike the Chinese pattern, Japanese women began coming in a continuous stream from 1900 to 1920. The reason for this difference was that many young Japanese male immigrants began to bring over wives. Census figures show that in 1900, there were 985 females out of a total Japanese population of 24,326; and by 1920, there were 22,193 women out of a total Japanese population of 111,010 (Gee, 1974).

The "picture bride" practice was the major way for single Japanese male immigrants to acquire wives. This practice was an extension of the traditional arranged marriage system in Japan:

> Picture bride marriages grew out of the *omiaikekkon* or arranged marriage. An agreed upon go-between or go-betweens carried out the negotiations between Japanese families throughout the selection process, and the initial customary meeting or *omiai* between prospective brides and bridegrooms often was preceded by an exchange of photographs, especially in cases in which the families were separated by long distance. Apart from the fact that the partners to a union neither met during the course of negotiations nor were both present at the wedding ceremony, the picture bride marriage satisfied all the recognized social conventions regarding marriage in Japan. (Gee, 1974)

Picture-bride marriages were perceived by the surrounding dominant white society as "an immoral social custom antithetical to American Christian ideals" (Gee, 1974). Whites rationalized that because Japanese immigrants participated in such a degrading practice, they would never be able to assimilate or "melt" into the mainstream of the United States. Claims such as these led to the Japanese government discontinuing the issuance of passports to picture brides in 1920. This act, "along with the subsequent 1924 Immigration Act left 42.5 percent of the adult Japanese males still single in America with no hopes of getting married" (Gee, 1974).

The overall importance of the immigration of Japanese women was that they made the Japanese American family unit possible. This unit produced children who were born in the United States and were U.S. citizens by birth. This second generation represented "the transition from a society of single male sojourners to permanent immigrants" (Gee, 1974).

Japanese pioneer women in the United States are known as Issei, referring to first generation present in this country. These Issei women did not lead an easy life. They immediately began to work alongside their husbands because of constant deprivation and the need for money. Two women recounted:

> At the beginning I worked with my husband picking potatoes or onions and putting them in sacks. Working with rough-and-tumble men, I became weary to the bones; waking up in the mornings I could not bend over the wash basin.

> Sunlight came out about 4:00 a.m. during the summer in the Yokima Valley. I arose at 4:30. After cooking breakfast, I went out to the fields. There was no electric stove or gas like now. It took over one hour to cook, burning kindling wood. (Gee, 1974)

The responsibilities of childbearing and housekeeping were additional burdens for Issei women. Childbirth was probably the greatest hardship due to the lack of professional health care. For example, doctors were not readily available in rural areas where immigrants lived, were too expensive, or would not treat Japanese women. Thus, the alternatives were to deliver by oneself or use the services of a midwife.

> Post-natal recuperation was a luxury, in most households. Since wives were economic units crucial to the family incomes, they often worked until the day of childbirth and were working within three days afterwards. (Fujitomi and Wong, 1973)

Child raising usually was the sole responsibility of women as a result of the distinct sexual division of labor within the home. One Issei woman recalled:

> My husband is a Meiji man. He did not think of helping in the house or with the children. No matter how busy I may have been, he never changed the baby's diapers. Though it may not be right to say this ourselves, we Issei pioneer women from Japan worked solely for our husbands. At mealtime, whenever there was not enough food, we served a lot to our husbands and took very little for ourselves. (Gee, 1974)

Japanese pioneer women were extraordinary women. They had the physical stamina and moral courage to persist and survive from the time they left Japan through their adaptation to life in America. They had the strength to survive despite the formidable conditions in which they lived and faced each day.

Second generation Japanese women in America are called Nisei. Both Issei and Nisei women went through upheaval from their homes and communities and relocation to concentration camps in this country during World War II. Cultural values of submission and passivity have persisted in forming the lives of Nisei women:

> Duty and obligation continue to guide the Nisei woman's behavior and lifestyle. As a young girl, she was raised to become a respectful wife and good mother to her sons. Getting a college education was not important, so only a minority of the Nisei women have college degrees. Today, the Nisei women, typically, hold occupations as factory workers, waitresses, secretaries, nurses, and teachers. The major concern of the Nisei women is their families. Like the Issei family, the Nisei family is vertically structured. The husband is the decision maker, the head of the household. . . . Mothers continue to live

> vicariously through their children, encouraging all of them, regardless of sex, to pursue, at least, a college degree. In order to keep their children through school, the Nisei women will sacrifice their own luxuries to provide the children with the opportunities denied themselves. (Fujitomi and Wong, 1973)

The behaviors and lifestyles of Nisei women have influenced Japanese American women of the third and fourth generations.

Besides Asian women of Chinese and Japanese ancestry, there are other women of Asian ancestry in this country, i.e., Korean, Filipino, Vietnamese, South Sea Islands, and Hawaiian. Early immigration patterns of these groups are similar to those of the Chinese and Japanese: men came first and in greater numbers than women.

Today Asians comprise the second largest ethnic group immigrating to the United States. Therefore, a proportion of Asian women in this country are foreign born. For these women, the basic struggle for survival is often complicated by their inadequate language skills in English, and they are limited to Asian ghetto areas where their native languages are spoken.

Many aspects of the history of Asian American women in this country are still ongoing. For example, Asian immigrants as well as citizens are still victims of the "cheap labor" syndrome. The importance of knowing about history is that much of it defines the present situation of Asian American women.

EMPLOYMENT

Although the 1970 Census reported that Asian Americans have higher educational levels than white Americans, the reality of the situation is that Asian Americans tend to be underemployed. They are not in job positions which are commensurate to their levels of education. Oftentimes Asian Americans will be maintained in entry level jobs for years. When employers have been asked the reasons for non-promotion, typical responses are: "They lack aggression, they're too quiet, they're passive."

Asian women have increasingly entered the job market. Data of the 1970 Census revealed that between 1960 and 1970, the labor force participation rate of Chinese women increased from 44 percent to 50 percent, with the greatest increase occurring in the working patterns of married women (1960--13 percent, 1970--48 percent) (1970 Census). Labor force participation rates of other groups of Asian women in this country are:

Group	1960	1970	
Japanese	44%	50%	
Filipino	36%	55%	
Korean	*	42%	*Date not available
Hawaiian	*	48%	in 1960 Census.

The labor force participation rate of Filipino women is the highest nationally for any group of women. (According to the 1970 Census, 41 percent of all women are in the labor force.)

Although the labor force participation rates of foreign-born and U.S.-born Chinese women are approximately the same, there is a distinct difference in the kind of jobs which they hold:

> Over half of all employed U.S.-born Chinese women are employed as typists, secretaries, sales clerks and other low status white-collar workers. Less than a quarter of employed foreign-born Chinese women are found in these occupations. 37% of the foreign-born Chinese women are working in factory-related blue-collar jobs (most of them as semi-skilled operatives). A mere 9% of the U.S.-born Chinese women are employed in such occupations. (1970 Census)

This pattern of U.S.-born Asian women being found in white-collar occupations--chiefly as clerical workers--and foreign-born Asian women in blue-collar jobs is found with women of Japanese descent. For Filipino women, the occupational pattern varies from area to area. In Hawaii, the majority are employed in blue-collar jobs; in California, they are in low-status white-collar jobs; and outside of California, the majority of Filipino women are employed as professionals. It should be noted that Filipino women, in general, are much better educated than their male counterparts, and the proportion of Filipino women with a college education (27 percent) is the highest for any population group, male or female (U.S. Census, 1974). Despite the facts that Filipino women are highly educated and in the work force, their median income levels are only slightly higher than those of other women. Of all Filipino women, 56 percent have an income less than $4,000, a very high percentage of low-income earners (U.S. Census, 1974).

Although there are large numbers of Asian women in the labor market, they tend to be found in either low-status white-collar jobs or blue-collar work. Their occupational status is also reflected in the median wages of full-time, year-round Asian American female workers:

Group	Wage
White Men	$7,391
White Women	$4,777
Filipino Women	$3,513
Japanese Women	$3,236
Chinese Women	$2,686
Hawaiian Women	$2,931
Korean Women	$2,741

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1971; *Negro Population*, 1973;

Persons of Spanish Origin, 1973; *Japanese, Chinese and Filipinos in the United States*, 1973.

In summary, there has been an increasing number of Asian women entering the labor market in this country. U.S.-born Asian women are found in white-collar clerical jobs, and foreign-born Asian women are found in blue-collar occupations. Their wages are below the median for white women, and they tend to be underemployed in light of their education.

STEREOTYPING

Asian American women are victims of both sexual and racial stereotyping--a position of double jeopardy. The most common stereotypes are:

1. The docile, submissive Asian female who makes the perfect wife.

2. The exotic sexpot who will cater to the whims of any man. Epithets are Suzy Wong, dragon lady, and geisha girl.

These stereotypes have often been viewed as positive by both females and males. However, the use of them is negative in that such stereotypes do not permit people to perceive and deal with Asian American women as real human beings with ideas, aspirations, talents, and feelings. Thus, they are denied respect and dignity.

Women of Asian ancestry have been stereotyped since they immigrated to this country. Chinese immigrant women were viewed as degraded animal-like creatures. Negative perceptions of these women were formed during the anti-Chinese period of 1870 to 1900 in America. At later times, these views were directed toward women of other Asian groups when they entered this country.

After World War II, U.S. soldiers brought back the impressions of Japanese women as perfect wives--domestic and excellent homemakers. This image has been generalized onto Japanese American women as well as other Asian American women. The belief that Asian American women are the same as Asian women in Asia is not only illogical, it is clearly operative and discriminatory. Asian American women are distinct from Asian women in Asia but are not perceived to be distinct by people in this country.

An interesting aspect of the stereotypes about Asian American females is that they are either positive or negative, depending largely upon how favorably their particular ethnic group is being viewed by others. Thus, during the anti-Chinese period in this country, stereotypes of Chinese women were highly negative as they were for Japanese American females during World War II; after World War II, the stereotypes became "positive" for Japanese American women as they did for Chinese American women after Richard Nixon's

visit to China in the early 1970's. These negative and positive stereotypes are paradoxical and were most recently encountered during the Vietnam War and the influx of refugees to this country.

The media has reinforced to a great extent the prevailing attitudes and stereotypes of Asian Americans during a given period. At the present, there are two major roles for Asian American women in the movies and television shows. They either fall under the Suzy Wong category or the passive, docile, and accommodating woman. Since there is a lack of Asian American females in a variety of other roles and job positions in the media industry, there are few positive role models for Asian American females, young or old. This aspect is especially detrimental to the self-concept of these individuals.

DIFFERENCES FROM WHITE WOMEN

There are distinct differences between Asian American and white women in this country. Some of the differences were described in previous sections of this paper. According to Chen, the differences stem from the fact that "many Asian women have faced discrimination not only as women, but also on the basis of race, cultural background or low socio-economic status" (Chen, 1976). Issues of race and class are intertwined with the questions of female roles and identity. Asian American women have a double burden to face: sexism and racism. This aspect has contributed to the different experiences encountered and faced by Asian and white women. For example, labor conditions and legislation improved for white women in the U.S. when it began to use the labor of women and men in Third World countries; Asian American women have and do make lower incomes than white women; Asian women have been hired to clean other people's homes and to serve other people's hors d'oeuvres so that white women could do community work and become emancipated (Loo, 1973). Just these differences alone make it imperative that white women face and deal with their own racism in regard to Asian American and other minority women in their fight for sexual equality in this country. The women's movement at the present is white and middle class and does not concern itself with the needs and concerns of minority women.

Asian American women face sex-role stereotyping and discrimination in this society, and they also face sex-role stereotyping and discrimination as found in the cultures of their particular ethnic groups. Within her own family, the Asian American female is often delegated a lower status than the male. This lower status and the view of women being passive, submissive, and modest have their roots in Asia and were transported to this country by Asian immigrants. This sex-role stereotyping has shaped the lives of many Asian women who have been socialized into perceiving their role as inferior to men. In her struggle to become a leader or to be successful, her own people may be against her. To be effective, she must be aggressive and assertive, which is contrary to the Asian values of passivity and submission; and, in being effective,

she often becomes highly visible and public, which is contrary to traditional Asian values of modesty and moderation (Fujitomi and Wong, 1973).

In summary, the basic differences between Asian American and white women are:

1. A historical difference in experiences, as white women have been included by society and the power structure to receive benefits while excluding minority females and males.

2. Asian American females have been stereotyped and discounted by society while white women, in spite of sex-role stereotyping, have occupied a position on the pedestal.

3. Asian American females must deal with both racism and sexism, while white women are faced with sexism.

These differences need to be acknowledged and understood in order for both groups of women to work cooperatively in the women's movement. Unless this is done, the contributions and aspirations of Asian American women will not be reflected in the women's movement in this country.

IMPLICATIONS FOR EDUCATION AND CHANGE

Reviewing both the historical context and the present results in several implications for educators. The first derives from the fact that Asian women do not want to give up their culture. They need further information about their cultural heritage so that they can better understand themselves. One can easily respond to this need by stating, "multicultural curriculum." However, multicultural curriculum that has been developed has not included ethnic women to any great extent. There are probably several reasons for this omission:

1. The trend to examine curriculum and instructional materials for racism and/or sexism often ignores women of color, especially when they are given little opportunity for input in designing criteria and guidelines as well as in screening for bias.

2. In the trend to develop curriculum inclusive of minorities and/or women, the term "women" usually refers to white females only and the term "minorities" to males.

3. The decisions regarding curriculum are usually in the hands of whites and, in most instances, white males, so that multicultural curriculum is a low priority, especially when the public is demanding that education get "back to the basics."

Consequently, Asian women, as well as other women of color, have

been denied the opportunity to learn about themselves. In addition, all other students have been denied the opportunity to learn about the history, heritage, culture, and contributions of Asian women in the United States as well as in the world.

Educational institutions may provide some basic awareness of racism and sexism. However, students are not exposed to the interrelationships between these two kinds of oppression. As a result, both students and staff tend to see them as separate, and once again women of color are ignored. In many school systems, dealing with racism is the responsibility of one designated department, and dealing with sexism is the responsibility of another. Cooperation and sharing in problem solving are not promoted by such arrangements.

Instructional materials, such as textbooks, have traditionally omitted information on Asian Americans. In recent years, textbook publishers have included aspects of Asian American history and culture. These materials need to be examined for bias. Oftentimes the history included on Asian Americans is incomplete or reinforces the model minority stereotype of Asians in America. Children's books on Asian Americans also need to be examined for bias as many of them misinform readers about Asian American culture.

