

# EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES





*Explorations in Ethnic Studies* is a multidisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. The editorial staff welcomes manuscripts that are in concert with the objectives and goals of the National Association for Ethnic Studies. Contributors should demonstrate the integration of theory and practice.

---

Opinions expressed in articles and critiques are those of the authors and not necessarily of the editors or the publisher.

Articles appearing in this journal are annotated and indexed in *America: History and Life* and *MLA International Bibliography*.

The subscription list for this journal may on occasion be released to responsible scholarly and academic organizations; any member objecting to this practice should notify the treasurer.

---

EDITOR ..... Gretchen M. Bataille  
Arizona State University

ASSOCIATE EDITOR ..... Barbara L. Hiura  
University of California, Berkeley

ASSOCIATE EDITOR ..... Phillips G. Davies  
Iowa State University

EDITORIAL ASSISTANTS ..... Jan Rog  
Arizona State University  
Christine M. Wilcox  
Arizona State University

NAES logo "The Source" designed by Jo Meyers  
COPYRIGHT by NAES, Inc., 1992

Copies of articles from this publication  
are now available from the  
UMI Article Clearinghouse.  
Mail to: University Microfilms International  
300 North Zeeb Road, Box 91 Ann Arbor, MI 48105

Vol. 15, No. 2

July, 1992

# EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

The Journal of the National  
Association for Ethnic Studies

Published by NAES

**EDITOR:**

Gretchen M. Bataille  
Arizona State University

**ASSOCIATE EDITORS:**

Phillips G. Davies  
Iowa State University

Barbara L. Hiura  
University of California, Berkeley

**MANAGING EDITOR:**

Catherine Udall Turley  
Arizona State University

**EDITORIAL ASSISTANT:**

Laurie O. Lisa  
Arizona State University



**Explorations in Ethnic Studies**

**Table of Contents**

Gong Lum v. Rice: *The Convergence of Law, Race and Ethnicity*  
by Malik Simba. .... 1

Critiques  
Russell Endo. .... 13  
Otis L. Scott ..... 16

*Strategies to Increase the Number of Minority Teachers in the Public  
Schools*  
by Glenn M. Kraig. .... 19

Critique  
Jesse M. Vazquez ..... 28

*Abstracts from the Twentieth Annual Conference, "Ethnicity and Racism in  
the Americas"* ..... 33

*Contributors* ..... 51





## **Gong Lum V. Rice: The Convergence of Law, Race, and Ethnicity**

**Malik Simba**

In the constitutional case of *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927), the United States Supreme Court, composed entirely of Bok Guey (whites), adjudged Hon Yen (Chinese) to be in the same social classification as Lo Mok (blacks).<sup>1</sup> The case, which pertained to “racially” segregated schools, reveals the problematic of law, race, and ethnicity.

The Supreme Court’s decision permitted the state of Mississippi to define Martha Lum, a Chinese American, as a member of the “colored races” so that “white” schools could remain segregated. The essential meaning of American ethnicity was, to a large degree, revealed by this convergence of law and race as ideological constructs reflecting real social relations in the second decade of the twentieth century.

This paper will attempt to explicate this convergence in examining *Gong Lum v. Rice* by using critical legal theory.<sup>2</sup> The four basic concepts within critical legal theory are:

1. Legal ideology and legal institutions reflect the material interests of the dominating classes.

2. Ideological forms and/or juridic concepts express the consciousness and world view of those whose hands are on the controls of the “blind insensate machine of law.”<sup>3</sup>

3. The ideological form helps in the structuring of mass consciousness, helps in reproducing social relationships and their material base, while simultaneously obscuring society’s true formation.

4. Law functions within the Gramscian concept of hegemony—that it is a relatively autonomous ideological form which functions to lessen and dilute social antagonisms by “assuring people that their particular conscience can be subordinated, must be subordinated, to the collective judgement of society.”<sup>4</sup>

Antonio Gramsci, the noted Italian social theorist, developed the idea of hegemony to explain how domination is maintained, in part, by the ideology of law. For Gramsci, the law legitimates coercive society by veiling the fact that coercion exists at all. The law does this by persuading mass society that “individual rights” within the structure of “formal legal equality” hold out

“justice” as an end result of the “procedural rights” of due process while actually maintaining the status quo of inequality with the indeterminacy of judge-made decisions. The impression that these decisions are made by a neutral, autonomous, judicial “oracle” gives the mass society the illusion that such mediatory processes are the best that one can hope for in alleviating an unjust situation. The hegemonic function of the law can be clearly seen when racial antagonism is mediated by “closeted” white racist justices who hide their racism behind the “objective deliberative” process of a court hearing and neutral principles of law that are interpreted to maintain white domination over black, or over brown, yellow, or red. Legitimation and the lessening of racial antagonism have occurred when the “losers” return to their communities to await the next opportunity to litigate another “test case” so that their formal rights will, one day, be recognized by law’s “majestic rights consciousness.”

The concept of hegemony as well as the other dimensions of critical legal theory are recognizable variables in the case involving Martha Lum and the state of Mississippi. Separate, but never equal, as established by Southern “state rights” legislative activity following the validating 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, was the precedent that Chief Justice William Howard Taft, speaking for an unanimous Court, used against Martha Lum in his decision:

This case then reduces itself to the question of whether a state can be said to afford a child of Chinese ancestry born in this country, and citizen of the United States, the equal protection of the laws by the opportunity for a common school education in a school which receives only colored children of the brown, yellow or black races . . . we think that it is the same question which has been many times decided to be within the constitutional power of the state legislature to settle without intervention of the federal courts under the Federal Constitution.<sup>5</sup>

“The Lotuses Among the Magnolias”<sup>6</sup> responded to this decision by creating their own schools with their own Chinese American teachers. This was done to secure their ethnic identity, to prevent their children from attending the black schools of inferior quality, and to maintain their interstitial niche, via accommodationism, between the ruling whites and the servile class composed of African Americans.

This case and the Mississippi Chinese’s response reveal problems in the universal applicability of critical legal theory but also demonstrate its utility. The case demonstrates that: 1) legal ideology, i.e., federalism, supported the world view and interests of the Southern ruling class in keeping with the infamous Compromise of 1877; 2) separate but equal was an ideological form that helped solidify the material basis of society but could not obscure its reality; and 3) law did not function within Gramscian hegemony in structuring a social formation which legitimated classifications of color, race, and ethnicity as defined by those whose hands were on the sensate machine of law because the Chinese saw through the legal veil.



Applying critical legal studies to history is highly problematic. The problems of interpreting and bringing meaning to human political activity can be a researcher's most difficult task. However, much of twentieth century race relations can be explicated by examining the consequential history of Reconstruction and how racialistic federalism evolved. This development ultimately led to Martha Lum and to a confirmation of the fruitfulness of using this theory, adjusting for its limitations, as a tool of historical analysis.

If the Civil War was the "irrepressible conflict," then the Compromise of 1877 could be rightly termed the inevitable reconciliation. The contradictions within America's capitalist and slave economies had brought about the Civil War. It would be the American philosophical belief in white supremacy that would bring about "Reunion" under a racialistic federalism.

The events that led to the Compromise were brought about by the determination of white Southerners to maintain their way of life. They resorted to a type of guerrilla warfare which included fraud, intimidation, and murder to re-establish their own control over the state governments, which were then in the hands of black Republicans, Northern carpetbaggers, and Southern scalawags. The implementation of "nigra legislation" by the federal government made the South even more determined to resist. They saw the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments and subsequent civil rights statutes as the main threat to the Southern status quo of black subserviency and white supremacy. This threat was exacerbated in states such as South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana, where the freedman was densely populated, and in some "Black Belt" counties where they were in the majority.

But the crucial factor that brought about the Compromise was the reality that many Northern whites, prior to the Civil War, went along with their Southern counterparts in looking upon peoples of African descent as an inferior race doomed to the lowest position in white "civilized" society. This is the fundamental reason why racialist federalism could develop as a result of the Compromise of 1877. Before the Civil War, many Northern states had preventive statutes on the quasi-free African's right to vote. Jim Crow existed as a *de facto* norm in Northern society in the years preceding the Civil War. The Northern "Negro" was segregated from the cradle to the grave.<sup>7</sup> The Compromise of 1877, between the Republican and Democratic parties, was precipitated by the disputed Hayes-Tilden presidential election of 1876. Through a series of quasi-secret meetings and discussions, known as the "Wormley Bargain," the parties negotiated reciprocal promises.<sup>8</sup>

This white supremacist rapprochement rested on Northern promises and Southern hopes. On March 2, 1877, Hayes was formally announced the winner of the presidential election. Within a short period, Hayes withdrew the federal troops and put an official end to Radical Reconstruction. He also appointed Senator David Key of Tennessee as Postmaster General. But other hopes and promises went unfulfilled. Southerners did not deliver enough votes to elect the Republican James A. Garfield as the Speaker of the House, and the Republicans did not deliver enough votes to pass the promised Texas and Pacific Railroad bill.