Multicultural curriculum can legitimize the culture of Asian women by including information about their community, history, culture, leaders, and language. The present curriculum either omits these aspects or includes limited information, such as descriptions of Asian holidays. There is a need for sensitive and supportive personnel to integrate Asian American curriculum into the ongoing classroom and school curricula.

Since Asians have increasingly immigrated to this country in recent years, more non-English speaking Asian children have entered the public schools. These students are often denied equal rights in education. The Lau vs. Nichols case established this fact in regard to non-English speaking Chinese students in San Francisco in 1974. Non-English speaking Asian students should not be required to gain English language skills at the expense of full participation in the educational process. Maintaining native language is just as important to maintaining one's culture as acquiring those English language skills. Bilingual educational programs for such students are needed. These programs can be a bridge to gain equal access and participation in American society. In addition, bilingual communication between the school and home enables non-English speaking parents to participate in their children's education.

In order for teachers to be able to teach Asian Americans as well as teach about them, in-service training is imperative. Teachers, administrators, and other school personnel must become aware of Asian American history, heritage, and culture and how to integrate them into the curriculum. They need to understand Asian values which influence the behavior of Asian students, especially

females, so that they can begin to provide the environment and opportunities for open communication as well as for self-expressive and assertive behaviors. Too often the stereotype of the Asian student as quiet, orderly, and achieving results in teachers expecting and reinforcing only these behaviors in their Asian female students.

Another implication is that educational institutions and the culturally different Asian American community must develop continuous communication and stronger relations. Parent education to the educational process and schools' education to the Asian cultural process in America must be included in the communication. School personnel should be aware of the concerns as well as the resources within the Asian American community. The educational system can help the Asian female to develop herself to a good degree but without the expense of abandoning her culture.

The unshared power in educational institutions has led to inequitably distributed resources and the perpetuation of white middle-class values through institutionalized patterns and practices. The white male club has controlled facilities, jobs, new policies, and the implementation of laws, such as Title VII and Title IX. In order that Asian women are recognized and included in these areas, changes will be needed, such as:

1. Facilities. Asian women must be able to use facilities on an equal basis with white males and females and ethnic males. In addition, Asian women should be given the opportunity for input in decision making regarding the use of those facilities.

2. Jobs. Asian women are in need of role models representing a broad range of jobs, including those which involve decision making. They should be encouraged to seek out those jobs as well as be considered for them. Oftentimes Asian women are bypassed for promotions because they are perceived to be passive and submissive. Pertinent questions to think about are.

    a. To what extent have Asian women been restricted due to stereotypes of and expectations for them?

    b. To what degree has the institution offset those stereotypes and expectations by actively permitting and encouraging Asian women to hold leadership positions/ roles?

3. New Policies. New policies should reflect the concerns of Asian women as well as their input. Policies should be both counterracist and countersexist.

4. Implementation of Title VII. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity

Act of 1972, bans discrimination against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in all public and private educational institutions, state and local governments, and all employers, public or private, whether or not they receive any federal funds. The data on Asian women in the work force which was presented earlier in this paper provides proof that, in spite of their educational levels, Asian women are still being discriminated against by their employers. Asian women must be included in affirmative action programs throughout this country. They must be actively recruited, hired, retained, and promoted for jobs. Employers should provide opportunities for Asian women to be self-expressive and assertive. Within educational institutions, it is imperative that Asian female students be exposed to Asian women who are in a wide range of job positions and who exhibit a range of expressive and assertive behaviors. Such role models are crucial for the self-concept and identity of Asian female students.

5. Implementation of Title IX. Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 forbids discrimination on the basis of sex to students and employees in all federally assisted education programs in all institutions, public and private, which receive federal money through grants, loans, or contracts. Title IX covers several areas in which the needs of Asian women should be included. Such areas are grievance processes, guidance and counseling, physical education and athletics, and vocational education. In the area of guidance and counseling, personnel need to be aware of and understand the stereotypes of Asian women. Stereotypes often creep into the counseling process and reflect the biases of the counselor and the institution. For Asian women, the negative images based on sexual and racial criteria hinder them from being exposed to a wide range of educational experiences at all levels of education. They are tracked into certain fields and disciplines. Usually those areas are ones which require little aggressive verbal behavior. Quality staff development can begin to educate guidance counselors to the needs, status, and aspirations of Asian women.

Basic to all the suggested changes mentioned is the fact that in order to include Asian women on an equal basis, power must be shared. Asian women must have input into decision making and the implementation of those decisions. Cooperative relationships among Asian women, white males, white females, and other women and men of color must exist and serve as a model for students and staff. In our educational institutions, Asian women must be given the opportunity to learn about themselves and the opportunities to learn for themselves.

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BOOK REVIEWS

CLOSE ENCOUNTERS OF THREE KINDS: THE WRITING OF INDIAN HISTORY

A REVIEW ESSAY
by
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Roy W. Meyer. *The Village Indians of the Upper Missouri: The Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977, 354 pp., $14.95.

Can non-Indians write "Indian history"? Professor Roy W. Meyer, Director of American Studies at Mankato State University, confronts himself with that vexing question in the prefatory remarks to his survey of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara peoples from pre-European contact times through the 1970's. Although Meyer's book is a case study of specific Indian societies, a number of themes he emphasizes will be useful for teachers and students who are not specialists in Indian studies.

As students of European historiography well know, the problems encountered by "outsider" historians when they attempt to penetrate an "alien" culture are as old as written history. Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., in a tremendously influential essay on the "new Indian history," outlined a tripartite division of the subject.[1] Most of what has been (and is) passed off as "Indian history" is simply the story of Indian-white relations as told from Euro-American sources. Whether purportedly "sympathetic" to native Americans or not, this approach is myopically ethnocentric. Dee Brown's immensely popular *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the West* is but the best known example of the genre.[2] Historians who suffer from this affliction ignore the ethnohistorical approach which draws upon insights from political and cultural anthropology, Indian oral traditions, ethnology, linguistics, and archaeology to reconstruct the other two dimensions of Indian history: Indian-Indian history, or the record of intertribal

[1]Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "The Political Context of a New Indian History," *Pacific Historical Review*, XL (August 1971), pp. 357-82.

[2]Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the West* (New York, 1971). For a perceptive analysis of Brown's one-dimensional methodology, see Richard White, "The 'New Indian History': Old Wine in New Models," *Meeting Ground*, III (Summer 1976), pp. 5, 13-14.

relations; and the course of intratribal events, or the internal history of a particular Indian community.[3]

A decade ago, in a review of his book on the Santee Sioux, Berkhofer scolded Meyer for disdaining anthropological theory and thereby placing "even greater limitations upon his work than his sources necessitated." Although sympathetic to Indian culture and condemnatory of Euro-American biases, Berkhofer charged, Meyer's "overall framework is not only an outsider's view, but also an ethnocentric one. . . ."[4]

The present work is a considerable improvement. While acknowledging the biases of the available sources, Meyer asserts that at least since European intrusion into the upper Missouri region, the story of these three tribes must emphasize Indian-white relations. And, because of the "non-Indian provenance" of most of his sources, Meyer claims that the story must be told from the "outside." Whenever possible, however, he attempts to indicate the Indian perspective as derived from either "ethnologists' informants" or reasonable inference.

Meyer's response to the question raised at the outset of this essay is worth quoting in its entirety. Whether one agrees with his stance on this sensitive issue or not, it is refreshing for an author to set forth his position so candidly:

> In recent years the competence of non-Indians to engage in Indian research has occasionally been questioned. In the preface to my earlier *History of the Santee Sioux*, I felt it necessary to apologize for my temerity in writing a history of an ethnic group to which I did not belong. There are indications that this attitude is beginning to recede. Although an increasing number of Indians are both able and willing to write their own histories, the growth of multiethnic studies in colleges and universities seems to be leading toward a situation in which people of various ethnic groups feel free to teach and write about their own. Thus we might expect to see the day when a member of the Three Tribes will do a study of Scandinavian immigration to North Dakota. Just as the descendants of those immigrants should not object to having their grandparents' activities examined from a native American perspective, so I would hope that the Fort Berthold people might be willing to allow their history to be studied by non-Indians. (p. xiii)

[3]For an impressive recent ethnohistorical study, see James A. Clifton, *The Prairie People: Continuity and Change in Potawatomi Indian Culture 1665-1965* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1977).

[4]Berkhofer, Review of *History of the Santee Sioux: United States Indian Policy on Trial*, by Roy W. Meyer, *Journal of American History*, LV (September 1968), pp. 376-77.

The initial chapter, "Before the White Man," summarizes in jargon-free language the archaeological evidence on the three tribes. Next Meyer takes up their first direct contact with Europeans--La Vérendrye's visit in 1738--and the subsequent well-documented encounters with Lewis and Clark, George Catlin, and Prince Maximilian. Although compelled by his sources to deal with the first four decades of the nineteenth century within the framework of non-Indian visitors' accounts, Meyer reminds us that the Indian historical perception of these years would likely be much different. "Domestic occurrences within the villages, events of which no written record survived," he observes, "no doubt loomed larger than some of these visits by white men" (p. 36).

At this point, Meyer pauses in his chronological narrative to analyze the cultural and social life of the villages as "frozen" around 1830. By welcoming European traders in the late eighteenth century, these tribes helped bring about a tremendous alteration in their cultures. Most significantly, by the arrival of Lewis and Clark, white-introduced diseases such as smallpox had reduced these horticultural villagers drastically. Going beyond grisly body count estimates, Meyer makes an effort to convey the "harrowing psychological effects" of this calamity on Indian communities.

The demographic disaster occasioned by the 1837 pandemic dictates Meyer's choice of the mid-1830's as a stopping place for an overview of the generally common culture of these tribes. Although cultural overviews do not lend themselves to concise summary, Meyer's treatment of the question of blame assignment for the epidemic is noteworthy. Obviously, non-Indians were indirectly responsible for introduction of diseases which had a virtually genocidal impact on the Mandans, in particular, but he finds charges of deliberate extermination unconvincing. The American Fur Company's actions were probably criminally negligent, and its agents were not humanitarians to be sure, but from purely business concerns the company would certainly have worked to prevent the plague had it foreseen its devastating effect on trade.

Population loss made the village Indians even more vulnerable to raids from the nomadic (and therefore less susceptible to epidemics) Sioux. Partly for this reason, it was essential that they contain the centrifugal forces of political factionalism within their villages and not allow dissidents to break away to form new settlements. For survival, the three tribes had by and large coalesced into one tribe, living at Like-a-Fishhook, a single village. For most of the century ceremonial life became more elaborate as the Indians "responded to the disasters of the early nineteenth century, not by abandoning their rituals, but by intensifying their ceremonial activity in the hope of obtaining the aid of the sacred beings against the smallpox and other threats of that era" (p. 79).

Meyer recognizes the prevailing ethnocentrism of nineteenth century accounts and several times calls our attention to biased

observations. In discussing Indian women, for instance, he notes that "the portrayal of them as downtrodden beasts of burden, consigned to lives of unremitting drudgery, is largely a construct of white visitors who interpreted what they saw too narrowly in terms of their own civilization" (p. 76).

For 130 years the "locus of power" on the upper Missouri rested with the tribes. They borrowed selectively from the Euro-American cultural inventory, and non-Indians living among them adapted to their ways more often than vice versa. Now a major shift in power relationships and the course of cultural change took place. By mid-century, except to appoint a succession of inept, non-resident agents, the federal government neglected the peaceful, treaty-abiding village Indians. They had become precariously dependent upon traders at the very time when they were becoming more dispensable to the declining fur trade.

The latter half of the century witnessed a unilateral reduction of the tribal land base of what were soon commonly called the Fort Berthold Indians. Executive order or "administrative fiat," rather than negotiated treaty, reduced the reservation from about twelve to down to about one million acres in less than two decades. Meyer leads us through the intricacies of federal policy and documents how policymakers accommodated the land hunger of America's railroad corporations at the expense of Indians.

Human hunger was the most elemental problem for the people of Like-a-Fishhook Village in this period. Ironically, agents frustrated themselves trying to "introduce" agriculture to peoples who had successfully grown crops for centuries. A more subtle threat came when agents bypassed tribally sanctioned leaders at annuity and ration distributions to undermine their power. Agents gave money and goods to individuals in an effort to break down communal bonds. Allotment of communally-held lands to individuals in severalty was another component of this strategy. Indian leaders who resisted, such as the Arikara, White Shield, were "removed" or otherwise punished by agents. Secessionist elements, such as the predominantly Hidatsa Crow-Flies-High band, went into self-imposed exile for over twenty years. They existed beyond the reservation system, refusing to live, as Crow-Flies-High put it, "like hogs in a pen, waiting for what you may throw us" (p. 148). Ultimately a shortage of game forced this maverick band to ask for rations. Even after settling on the reservation, though, they continued to resist government-sponsored allotment and education.

Traditional tribal ways, then, were an anathema to agent and missionary alike. One agent typically asserted that the government should "break up the Indians' 'tribal organization, dances, ceremonies, and tom-foolery . . . and compel them to labor or accept the alternative of starvation'" (p. 128). Meyer quotes a missionary who wrote of the Three Tribes with "unconscious irony," that "'they are a generous people and feel their responsibility toward

their brother. But the mission work is gradually overcoming this'" (p. 128).

Factionalism became more evident in the twentieth century. Whether or not it was actually more prevalent in Indian society is difficult to ascertain. Mixed-bloods held a disproportionate share of tribal leadership positions. Meyer offers only a vague definition of leadership, which may be interpreted to encompass only those leaders accepted by American officialdom. At any rate, "factionalism," he contends, "commonly took the form of conflicts between more or less acculturated people, with the amount of white ancestry closely related to the degree of acculturation" (p. 131).

The breakup of Like-a-Fishhook Village, as part of a reservation dispersal program, proved traumatic for many of its residents. In looking over oral reminiscences of former residents, however, Meyer discerns that a number of them romanticized the quality of life there in days gone by, claiming that food was plentiful and illness unknown. "Such an idyllic picture of life in the village," he cautions, is "sharply at variance with what the [written] historical record reveals" (p. 136).

Commendably, Meyer extends his history beyond the 1890's, a barrier not often breached by many tribal histories. The topics he takes up are numerous; only a select few are suggested here.

Education was supposed to be the primary method of acculturation. But its philosophy and resulting curriculum often failed. Instead of assimilation of individuals, the result was greater group solidarity and alienation. Literacy, however, provided a means by which Fort Berthold people could gain more control over shaping their own lives. Familiarity with some of the manipulative political skills of American society enabled them to bypass the all-powerful agent. Gradually these officials lost the power they held around 1900 when they commonly "granted or withheld permission for individuals to leave the reservation, . . . [and] despite . . . an Indian court . . . , ultimately decided the guilt or innocence of Indians accused of minor infractions . . . , [and] distributed the rations and determined who should not receive them" (p. 156).

Land use policy also had far-reaching effects on the Fort Berthold people. Loss of allotments, divided heirship, and sale of "surplus" lands resulted in over 60,000 acres of alienated land within reservation boundaries by 1950. Quantum of Indian blood at times became the sole criterion in issuing fee patents to allotees, with adults of less than one-half Indian blood automatically awarded such entitlement. Leasing of grazing and farm lands, coupled with land sales, proved harmful in the long run. Ration rolls may have been reduced, but at the expense of the shrinking tribal capital base and to the favor of an elite few. In addition, "leasing . . . , at first intended as a device to help those who, by virtue of age or physical disability, could not use their

allotments, came to be the principal reliance of a large proportion of the population, to the detriment of efforts to encourage agriculture and livestock raising" (p. 172).

Survey textbooks in American history frequently extol the "Indian New Deal" of Commissioner John Collier as an unmitigated blessing for all tribes. Meyer's study, and other recent tribal histories, suggest the complexity of intertribal political reactions to the Indian Reorganization Act and Collier's administration. IRA exacerbated existing factional strife on many reservations. Opponents of IRA land policies at Fort Berthold were not necessarily traditionalists as one might suspect. Their opposition may well have derived from a fear that their private property rights would be threatened in a government-imposed reversion to communal land tenure.

In a chapter analyzing the impact of the Depression and severe drought, and of World War II, Meyer assesses changes in the lives of Indians at Fort Berthold as perhaps more extensive than those brought about by government programs directly targeted to them. He also traces the series of complex land claims cases and attempts to identify some of the attendant factional alignments they generated.

An environmental change proved the most traumatic event for the Three Tribes in this century just as an ecological disaster--epidemic disease--had been in the previous century. This was the building of Garrison Dam on the upper Missouri, a project in which they had no significant consultative voice. "For the first time in their history, they were going to be forced to leave the valley. . . . their home for possibly a thousand years" (p. 210). A lake of twenty-four million acre feet capacity now separated the reservation into five isolated segments. Squabbles over compensatory funds and "lieu lands" intensified political feelings which may have first been aroused in fights over the IRA tribal council or land claims decades earlier.

Intertribal political debate continued over such matters as whether to divide monetary awards on a per capita basis or to retain funds for tribal-wide projects. Meyer sees mutual suspicion between political groupings and a cautious approach to reservation economic development as characteristic of Fort Berthold today. Unfortunately, much of his information for the last few chapters came from "official" publications such as the *Fort Berthold Agency Bulletin* and the *New Town News*. Interviews with a broader range of individuals might have yielded a more accurate cross-section of Three Tribe society. Indeed, over-reliance on these kinds of sources may have caused Meyer to underestimate both the persistence of traditionalism and the force of anti-Indian "backlash."

Meyer sees these native American people in the 1970's as having "a basically mixed culture, with the non-Indian elements dominant but Indian elements tenaciously and consciously preserved by a people, as adaptable as their ancestors, determined to have the

best of both worlds" (p. 265). Mandan, Hidatsa, or Arikara historians would certainly view their past differently, but Professor Meyer has provided "us outsiders" with a useful historical survey.

Jane B. Katz (editor). *I Am the Fire of Time: The Voices of Native American Women.* New York: E. P. Dutton, 1977, 201 pp., $6.95.

> i am the fire of time.
> the endless pillar
> that has withstood death.
> the support of an invincible nation.
> i am the stars that have guided
> lost men.
> i am the mother of ten thousand
> dying children.
> i am the fire of time.
> i am an indian woman!
>
> --Niki Paulzine

Speaking at the Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies in April, Bea Medicine admonished the audience that rather than lament the work which has not yet been done by or about Native American women, we must recognize the significance and breadth of what has already been written. *I Am the Fire of Time* shows just that. The selections come from nineteenth century transcripts as well as from contemporary women poets and activists. Over and over the reader is reminded that the Native American woman was not and is not the drudge or burden bearer portrayed in American fiction and by Hollywood producers, but rather, as participant in various roles, she has been and continues to be important in tribal life.

Jane B. Katz has collected the "voices" of American Indian women--voices which come from the past through translators and voices which have been published only recently. And the message, although sometimes political, focuses primarily on the role of women in cultures of which women have always perceived themselves to be an integral part.

The first poem of the collection appropriately focuses on the beginning of life. The Zuni prayer introduces concepts which appear throughout the rest of the book. Birth is linked to the natural cycle of the earth and the sun. The role of the grandmother, the female relative, is seen as integral and important in the culture. The symbiotic relationship between the people, the gods, and the natural world is represented by the offering of meal and the presentation of the child. Ultimately the desired response

is requested--"May you help us all to finish our roads." The reader senses it is a plea which will be heeded.

These themes continue through the book; the celebration of birth, of woman's life, of new beginnings weaves through the recollections of Helen Sekaquaptewa, the fiction of Leslie Silko, and the poetry of Jeannie Alika Atya. Katz has traced women's lives in several ways and on different planes. Chronology provides one method: the book begins with older materials and ends with contemporary writers. The chapter titles reflect a different progression, from birth to the maturity of disillusionment to rebirth in the second section, where new voices pick up the strands of thought which appeared in early materials.

These selections present a variety of responses to being an Indian woman--there are Christian and traditional women, those with formal educations and those without, young and old, full bloods and half breeds. Yet there are common elements in what each voice says, concepts which appear and reappear in the book--the fear that native languages and old ways may be lost, a respect for age, the importance of women as socializers of the children, the pride involved in being an Indian woman, and the recognition of the strength that is within. Janet McCloud articulates the message of the Indian women represented in the volume: "If the spirit grows within us, we'll survive. We will survive. . . ."

There is only one problem with this kind of book: many of the pieces are excerpts from longer works. It is important that readers of this collection go on to read the books from which these selections were taken. By using this book as a resource, readers can begin to fully appreciate the materials to which Bea Medicine alluded.

-- Gretchen Bataille
Iowa State University, Ames

Barbara Bryant Solomon. *Black Empowerment: Social Work in Oppressed Communities*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1976, 438 pp., $15.00.

At long last an issue of great importance to the Black communit in the social work arena has been addressed. The commencement of social service programs in the 1960's brought about an even greate need for a deeper understanding of the effects of social ills on minorities, especially Blacks. While some individuals had good intentions of bringing about this understanding, they lacked the necessary familiarity with the Black community and its conditions. *Black Empowerment* addresses itself to this concern by describing

the operational mobility of the Black community within a larger society.

Barbara Solomon outlines several positive dimensions that can be utilized in evaluating negative valuation. While some individuals may not view themselves as powerless, they must realize the negative effects of labels being applied to them.

It is necessary to examine closely the theoretical framework of "empowerment" that plays a prominent role throughout society. However, Solomon's weakness is an unclear definition of how traditional concepts of "empowerment" apply directly to the Black community. One is left waiting for an integration of the theoretical data presented and its direct application to the Black community. Within the social work paradigm, Solomon defines "empowerment" as a process whereby the social worker or other helping professional engages in a set of activities with the client aimed at reducing the powerlessness stemming from the experiences of discrimination because the client belongs to a stigmatized collective (p. 29). While this definition may lead to activities aimed at counteracting negative valuation, a more concise definition of empowerment is needed. The direct effect of a larger society on an indigenous one must be considered.

The strength of the Black community and the need for familiarity with it is thoroughly discussed. Structural characteristics of the Black community, though they may be distinct, are reviewed in the context of ethnic relationships. Because of historical considerations and oppressive forces, Solomon argues effectively that there are legitimate reasons for solving problems within the framework of the Black community because of inherent problems of the Black community.

Whatever shortcomings this book may have, it is welcomed as it fills a gap in social work literature. It is a valuable text that should be required in many advanced social work courses. The exercises at the end of each chapter provide a useful and added dimension by exposing the sensitivity needed when surveying situations faced by individuals receiving social services. The end-of-chapter summaries also provide a brief but lucid review of the chapter's content.

-- Emma Turner Lucas
Chatham College, Pittsburgh

Virginia Yans-McLaughlin. *Family and Community, Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977, 286 pp., $12.50.

Virginia Yans-McLaughlin has made a major contribution to the study of ethnic immigration history, in general, and to the existing knowledge of the Italian Americans, in particular. In *Family and Community, Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930*, she explores the relationship between the social and economic roots of the contadini from the Italian mezzogiorno and their life in urban industrial America.

Here is a revisionist interpretation consitent with recent studies of black families in the works of Alex Haley and Herbert Gutman. Professor Yans-McLaughlin agrees with Rudolph J. Vecoli's standard essay, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of the *The Uprooted*," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 51 (1964), and she disputes Oscar Handlin's view that there was a "dichotomy" with abrupt "discontinuities between folk and urban societies" (p. 18). Her research has led her to conclude that the Italian American families from the south of Italy adjusted smoothly to the new environment in Buffalo, New York. To be sure, problems did exist, but the strong cohesive family tradition survived and even aided the transition.

This link between the Old World and the New World must be underscored. For example, underemployment was a common feature of the Italian peasant in the nineteenth century, and he learned to adjust to it by seeking alternative work experiences. In Buffalo, a leading industrial and transportation center in the early twentieth century, the Italians adapted to underemployment resulting from seasonal work, especially outdoor occupations. Cooperation among relatives and friends provided flexibility and opportunities for them. In addition, Italian women refused to accept jobs as domestics because this occupation conflicted with the concept that such work weakened the family as a noble and sacred institution.

Italian Americans have expressed concern over the ever-growing dissolution of contemporary family and community life. Professor Yans-McLaughlin provides an important underpinning for such concern. She constructs models of family and community as providing the stable reference points for the initial immigration shock waves. Her data reflect low rates of divorce, illegitimacy, and desertion resulting from the assertion of traditional Italian values regarding marriage, women, and sex.

It is refreshing to note the author's criticism aimed at recent social historians; she emphasizes what she considers the limits of quantitative data. Historical explanation based solely on quantification is inadequate. The author does utilize census data, church records, and other statistical evidence, but she also includes literary evidence and oral interviews to stress cultural

aspects. "Emotional bonds, sexual controls, affection, and charitable impulses do not countenance quantification" (p. 264).

The literature of the Italian Americans has been enriched by this carefully researched study of the Italians of Buffalo in the fifty-year period. Perhaps this research model and its conclusions will be analyzed in the future with other comparative studies of urban centers to provide a more comprehensive dimension of this important ethnic group.

-- Frank J. Cavaioli
State University of New York at Farmingdale

Ernesto Galarza. *Farm Workers and Agri-business in California, 1947-1960.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977, 405 pp., $3.95.

The reader who is already familiar with Galarza's work will not find it surprising that once again he has done a painstaking job of writing this account of the history of agricultural workers in California during the years 1947 to 1960. Contrary to Galarza's own fears that the academically minded might find his book "insufficient" and the list of suggested readings "too thin," *Farm Workers and Agri-business in California, 1947-1960* provides the reader with a wealth of information based on careful research and on Galarza's own recollections of his experiences as a farm worker and union organizer during that period.

The author's engaging style captures the interest of the reader, be he a scholar or from the general reading public. The reader whose knowledge of the plight of the farm worker is minimal will find the first section of the book, entitled "Agri-businessland," particularly beneficial in that it gives basic background information on the land, water, labor, family farms, mechanization, state and federal agencies, legislation, etc. Galarza carefully ties in all these elements showing how they affected the farm worker before he moves the reader on to the actual encounters faced by the National Farm Labor Union during the years 1947 to 1952.

Starting with the DiGiorgio strike in 1947 by Local 218 of the NFLU in Kern County, there begins to unfold a series of strikes aimed at obtaining fair wages, better overall working conditions, and general correction of the more obvious abuses. Their success was very limited. In each case, the flame of unionism was being applied to the frozen structures of power, yet, as Galarza points out, "it was like trying to melt an iceberg with a candle."

With the enactment of Public Law 78 in 1952, which gave bracero hiring the sanction of federal law, the main target of the NFLU

became the eradication of this system. Galarza outlines the devastating effects that the bracero system had on domestic workers, yet, in his estimation, the culprit is not so much the braceros themselves, or even the illegals, but a system that was in reality "a cover-up of agri-business in partnership with the government."

The last activities of the NFLU (renamed the National Agricultural Workers Union in 1952) are limited to its attacks on government officials and its relations with labor. By 1964, when Congress ended the bracero system, the NAWU had already disappeared from the scene, having merged with the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of America in 1960.

The final section of the book is reserved for comments on how well or how badly the NAWU did. Galarza is of the opinion that the only success that the NAWU could be accredited with was in terms of the role it played in ending the bracero program. As for the rights of the farm workers to freedom, liberty, democracy, and community, "their struggle goes on."

Galarza's book is a scholarly work written with careful accuracy for the historical events that took place. It also shows great concern with the moral issues that were at stake during that thirteen-year period. Galarza's strong commitment to justice, which led to his own involvement in the union movement, pervades throughout the book; his humanistic approach to the writing of this account gives an added dimension to a book that could have otherwise been somewhat limited in its appeal due to its subject.

-- Rosa Fernandez
University of New Mexico, Albuquerque

Milton J. Esman (editor). *Ethnic Conflict in the Western World*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977, 399 pp., $17.50.

Ethnic conflict has reemerged in the economic and political arenas of the western world, less between nation states, more within the boundaries of particular nations. The type of conflict that emerged in the United States during the 1950's and 1960's was racial, in sharp contrast to the ethnonationalist conflict in western Europe and Canada. The latter has a long history and has been shaped by cultural, linguistic, and religious differences. This conflict declined after World War II but is now back on the scene. The explanation of its return is one of the major purposes of this book. A second purpose is to raise the question of whether the Democratic Conflict Management model of consociationalism is a useful tool by which ethnic conflicts can be solved in a manner fair to all. Esman says consociationalism:

> . . . is an alternative to majoritarian politics. In majoritarian systems the individual citizen is the significant unit of value and of action. Political movements or parties that achieve and maintain majority support earn the legitimate right to shape and enforce public policy. By contrast, the consociational model is group focused, the relevant actors being the solidarity communities, ethnic, racial, or religious, into which the society is fragmented. . . .