In the end, the North resigned political control of the South (racialistic federalism) to the Democratic party while retaining for itself control of national economic policies.<sup>9</sup>

The role of law (constitutional and “lynch”) and the Supreme Court were vital in making the Compromise effective. One basic assumption of critical legal theory is that legal ideology, in this case federalism, supports the world view and interests of ruling classes. On its face the concept of federalism seeks, as a check and as a balance, to restrain power aggrandizement. Power is divided between state and national government. The convergence of legal ideology and racial ideology which supported the world view and interests of the white ruling classes of both North and South can be clearly demonstrated by examining the Supreme Court cases that laid the judicial precedents for *Gong Lum v. Rice*. The Supreme Court decisions in the *Slaughter House Cases* (1872), *US v. Cruikshank* (1875), *Virginia v. Reeves* (1880), *Pace v. Alabama* (1882), *US v. Harris* (1883), *Cumming v. County Board of Education* (1889), *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), and *Berea College v. Kentucky* (1908)<sup>10</sup> solidified a type of racial federalism that permitted the North to rid itself of the “Negro Question” by giving the South states rights powers which it used to reduce the African American:

to a despairing second-class citizenship: voteless in the South; helpless in the face of constant and brutal aggression; indicted by all white grand juries and convicted by all-white trial juries; denied access to places of public accommodation; represented in public office by those whose very elections were dependent on their promises to white voters to double and redouble his disabilities; forced to scrounge and cadge for education; segregated in every phase of life; . . . with no place to turn for redress of his grievances except to the Court that had approved the devices used to reduce him to his helpless and almost hopeless degradation.<sup>11</sup>

In the *Slaughter House Cases*, Justice Samuel F. Miller, speaking for the majority, emphasized that the 14th Amendment was not intended to change the federal system by bringing civil rights under the purview of national citizenship. This case relegated the fundamental rights of African Americans to the white supremacists in the states rights area of the American South.

The culmination of *Slaughter House* and the cases that followed was in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896).<sup>12</sup> In this case the legal principle of “separate but equal” was established. The Court stated that law is just when it follows “the established usages, customs and traditions of the people.” The Southern custom of working Negroes with the lash, the tradition of segregating them in inferior and unhealthy domiciles, and the use of lynch law to break the spirit of black resistance were consistent with northern interests at this point in time, for the North was

hard at work building railroads, spawning corporations, winning the West, creating great fortunes, welcoming hordes of immigrants from Europe to do the necessary labor—and quite willing to resign the Negro to the tender mercies of the South.<sup>13</sup>



The case demonstrates that the ideology of race and legal discourse combined to explain how the status quo of white supremacy and black subserviency would be maintained by rule of law. Rule of law would help the Southerners coerce their labor force into submission, for the purpose of exploiting it to meet the material interests of those who controlled the “lengthening shadow of slavery.” This case and other labor-related peonage cases helped solidify the material basis of a structure of social relations that was based on white supremacy.<sup>14</sup> The development of the NAACP’s campaign to overturn these racialistic case decisions in the early twentieth century indicated that “separate but equal” was an ideological form that helped to contour social relations but could not act hegemonically to obscure its racist reality. Justice Harlan, who dissented in the *Plessy* case, said it best: “The thin disguise of equal accommodations for passengers . . . will not mislead anyone nor atone for the wrong this day done.”<sup>15</sup> Gramscian hegemony did not lessen nor dilute social antagonisms, nor did it assure people, black people, that their particular interests, such as freedom and equality, should be subordinated to the collective and immoral judgments of a white supremacist society. This society and particular classes within had their hands on the controls of the clear-eyed sensate machine of law. The type of racist society legitimized by the US Supreme Court was totally unacceptable to Americans of minority ethnicity (African Americans, Chicanos-Latinos, Native Americans, and those of Asiatic origins). Their respective mass movements of resistance demonstrated a deep disenchantment with an America predicated on racist ideology and racist law.<sup>16</sup>

The coercive dimensions of law, rarely discussed in conjunction with law’s ideological force, became a prominent, primary, and public weapon in breaking the back of black labor’s resistance. Between 1889 and 1922, approximately 3436 people were lynched in this country, the majority of whom were “recalcitrant Negroes.”<sup>17</sup> “Judge Lynch” delegitimized whatever was left of the law’s mask of ritual, magic, and truth. The popular form of the ideology of race that was not so subtly hidden in legal discourse was expressed by such American luminaries as Thomas Dixon, Governor James Vardaman of Mississippi, and Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina. The novelist Dixon (the 1915 movie *Birth of a Nation* was based on his writings) noted, “My deliberate opinion of the negro is that he is not worth hell-room. If I were the devil I would not let him in hell. . . .” On another occasion Dixon thundered: “Education! Can you change the color of [his] skin, the kink of his hair, the bulge of his lips, the spread of his nose, or the beat of his heart with a spelling book? The negro is a human donkey.” Governor Vardaman continued by emphasizing that “I am opposed to Negro voting [and] it matters not what his advertised moral and mental qualifications may be. I am just as opposed to Booker T. Washington as a voter, with all of his Anglo-Saxon reinforcements, as I am to the coconut-headed, chocolate-colored typical little coon Andy Dotson, who blacks my shoes every morning. Neither is fit to perform the supreme function of citizenship.” Senator Tillman closed this circle of thought by crying out: “Money spent for the maintenance of public schools for Negroes is robbery of the white man and a waste upon negroes. It does him no good, but it does him harm.”<sup>18</sup>

It was this ideological, institutional, and historical milieu that the first Chinese faced when they arrived in Mississippi between 1869 and 1877. Southern planters recruited “coolie” labor as an alternative to recalcitrant black labor imbued with the independent air of freedom and equality. The *Vicksburg Times* confirmed this recruitment rationale by arguing that “Emancipation has spoiled the negro, and carried him away from fields of agriculture. Our prosperity depends entirely upon the recovery of lost ground, and we therefore say let the Coolies come, and we will take the chance of Christianizing them.”<sup>19</sup> In further analyzing planter motivation, Powell Clayton, Governor of Arkansas, noted that “Undoubtedly the underlying motive for this effort to bring in Chinese laborers was to punish the negro for having abandoned the control from his old master, and to regulate the conditions of his employment and the scales of wages to be paid him.”<sup>20</sup>

The importation of Chinese into the American South was consistent with the importation of Chinese labor into the plantation system of the West Indies after abolition. Both regional ruling classes were suspicious as to whether the ex-slave would work without the “benefit” of the lash. Chinese labor came into a type of social relations in which its status and the ideology of that status were predetermined by the traditions, customs, and institutional usages of three hundred years of black and white relationships. Because of this salient fact, the development of Chinese life in the Mississippi Delta would be contoured by the proper relationships between predetermined superior and inferior “races.”

The period in which the Chinese were used as replacement labor, with a legal status comparable to the freedman, was brief. With the Compromise of 1877, Southern planters stopped the deliberate recruitment of coolie labor. Black resistance was broken by constitutional law and by lynch law, embodied in such terrorist groups as the Ku Klux Klan, the White Line, and the Knights of the White Camelias. But before the planters returned to blacks as a basis for their laboring class, it was obvious that some planters were quite pleased with coolie labor. In 1870, the *Bolivar Times* reported that “Messrs. Ferris and Estell, who are cultivating on the Hughs place, near Prentiss, recently imported direct from Hong Knog, a lot of Chinese, sixteen in number, with whom as laborers, they are well pleased.”<sup>21</sup> By 1880, the US census listed approximately fifty-one Chinese in Mississippi. In 1900, this number had grown to 183 and in 1920, to 322. The majority of these Chinese came from the “Sze Yap or Four Counties district southwest of Canton in South China. . . .”<sup>22</sup>

The “Redemption” of the Southern states by the planter class and the implementation of the old social relations of black and white, coupled with the infamous “Mississippi Plan of 1890” (which led to the rise of *de jure* Jim Crow), left the Chinese as the odd man out. However, coming from an area of China with strong entrepreneurial values, these Chinese began to successfully carve out a niche between black and white in both the social and economic structures of the “New South.” Because of the racist aversion to doing business with “Negroes,” the Chinese were able to develop and dominate the grocery store business that sold commodities to blacks. Other ethnics, Italians and Jews, were also permitted to carve out their niche in selling to the blacks. Referring to this aversion, one



white businessman said of whites who have stores oriented to selling to blacks, “Nobody condemns them for it, but we don’t invite ‘em to our homes and our social life. . . .”<sup>23</sup> Another similar comment was: “Occasionally you find a white merchant down there, but they’re usually either a dago or a Jew.”<sup>24</sup> Another reason why the Chinese were able to establish and dominate the trade with “Negroes” was because they specified their market by locating in black areas and they interacted with their consumers with courtesy and respect. As one black customer stated, “They [Chinese grocers] don’t worry the hell out of you about saying ‘Mr.’ or anything.”<sup>25</sup>

As these Chinese businessmen prospered, by frugal self-denial, they began to build communities by smuggling in Chinese women, which was against US immigration law, by importing “merchant wives,” which was legal, or by cohabitating with a “negro woman.” It is interesting that Mrs. Gong Lum was described as an educated lady from Hong Kong—most likely a merchant wife import.<sup>26</sup>

This small community attempted by their lifestyle, their acceptance of Jim Crow, and their conversion to Christianity and starting of churches, to elevate themselves further up the social ladder. But because their status had been historically predetermined, they would remain at the level of interstitiality or worse. One Chinese could assert that, “Before 1942, the Chinese had no status in Mississippi whatever. They were considered on the same status as the Negro. . . .”<sup>27</sup> It is quite obvious that the Mississippi Chinese maintained their existence as a marginal, isolated community from the whites and did little mixing with “Negroes” outside of the business relation.

The interstitial marginality was acceptable as long as the Chinese community was composed of single men or their status did not legally appear to be similar to the blacks. All this changed when the Chinese community developed a family base and the community’s aspirations for its children rose above the status quo.

The *Gong Lum* case sprang from this changing community and the Chinese view of themselves vis-à-vis the whites and the blacks. In the fall of 1924, Martha Gong Lum, daughter of a prosperous Chinese grocer, was first admitted to a white school and then, at “noon recess,” asked to leave by the Rosedale Consolidated High School trustees. Financially able to hire lawyers from an established law firm, Mr. Gong Lum, through his lawyers, argued that the *Plessy* dictum should be maintained by admitting Martha to the white school since “She is not a member of the colored race nor is she of mixed blood . . .”<sup>28</sup> and because the state of Mississippi had not established a school for Chinese children under the separate but equal dictum. Victorious at the circuit court level, the Gong Lums and their lawyers had to face the school trustees’ appeal to the state supreme court, where they lost. The Mississippi Supreme Court stated categorically that “Chinese are not white and must fall under the heading, colored races.”<sup>29</sup> The Court relegated Martha to the separate but unequal school for “Negroes.”

On appeal to the US Supreme Court, the Gong Lum lawyers took an ingenious tack in their argument. Recognizing the convergence of law, race, and ethnicity, the lawyers used the logic of the racialistic legal discourse that the US Supreme

Court had developed since the *Slaughter House Cases*. Their arguments bring validity to critical legal theory in several ways but, by the mere fact that Mr. Gong Lum saw law as partially unjust, reject other assumptions of the theory. The lawyers asserted that the whites make the law in their image and interest. The image is the white supremacist world view, and their interest is the maintenance of their racial domination, in part by establishing superior schools for whites and inferior schools for blacks. The lawyers then argued that the Chinese should be included in the social order at a level commensurate with their non-Negro status and their economic level. The lawyers argued that "If there is danger in the association [with Negroes], it is a danger from which one race is entitled to protection just the same as another. . . . The white race creates for itself a privilege that it denies to other races; exposes the children of their races to risk and dangers to which it would not expose its own children. This is discrimination."<sup>30</sup> This was an intriguing argument that came close to validating Gramscian hegemony theory in accepting white supremacist assumptions about legal relationships; however, the Court rejected this argument and sent a non-hegemonic message to the Gong Lums: If you live in the South, then you fall under the Mississippi "policy of the lawmakers . . . to preserve the white schools for members of the Caucasian race alone."

Speaking for the Court, Chief Justice Taft referred to other post-Compromise of 1877 cases. The Court cited over twenty state and federal cases beginning in 1849 and concluding in 1896 that upheld the power of the states to impose various types of segregation on the "colored races." Obviously peeved or just plain bored with such cases in controversy, he noted,

Were this a new question, it would call for very full argument and consideration, but we think that it is the same question which has many times decided to be within the constitutional power of the state legislature to settle without intervention of the federal courts under the Federal Constitution.

What is most intriguing about Taft's reasoning is that he attempted to support this entire racialistic artifice by analogous logic. He cited the 1849 case of *Roberts v. City of Boston*, which upheld the separation of colored and white schools. Taft inferred that if white Northerners, the supposed friends of the "Negro," can rightly segregate them, then why not his "enemies"? Taft noted:

Similar laws have been enacted by Congress under its general power of legislation over the District of Columbia as well as by the legislatures of many of the States, and have been generally, if not uniformly, sustained by the Courts. . .

Furthermore, Taft stated that these cases

arose, it is true, over the establishment of separate schools between white pupils and black pupils, but we can not think that the question is any different or that any different result can be reached, assuming the cases above cited to be rightly decided, where the issue is as between white pupils and the pupils of the yellow races.

In referring to *Plessy* as one of those cases rightly decided, Chief Justice Taft was promoting the majority decision in *Plessy* that

every exercise of the police power must be reasonable and extend only to such laws as are enacted in good faith for the promotion of the public good, and not for the annoyance or oppression of a particular class.

Neither Justice Henry Billings Brown in 1896 nor Taft in 1927 understood the obvious, as stated by *Plessy*'s lone dissenter, Justice John Marshall Harlan, "that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose . . . to exclude colored people. . . ." Mr. Gong Lum's lawyers affirmed Harlan's correct perception by emphasizing the "annoyance or oppression" was aimed directly at Chinese American citizens.

As for equal facilities, the Taft Court had to just look at the material underpinnings on which the statute rested to see the vast and deep inferiority of "Negro" schools. Separate but unequal schooling was reflected in the disparity in expenditures the school board allotted for white versus colored schools. As early as 1912, Southern states were spending less than \$2.00 per colored student while spending around \$15.00 per white student.<sup>31</sup>

The Taft Court continued by laying to rest the issues of federalism by citing Harlan's decision in *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education*.<sup>32</sup> This was a case concerning the power of a local school board to close down a colored school, because of a budget shortfall, while maintaining a school for white children. Harlan decided

the education of the people in schools maintained by state taxation is a matter belonging to the respective States, and any interference on the part of Federal authority with the management of such schools can not be justified. . . .

In citing this case, the Court argued that "the right and power of the state to regulate the method of providing for the education of its youth at public expense is clear." The Taft Court's insistence on supporting local autonomy at the expense of black rights was certainly in keeping with the infamous Compromise of 1877. Settling the "Negro Question" was more important than giving the "brown, yellow or black races" a truly equal protection of the laws.

By affirming the Mississippi Supreme Court's decision, the Taft Court agreed that Mr. Gong Lum could "educate his child in a private school if he so desires. But the plaintiff is not entitled to attend a white public school." This agreement reveals how legal ideological discourse affirms a certain reality—that Chinese grocers had achieved a comfortable class status which was so recognized by the Court's decision. The discourse then attempts to obscure the inequality of "free choice" by not addressing the substantive quality of such private schools and the social stigma attached. As Justice Brown noted in *Plessy*, if whites think that the colored races are inferior and should be segregated, then "law cannot change custom." Obviously, Brown could not, nor would not, concede that legal legitimacy would help mold the consciousness of segregationist whites to make them feel that they were doing the right thing. The law's ideology could and did legitimize the material interests, as expressed via the structure of separate



schools, of those whites who supplicated ever so successfully before the US Supreme Court.

However, with the loss of this case, and in refutation of the theory of hegemony, the Gong Lums and other Chinese families either left the state of Mississippi or the South entirely. Others brought in Chinese teachers from California and started their own “resistance school” (Chinese Baptist Mission School). The county assisted by hiring two white school teachers to aid in this separation.<sup>33</sup> Social tensions remained high and bitterness continued for many years. The decision did not assure the Mississippi Chinese that their interest should be subordinated to the “collective judgments” of white society. The ideological discourse of law did not convince the Chinese that social antagonism would lessen. The Chinese felt antagonism toward them would be increased as they were lumped into a group that had received the brunt of legalized violence.

This examination of *Gong Lum v. Rice* reveals what is promising about critical legal theory and also its dead end when it is applied to racialistic law as it developed in this country between 1872 and 1927. Federalism and equal protection of the laws as legal ideological constructs were contoured to meet the exigencies of race and politics during this period. Racism as a dominant cultural and political world view of both Northern and Southern ruling classes was expressed through legal doctrine to legitimize and support the material interest of these classes. The North was able to set aside the volatile “Negro Question” which had so enthralled and bogged down national political direction since the Civil War. Northern interest in developing a strong unified national economy and the Southern need to regain control over a disenfranchised and radicalized labor force led to the Compromise of 1877. This Compromise received a legal and Constitutional salutation in a series of Supreme Court cases that intertwined legal discourse and racism. This salutation culminated in the “separate but equal” doctrine in 1896.

The promise of critical legal theory is somewhat confirmed if one sees the consensus of racism structuring white mass consciousness and social relations while obscuring the inherent inequality of these relations to the whites themselves. The dead end, of course, is that the inequality of legal doctrine was obvious to the various racial minorities who challenged racialistic law. One can also argue the promise of hegemonic theory by seeing that these racial minorities used law, specifically separate but equal doctrine, to support their legal complaint.

The flaw in this line of thinking is that Mr. Gong Lum, et al., were merely using the doctrine tactically and never permitted its verbal “fig-leaves” to obscure the reality of racial discrimination and oppression as they assessed their own material condition and the broader set of social relations in the “New South.”