This book evolved out of a conference on Ethnic Pluralism and Conflict in Contemporary Western Europe and Canada held at Cornell University in 1975. From this conference, Esman chose fourteen essays which treated the renewed salience of ethnic solidarity in comparative terms. This book is a first attempt to reintroduce ethnonationalism in the western world into the dialogue of the social sciences, and the essays go a long way toward answering why ethnonationalism has reemerged. The conviction of many experts who study western industrial societies was that two factors had stemmed the tide of nationalism in Europe (and would prevent their emergence): (1) World War II and the rise of the modern technology made nationalism an unaffordable luxury, and (2) Western Europe was devoid of significant national minorities. Both of the assumptions proved wrong. This book presents a variety of explanations, social, psychological, and structural, to explain why; among them: (1) the theory of relative (economic, cultural, and/or political) deprivation; (2) anomie . . . ; (3) "center-periphery" series of relationships in which these newly assertive ethnic groups (the peripheral people) are viewed as having remained essentially outside . . . ; (4) the loss of global prestige suffered by individual European states as contrasted with their eminence in the prewar period . . . ; and (5) the conviction that one's own people should not, by the very nature of things, be ruled by those deemed alien . . . (self-determination).

There is no question that these factors partially explain the reemergence of ethnonationalism, and I do not challenge the seeming established fact that it is mostly middle-class disenchanted intellectuals who mobilize the masses into these movements against felt grievances. The essay on linguistic dualism and the work situation in Canada suggests not only the cry for self-determination by some Québécois, but as well suggests their existing economic insecurity and deprivation among the working-class French Canadians. However, to more fully understand why the alienated intellectuals are receiving support from the masses, we would have to examine how the masses view these impinging structural and social psychological factors. For without the troops (the masses), this leadership has no movement. The inattention to this segment of ethnic movements represents a weakness. The explanatory factors suggested by the essayists would have been more convincing had they linked the alienated intellectuals' ability to mobilize the masses with a more systematic analysis of how the workers view their situation.

Consociationalism (the second major theme of the book) does not represent a method of democratic conflict management that is useful in all the important areas of ethnic conflict. Esman suggests that the necessary conditions that have to be met in the original model of consociationalism (autonomous elites and the existence of differential, passive mass) is too severe to explain or prescribe ethnic conflict management in most contemporary industrialized states.

Finally, Esman's anthology is valuable for scholars interested in ethnic conflict. It provides explanations for its persistence at both the international and domestic levels. For those of us who have an interest in ethnic conflict at the domestic level and who have centered around racial differences, this book allows us to view this phenomenon in a part of the world where race is not the issue, but where strong ethnic conflict still exists.

I believe that professors and graduate students in the social sciences will find this book more useful than undergraduates because of the way the reader has to integrate theoretical perspectives to the essays presented in the volume. For the reader who is unaware of ethnic conflict in western Europe and Canada, this book can serve as a good introduction to this area of study.

-- Hardy T. Frye
University of California, Berkeley

Robert A. Huttenback. *Racism and Empire: White Settlers and Coloured Immigrants in the British Self-Governing Colonies 1830-1910.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976, 359 pp., $17.50.

The events in Queensland, and particularly Western Australia, just before the December 1977 General Election would be recognizable to anyone who had read Richard A. Huttenback's *Racism and Empire.* The dishonorable attempt to disenfranchise the illiterate Aborigines--which was foiled only by a Cabinet Minister crossing the floor and the casting vote of the speaker--was a direct inheritance of the "Natal formula," which is the main exercise of Huttenback's book. The formula was, in its purest form, simply a means, by language and literacy testing, of "keeping unwanted immigrants out of a colony through the use of a mechanism which seemed innocuous in legislation. The spirit of the formula," the author continues, "was to find its way into legal enactments which had nothing to do with immigration, but rather with the lives of non-whites who were legally resident of the colonies of settlement."

It was, of course, initially devised in South Africa to restrict immigration from the Indian subcontinent and was a vital cement to

the foundation of today's Apartheid, but it became the basis of immigration restriction policy throughout the empire. Then, as now, a first generation white establishing himself away from Northern Europe was a "settler" or "colonist"; anyone else with the slightest tinge to his skin or non-Christian religion was an "immigrant." This small difference in wording is symptomatic rather than symbolic and appears even in the legislation of the Empire's "mother country" and Northern Europe today.

Richard Huttenback concentrates on Australia, which he regards as the major skeleton in the British imperial cupboard. Certainly the "White Australia" policy has long been overdue for a scrutiny such as this. The hypocrisies of British imperial policy are seldom denied today, but perhaps Huttenback exaggerates the strength and influence of such policy qua policy. Geographic separation, self-government, economic expediency, and socioreligious attitudes among the migrant Europeans are possibly stronger forces than British imperial policy ever was. The illiberal reactions of today's Australians to Asian refugees, let alone the indigenous groups, indicate rather stronger social fears and prejudices of which the legislation was built, rather than the reverse. Indeed the attempt to disenfranchise the Aborigines was partly because they were likely to vote against the government and for the Labour party, which has a better record of recognizing their interests--even their existence as human beings. The "spirit of the formula," which is the interesting core of Huttenback's work, did not die in 1910.

-- Georgina Ashworth
Minority Rights Group, London

Orlando Romero. *Nambe--Year One*. Berkeley: Tonatiuh International, Inc., 1976, 173 pp., $3.95.

In the last few years the New Mexican Chicano narrative has taken a significant place within Chicano fiction. Writers like Anaya, Candelaria, and Ulibarri have revealed the uniqueness of being Chicano in New Mexico, often writing about the people who have maintained their century-old ties with past customs and ways of life. Orlando Romero's novel, *Nambe--Year One*, adds a new and interesting voice to this growing body of literature.

Written in English with some occasional Spanish, the novel moves back and forth in time to reveal the development of the poetic consciousness of Mateo, the first person narrator. However, just as important is the character of the village Nambe, a place that takes on sacred and mythic meaning. Nambe is the essence of "the energy of the universe, and the magnetism of the earth" (p. 12) that is transferred to the souls of those who are open to its influence. Perhaps we should rather say that the novel is about the developing

mystic relationship between Mateo and Nambe, symbolically represented by the gypsy of the haunting green eyes whom Mateo pursues in his mind and heart.

However, in reading *Nambe*, one has no doubt that this is Romero's first novel. It has all the mountains and valleys of a first novel, often soaring to creative heights only to fail to sustain these heights and fall to common lows. Major failings include plot and character weaknesses; Romero does not keep our interest, and this, in any novel, can be fatal. One wants to apply to the author the description near the end of the novel: "How sad the eagles of Truchas. Magnificently they have soared, never realizing all was against them" (p. 172). Romero needs to learn more about the craft of fiction, especially about distancing himself from his characters and theme.

In spite of significant literary failings, the novel should be read for its achievements. The major successes of the novel come from Romero's training as a sculptor and *santero*. The novel is alive with color and description that reveal both the physical and spiritual existence of Nambe. We move from the green eyes of the gypsy to the magenta of the Sangre de Cristo mountains to the "old widow's black" in a procession of color images as intense and powerful as the "penitential procession of memories" flooding the funeral of Mateo's great-grandfather. Romero both sculpts and paints his vision, and when he does this, he is at his best: "Black endless nights, these Lenten nights. Death-like chills, some damp, driven down the Sangre de Cristors, some dry and barren with minute bits of dust that sting like the bitter gall that drips down from the New Mexican Nazarene" (p. 163).

Through the imagery, Romero captures the mystic faith of Mateo and his growing awareness of God's beauty and power. Mateo comes to accept the cycle of life: "Another Spring full of smells of beginning life, another Summer, another Fall golden and dying, announcing that life will be born on the rot of the decaying remains, so natural to lose only to be found again" (p. 160). However, it is near the end of the novel that Romero clumsily has Mateo's grandfather state the theme: "Love your Gypsy, love your land, your fields, the streams, your beautiful lady, your graceful and spirited children, the wood you carve, and the dreams you try to weave, and, if after that, Mateo, the ugliness of men's limited imaginations keep you from soaring like your beloved eagles and hawks, then all you can say is that you've lived as we have been taught by the wisdom of your forefathers who came to this land and mixed their blood with the rhythm of the universe" (p. 169).

Nambe is a mixture of the simple and the profound, the clumsy and the beautiful, the artist and the man. It shows the potential of a writer who I believe will be heard from again in a more mature second novel.

-- Vernon E. Lattin
Northern Illinois University, DeKalb

ASSOCIATION NEWS AND BUSINESS

6TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON ETHNIC AND MINORITY STUDIES

"MINORITY WOMEN AND ETHNICITY" APRIL 19-22, 1978

PROGRAM SUMMARY

Major Speakers:
- Angela Davis, April 21 (over 1,500 attending).
- Yvonne Wanrow and Floyd Westerman, April 20 (over 500 attending).

Luncheon Speakers:
- Patrick Montgomery, Anti-Slavery Society, London (100 attending).
- Bea Medicine, Anthropologist, University of Wisconsin-Madison, (100 attending).
- Helen Rodriguez-Trias, Pediatrician, New York City (75 attending).

Special Events:
- Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick, Folksinger, before Angela Davis speech.
- Lynn Zampino, Folksinger, before Angela Davis speech.
- Mahmoud El-Kati, Macalester College, Afro-American Association guest speaker (50 attending).

Audiovisual Sessions:
- Film, "Bush Mama."
- Film, "Appalachian Women," David Mielke, Appalachian State University, North Carolina.
- Slide program, "Lifestyles of Mexican-American Women in an Urban Setting," Irene Blea-Gutierrez, University of Colorado.
- Videotape, "The Autobiography of Miss Jane DuBois," Alan Hertzberg, New School for Social Research, New York.

Conference-Related Events:
- NAIES Executive Council meeting, April 19.
- Committee on Cooperation with Developing Universities meeting, April 19.
- Pre-Conference Seminar: Chairpersons, Discussants, NAIES Executive Council, April 19.
- NAIES Annual General Business Meeting, April 21.

Session Summary:
- Plenary Session -- 1 chairperson, 4 speakers (Lucie Hirata, Asian-American Studies Center, UCLA; Magdalena Mora, Chicano Studies Center, UCLA; Anna Robinson, University of Toledo; Marie Sanchez, Northern Cheyenne Chief Tribal Judge, Lame Deer, Montana).
- Two Special Sessions -- 5 panelists, Special Education; 5 papers, Black Women in History.

Ten General Sessions -- 10 chairpersons, 10 discussants, 50 papers presented.

NOTE: Saturday afternoon general sessions had only 9 attendees in one and 13 attendees in concurrent session, 11 attendees at film session. Conference planners will consider ending Conference with noon luncheon on Saturday in subsequent years.

Participants' Evaluation Comments (Selected):

Media person from Washington, D.C.: "In my opinion the Conference offers one of the best opportunities for the examination of the mutual concerns of ethnic minorities in the United States.

Faculty person from California: "Very valuable, a forum for new learning and exchange of information, and for a variety of philosophies and disciplines."

Faculty person from Iowa: "If the government ever took away your funds I will personally do what I could to retain them. I am a 38-year-old woman (white) who sees this Institute doing very important work for our society. Opening lines of communication between minorities and even into white community is great and essential work. I commend the University of Wisconsin for its foresight."

Faculty person from South Carolina: "This was indeed the best conference I have ever attended. It brought together several ethnic and minority groups to dialogue and share information: there is no other effort like this conference."

Faculty person from Hawaii: "The conference staff was very competent and supportive, the papers presented were of high caliber, the speakers, panelists, papers presented were well prepared and dynamic. Angela Davis was electrifying, an excellent choice."

Faculty person from UW-La Crosse: "It was an excellent opportunity to meet interesting people and to see the minorities' problems from the viewpoint of different disciplines."

Student from California: "Overall, a great opportunity to become involved in ideas and creative thought not usually found at large meetings. A multicultural experience."

Student from UW-La Crosse: "Angela Davis is a black racist and not nearly so interesting since she's lost her militantism."

Summary:

There were 186 official registrations for the 1978 Conference. Twenty-two states and two foreign countries were represented among the registrants. Wisconsin had the largest number of registrations, 85, followed by Minnesota, 21, and California with 15. Some 93 different institutions were represented at this year's Conference.

The major speaker attendance record was shattered this year with over 1,500 attending the Angela Davis session. The previous record was just over 1,000 at the 1977 Conference to hear Stokely Carmichael.

The Publisher's Display again this year was a very popular feature of the Conference with some 36 publishers represented. Next year Conference planners hope to expand this aspect of the Conference.

There were five major co-sponsors for this year's Conference and two contributing sponsors. There are plans to expand both categories in the coming year.

7th Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies:

Planning for 1979 has already begun, and mark the calendar early --May 2 to 5, 1979, two weeks later than usual, largely in deference to those from warmer climes who still feel Wisconsin is cold in April.

Abstracts of Papers Presented at the 6th Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies

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MINORITY WOMEN AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMMING

Brenda Andrieu
College of Saint Benedict, Saint Joseph, Minnesota

Before developing programs to help minority women, program developers should assess themselves. White men usually create problems that cause minority women to need programs developed. White men who have had minimal social contact with minority women are not qualified to solve minority women's problems. White men ask white women and minority men to give assistance in solving minority women's problems. White women, who have been considered superior to minority women because of social, educational, or economical circumstances, are not qualified to solve minority women's problems. Minority men who have chauvinist values and do not have minority women's concerns at heart are not qualified to solve minority women's problems. Minority women are best qualified to solve minority women's problems.

In developing programs for minority women, we should assess the needs of the minority women we plan to work with and the needs of the funding agencies which may finance the programs. A committee should be formed which includes participants from both the groups to be serviced and the groups which will support the servicing. This committee should develop the proposal for funding, design for program content, and plan for dissemination of program services.

LA CHICANA: ANALYSIS OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF CLASS AND ETHNICITY

Linda Apodaca
Claremont College, Claremont, California

La Chicana, like other women in the United States, have been organizing around the various issues that affect women in general, and specifically Chicana women. The question arises as to whether Chicanas should organize as women, as ethnic women, or as women with men as an oppressed class. Thus, the understanding of the interrelationship of class and ethnicity is political and necessitates a political analysis.

An Historical Materialist definition of culture will be elaborated. Culture and ethnicity will be defined as being tied to the political economic reality of the society and as being affected by the existence of unequal classes. From this will follow an analysis of culture in the United States and in Mexico. The implications for political organization will also be discussed.