Critical legal theory can help legal scholars in their examination of American legal history. This paper demonstrates that the theory has to be severely adjusted when it is applied to the history of race relations law. American law and its brethren, Judge Lynch and Lynch Law, have consistently revealed to America’s racial minorities the illegitimacy of law, its ideologies of fairness and justice, and its functionaries. *Brown v. Board of Education*,<sup>34</sup> which overturned *Gong Lum*, is remembered today, by many critics, as the first time that the Supreme Court

had recognized a constitutional right and then denied it “with all deliberate speed.” The 1991 confirmation of African American conservative Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court will not ensure a different type of fairness, nor justice, in the legal remedies held out to minorities. Inversely, his presence, for those who are very much ahistorical, will legitimate the illusion of justice which is legal hegemony’s purpose. The appeal for legal relief by racial minorities has more to do with their understanding of the law’s coercive dimension if they take their grievances to the “proverbial” streets than with a belief by these minorities that the oracle of law is magical, objectively ritualistic, and serves truth. Racially oppressed minorities, more so than other Americans, understand and understand the ideological masks and contradictions inherent in the law, as expressed by O.W. Holmes who suggested, in his *Common Law* (1880), that the felt necessities of the time or the prejudices of men determined the paths of law rather than syllogistic logic.<sup>35</sup> The *Gong Lum v. Rice* decision reflects this observation and, in its insistence on a racialistic, federally protected “equality,” reveals a much deeper revelation as expressed by Anatole France:

The law in its majestic impartiality forbids rich and poor alike to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and steal bread.<sup>36</sup>

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>R.S. Quan, *Lotus Among the Magnolias: The Mississippi Chinese* (Jackson, MS: Jackson University Press, 1982), 155-60.

<sup>2</sup>M. Tushnet, “Critical Legal Studies: An Introduction to its Origins and Underpinnings,” *Journal of Legal Education* 36 (1986): 505-17.

<sup>3</sup>L.M. Friedman, *A History of American Law* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973), 14.

<sup>4</sup>E. Genovese, “The Hegemonic Function of Law,” in *Roll, Jordon, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, ed. E. Genovese (New York: Pantheon, 1974) 27; A. Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, eds. Q. Hoare, and G.N. Smith (New York: International, 1977), 246-47.

<sup>5</sup>*Gong Lum v. Rice*, 275 U.S. 78 (1927).

<sup>6</sup>Quan, Introduction.

<sup>7</sup>L. Litwack, *North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 280-303.

<sup>8</sup>C.V. Woodward, “The Unknown Compromise” in *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction*, ed. C.V. Woodward (Garden City: Anchor, 1956), 277-83.

<sup>9</sup>Woodward.

<sup>10</sup>R. Bardolph, *The Civil Rights Record: Black Americans and the Law, 1849-1970* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1970), 58-68, 148-58.

<sup>11</sup>L. Miller, *The Petitioners: The Story of the Supreme Court of the United States and the Negro* (New York: Pantheon, 1966), 180.

<sup>12</sup>*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896) in *The Supreme Court on Racial Discrimination* ed. J. Tussman (New York: Oxford, 1963).

<sup>13</sup>Miller, 114.

<sup>14</sup>P. Daniel, *The Shadow of Slavery: Peonage in the South 1901-1969* (New York: Oxford, 1972), 193-98.

<sup>15</sup>*Plessy v. Ferguson*.

<sup>16</sup>B.A. Glasrud and A.M. Smith, *Promises to Keep*, vol. 2 (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972), 187-369.

<sup>17</sup>J.H. Franklin and A.A. Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Borzoi, 1988), 319.

<sup>18</sup>Miller, 208.

<sup>19</sup>J.W. Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White* (Prospect Heights: Waveland, 1966), viii.

<sup>20</sup>Loewen, 23.

<sup>21</sup>Loewen, 23.

<sup>22</sup>Loewen, 24.

<sup>23</sup>Loewen, 49.

<sup>24</sup>Loewen, 50.

<sup>25</sup>Loewen, 51.

<sup>26</sup>Quan, 46.

<sup>27</sup>Quan, 61.

<sup>28</sup>Loewen, 67.

<sup>29</sup>Loewen, 67.

<sup>30</sup>Loewen, 67.

<sup>31</sup>Miller, 210.

<sup>32</sup>*Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education*, 175 U.S. 528 (1899).

<sup>33</sup>Quan, 47.

<sup>34</sup>*Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954); 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

<sup>35</sup>A.H. Kelly, W.A. Harbison, and H. Belts, *The American Constitution* (New York: Norton, 1983), 468.

<sup>36</sup>A. Hunt, "Law, State and Class Struggle," *Marxism Today* 20 (1976): 178-87.

### Critique

Law in the United States may of course be viewed through a number of different perspectives. Over the past several decades, racial minorities have used litigation and legislation to reform institutional policies and practices, and this has given impetus to perspectives of law as a significant tool of constructive social change. While such frameworks have validity, Malik Simba's paper is a relevant reminder of the ideological and coercive dimensions of law and of its long history as a means of oppressing racial minorities.

Simba presents critical legal theory as a fairly straightforward perspective that sees law as an ideological form which reflects the material interests of the dominant classes and helps structure society and its material base but at the same time obscuring this and performing a hegemonic function to lessen social antagonisms. Simba effectively uses this interpretation to describe the role of law in solidifying white supremacy in the post- Civil War South and to examine the theory's utility through the case of *Gong Lum v. Rice*.

Critical legal theory clearly has promise for the historical analysis of race relations law, though its basic concepts have broad meanings and implications and may require some specification before they can be applied to other situations. Also, as Simba correctly points out, critical legal theory has a serious shortcoming. Legal institutions have not functioned to veil inequality and injustice from racial minorities. Therefore, adjustments to critical theory must be made before this perspective can be applied to other circumstances.

Simba argues that, by the time of the *Gong Lum* case, the Chinese in Mississippi had achieved a marginal, interstitial status between the blacks and the whites. This is an area that requires further analysis because it may reveal another problem with critical legal theory. Sociologist Robert Quan contends that the Chinese were moving toward the creation of a tri-racial society. At the time of the *Gong Lum* case, they had achieved the first steps in this process through the immigration of wives and intact families, their conversion to Christianity, and the economic foundation of their grocery stores. This process was aided by the whites, who, for example, taught the Chinese the English language, American values, and Southern Baptist religion.<sup>1</sup> More needs to be known about the extent of white assistance and the nature of the emerging tri-racial society. But the whites clearly benefited from the latter. The tri-racial



society could accommodate the aspirations of the Chinese and their desire to maintain their ethnicity without being identified with the blacks, thereby lessening Chinese antagonisms toward the whites, and at the same time keep the Chinese from intruding on white economic power and privileges. The whites further benefited because the Chinese could serve as a kind of economic “middleman” between them and the blacks and help them deal with this despised population. However, in the Gong Lum case, the Mississippi Circuit Court for Bolivar County, the Mississippi Supreme Court, and the US Supreme Court did not render decisions compatible with a triracial society and with perhaps the actual interests of the whites, for instance, by ordering the construction with public funds of a separate school for Chinese children. Afterward, beginning in 1936, the whites did provide support for a Chinese school, and they later gradually allowed the Chinese to attend white public schools. Given all of the preceding discussion, it is possible to interpret the Gong Lum judicial decisions as suggesting that law at times may be only an imperfect reflection of the material interests of the dominant group. If this is indeed true for the Gong Lum case or in other situations, it is another shortcoming of critical legal theory.

Critical legal theory is actually one of several frameworks that can be used to examine race and law in the Gong Lum case. Gong Lum is part of a large body of Supreme Court cases in which the practices brought before the Court and/or the Court’s decisions reveal the pattern of racism against Asian American groups. Asian Americans were treated as racially subordinate and unwanted members of American society by denials of their civil rights and their rights for employment, education, land ownership, citizenship, and immigration to the US.<sup>2</sup> The Gong Lum case also may be seen as one element in a broader struggle by Asian American groups to challenge racial discrimination. This effort included thousands of legal cases as well as labor organizing, strikes, economic boycotts, and other forms of protest.<sup>3</sup> In addition, the Gong Lum case may be viewed as part of a legal history involving the racial classification of Asian Americans. This history encompasses legislation such as antimiscegenation laws prohibiting marriages between whites and specified nonwhites (sometimes Asians), Supreme Court cases like *Ozawa v. United States* in which the Japanese plaintiff was denied the right of naturalization because he could not be categorized as either white or black, and other cases such as *People v. Hall* where the California Supreme Court ruled that a statute specifically limiting the rights of “Indians or Negroes” applied as well to the Chinese.<sup>4</sup>

Although Simba’s paper focuses on critical legal theory and the Gong Lum case, the primary subjects are the Mississippi Chinese, and there is a need for further research on this group. For example, Simba follows the lead of historian James Loewen in noting that it was the early Chinese laborers who later established grocery stores in black communities. This topic requires more investigation since work by Robert Quan and historian Shih-shan Henry Tsai supports an alternative hypothesis that most of the early Chinese left Mississippi and the adjacent state of Arkansas, but after World War I, a second wave of Chinese came to this region and were largely responsible for developing the

grocery store economy.<sup>5</sup> Additional inquiry likewise is needed on the manner in which the Mississippi Chinese functioned as economic middlemen and on the similarities between this role and that of other Asians in the US, including Korean merchants in contemporary urban African American communities.<sup>6</sup> And more research should be conducted on how the Chinese in Mississippi were able to maintain their sense of community, culture, and identity despite the fact that they were small in number, isolated from the large Chinese communities in the West and North, did not establish characteristic Chinese American community institutions, and had to carve out their position in a fairly rigid biracial social system.<sup>7</sup> Whatever can be learned about their experience will contribute to the important accumulation of knowledge about the persistence of ethnicity.

—Russell Endo  
University of Colorado

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>Robert Seto Quan, "The Creation, Maintenance, and Dissolution of Mississippi Delta Chinese Identities," in *The Chinese American Experience: Papers from the Second National Conference on Chinese American Studies*. Ed. Genny Lim (San Francisco: The Chinese Historical Society of America and The Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1984), 183-84.

<sup>2</sup>Hyung-chan Kim, ed., *Asian Americans and the Supreme Court: A Documentary History* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).

<sup>3</sup>Sucheng Chan, *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), 81-100.

<sup>4</sup>Chan, 48, 60, 93; Kim, 6-7, 35-37.

<sup>5</sup>James Loewen, *The Mississippi Chinese: Between Black and White*, 2nd ed. (Prospect Heights, IL: Waveland Press, 1988), 24-26, 32-34; Quan, 183; Shi-shan H. Tsai, "The Chinese in Arkansas," in *The Chinese American Experience: Papers from the Second National Conference on Chinese American Studies*. Ed. Genny Lim (San Francisco: The Chinese Historical Society of America and The Chinese Culture Foundation of San Francisco, 1984), 199-200; Shi-shan Henry Tsai. "The Chinese in Arkansas." *Amerasia Journal* 8, 1 (1981): 1-11; Robert Seto Quan, *Lotus Among the Magnolias: The Mississippi Chinese* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1982), 6-13.

<sup>6</sup>There are many publications, some of them critical, dealing with Asian American groups as economic middlemen. For a few examples, see: Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities." *American Sociological Review* 38, 5 (October 1973), 583-94; Edna Bonacich and John Modell, *The Economic Basis of Ethnic Solidarity: Small Business in the Japanese American Community*

(Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980); Ivan Light and Edna Bonacich, *Immigrant Entrepreneurs: Koreans in Los Angeles, 1965-1982* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988); Eugene Wong, "Asian American Middleman Minority Theory: The Framework of an American Myth." *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 13, 1 (Spring 1985): 51-88.

<sup>7</sup>Such research can build on the work of Loewen and particularly that of Quan. For another account of the Chinese in the South, especially Louisiana, see Lucy Cohen, *Chinese in the Post-Civil War South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1984).

## Critique

For all intent and purposes the United States of America in 1927 was an apartheid state. The *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision in 1896 determined that the best social policy for this nation to pursue was one which required racial separation. The *Plessy* decision essentially capped a series of Supreme Court decisions which underscored the destruction of Reconstruction and the return of "states rights" to southern governments. Decisions like the *Slaughter House Cases* (1872) and the *Civil Rights Cases* (1883) gave clear evidence of the federal government's hasty retreat from serving as an advocate for the civil rights of African Americans.

The institutional milieu within which African Americans carried out life and living was shaped by the betrayal of federal government and an aggregation of outrageously racist southern state governments. And while living in the United States has not offered particularly "good times" for black people, living in the ex-confederacy was akin to living on the edge of hell for African Americans. In a color conscious society, black was a color which brought the wrath of the Ku Klux Klan, Knights of the White Camelia and other ya-hoo boys in both the North and South.

African Americans were not the only ethnic group on the receiving end of both the *de jure* and *extra jure* racist forces in the nation. Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and Asian Americans also had life experiences shaped by the cruelty of America's racial apartheid policies and practices.

In his paper, "*Gong Lum v. Rice: The Convergence of Law, Race, and Ethnicity*," Malik Simba provides an accounting of how this nation's racial apartheid practices affected the lives of Chinese Americans living in Mississippi during the 1920s. In particular, Simba's essay is about how the Supreme Court arrived at its decision in *Gong Lum v. Rice* (1927) that Chinese Americans, as determined by the dictum of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), were to be relegated to the same social category as black Americans. That is, Chinese Americans were also social pariahs: separate and unequal.

This paper brings into focus the historical role of law as a device for shaping the institutional lives of people of color in this society. Law, its coercive power, can and has extended hegemonic control over the lives of people. Witness, for

example, the long history of relationships between Native Americans and the US government. Law, at least the government's interpretation, has been used to establish and virtually maintain a near stranglehold on Native American affairs. Simba makes particular note of the fact that the rule of law has been the role of law, that is, to separate, divide, and conquer.

Simba employs the tool of "critical legal theory" as a device for analyzing how race conscious law was used to configure America's apartheid *democracy* (my emphasis). This approach focuses on how racist ideology functions as a rationale by the privileged in their attempt to maintain and strengthen their advantaged status in a society while at the same time maintaining a race-based *status quo*.

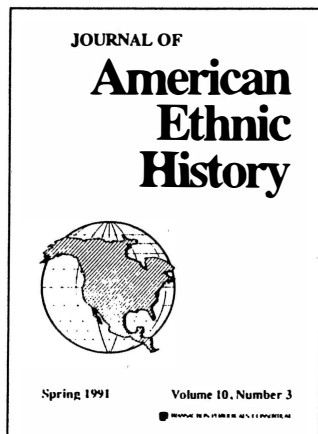
Simba's discussion of the "Gramscian concept of hegemony" as part of critical legal theory is interesting. I believe that he abbreviates his presentation of its utility as applied to the Chinese American community in Mississippi and the Lum family in particular. For example, I wonder if Simba believes that there are some intrinsic features of the Chinese American community in Mississippi or the Lum family which recommends the use of the Gramscian concept of hegemony. Certainly, as Simba notes, given the social-legal ethos of post-Plessy America, there is little reason to believe that people of color were going to be satisfied with a status quo based on ascribed inferiority. Is there really any reason to believe that minimization of social antagonisms would occur under such conditions? These are not offered as criticisms; the questions are prompted by the discourse on the subject.

Overall, I think this paper provides an important conceptual window through which we can view the development of what has been described as a juridical society. This society may be law-based. But as Simba reminds us, it has been one where law has been used to reward some and punish others. And those on the receiving end of the punishment have too often been people of color. The irony of this is that people of color, as did the Lums, seek to use a legal process fashioned by the privileged as a tool for prying themselves free from the clutches of the privileged.

—Otis L. Scott  
California State University Sacramento



# Journal of American Ethnic History



## Ronald H. Bayor, Editor

*Georgia Institute of Technology*

Addresses various aspects of American immigration and ethnic history, including background of emigration, ethnic and racial groups, native Americans, immigration policies, and the processes of acculturation.

### **Recent Articles:**

**"Assimilated Catholics" Response to Anti-Catholicism in the 1920s**

*Lynn Dumenuil*

**List Upon List: The Ship Passenger Records and Immigration Research**

*Robert P. Swierenga*

**Selective Service and Polish Army Recruitment During World War I**

*Joseph T. Hapak*

**Immigrant Women: Nowhere at Home?**

*Donna Gabaccia*

***Emergence of the Contemporary Mexican Immigration Debate, 1968-1978***

*David G. Gutiérrez*

### **Published Quarterly**

The official journal of the Immigration History Society.

### **Subscription rates:\*\***

Individuals: \$30/yr; \$55/2yrs; \$75/3yrs

Institutions: \$60/yr; \$108/2yrs; \$145/3yrs

Domestic first-class mail add \$20/yr

Foreign surface mail add \$20/yr

Foreign airmail add \$40/yr

**\*\*Includes membership in the Immigration History Society and semiannual Immigration History Newsletter.**



**TRANSACTION PERIODICALS CONSORTIUM**

Department 2000, Rutgers—The State University, New Brunswick, NJ 08903

## **Strategies to Increase the Number of Minority Teachers in the Public Schools**

Glenn M. Kraig

There can be very little argument that in recent years the teaching profession has become whiter and whiter as fewer minorities and people of color have entered and remained in the teaching profession, and as such, the percentage of white Americans in the field has continued to increase. Out of the approximately 2.3 million K-12 teachers in 1987, only 10.3 percent were minority group members. Current estimates report that by the mid 1990s this number will be further reduced to about five percent.<sup>1</sup> If this trend is not reversed, the teaching profession will be close to being entirely white by early in the twenty-first century. The fact that this is occurring at a time when minority populations of students in these same schools are dramatically increasing makes this situation even more confounding. Table 1 illustrates the relative populations by ethnicity of students and teachers in the public schools today.<sup>2</sup> As can be seen from this table, the relative population of the teaching force is not even close to being representative of the composition of the student body in terms of ethnicity.