FILIPINO IMMIGRANT WOMEN IN HAWAII: AN OVERVIEW

Belinda A. Aquino
University of Hawaii at Manoa

This paper seeks to: 1) provide an historical perspective of the migration of women to Hawaii from the Philippines; 2) identify their position in the Hawaii community by examining their participation in the labor force; and 3) explore some issues related to ethnicity such as the role of Filipino cultural values in their adjustment to the Hawaiian setting, problems encountered in social or economic situations, opportunities for the advancement of immigrant women in Hawaii, and their perceptions of how other immigrant women feel about their ethnicity. Since there is no published research or extensive written materials on the experiences of Filipino immigrant women in Hawaii, this study is largely preliminary and exploratory. Much of the information used was gathered from an open-ended interview with selected respondents who are considered knowledgeable about the experiences of Filipino immigrant women in Hawaii.

Compared to their Asian counterparts such as the Japanese, Chinese, and Korean, Filipino women are relatively recent in the Hawaii scene. The Chinese immigrants who came in the 1860's and the Japanese who came thirty years later included women. The Filipinos, on the other hand, came mostly as young, single males to work in the sugar and pineapple plantations. The Filipino sex ratio was severely abnormal with some 100 women migrating for every 1,400 males. In the 1920's, the ratio would reach as high as 1 female for every 22 or 33 males. The ratio improved with subsequent immigration waves from the Philippines, especially under

liberalized immigration laws in the 1960's. Recent migration has drawn mostly from professional ranks of Filipino women, reversing the earlier trends which consisted mainly of dependents of pioneer plantation and farm laborers in Hawaii and California.

The second section of the paper examines the Filipino women's labor force participation in Hawaii. This participation has been rapid and steady as shown by the fact that in 1970, Filipinas constituted 44.3 percent of the labor force, as contrasted to 22.8 percent in 1950 and 31.8 percent in 1960. The Filipina increase has been higher and faster than the white, Japanese, and Chinese female force, for instance. This means that Filipino women have been highly economically productive. However, only 8 percent of Filipino immigrant women in Hawaii are employed in professional occupations, compared to 56 percent in New York and 64 percent in Chicago. This means that the great majority of immigrant women are in the blue collar, services, and unskilled areas in the employment market. Thus, Filipinas constitute the bulk of the working class in Hawaii and are employed as hotel maids, cannery workers, janitors, seamstresses, cooks, waitresses, salesgirls, machine operators, laundrywomen, and factory hands. They usually refer to these lowly urban occupations as "the modern plantations."

Thirty Filipino immigrant women responded to a questionnaire on issues related to ethnicity. Because we are talking primarily about Filipino women, the fact of "being Filipino" is central to our use of the term "ethnicity." This is the basic identity that is shared with others on the basis of a common history, culture, and territorial origin, i.e., the Philippines. The great majority of them mentioned lack of jobs and underemployment as major problems, and these are usually due to lack of necessary training and skills, discrimination, residency and licensing requirements, and competition with other ethnic groups for available jobs. "Culture shock" and conflicting values between American and Filipino, or local and immigrant, cultures was mentioned eighteen times as a problem, while ten mentioned "the language barrier." Some elements of Filipino culture, such as the closeness of the family, the availability of "support systems" provided by the extended family, friends, and domestic help, and the more stable relationships among friends, spouses, children, and others, are also missed by a great number of the respondents. Other problems mentioned which the respondents think are in a way related to ethnicity are the lack of educational opportunities for children, exploitation in work situations, lack of access to social services, and discrimination, both subtle and overt. In general, the respondents think that the immigrant Filipino women they know are "proud of their ethnicity." They believe that there is a greater tendency on the part of American- or local-born Filipino women to deny or downplay their ethnic heritage by saying that they are Filipino-American, Filipino-Chinese, Filipino-Japanese, or Filipino-Spanish when, in fact, they are Filipino-Filipino.

MOMADAY'S ESSENTIAL BLEND: MYTH AND HISTORY

Mary Louise Bilek
Viterbo College, La Crosse, Wisconsin

N. Scott Momaday describes the essence of the Kiowa people in *The Way to Rainy Mountain* by combining myth and history. Myth provides the subjective, symbolic understanding of the Kiowa self-concept and world view. History provides the objective, chronological, comparative viewpoint. It also gives the non-Kiowa a starting point from which to delve into unfamiliar concepts.

Momaday is acutely aware that this blend of myth and history is essential to his purpose. He states this several times at the beginning of his work. Then he recounts the story of the birth, growth, zenith, and decline of the Kiowa by carefully balancing mythic and historic elements. He implies that the Kiowa migration from the mountains is their core myth, and he follows the migration course himself in a search for his identity. He successfully completes the journey and comes away a wiser man.

A SOCIAL-HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE CHICANO CONDITION IN THE SOUTHWEST

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The paper contends that the Chicano population of the Southwest is a colonized population, indigenous to the land, and that in the 1500's, it came into a colonial relationship with the Spanish. The Mexican Indian woman's role was changed from that of goddess on earth to one marked by the facial scar of slavery. The Southwest is presented as the northern part of Mexico and not as part of the United States, which took that land in the unfair Mexican-American War. Since then, the imperialist Anglo has kept the Chicano segregated in barrios, denied quality education, political power, and an adequate health level. Unlike the males, Chicanas did not have the traveling experiences and the encounters with alternative life-styles during both world wars. They further were not eligible for G.I. benefits to go to school or enter into society through those benefits. Therefore, they lack a history of opportunity, and this, accompanied by the strictly defined cultural sex role and the discrimination of the larger society utilizing racism and sexism, has placed her in an even more disadvantaged social situation than the Chicano male.

The paper includes statistical data, significant women in Chicano history, elements of social control, including stereotypes, and the cultural legend of La Llorona as a means by which to warn women against premarital sex, their obligations as mothers, and the consequences of not fulfilling that role. Further, the legend is analyzed as presenting women as evil, cheating persons.

The paper concludes citing the Civil Rights Movement of the sixties and the Women's Movement of the seventies as being most significant in changing the role of la Chicana and of the Chicano population as a whole.

A PICTURE BRIDE FROM KOREA: THE LIFE HISTORY OF A KOREAN-AMERICAN WOMAN IN HAWAII

Alice Y. Chai
University of Hawaii at Manoa

Mrs. K., a 19-year-old picture bride to be, left a small mountain village in Kyung-sang province, Korea, to marry a 45-year-old Korean immigrant who awaited her arrival in Honolulu, Hawaii. Now 75 years of age, Mrs. K. has spent 55 years of her life as a resident of the island of Oahu. As she speaks of her past, Mrs. K. punctuates her story with laughter and tears. Her speech is "Korean-American," which can be understood either by context or by her expressions. The strength she possesses is evident not only in the bare facts of her life history, but in the matter-of-fact way that she tells her story. Indeed, the source of the warmth and openness of her manner could be the positive way in which she views her past in America.

Through the use of extensive open-ended interviews, the primary emphasis of the study was on her description of her life in her own words. Throughout the narrative, there emerges a sense of her values and beliefs regarding political freedom, economic independence, patriotism, everlasting passion for learning, a deep Christian faith, and the love and hope felt toward whatever she did and whomever she had a contact with. As such, this story not only has intrinsic value as a woman's own life history told in her own words, but also has special importance to those interested in understanding the roles of first generation Korean-American women in American society.

Mrs. K. has been a faithful but stubborn-minded daughter, economic supporter to her younger brothers and nieces and nephews, an understanding and economically active wife, loving mother of three children and grandmother, a laundry worker, a church worker, a political activist for the Korean Independence movement, and a businesswoman.

STRUGGLE, SORROW, AND JOY: WOMEN IN WHITE ETHNIC AMERICAN LITERATURE

Helen Geracimos Chapin
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The recreation in autobiographical fiction of Polish, Greek, and Italian American women's roles constitutes a vital though unrecognized literary tradition. Written by women who observed and experienced the world of our immigrant mothers, the literature coincides with late nineteenth century migration to the United States and continues to the present.

In the works of Edith Miniter and Ruth Tabrah (Polish), Ariadne Thompson and Roxane Cotsakis (Greek), and Ann Cavallaro Abelson, Mari Tomasi, and Marion Benasutti (Italian), there is a distinct awareness of ethnic women's struggles and an honest depiction of them. A. H. Maslow has described five needs basic for all humans: physiological, safety, belongingness or affection, esteem, and self-actualization. In ethnic literature, first generation women are survival-oriented and resilient, even heroic. Once beyond survival, women's struggles are for selfhood, achieved, for example, by second generation Thompson and Benasutti through writing about their ethnic lives.

Other patterns include intense mother-daughter relationships and women fulfilling themselves in responsibility to others. Anger is present, but humor and irony ease the pain. Finally, each author's double vision reflects the nature of immigration--the writer is poised between a lost European world and thus feels sorrow and loss, but also knows the new life is better than the old, and so remains optimistic and committed to her predecessor's dream of America.

THE MODERN BLACK WOMAN AS REFLECTED IN SELECTED WORKS OF THREE MAJOR BLACK WOMEN WRITERS

Alice S. Cobb
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This paper attempts to measure the American black woman's acculturation and progress with literary tools as the guideline. Her existential and physical being, androgynous nature, and literary contribution are considered. The authors and their works are Zora Neale Hurston's *Dust Tracks on the Road* and *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, Gwendolyn Brooks' *Maud Martha* and *Report from Part 1*, and Margaret Walker's *Jubilee* and *How I Wrote Jubilee*.

A black literary self is emerging in America as is the continued search for a genre unique to the black experience. Most importantly must the black writer continue to seek that which is true to

his own experience and that which will best open the door to literary progress and excellence.

The black woman has never written as brilliantly as she could nor has she made a persistent output, but she has endured the triple handicaps of race, sex, and craft.

The most difficult aspect of her literary existence is her self image, for her physical beauty has been in conflict with the national image, and it has only been recently that she has asserted her own.

Literary guides used to measure black womanhood suggest that image, literary courage, androgynous influence, and creativity must fuse for a valid, sustained literary contribution.

THE NEW ORLEANS ETHNIC HERITAGE PROGRAM

John Cooke
University of New Orleans

Ethnic studies programs have not prospered in the high schools, where curricula do not often allow for incorporation of interdisciplinary modules and few teachers are conversant with ethnic studies. These problems can be curtailed through use of a calendar commemorating ethnic-related dates: significant births, deaths, accomplishments, celebrations, and historical events. Also provided are brief and extended elaborations of calendar entries. Through this format, teachers in all disciplines can focus on selected ethnic groups and their relationships to each other and American culture. While this model is most effective with a local base, national dates can be used as supplements.

THE MINORITY WOMAN'S VOICE: A CULTURAL STUDY OF BLACK AND CHICANA FICTION

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Recent fiction by black and Chicano women expresses the painful disparity between the glories of celebrating ethnic tradition and the female's yearning for relief from constricting social values. This literature emphasizes the contradiction between women's considerable power in the home and their subordinate status in the community by depicting concomitant portraits of strong and weak female characters. Those who follow the prescribed path of female acquiescence often find their dreams of love overwhelmed by the harsh reality of racial and sexual restraints. Others question those stifling historical molds and face the challenge of

maintaining the desired allegiance to their cultural heritage. Unlike male authors who have dominated both black and Chicano fiction, contemporary women writers do not describe the racial clash with white society, although that reality is implied in their work. Instead, they write about intraracial struggles between the sexes. Since the family represents the minority male's sanctuary from the daily prejudice he encounters, sexual violence becomes a misdirected response to racial oppression. Typical, too, of the minority female imagination is the frequent appearance of females who band together for support against male supremacy. Cross-cultural and literary differences are noted in the paper, but more similar than distinct issues emerge. The major writers explored are Toni Morrison, Alice Walker, and Estela Portillo. Social studies are used to support the literary interpretations in order to understand what the minority woman reveals, through her fiction, about the female experience.

THE MEANING OF FREEDOM IN THE MEXICAN FEMINIST NOVEL

Lucia Fox-Lockert
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Hispanic women, influenced by traditional models of perfect lovers, have always been more apt to separate the most sublime expressions of love from those they consider more carnal. The customs in Spanish countries have a definite role in perpetuating this dichotomy, and thus it is not surprising to find women in Spanish literature who truly believe in this radical division of love, or at least they explore the possibilities of attaining it. Three contemporary Mexican women novelists, Elena Poniatowska, Maria Luisa Hernandez, and Elena Garro, offer us the motives, dynamics, and means of liberation in their protagonists.

Julia, the protagonist of Elena Garro's *Recuerdos del porvenir* (1963), is a typical example of the woman who establishes a duality in her life. On one hand, she is the concubine of General Rosas; she is like his prisoner on close surveillance. On the other hand, she keeps on loving her childhood sweetheart, Felipe Hurtado. The general is very aware that her body is present but her soul is far away in the relationship. Finally he kills her, only to realize that he has lost forever her beautiful body. She has escaped him through her own death.

Ana, the protagonist of Luisa Josefina Hernandez in *La cólera secreta* (1964), is tied up to a loveless marriage. Since her husband does not give her a divorce, she tries to overcome her conflict by leading a double life. Her husband has her body, but her lover has her soul. Ana, because of the guilt and inner conflict, becomes ill. Only when she is almost dead does her husband agree on a divorce. The author shows in Ana the portrait of a woman who cannot endure the polarity of her emotions.

Jesusa, who is Indian, poor, and illiterate, is the protagonist of *Hasta no verte, Jesus mío* by Helena Poniatowska. Jesusa, in her fifty or more years of life, is the witness of the violence, poverty, and chaos that go from the years of the Revolution to the fifties. There is a big evolution in her personality. She challenges the values of the system and fights to affirm her own individuality. Many changes can be seen in her methods for achieving liberation. At the beginning she believes in fighting physically with her oppressors. Later on she becomes a more spiritual person. She is transformed from a skeptical bystander to a very mystical believer of a transcendent reality (not in a Christian way). Through personal discipline, she controls her vicious temperament and the limitations of her body until she reaches true illumination.

The three novelists show through their protagonists a world in which freedom is not a right taken for granted. Women are aware that personal freedom is indispensable, still they have to use their own methods and go through their own ways of evasion to affirm their human values. The authors give a very extraordinary account of a kind of women's liberation in countries where there is only force, brutality, and exploitation.