TABLE 1

	BLACK	HISPANIC	ASIAN	WHITE
STUDENT POPULATION	16.2%	9.1%	2.5%	71.2%
TEACHING FORCE	6.9%	1.9%	0.9%	89.7%

There are some who might argue that these numbers are insignificant because all students have an equal opportunity to learn in any classroom which is staffed

by an able teacher, but as one looks at the disparate levels of achievement by students of the various ethnic groups, it seems no coincidence that majority students tend to reflect higher levels of achievement on almost every measurement device. It is, therefore, the opinion of this writer that the underrepresentation of people of color in the teaching force contributes at least in part to these disparate levels of achievement. While success is not impossible, its probability is somewhat dampened by the fact that the very image of academic success, the teaching force itself, appears to be dominated by white, middle-class Americans. This sentiment is perhaps best summed up by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education: "Black, Hispanic and other minority youngsters need role models in order to learn more effectively . . . [and to] enhance a child's impression of what he or she can be."<sup>3</sup> A sea of white faces wearing the trappings of academic success while only a handful of people of color are so attired gives the not-so-subtle impression that only whites have the capability to succeed and, therefore, effort is at best fruitless.

This situation has another even more insidious effect, that of even further reducing the participation of ethnic and cultural minorities in education. Students who do break the odds and do achieve and succeed academically tend to feel that the field of education is the special enclave of white Americans and, therefore, tend to gravitate to other professions where they perceive themselves as being more welcome. Underrepresentation of minorities tends to become a self-fulfilling prophecy.

If ethnic and cultural minorities are to succeed in the public schools across the United States at rates equal to those of majority youngsters, the numbers and percentages of minority teachers must be increased. Students need the opportunity to relate to those who have had similar experiences in American society and who understand first-hand the problems and difficulties that they encounter. An increase in the numbers of minority teachers would have another, perhaps even stronger, benefit: that of educating their fellow professionals. A greater interaction of teachers from differing ethnic and cultural groups could help to foster greater understanding of the cultural differences and similarities between majority and minority youngsters and lead, in turn, to a better quality of education for all children, majority and minority alike, who reside in this multicultural world. Again, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education has summed up this sentiment most clearly: "Minority teachers bring with them an inherent understanding of the backgrounds, attitudes and experiences of students from certain groups and, therefore, can help inform majority teachers on effective ways and means to communicate with these youngsters."<sup>4</sup>

Nicklos and Brown postulate three basic reasons why there has been a decrease in the percentages of minority teachers in the past decade.<sup>5</sup> The first of these is that there is a smaller percentage of minority students attending college today. This, in turn, has reduced the prospective pool from which potential teacher candidates can be recruited. The US Department of Education reported that between 1976 and 1986, while the number of black students enrolled in any college increased by only 48,000 students and the number of Hispanic students

increased by only 240,000 students, the number of white students increased by 898,000 students.<sup>6</sup> This disparate enrollment trend only confounds the difficulty of minority recruitment into schools, departments, and colleges of teacher education.

A second factor postulated by Nicklos and Brown is that many states, California and Texas among them, have instituted standardized testing programs as a basis for admittance to teacher education programs. These tests have been found to serve as barriers to many potential minority teachers to teacher education programs, and at a rate considerably higher than for non-minority candidates. It is obvious that any arbitrary barrier to minority applicants can only confound an already difficult situation.

A third factor brought forth is that many minority students who have graduated from colleges and universities have chosen careers other than teaching. Not too many years back, one of the only professional career choices available to minority college graduates was teaching. This has changed. Now that opportunities exist for minority college graduates in better paying fields than education, many have chosen these more lucrative routes. This is one of those rare cases where a gain in the opportunity of minority members has, in turn, hurt the teaching profession in any efforts that have been made to recruit more minority teaching candidates.

In light of these situations, it becomes increasingly imperative that schools, departments, and colleges of education work cooperatively with other agencies to recruit and retain quality minority teachers. The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education posited that there are “four Cs of recruitment” that must be undertaken to rectify the disparate rate of underrepresentation of minorities in the field of education.<sup>7</sup> The first of these “Cs” is “Concern.” Educational agencies must first realize that there is, indeed, a problem of underrepresentation of minorities in the field and they, in turn, must be willing to confront and attack the problem.

Next, there must be a “Commitment” to solving the problem. Agencies must commit themselves to using responsible leadership to spearhead efforts to recruit minority teachers into the profession. A commitment must also be there to follow through with sufficient resources to serve as incentives for the support and participation of staff members to assist in the goals of recruiting more minority group members into the profession.

The third “C” is “Collaboration.” Schools, colleges, and departments of education must work cooperatively with state agencies as well as with public schools to help rectify this situation. These groups must be willing to share information, resources, and responsibility in order to develop meaningful programs that can be successful at bringing about changes in the numbers of minority teachers brought into the profession.

The final “C” is “Creativity.” Those who are involved with the recruitment process must be aware of successful approaches that have been employed in other states and locales and then must be flexible enough to adopt and adapt these approaches to their own particular situation, and to develop new approaches to

either supplement or change current restrictions to the recruitment process. Successful means must be developed to remove any barriers which prevent minority group members from entering the teaching profession. The impact of standardized testing, as an example of only one barrier for non-white students, has significantly exacerbated the shortage of minority teachers, as reported by Garibaldi,<sup>8</sup> yet:

there is not factual evidence that any of the tests used or any presently available to measure preservice or inservice teachers have predictive validity or that they can differentiate between competent and incompetent teachers or teaching candidates.<sup>9</sup>

Barriers such as these that seem to serve no useful purpose must be eliminated.

A good place to start is to recognize the different pools from which potential minority teachers can be attracted. Research shows that there are three main pools from which these candidates can be drawn, only one of which—those students who are already enrolled in colleges and universities—has been seriously utilized historically by schools of education. The other two pools are the pre-college students and the non-traditional students.

Research shows that students typically decide by their junior high school years whether they plan to attend college or not. It seems appropriate, then, to begin the recruitment process when students are in those formative years. Schools, departments, and colleges of education can begin to disseminate information about teacher education programs, internships, and financial aid programs to students at this time. Direct mail campaigns can be undertaken to impart this information to potential minority candidates. Information hotlines can be set up to answer student questions about programs that are available. Faculty and students from the various schools of education can come to the public school campuses to speak to the students about the college, a specific program, or about the career in general. Interested students can then be taken to the university campus for tours and further information sessions.

For efforts of this type to be successful, parents should be involved. For this reason both information booths and sessions can be held on parent nights at the local schools where parents can also be informed about the availability of higher education and the financial aid programs available.

In some cases college courses can even be offered, with tuition waived, for qualified minority high school students at the local public school site. These courses can count for credit either at the high school or college level. As was mentioned earlier, one of the key words is “creativity.”

A successful pre-college program must be more, however, than merely providing information or a course or two. Qualified minority students must be sought out and given the support and assistance needed to help ensure academic success. Workshops can be sponsored to help students prepare for the various college entrance examinations with which they will be confronted, as well as other workshops on school study skills. At these workshops assistance can also be given which will help students select the proper and necessary courses to ensure themselves the prerequisites for college admittance.<sup>10</sup>



These efforts at recruitment cannot start and stop at the public school level. A key element for the successful recruitment of minority students into both graduate and undergraduate programs is the presence of minority faculty to serve as mentors and role models for the minority youngsters. For this reason minority faculty members must become involved in these efforts at the direct level.<sup>11</sup> University administrators must provide the initiative for this type of program to succeed. Aside from undertaking the effort to recruit more minority faculty members into their own schools, appropriate credit must be given in the RPT (Retention, Promotion, and Tenure) process to faculty members who participate in the recruitment efforts. This effort, as time consuming as it is, should carry at least as much weight in the RPT process as does any publication, in that in the long run, a significant increase in the number of minorities in the profession will far outweigh the potential benefit of virtually any one individual publication.

The public schools themselves must be a part of this process in that they must come to the realization that minority children are not “throw-aways.” The preparation of minority students in both elementary and secondary urban schools must be improved at least to a level of parity with that of non-minority children in suburban schools. Additional attention must also be paid to increasing the retention and graduation rates of minority students to ensure a larger pool of prospective education majors.<sup>12</sup>

The neglect that has been common in many urban, minority schools has had an even more insidious effect on educational equity, that of subtly discouraging individuals from entering the teaching profession. Studies have shown that individuals generally choose a profession based upon the interactions that they have had in the past with that profession; if these interactions have been positive, there is a greater likelihood that this profession will be chosen. Therefore, it can be said that there is a connection between the quality of schooling offered to minority youth and the recruitment of more minorities into teaching. Since in the urban schools (where a majority of black and Hispanic students can be found) there is often an aura of educational decay that has come about through a lack of funding as compared to the funding levels of suburban schools, it is unlikely that many successful minority students would have had sufficient positive interactions to want to subject themselves to a life of work in the schools that they have experienced.<sup>13</sup> For this reason it is imperative that the quality of urban schools be improved to come to parity with suburban schools.

A second pool for potential teachers consists of students who are currently enrolled in colleges and universities. Since current figures indicated that forty-five percent of all black students enrolled in institutions of higher learning are enrolled at two-year schools, and that the highest percentage of all minority students who are enrolled in institutions of higher learning are found at the community colleges, it is only logical that the recruitment drive should start there.<sup>14</sup> Schools, colleges, and departments of education can hold articulation sessions on the site of the community college where assistance in the transfer process to the four-year institution can be provided. At this same time information about both financial aid and education as a career can be disseminated. In this

way the potential students can receive accurate information not only on which courses they will be able to transfer, but also on which courses it would be advantageous to take to begin a career in teaching. Providing information, however, is not enough. The university can go as far as to offer education courses on the community college site through their office of extended education. This would help the student make a commitment to the profession before actually making a transfer to the four-year institution, and thus, would probably increase the likelihood of that transfer taking place. This outreach would help to convince the student that he or she is, indeed, viewed as a valuable commodity by the educational establishment.

For students who are already at the four-year institution, recruitment can start by means as simple as inviting potential students to a picnic sponsored by the school of education where they can be recruited by faculty and other students. Information can be provided in an informal setting as to how a teaching credential can be obtained. The effort cannot cease once the student has made a commitment to the school of education. That is when the real effort must begin. Faculty and student mentors should be assigned, and academic advising and tutoring centers should be established to maintain students both in the program as well as in the university.

Some schools of education, in conjunction with local boards of education, have established early teaching contract programs. In this type of program, promising minority teacher candidates are guaranteed a teaching position at a specific site upon completion of the credentialing program. Knowing that they have a position waiting for them provides a strong incentive to remain in the program.<sup>15</sup> Other schools of education, in conjunction with state agencies, have developed forgivable loan programs. Under this plan educational loans taken out by the student will be forgiven after a specified period of service in the public schools. Again, this can provide a rather strong incentive to remain in the program.<sup>16</sup>

A third potential pool which has been relatively untapped consists of the non-traditional student. Teacher aides and paraprofessionals are excellent sources for potential teachers. Since these individuals are currently employed by the public schools, they already have some sort of a commitment to the field of education. One plan, called a Career Mobility Program, has shown itself to be particularly effective. Under this program, a paraprofessional is able to continue his or her employment in the schools, but is permitted to take a specified number of courses per year until the requirements for the teaching credential have been met. Traditionally, the expenses have been borne either by the university which waives the tuition, or by the local education agency, which picks up the tuition tab. There can also be some combination of the two. In this way the paraprofessional is able to continue to be employed while earning the required credential at no additional expense. When one considers the relatively low pay of the average paraprofessional in education, the benefits to the individual are quite evident.<sup>17</sup>

Another potential source of non-traditional students is the military. In some cases schools of education have collaborated with military bases, and either

through direct mailings or through career workshops held on the base, contact has been made with retiring personnel. Information can thus be presented to these individuals on how to obtain teaching credentials. Some universities have even developed a Master of Arts in Teaching (MAT) Program whereby an individual is able to get both a master's degree and a teaching credential simultaneously. As was mentioned previously, all it takes to succeed is commitment to the ideals of minority recruitment and the creativity to develop a means to implement that creativity.

Some states now have programs that are proving to be quite successful in the recruitment of minority teachers. North Carolina's "Project Teach" is one such example.<sup>18</sup> The program starts at the secondary school level. Community based teams go into the public schools and work with minority youngsters on how to get into and stay in school. Test taking skills and academic counseling are among the concepts treated. For those students who wish to enter a teaching program, teaching fellowships are established. Teaching fellowships consist of a loan forgiveness program wherein the black or Native American student may receive up to five thousand dollars per year for up to four years while pursuing a degree and a teaching credential. This loan is forgiven if the person teaches in the North Carolina public schools for a period of four years.

The State of Virginia has developed its own program called the "Teacher Cadet Program."<sup>19</sup> This program is targeted at middle school students. Potential academically capable minority students are selected to study and learn the skills of teaching. These students who have also entered into a mentor relationship with a successful teacher then assist in tutoring other, younger students. It has been found that this program has been very successful in elevating the academic self-esteem of the participating students as well as the academic abilities of both the tutored and the tutoring students. It will take a few more years to determine, however, if this program will be successful at bringing more minorities into the teaching profession. The initial results, however, look so promising that three other states, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Georgia, are planning to implement similar programs.

The University of Rochester has come up with its own program to bring minorities into teaching. That university started a program called "Fifth Year for Teaching," in which students earn a master's degree in education and provisional certification. In this program black and Hispanic students receive loans to cover the cost of tuition, room, and board which are forgivable if the student teaches for one year in an urban school. Thus far twelve students have completed the three-semester program, which began in fall 1988, and eight have already taught for a year. Five new students began their studies in September 1990. The university currently intends to expand its program to include guidance counselors as well as teachers.<sup>20</sup>

The School of Education at California State University has examined the programs that have been initiated at these and other institutions and has created its own program to increase the percentage of underrepresented minorities in education. This program is called "Excellence and Equity in Teaching: Building

for the Future Today.” There are two major directions to this project. This first direction is to identify and recruit minority classroom aides to enroll either in community colleges in their service areas or California State University, San Bernardino in a degree program leading to a teaching credential. The goals and activities of this direction are to:

1. Identify and recruit minority classroom aides employed in school districts of the service area of the respective community college or university.
2. Assess the candidates in the areas of reading, writing, and mathematics at the respective community college.
3. Assign the student to a specific counselor for academic and personal advisement.
4. Advise students in the appropriate transferable courses to CSUSB and provide them with a transfer contract.
5. Provide information on requirements for admittance to CSUSB credential programs in the areas of GPA, CBEST, and general information.
6. Provide information on financial aid, intern, and student teacher placement.

The second direction is aimed at younger potential students, and this is the initiation of a “Career in Education Club” for minority students interested in a career in education at one of the local junior high schools. With continued and increased funding, it is anticipated that this direction will be enlarged to more campuses in the coming years. The club goals and activities are as follows:

1. Establishment of a teacher club on campus, with special emphasis on the recruitment of LEP students.
2. Students are taught various techniques in peer tutoring, cross-age tutoring, and presentation of a lesson.
3. Peer tutoring sessions are conducted after school.
4. Students during their interim break are assigned to one of the feeder elementary schools as cross-aged tutors or as teachers.
5. Students attend workshops on careers in education, financial aid, and general information on attending a two-year or a four-year college.

The co-directors of this project are Drs. Juan Gutierrez and Esteban Diaz.

If the schools of the twenty-first century are to do a better job of educating ethnic and cultural minority students than they have in the twentieth, the doors to the profession must be opened to minority teachers. While opening these doors will not be an easy task, it is a very necessary one, and one that will only be achieved if all of the educational levels are willing to work together to help bring it about. It will take time, it will take money, and it will take a concerted effort, but the children of this and the generations to come deserve it. The work must be started now.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), "Recruiting Minority Teachers: A Practical Guide," US Resources in Education, ERIC Document ED 315 416, 1989.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> L.B. Nicklos and W.S. Brown, "Recruiting Minorities into the Teaching Profession; An Educational Imperative," *Educational Horizons* 67, 4 (Summer 1989): 145-49.

<sup>6</sup>US Department of Education. "College Enrollment by Racial and Ethnic Group, Selected Years," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 36, 1 (September 6, 1989): 17.

<sup>7</sup>AACTE, 1.

<sup>8</sup>A.M. Garibaldi, "The Impact of School and College Reforms on the Recruitment of More Minority Teachers," in *Teacher Recruitment and Retention with a Special Focus on Minority Teachers*, ed. A.M. Garibaldi, U.S. Resources in Education, ERIC Document ED 314 3182, 1989.

<sup>9</sup>S. Spellman, "Recruitment of Minority Teachers: Issues, Problems, Facts, Possible Solutions," *Journal of Teacher Education* 39, 4 (July/August 1988): 58-62.

<sup>10</sup>M.M. Waters, "An Agenda for Educating Black Teachers," *The Educational Forum* 53, 3 (Spring 1989): 267-79.

<sup>11</sup>J.R. Wittstruck, R.J. Hess, and R. Stein, "Challenges and Opportunities: Minorities in Missouri Higher Education," U.S. Resources in Education, ERIC Document ED 310 821, 1988.

<sup>12</sup>D. Alston, N. Jackson, and H. Pressman, "State Action to Increase the Supply of Minority Teachers," in *Teacher Recruitment and Retention with a Special Focus on Minority Teachers*, ed. by A.M. Garibaldi, U.S. Resources in Education, ERIC Document ED 314 3182, 1989.

<sup>13</sup>M. Haberman, "More Minority Teachers," *Phi Delta Kappan* 70, 10 (June 1989): 771-79.

<sup>14</sup>M. Haberman.

<sup>15</sup>AACTE.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup>Alston, et. al.

<sup>19</sup>AACTE.

<sup>20</sup>"Teacher Education Update," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 37, 2 (September 12, 1990): A21.

### Critique

In the course of his article, Kraig reviews a number of important ways to assure the recruitment and increase of minority teachers in the public school system. He also discusses specific programs which could stand as exemplary efforts directed at the daunting task of increasing the number of minorities in the educational pipeline, and ultimately, in the public school setting. Before examining these model programs and strategies, Kraig reviews the current and future demographic trends which suggest that the "relative population of the teaching force is not even close to being representative of the composition of the student body in terms of ethnicity." This statistical revelation enables Kraig to advance his first reason for increasing the number of minorities in education—namely, that the ethnic representation of the student population should in some way be matched by a comparable percentage in the ethnicity of those hired to teach in the public schools.