WOMEN, CRIME, AND THE MALE-DOMINATED CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM

Laurence French
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The United States criminal justice system is a predominately male-dominated apparatus reflective of its parent regulatory superior--the equally male-dominated, middle class political apparatus. Moreover, the United States, like most Western societies, employs an enculturation process whereby females are socialized to become dependent and subordinate while males are socialized to become independent and dominant. Consequently, these social processes have had a significant impact on our criminal justice practices. Besides, crime, for the most part, is a masculine phenomenon in these societies. This, plus the protective nature of our male-dominated political and criminal justice systems, has led to a double standard of justice, one for males and another for females. Together these factors are borne out in criminal statistics whereby males account for about 85 percent of the total yearly arrests in the United States, while females account for the remaining 15 percent. The attrition variance, then, increases considerably between arrest and incarceration, especially prison, with 97 percent of our nation's total prison population being males and only 3 percent being females. Yet those females who are incarcerated are usually minorities who are sentenced to harsher sentences than are their male counterparts. It is this phenomenon which I plan to address.

CURANDERISMO AND WITCHERY IN THE FICTION OF RUDOLFO A. ANAYA: THE NOVEL AS MAGIC

Robert F. Gish
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With *Bless Me Ultima* (1972) and *Heart of Aztlan* (1976), Rudolfo A. Anaya establishes himself as a major Chicano novelist and author of the first order. These novels lend themselves to sequential and companion readings because of explicit allusion in *Aztlan* to *Ultima* and because of similarity in locale, characterization, and theme. Both novels evidence autobiographical (although fictive) parallels to Anaya's own experience growing up in Santa Rose and Albuquerque, New Mexico. Anaya's books are superficially susceptible to classification as melodramatic and propagandistic initiation novels about the Southwest, magical acts by good and bad witches, superstitious ailments and healing among Mexican Americans, and dismissed as "merely" ethnic and regional literature--parochial. More accurately, Anaya's novels are künstlerromans, affirming the creative imagination, the poet as culture hero, and the novel itself as a magical instrument for healing; for blessing its readers with goodness, beauty, and truth; and for bequeathing the need not only for ethnic identity but also for mutual human dependency and awareness of the world of myth. Anaya's voice, as implied narrator, underscores these words by R. G. Collingwood: "Art is the community's medicine for the worst disease of mind, the corruption of consciousness."

Although Anaya's concerns are numerous, two ideas that have specific bearing on the topic of "Minority Women and Ethnicity" are "curanderismo" and witchcraft--the curandera and the bruja, two prominent female figures in his fiction. Gender is not incidental to the roles of curandera and bruja, for both are related in varying degrees to maternity, birth, the role of the mother. Thus, at the center of both novels is the myth of la llorona, the forsaken mother in search of her lost child. The male characters in *Ultima* and *Aztlan*, whether child, adolescent, or adult (Anthony Marez, Jason Chavez, and Clemente Chavez, respectively) thus must find their way back to the bosom, figuratively, of their ethnic "mother"--their rightful heritage. The "godmother" figure, Ultima la Grande the curandera (along with her magic own and doppelganger), aid in this restoration, this identity quest; the Trementina sisters, brujas all, oppose her. The witch of "las piedras malas del mundo" attempts to thwart Clemente in his soul journey back to Aztlan, his blood's home, which promises wholeness--physical, mental, and social--for him and the people of Barelas and beyond.

PASTA OR PARADIGM: THE PLACE OF ITALIAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN POPULAR FILM*

Daniel Golden
State University College, Buffalo

Italian American women have been frequently reduced into stereotype and caricature in popular American film on two levels--as females and as ethnics. They are usually imaged either as domestic "mamma mias," stirring spaghetti sauce, or as intensely passionate creatures of sexual primacy.

Even as they utilize some aspects of this dichotomous image, some films of the past twenty years transcend narrow stereotype and offer up women--such as Serafina in *The Rose Tattoo*, Theresa in the film of the same title, mother and old aunt in *Marty*, and Mamma and Connie Corleone in *The Godfather*--whose lives are poignant testimony to the tensions between the *via vecchia* and a new life in crass and complicated urban America. Divorce, the casual infidelities of the middle class, and the erosion of a 1,000-year-old Sicilian structure of family trust and obligation all leave these characters troubled and bemused by the price we pay to become "American."

Perceptive screenwriters and filmmakers--Francis Ford Coppola, Renee Taylor and Joseph Bologna, Paddy Chayefsky--use the experiences of these women as an American paradigm, not as ethnic anecdote or comic opera. A familiar paradox emerges as ethnic disaffiliation and personal isolation intensify as the cultural group outwardly slips into the American mainstream.

RELIGIOUS VALUES AND THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN: AN ETHNIC CASE STUDY

Gladys David Howell
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American-born daughters of Middle Eastern immigrants to a southern port city of the United States differed in patterns of educational attainment, intermarriage with members of the dominant group, and mobility out of the city on the basis of religious affiliation. Among the Middle Eastern Christian immigrants of the parental generation were families from a Syrian town, some of whom had converted to Protestantism while others remained in the Syrian Orthodox faith. These immigrants, similar in all respects except religion, displayed varying patterns of assimilation, the Protestants in general assimilating more readily. The difference is most clearly expressed in the behavior of second generation daughters.

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*Daniel Golden's paper will appear in its entirety in a future issue of *Explorations*.

There is clear indication that the Protestant value system served as a catalyst to autonomy, educational attainment, and willingness to leave the protectiveness of the ethnic community.

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RACE AND SOCIAL CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG BLACK FEMALE WORKERS: A STUDY OF IDEOLOGICAL CONTRADICTIONS

Ronald E. Hughes
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This study examines the interrelationship of race and class consciousness among black female workers. Findings suggest that black female workers are more race conscious than class conscious. Although sex was often used by the female workers as a reason for exploitation, the data reveals clearly that race consciousness holds primacy over class consciousness when black female workers expound on their life experiences. The methodological technique was one of long, intensive interviews.

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IMAGES OF LATIN AMERICAN WOMEN THROUGH LATIN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS

Raquel Kersten
University of Wisconsin-Green Bay

The images of women as they appear in two major Latin American newspapers, one from Bogotá, Colombia, and the other from Mexico City, Mexico (*El Tiempo* and *Excelsior*, respectively), are the object of this paper. These two countries were selected because Colombia was the country which agreed to host the meetings of the International Women's Year in 1975. When Colombia bowed out, it was Mexico which offered in turn to host the event.

No special interpretational model is presupposed in this study. Instead, it tries to capture the images of women expressed in the newspapers of two major cities of Latin America.

The years selected for the study are from 1974 to 1977. The main issues discussed comprise the Women's Liberation Movement, women's performance in their traditional roles in public life such as beauty contests and tourism, and the new roles for women, those of politics and other professions. In all of those roles, the image perceived is one of excellence of performance in a changing society. The one pessimistic note is the limited number of women participating in public life and the possible feeling of intimidation by women in the lower social classes who do not have the family name or the opportunity to participate in the brave new world being reported.

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DIVISION OF HOUSEHOLD TASKS IN KOREAN IMMIGRANT FAMILIES IN THE UNITED STATES

Kwang Chung Kim, Hei Chu Kim, Won Moo Hurh
Western Illinois University, Macomb

This study analyzes role behavior and expectation of the husbands and wives of Korean immigrant families by testing three hypotheses regarding the division of household tasks (time availability, socialization-ideology, and power-authority). Data were obtained from 70 couples who were members of four major Korean churches in the Chicago area. The employment of the wives is found to be the most crucial factor that affects the division of household tasks. The time availability hypothesis explains the degree of role specialization, relative task performance, and expected relative performance better than the socialization-ideology or power-authority hypothesis. The two hypotheses do, however, explain certain aspects of the division of household tasks.

PUERTORRIQUEÑAS AS HISPANICS IN THE UNITED STATES

Lourdes Miranda King
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Although the Hispanic woman finds herself in a minority status within a minority population of the United States, her persistence and resiliency in the face of the obstacles she has encountered attest to her readiness for change. She bears the triple brunt of sexism, racism, and colonialism. Too often she is victimized by poverty, prejudice, and rejection by the dominant population. The paper traces Hispanic women's evolvement from their point of origin to her stable presence in the United States.

Like her counterpart in the population at large, her income is far below that for males, the expectancy levels for her achievement are quite low, and she finds she is often rejected as a fully participating citizen. Being a minority, as well as a woman, her feminine status too often places her in an unconscionably low social role and status and consequent low self-esteem. Her language is often mistaken for illiteracy or as a sign of the unwanted immigrant.

Although her educational attainment is lower than women in general, and Hispanic men, there are some hopeful signs. Her participation in secondary and higher education is on the rise, and increased education is a key element in improving her chances for jobs not always open to her at present.

A hopeful sign for the future of *latinas* in the U.S. is her relative youth. Because she tends to be young, it may be possible to break some of the detrimental cycles through which her

predecessors have passed. The primary avenues are education and equitable treatment in employment.

THE ASIAN WOMAN IN AMERICA *

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The information on Asian women in America is almost non-existent. Consequently, the role which Asian women have played in this country has been obscure and largely ignored in historical accounts of Asians in America. Available historical information is presented in this paper.

Asian women did not immigrate in large numbers due to both cultural traditions and to official exclusion by immigration laws. When they began to immigrate, they entered the labor force because of economic necessity and became economically exploited by employers. This condition continues to exist today as revealed in the tendency of Asian women to be underemployed and underpaid.

Asian women in America continue to be stereotyped in dehumanizing ways--as submissive and docile creatures. This stereotyping is based upon sex as well as race. This kind of discrimination of Asian women because of the double jeopardy situation created by both race and sex constitutes a major difference between white and Asian women in this country.

There are several implications for education and change in the areas of multicultural curriculum, bilingual-bicultural education, community relations, implementation of Title VII and Title IX, and shared power in decision making. In our educational institutions, Asian women must be given the opportunity to learn about themselves and the opportunities to learn for themselves.

RACISM IN THE UNIVERSITY: THE CASE OF THE EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY PROGRAM

David Jess Leon
University of California, Berkeley

Special dilemmas confront reform organizations that rely on financial support from their parent structures and on political support from the individuals they serve. The history of the Educational Opportunity Program at the University of California, Santa

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*Gloria Kumagai's paper appears in its entirety in this journal, pages 27-39.

Barbara, offers a case in point. Inaugurated in the wake of the Watts riot of 1965 and strengthened by later demonstrations on campus, the program began to suffer from administrative cutbacks and reshuffling as minority power to stage impressive political acts waned. This study describes events from a framework of institutional racism, a subtle process that can lead discriminatory attitudes to ostensibly impersonal bureaucracies. Three key concepts--crisis mobilization, crisis management, and the dilemma of the reform organization--help illumine its workings.

RACISM AND SEXISM IN AMERICA: THE BLACK WOMAN'S DILEMMA

Shirla R. McClain
Kent State University
Norma L. Spencer
University of Akron

The authors offer definitions and dimensions of racism and sexism and indicate how both have adversely affected the black woman's life socially and economically. Specifically, the impact of racism and sexism on her status, family life, and contributions to society are addressed.

Social status is discussed in terms of both the change in status of black females during slavery and the status level ascribed to the contemporary black woman. Her economic status is described in relation to her own progress and in comparison to that of white women, black men, and white men.

The discussion on her family life focuses on the unique set of social and economic problems that existed during and emanated from slavery. Considerable attention is given to the black woman's self-esteem, her childrearing practices, and her supportive role as a spouse.

The black woman's contributions to society are examined from a historical perspective, taking into account her social position, limited education, and recent opportunities.

Conclusions indicate that: 1) racism has been more detrimental to the black woman than sexism; 2) the black woman has been relegated to a low social, educational, and economic position; 3) the black woman has made monumental gains in spite of overwhelming odds; and 4) the survival of black children reaching adulthood in a racially hostile environment is a living testimonial to the black woman.

THE EAST INDIAN FAMILY IN AMERICAN CITY AND SUBURB

Yash Nandan
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Presented in the paper are theoretical arguments which underlie the unique character of American society as a mosaic diversity of ethnic and racial groups. The East Indian family is shown to develop its character within the parameters of those theoretical arguments suggested in the literature of the past several years. For an analytic comprehension of the East Indian family during its initial development, the constructed typology remains the hallmark of this study in light of which such topics as fertility, sex roles, family structure, children's education, and life styles, which obviously define family as an institution, have been discussed. Since the East Indian community is still evolving, that process in the identification of these "newer" ethnics still not completed, it is premature to answer even in hypothetical terms some of the questions concerning its interaction within the American society at large and its future.

QUALITY OF WORKING LIFE OF ASIAN AMERICANS IN MIDDLE-SIZE CITIES

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This paper seeks to assess perceptions of quality of working life of five Asian American groups, namely, Indians, Pakistanis, Chinese, Filipinos, and Koreans, living in the middle-size cities. This report is part of a larger pilot study on the quality of life of Asian Americans in the middle-size cities of America.

The aspects of occupational life considered in this study are perceptions of job satisfaction, relations with colleagues, opportunities for advancement, and discrimination. The data was obtained through an in-depth face-to-face interview with 45 respondents representing five Asian American groups in Springfield, Illinois.

Despite some variation among the groups, the Asian Americans are generally well educated, professionally skilled, employed in prestigious occupations, and have a great deal of job satisfaction. They do not see any overt and blatant work-related discrimination against them by the majority population despite occasional reports of discrimination against individual Asian Americans.

Beyond the work setting, there is little, if any, interaction between the Asian Americans and their colleagues and neighbors of the majority population. A major constraining feature of their work life is the existence of an invisible job ceiling, which defines the heights Asian Americans may reach in any organizational

or professional hierarchy, invariably limiting them to non-policymaking positions. Traditional modesty, a feeling of gratefulness toward their host country, and a certain fear might be seen as inhibiting forces against expression of any negative feelings vis-à-vis their work lives. Prognosis for future generations of Asian Americans is seen as intriguing.

MEXICAN AMERICAN FEMALES: FERTILITY AND MOBILITY

Miguel M. Ornelas
Bowling Green State University

A high fertility rate has been characteristic of Mexican American females (Chicanas). This paper documents the differential rates between Mexican Americans and other groups and presents an analysis of socioeconomic conditions relevant to high reproductive behavior. While a large family may be viewed as an asset to a segment of the Chicano population, i.e., agricultural farm workers, more often it tends to act as a deterrent to female mobility. Ambitions, aspirations, and energies may be stifled by the demands of a large family. For the family as a whole, high fertility channels resources towards more immediate needs such as food, clothing, medicine, etc., negating the utilization of mobility-bound assets. The position proposed is that large families tend to inhibit the economic role of Chicano mothers and contributes to the preservation of low economic family status.

A CROSS-CULTURAL CHANGE OF GENDER ROLES: THE CASE OF FILIPINO WOMEN IMMIGRANTS IN MIDWEST CITY, U.S.A.

Antonio J. A. Pido
Michigan Department of Labor, Lansing

This paper examined the social status of women in one culture and how this was affected by another culture, mainly through migration. They are the women immigrants from the Philippines to the United States, particularly those in a medium-sized midwestern U.S. city, which is identified in this paper as "Midwest City."

It was contact with and colonization by the West (three centuries by Spain and a half century by the United States) that changed the status of women in the Philippines, initially by eliminating women's activities outside the home. On the other hand, Western colonization also eliminated slavery and polygamy. Since gaining its political independence from the U.S., the Philippines has continuously tried to restore the rights that women had before contact with the West. Nevertheless, Philippine society has to interact in a world where the exercise of power is almost a male preserve, and therefore, Philippine women maintain low visibility

in positions of power and authority. But underneath the formal structures the power that women have in the decision-making process, be it in the family, corporate board room, or government, is always felt. This is evident in the country's formal statutes and in day-to-day situations, where Philippine women have rights and privileges that women elsewhere do not enjoy.

This essay posits that the egalitarian status of women in the Philippines is not due to the uniqueness of the social position of women as women, as in matriarchal societies. But rather, it is the result of the high value the society has on status and power and the viability of the family (nuclear and extended) in achieving and maintaining status and power. Any individual, regardless of sex, who is a potential or can contribute to the enhancement of the family's status and power, will be given all due support and deference, even at the expense of other individuals in the group.

It was determined that the Filipino immigrants of "Midwest City" typify the "new" immigrants or the "brain drain." Their average age was in the mid twenties, with the women being slightly younger than the men. They had an average of about five years of post-high school education, with the women having slightly more post-high school education than the men. Immigration to the U.S. changed the political, economic, social, racial/ethnic, and cultural status of the Filipino immigrants in "Midwest City" from being a majority in their country of origin to one among the many minority groups in the U.S. This change has also had an impact on the status of the women. In other words, the Filipino women immigrants to "Midwest City" moved into a culture and social structure that does not give as much respect, equality, and deference to women as the one they had left.

For instance, although there was a general decrease in post-immigration organizational/occupational levels among all "Midwest City" Filipinos, the women's were more pronounced. Also, the women's income levels followed the same patterns with those of their American sisters, i.e., much lower than the men's. Nevertheless, this post-immigration drop in general status is a price that the women and their families are willing to pay for migrating to the U.S. Among the motives for migration is that they perceived that the U.S. gives them better opportunities to pursue their economic and/or professional interests vis-à-vis being in the Philippines, in spite of racial and sex prejudice and discrimination in the former.

Moreover, in spite of difficulties, the Filipinos in "Midwest City" are trying to integrate with American society and institutions to allow their maximum economic and professional participation in U.S. society, while at the same time maintaining certain traditional Philippine values and norms among themselves (their families and the Filipino community). Among these is the maintenance of the dominance of women in family affairs as well as the high regard and deference traditionally accorded to them.

UNDERSTANDING RACISM AS SEXISM: THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN SOCIAL CHANGE

Susan Reid
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The paper topic relates to the theme "Minority Women and Ethnicity" of the Sixth Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies in its discussion of the factors affecting communication and the development of positive relationships between white and black women.

Enhanced relationships and understanding among all women is important humanistically, socially, and politically in the interest of achieving liberation and enabling the potential of individuals, both men and women, families and communities, to become better fulfilled.

Much attention has been drawn in recent years to the fact that the "Women's Movement" appears to be essentially a white women's movement. The tendency has been for active participants in the movement to "recruit" black members, rather than to explore the reasons for the apparent divisiveness.

The relation between racism and sexism, as it divides white and black women and prevents trust and communication, is discussed. By defining racism as the traditional white male fear of black manhood and analyzing the subsequent effects on women, the paper points to the source of the conflict and thus of its potential resolution. New directions in human understanding and social change become possible through greater unity among women.

THREE OUTSIDERS FROM AMERICAN FICTION: THE CRIMES OF VICTIMS

Joe Rodriguez
San Diego State University

Jack London, William Faulkner, and Nathaniel Hawthorne are famous American writers who portray individuals who are mistreated because of their color and sex. Diego Rivera is not supposed to be a championship boxer because he is a Mexican. The only way that Joe Christmas can take pride in his blackness is by going to his death. And finally, Hester Prynne is ostracized because she dares express her sexuality and because she refuses to conform to her neighbors' narrow expectations of a woman's place in society. One of the questions that these three authors raise is how can such injustice be eliminated.

However, for all their good intentions about improving society, these writers appear confused by questionable racial and sexual attitudes, and they are torn by personal conflicts about how to

accomplish change. Money, contradictory thinking about heredity, and fear of upsetting traditional ways of behaving are some of the reasons that these authors are unable to deal with the question of how to restructure society. The conflicts of these artists show how difficult it is to overcome racial and sexual prejudice. These writers demonstrate clearly why minority figures in American fiction have to be examined carefully.

MARITAL HAPPINESS OF BLACK WOMEN

Essie Manuel Rutledge
Western Illinois University, Macomb

This is a secondary analysis of data collected in 1968 and 1969 by the Program for Urban Health Research, Department of Psychology at the University of Michigan. It was a probability sample of 1,000 adults living in Detroit. The respondents were married, between the ages of 26 to 60, and were living with their spouses. The present study consists of 256 Black women selected from the 1968-69 study.

The paper examined the relationship between marital happiness and several independent variables. The following variables were found to be statistically significant to the marital happiness of Black women (as tested by Chi-square): work status, age, number of children at home, incidence of ulcers, marital career, marital disagreement, and general happiness.

Additionally, to determine what variables have the greatest impact on marital happiness, Stepwise Regression Analysis was applied. These variables are: general happiness, low marital disagreement, no marital separation, and no children at home.

The conclusion from these data is that happiness is more common in the marriages of our respondents than is unhappiness. This is considered a signal of marital strength.

DRAMATIC ACTIVITIES IN THE ENGLISH CURRICULA: AN AID TO AFFECTIVE TEACHING/LEARNING AND HUMAN RELATIONS

Albertha Sistrunk
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Contrary to the popular belief still held by many educators, no education is purely intellectual. The emotional impact, even if unobservable, is always present in an educational experience. Educators who are steadfast in their belief that cognitive learning is the main reason for schools must recognize how crucial teaching in the affective domain is to learning and must strive to integrate

both affective and cognitive objectives in every learning experience to insure the process of "true-education."

The English classroom, where the teaching of literature occupies the majority of time in the curriculum, lends itself quite readily to affective teaching and learning. Literature speaks to and exposes feelings; its emotional content is a motivating device because it helps the reader to see the universality of emotions and the causes and consequences of such emotions. Literature is a starting point and often a means to learn about everything, to introduce materials for discussion and analysis, to develop new concepts and ideas, and to engage in the study of a situation or issue.

To facilitate affective teaching and learning, English teachers must realize that they are more than persons who merely disseminate facts, that the desire for novel activities is a need of the psyche and extends to every aspect of students' growth, and that students need a variety of activities which are met outside the cognitive and psychomotor domains of learning. Among all types of activities by which affective teaching and learning can be brought about, dramatic interpretations--role-playing, dramatizing, pantomiming, etc.--are the most effective.

Seven dramatic activities were developed from select short stories and plays by or about black Americans. The use of black literature, which grew out of a humanistic tradition, gives further impetus to affective teaching and learning. These group activities, generally, were designed to allow secondary English teachers to serve as facilitators rather than authoritarian figures in their classes. They can be used preferably as culminating exercises if the literary works are being studied. Teachers were also provided suggestions to supplement these activities as well as the necessary information to develop activity cards identifying and detailing the duties of each group member and the specific task to complete for final evaluation.

ASIAN AMERICANS IN PSYCHIATRIC SYSTEMS*

Niel Tashima
Chicago, Illinois

Asian Americans are underrepresented in most surveys of mental health facility utilization, and few studies have compared the characteristics of mental health facility utilization for a pan-Asian American sample in a particular area. The present study obtained psychiatric history for all patients with chart

*Niel Tashima's paper will appear in its entirety in a future issue of *Explorations*.

information categorizing the individual as Asian American to evaluate the usage of mental health facilities by this population.

Three facilities in the San Diego, California, area were selected as sites for the survey. All charts for the years 1964 to 1975 were manually searched to locate as many Asian American patients as possible. Hypothesis formulated dealt with the demographic characteristics of the Asian American patients. Preliminary analysis of 209 cases indicate a higher representation of women, Catholic, and foreign-born Asians. The largest category of patients were foreign-born Japanese women.

Previous studies have tended to focus on a particular geographic area. The methodology utilized has not been widely duplicated to determine if the findings can be generalized to the larger Asian American population. The present study is a pilot attempt to establish a methodology that can be utilized to determine the nature and condition of Asian American patients in relation to the psychiatric system.

THE CHICANA IN LITERATURE: STEREOTYPE, MYTH AND REALITY

Richard A. Valdes
University of Oklahoma, Norman

Although she has fared much better than her male counterpart, the Chicano or Mexican-American woman has been stereotyped in Anglo-American literature. In contrast, Chicano authors have tried to present their female characters in a more authentic, even though limited, manner. Until recently, the female characters have played secondary roles in Chicano literature; it has been the appearance of more works by women in recent years which has resulted not only in female protagonists, but also in the presentation of the feminine point of view (or world view).

It was not until Chicano authors started to publish their works that the variety of female characters went beyond stereotypes, be they negative or positive. Aesthetically, the Chicana in literature may be divided into two categories: myth and reality. Many religious, traditional, and folkloric elements combined to give form to the mythic creation of woman: the Virgin Mary, la Malinche (Dona Marina), la Llorona, Coatlicue (Mother of Huitzilopchtle), and others. The association of woman with fertility, birth, the fruits of the land, and the cycles of the seasons is found in most mythologies, including those of the Indians in the American Southwest.

The concept of woman being in communication with spiritual powers and possessing supernatural abilities--be they diabolical or sacred--is found in some of the earliest Chicano literature. In Eusebio Chacon's melodrama, *El hijo de la tempestad* (1892), the

gypsy woman fights against the forces of evil and invokes a satanic code to save her adopted son. This idea of a woman with supernatural powers combined with the reality of life in the Mexican territory before the U.S. occupation to form the myth of the *curandera*. As Ari Kiev has documented in his study, "Curanderismo: Mexican American Folk Psychiatry" (1968), *curanderos* and *curanderas*, i.e., healers, were common in the territory where doctors were scarce and the settlers had to depend on their own knowledge of herbal cures and folk medicine to survive. The combination of faith healing and folk medicine continues to this day and appears in a number of Chicano literary works: Tomas Rivera, *y no se lo trago la tierra*; Rolando Hinojosa-S., *Estampas del Valley*; and especially Anaya's prize winning novel, *Bless Me Ultima*, in which Ultima is a curandera who teachers her art to the young protagonist, Antonio Mares.

Another form of the mythic woman in Chicano literature is the *hechizera*, the woman who enchants a man with praeternatural powers. Perhaps the best example of this type is the gypsy in Orlando Romero's *Nambe--Year One*. There are two women who fill the protagonist's life: his wife who shares his body and his life, and the gypsy who can never possess his body but has bewitched his soul. She has bewitched his grandfather before him and will bewitch his son or his grandson, for the spell she casts is part of the love and life of the enchanted land.

In contrast to the mythic woman is the real woman, *la jefita*, the loving wife and mother who sacrifices herself, the prostitute who has a love for life even in her circumstances of exploitation, the woman who liberates herself by an act of valor, and *la vendida*, to name some of them. While the feminine psyche has only recently found expression in the works of Chicana poets and authors, earlier Chicano writers have demonstrated an awareness of the diversity and depth of character of the Chicana. The realistic women in the novels and stories give the impression of having been modeled after women the authors have known, even if they did not always comprehend them.

These women include those who deny their heritage as well as those who break with tradition and seek their own identity and reality. Recently we have seen women portrayed as seen through the eyes of a female author. Estela Portillo Trambley has published a collection of stories, *Rain of Scorpions and Other Writings*, which, in spite of some aesthetic weaknesses, is very significant for the insight it affords the reader into the mind and spirit of the Chicana. Her characters include the grandmother who acquired her freedom from a marriage of convenience, which her father had planned, by appearing at the party to announce her betrothal not in the Paris gown, but in the nude. Others include scheming and ambitious women who use their sexuality as a weapon and destroy their victims and their own destiny, as in "The Trees."

In all cases, however, women are presented with depth of character, with strengths and weaknesses. They are not mere caricatures, but rather human beings confronting their destiny with different ambitions and varying degrees of success. In other words, the literature presents us with a created world of art based on the perceptions and feminine perspective of the author. It is a representation of a world inhabited by men and women, and not just male characters and their female supports.

CONTEMPORARY CHICANA POETRY: 1969-1977

Arnold C. Vento
University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

While it can be stated that machismo is of general concern to most Chicana writers, it is probably more correct to say that the variety of styles, dialects, languages, and themes utilized are most notable and unique for an ethnic group.

Machismo, as a cultural trait inherited from colonial Mexico, is historically the direct importation of a Mediterranean characteristic by the Spaniards. The practice of beating the women was another sordid pattern established by the Spaniards, who became known as *gachupines*. Coupled with the Judeo-Christian concept of the female as an inferior being to man, the Mexican and the Chicana female have had the difficult task of receiving equal representation. The Chicana, more than the Mexican counterpart, has recently gained a voice in achieving a platform of rights within the Chicano movement. The Chicana writer will question traditional roles assigned to her culturally, negate labels, and sometimes equate herself as the opposite of the *macho*--the *hembra*.

While most are preoccupied with the male/female conflict, they are, nonetheless, sensitive and sensual persons capable of feeling and savoring real love. With the exception of a few writers who looked at man as a brother in the struggle, most Chicanas expressed a struggle for proper recognition of their rights as females. It is interesting to note that one writer cautions Chicanas not to be fooled by easy feminist slogans but to search for their own essence and to be a Chicana first.

It would appear that Chicano poets see their female counterpart in a dual role. The Chicana is a *compañera* in the movement, but at the same time she is a sex object, used and abused by man. Some of the male poetry reflects the identical male/female conflict but from the point of view of the man which views the female as "loose" and thereby at fault. Part of the problem is heightened by the threat that the female poses in changing her traditional role. By assuming a more aggressive role hitherto assigned to the Chicano, she eliminates the concept of the aggressor enjoyed by the male.

One point in common with both is the underscoring of social prejudice and injustice against the raza. It is the poor, the underdog, the *pachuquito*, that become the folk heroes. Another point in common is a tenacious and conscious effort to cling to cultural roots. While male writers will glorify their Emiliano Zapatas and Pancho Villas, the Chicanas will utilize the *Adelitas*, or simply *las abuelitas* (the grandmothers), as models to follow.

One characteristic which is predominant more in Chicana writers than their Anglo counterparts is the overt tendency to show their suffering. Culturally, Mexicans and Chicanos do not have reservations in singing or writing of their suffering. It could, moreover, be argued that the Chicana and Mexicana probably live in a more demanding macho world and thereby have a greater need in expressing their suffering.

One salient characteristic of Chicana writers is their ability to write well both in English or Spanish. Some will weave Spanish with English in a most natural and proficient manner. In one case, a Chicana wrote the same poem twice in two different languages. This variety and flexibility is further enriched by use of dialects, Indian expressions, symbols, and mythology.

Finally, the Chicana writer is acutely sensitive and aware of her immediate reality. She has the ability to totally envelop an object with emotion and passion, to saturate herself into the quintessence of her cosmos and still fight for her cause and the cause of her people.

It is the realization that "revolutions cannot be won by making tortillas forever," and that no matter what the outcome, "If she should die before she wakes, nobody grieve, she tasted cake."

BECOMING SELF-CONFIDENT TOGETHER

Janet Goulet Wilson
University of Wisconsin-Eau Claire

The lack of self-confidence felt by many American Indian women has a historical base. A majority of Americans have two extreme images of Indian people. They think of Indians as "man"--either a handsome warrior wearing a feather headdress and riding a spotted stallion or a lazy drunk hanging around the streets begging. Indian women are seldom mentioned, and they, too, are portrayed as princesses or squaws.

What is not commonly known is that many Indian women have shown great leadership throughout history. They went to college and became professional spokespersons for Indian people. This cost them dearly because of the extreme prejudice they encountered in non-Indian society. As these women learned to view the world in

broader terms, beyond their reservations and home communities, they found it very difficult to maintain credibility and closeness with their own people. This phenomenon is still occurring in modern society.

It is imperative that Indian people come together in 1978. Frightening events are taking place which threaten to destroy the reservations and the education guaranteed by Indian treaties. It appears that the news media is purposely not making these facts known to the American people.

This paper proposes a statewide gathering of Indian women of all ages to come together to discuss how to lead Indian people in a unified effort to counter the destruction of Indian culture. Women who have leadership skills and education can work together with those who have devoted their lives to home and family. The power and strength Indian women possess can be utilized if it is a unified effort. Indian people need that strength today.

OTHER PAPERS PRESENTED, ABSTRACTS NOT AVAILABLE

Minnie Thomas Bailey, Grambling State University, "Fidelia Adams Johnson: Ingenious Daughter of the Founder of Grambling State University"

Regina Blackburn, Albuquerque, New Mexico, "In Search of the Black Female Self: African-American Women's Autobiographies and Ethnicity"

Helen S. Brown, Hermosa Beach, California, "Perspectives on Filipino American Women: An Outline"

William Bedford Clark, Texas A & M University, "The Letters of Nella Larsen to Carl Van Vechten: A Survey"

Elizabeth DaGue, Godfrey, Illinois, "Women and Work in Nineteenth Century America: A Course for High School Students"

Dorothy Denniston, Providence, Rhode Island, "Sable Queens in Bondage"

Michael Fagin, Mankato State University, "Sexism and Racism: Similarities and Differences"

Sylvia Gonzales, San Jose State University, "Beyond Feminism and the Dynamics of Mass Movements"

James D. Henderson, Grambling State University, "Mariana Grajales: Black Progenitress of Cuban Independence"

Jutta Hennig, University of Michigan-Ann Arbor, "Black Women in Slavery as Portrayed by William Styron in *The Confessions of Nat Turner* and Arna Bontemps in *Black Thunder*"

Barbara Hiura, Sacramento Unified School District, "Bilingual Cross Cultural Education and Ethnic Studies: A Search for Clarification"

Charles Irby, California State Polytechnic University-Pomona, "Negritude: An Annotated Bibliography"

David M. Johnson, North Carolina A&T State University, Greensboro, "Teaching Ethnicity with Novels"
David Katzman, University of Kansas, Lawrence, "Woman's Work: 1870-1920: Domestic Service, Immigrants and Blacks"
Yolanda Moses, California State Polytechnic University-Pomona, "Female Status, The Family and Male Dominance in a West Indian Community"
Anna Robinson, Toledo, Ohio, "The Black Woman: Double Jeopardy, Dual Responsibility"
Natalie Rosinsky, University of Wisconsin-Madison, "Mothers and Daughters: Another Minority Group"
Michele Zak, Kent State University, "Deification and Disdain: A Literary View of Black and Jewish Mothers"

Review of Videotape Presented at the 6th Annual Conference on Ethnic and Minority Studies

The Autobiography of **Miss Jane Dubois**

Alan Hertzberg
New School for Social Research, New York

To say that *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Dubois* is an exciting new departure in the venerable art of autobiography does not do full justice to the work under review here. Nor is it sufficient to say that in giving us this study of human life, producer Alan Hertzberg proves that works of integrity and high purpose can be crafted by the video artist, holding out the promise that if it would, American television could lift itself from the slough of mediocrity in which it has ever wallowed. What makes this twelve-chapter study an unforgettable experience is Jane Dubois herself, the young black woman from New York City whose life we "watch" unfold over the course of three hours.*

During interviews spanning more than a year, Jane Dubois and Alan Hertzberg talked. Or rather Jane, her pretty face always filling the screen, responded to her friend's unobtrusive question candidly, vivaciously, and at times with humor. The story that emerges is one of an infant girl "given away" to an aunt and uncle by parents who could not, or would not, care for her, who was reclaimed years later only so her parents could increase their

*Seven chapters, lasting an hour and forty-five minutes, were shown at the Ethnic and Minority Studies Conference.

welfare payments. A pregnant high school dropout at seventeen, a welfare mother for some ten years thereafter, Jane was subjected to the full panoply of indignities routinely heaped upon the urban poor by an impersonal, highly bureaucratized society. Among her tribulations, each explored thematically in one or more of the work's chapters, are her confrontations with the city welfare system, her struggle to raise two sons alone, her abortion, and her relationships with various men, all of whom are portrayed as unremittingly selfish and exploitative.

Were the story of Jane Dubois told by anyone but herself, she might emerge as the archetypical American loser--the poor, urban-dwelling ethnic female, crushed and embittered by the humdrum cruelty of her existence. But this is not the Jane Dubois we come to know through her own words, and herein lies the wonder of *The Autobiography of Miss Jane Dubois*. Jane is not a loser, but a winner--a fact that none of her friends (and all who see her life leave feeling that they have known and liked her for a long time) would deny. She not only survived her early ordeals but learned and drew strength from them. Jane's story is one of quiet triumph over adversity told with grace, insight, and dignity. As such it is a powerful weapon in the arsenal of those who are enemies of the dehumanizing stereotype, those who would teach that greatness of spirit can and does flourish at all levels of contemporary American society.

-- James D. Henderson
Grambling State University, Louisiana

New NAIES Executive Council

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Conference Announcements

1st ANNUAL SOUTHWEST REGIONAL NAIES CONFERENCE
California State Polytechnic University, Pomona
November 17 and 18, 1978

Themes: 1. The Invisible Ethnic: Those Who Refuse to Participate
2. Religion and Ethnicity

Although the deadline date has passed for submitting a prospectus, information may be obtained by contacting: James Williams, Black Studies Coordinator, Ethnic Studies Department, California State Polytechnic University, 3801 West Temple Avenue, Pomona, CA 91768.

7th ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON ETHNIC AND MINORITY STUDIES
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
May 2-5, 1979

Interested persons are invited to serve as chairpersons, discussants, and present papers. The highlight themes are "Ethnicity and Religion" and "The Invisible Ethnic: Those Who Refuse to Participate." Conference planners are especially seeking papers that focus on some aspect of the above themes and in particular papers which examine the commonality of oppression in relation to the themes, and papers or presentations that would be of interest and value to teachers, K-12, for the May 5 session. Audiovisual presentations are welcomed.

Four copies of proposed papers should be submitted to the address below by January 15, 1979. At the Conference in May, presenters should give an abstract of their paper limited to ten minutes. Notice of acceptance of paper: February 15, 1979.

Persons interested in serving as chairpersons and discussants should submit a resume or vita to the address below prior to January 15, 1979. At the Conference in May, discussants will be limited to five minutes per paper.

SEND CORRESPONDENCE AND SUBMISSIONS TO: George E. Carter, Director, Institute for Minority Studies, 101 Main Hall, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, La Crosse, WI 54601.

Employment Notice

MANAGING DIRECTOR, AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES
Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island

The Managing Director will assume responsibility for the supervision and development of Rites and Reason, a performing arts organization which functions within the Afro-American Studies Program at Brown University. The Director must therefore be capable of working well with both theatre personnel and a research oriented and teaching faculty. The Director will coordinate the administrative functions of the theatre, develop marketing procedures, plan publicity campaigns, organize fund raising, engage in grant writing, serve as a link between faculty and the theatre, and structure house management and box office functions.

Qualifications: The M.B.A. in Arts Administration is preferred with at least two years working experience in arts administration. A sound knowledge of budgetary procedures and grantsmanship ability is essential, and some knowledge of the working of a university would be helpful. This is not a traditional occupation, and the Director must work well with differing types of people and be prepared to cope with varying kinds of pressure.

Salary range: $15,000-$17,500 per year. Closing date for applications: September 30, 1978.

Interested persons should write, with resume and references, to: Professor Rhett S. Jones, Director, Afro-American Studies Program, Brown University, Box 1904, Providence, RI 02912.

EDITOR'S CORNER

Since the inception of NAIES, the matter of the organization serving as a communications network has been one of some concern. The need for this kind of activity within the Association is self-evident. When a program, person, or institution encounters difficulty, the existence of a vehicle which can bring to bear external pressure can often be extremely useful. Some might raise the question of being seen as an "outside agitator," but given the scope of the membership of NAIES, this kind of pressure can often be brought from closeby. The matter of a network for communication also opens the door to increased community involvement. While a minority community might not understand the internal intrigues of academic harassment, they should and can understand attempts to undermine ethnic and minority programs, from whatever source, especially from a media element.

Luis R. Esquilin, in his guest editorial, "The Non-Academic Community and NAIES," NAIES *Newsletter*, June, 1977, touched on some aspects of the issue at hand and noted the need to involve the non-academic minority community. The communications network concept provides a concrete way of addressing this need. *Explorations* is supposed to be about finding solutions to ethnic and minority problems and requirements.

Within the last few months, an example of harassment against a minority studies program has occurred very close to home, the Institute for Minority Studies at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. For several months personnel in the Institute were harassed in a series of long articles by a local newspaper for "questionable" use of University telephones. Close monitoring of the newspaper in recent weeks has brought to light the fact that the press may have had a hidden agenda. First, there appeared a hideous cartoon depicting Japanese American visitors with crew cuts and buck teeth, the worst kind of racial stereotyping I had seen in many years; then an article on what was described as a "jungle mission" assignment to Africa for a local student, which carried with it a clear negative mind set offensive particularly to any African student; then, most recently, an editorial in which comparison and parallels were made between neo-Nazis and Martin Luther King, Jr., and the following statement by way of conclusion: "The civil rights leaders, however, did not march on behalf of advocates of genocide, and did not publicly admire mass murderers." Privately, civil rights leaders apparently did admire mass murders? Other questionable racial comments have been traced to personnel of the local paper.

The Secretary of NAIES, who also happens to be Editor of *Explorations*, brought these instances of not so subtle racism to the attention of some members and to selected community representatives. While the response has not been overwhelming, there has been a response from persons around the country, including several

Japanese-American community groups, and the potential of a communications network brought home to your editor. The other details of this purely local situation need not be repeated here; however, the episode raises a fundamental issue having to do with the media and its influence in racial and ethnic affairs in a society which still has a long way to go to achieve harmony within its pluralistic make-up.

Haynes Johnson, writing recently in the Washington *Post* (June 14, 1978), notes that Alexander Solzhenitsen has made some penetrating comments regarding the American press. Quoting Solzhenitsen: "The press can both stimulate public opinion and miseducate it." Johnson goes on to point out that the well-known Russian writer views the press in the United States as " . . . an immature profession that misleads, confuses and shamelessly intrudes on personal privacy while operating under the slogan 'Everyone is entitled to know everything.'"

Arthur R. Miller, Harvard law professor, writing in the Los Angeles *Times* (April 16, 1978), "Reporters Have a Right to Know, but the Public Has a Right to Privacy," concludes his stimulating essay: "No one disputes the public's right to know," but like any platitude, this statement is a generalization. The more important question is to "know what" and "what practices are employed by the press to obtain the information." Professor Miller goes on to state that, as things now stand: "The press may publish demonstrable falsehoods, subject only to remote threat of liability. The media claim the right to publish any 'truth' no matter how private it may be or how prurient the interest to which it caters. Some journalists justify using improper and intrusive techniques in terms of the 'benefit' produced by their stories."

The public, including members of NAIES, have a right to know about a newspaper, or any other media, that displays incipient tendencies to character assassination, yellow journalism, misrepresentation, and further reveals through its own statements and stories the possibility of "hidden motives" faintly couched in racial overtones. Such is the case wherever this kind of thing occurs, be it La Crosse, Wisconsin; Boston, Massachusetts; or Seattle, Washington. Members of NAIES have a responsibility to bring these kinds of issues and matters to the attention of the Secretary who then has the duty to spread the message far and wide. Here enters the need for an active, effective communications network, the beginnings of which we have in place in the form of NAIES and, in particular, its publications. Let us hear from you whenever and wherever the forces opposed to better racial and ethnic understanding raise their heads. The ugly specter of racism can lift its banner in any corner of the country.

-- George E. Carter
Editor

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Robert Yoshioka
New President-elect of the National Association of Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies, who will serve for the next two years.

Gilbert G. Gonzalez
Works in the Program in Comparative Culture at the University of California, Irvine.

Gloria L. Kumagai
Urban Affairs Consultant with the Saint Paul Public School system, Saint Paul, Minnesota.

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