What seems to be missing from this statistical rationale, which is widely supported, and from the subsequent reasons advanced for increasing minority teachers and education majors, is a critical analysis of the current ideas supporting what seems to be a most laudable social and educational objective. While few can argue with the nation-wide need to increase the number of minority teachers in our schools and faculty in our universities, others might challenge some of the basic ideas advanced by Kraig and others as to what precisely we hope will change once the ideal numbers of minority teachers are in place in our schools and universities. This reviewer suggests that some of the connections that Kraig assumes to be true may have alternative explanations, and may indeed be linked to *how* we train our nation's teachers (minority or not) and how we fund our schools.

Kraig suggests, for example, that lower levels of achievement ("on almost every measurement") of minority children and "underrepresentation of people of color in the teaching force contributes at least in part to [these] disparate levels of achievement." Is this connection so unidirectional, and if it isn't, what part



does teacher training, curriculum, and inequitable funding play in this complex web of interacting phenomena that contribute to why children fail or succeed in American education?<sup>1</sup> I wonder why Kraig chooses not to include some very important research examples of these other correlations. What does the research literature have to say about these connections? While there seem to be views on both sides of the issue, we can't simply assume that increasing the number of minority teachers in our schools would automatically have the net effect of increasing achievement levels if we don't begin to address the most fundamental inequities in American education.

Of course, a good deal of what Kraig advances is also based on the proposition that minority students increase their chances of developing a positive sense of self only by relating to teachers who "have had similar experiences in American society and who understand first-hand the problems and difficulties they encounter." And indeed, role-models are a critical part of any positive educational experience. This too is another one of those propositions that on the surface seems to make a good deal of sense, but if examined more closely for its long term implications, will begin to produce some pedagogical and social complexities.

Pflaum and Abramson, in their research on the hiring of minority teachers in New York City, raise a number of cautionary questions.<sup>2</sup> Among them, they suggest that "the education of any group of children is not the responsibility of any one ethnic group."<sup>3</sup> They agree with Bank's concern, that the assumption that minority children are best taught by minority teachers is a "view that releases nonminority teachers from their responsibility."<sup>4</sup> In Kraig's ideal world, will nonminority teachers be exempt from addressing what seems to be the most intractable social and pedagogical problems facing American schools today, or will they simply pass these on to the minority educator?

Continuing this line of reasoning, Kraig sees yet another benefit beyond that of modelling success. He suggests that as the number of minority teachers increases, they could take on the role of "Educating their fellow (nonminority) professionals." To underscore this notion, Kraig quotes the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education as follows: "Minority teachers bring with them an inherent understanding of the backgrounds, attitudes, and experiences of students from certain groups and, therefore, can help inform majority teachers on effective ways and means to communicate with these youngsters." What does having an "inherent understanding" really mean as far as the complexities of class, race, and ethnicity are concerned? Would the obverse be true? Can *majority* teachers help inform *minority* teachers on effective ways and means to communicate with *these* majority youngsters? Does this kind of proposition also suggest that majority teachers have a so-called "inherent understanding" of majority youngsters?

This is clearly a suggestion that has profound training and teacher placement implications. Can we really justify an in-service training model that simply asks minority educators (formally or informally) to teach nonminority teachers about race and ethnicity in American education? If this is the case, then why have we been struggling for so many years to make ethnic studies an essential and critical

part of the core in university education? And why are the proponents of a multicultural education currently waging a struggle to end generations of a monocultural education? Race and ethnic relations in our schools are as much an interactive and historically volatile phenomenon as they are in our society. It seems that the job of training should be assigned to those professionals—minority and nonminority alike—who are trained and skilled in specific areas of education. To assume that minority teachers have an “inherent understanding” of minority youngsters may inadvertently advance the misperception that distinct racial/ethnic communities exist as monolithic masses.

Kraig lists many interesting experimental projects that have been specifically designed to increase the numbers of minorities in the education pipeline. All of these efforts, Kraig suggests, must be supported if we are going to begin to encourage minorities to go into the teaching profession. He also points to a number of barriers that serve to block minority access: the gatekeeping function of entrance and qualifying exams (National Teacher Exams and other standardized testing programs); the recent move, on the part of minority graduates, to steer away from education as a career choice because of the higher salaries offered in other fields; the poor articulation that exists between our nation’s community colleges and the teacher training institutions; the desperate need for access to financial aid programs; and the discouragement of entering a profession that for so many minority students is associated with the worse aspects of the urban experience. Anecdotal information, however, would suggest that some minority educators were attracted to the teaching profession precisely because they felt a profound sense of obligation to go back into the community and contribute to fundamental educational change.

By listing an array of programs designed to enhance minority participation in teaching, Kraig begins to touch the outer boundaries of the major issues that plague American education. In his next exploration into this area of research, this reviewer would urge that he examine these major issues and why efforts to recruit more minority teachers must necessarily be placed within a larger educational and social context. The important task of increasing the number of minority teachers in our nation’s schools is inextricably linked to all aspects of education, and achieving that critical goal cannot be separated from the entire American educational enterprise.

— Jesse M. Vázquez  
Queens College, City University of New York

### Notes

<sup>1</sup>For a detailed discussion of the issue of equity in school funding and segregation in American schools, see J. Kozol, *Savage Inequities: Children in America’s Schools* (New York: Harper Perennial, 1991).

<sup>2</sup>S. W. Pflaum and T. Abramson, “Teacher Assignment, Hiring, and Preparation: Minority Teachers in New York City,” *The Urban Review* 22 (1990): 17-31.

<sup>3</sup> Pflaum and Abramson, 29.

<sup>4</sup> J. R. Banks, "Commentary," *Education Week* 8 (1989): 21.

# MELUS

The Journal of  
The Society for the Study of the  
Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States

---

## 15TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR

In the past 15 years *MELUS* has published articles on Toni Morrison, Maxine Hong Kingston, James Welch, Philip Roth, Jack Kerouac, Ralph Ellison, Leslie Marmon Silko, Rudolfo A. Anaya, William Saroyan, Diana Chang, Ann Petry, Charles Chesnutt, Alice Walker, Joseph Heller, Cynthia Ozick, James T. Farrell, Richard Rodriguez, James Baldwin, Saul Bellow, Paule Marshall, Nathanael West, Rolando Hinojosa, Lorraine Hansberry, Hisaye Yamamoto, Pietro Di Donato, Ishmael Reed, and many, many more.

In celebration of its 15th anniversary, this year *MELUS* is publishing four special issues which highlight the multi-ethnic scope and the creative vitality of literature and criticism in America today.

## Volume 16

FOLKLORE AND ORATURE (SPRING)  
ETHNICITY AND PEDAGOGY (SUMMER)  
ETHNIC DRAMA (FALL)  
IMAGES OF THE MULTI-CULTURE (WINTER)

Published quarterly, *MELUS'* articles, interviews, and reviews regularly reflect the multi-ethnic diversity of American literature past and present. Lively, informative, and thought-provoking, *MELUS* is a valuable resource for teachers and students interested in one of the most vital discourses in American literary studies today.

---

## Subscriptions

INDIVIDUAL SUBSCRIBERS become members of The Society for the Study of the Multi-Ethnic Literature of the United States. To subscribe, send a check (payable to *MELUS*) for annual dues to: Prof. Curtis C. Smith, Treasurer, *MELUS*, Box 416, University of Houston-Clear Lake, 2700 Bay Area Blvd., Houston, TX 77058. Regular, \$35.00; students & retirees, \$20.00; overseas, \$40.00.

INSTITUTIONS Colleges, universities and libraries should send requests for rates and orders for annual subscriptions to the Editorial Office at: *MELUS*, Dept. of English, 272 Bartlett Hall, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, MA 01003. *MELUS* is also available from your subscription agent.

**Abstracts from the  
Twentieth Annual Conference**

**National Association for Ethnic Studies, Inc.**  
“Ethnicity and Racism in the Americas”

Florida Atlantic University  
Boca Raton, Florida

March 5-8, 1992

Early in March participants gathered in Boca Raton, Florida, for the Twentieth Annual Conference of the National Association for Ethnic Studies. The conference theme, “Ethnicity and Racism in the Americas,” provided the opportunity to examine perspectives related to the Quincentennial and the encounter among various populations in what is now collectively identified as the “Americas.” Presenters discussed the impact of five hundred years of colonialism as well as the experiences of “new” immigrants, many of them from continents other than Europe.

The conference was supported by Florida Atlantic University through a grant from the Office of the Provost and by the Division of Continuing Education. Carol Mullings from Continuing Education and Johnny Washington, Department of Philosophy, combined their efforts to provide a welcoming atmosphere for participants. Vice President Donald Taylor joined the plenary session during the first day. Moderated by Johnny Washington, the session, “Issues Related to Race and Ethnicity in South Florida,” included Shahrukh S. Dhanji, from the National Environmental Laboratories; Roosevelt Walters, president of the Fort Lauderdale Chapter of the NAACP, Norma Iribarren, Florida Atlantic University, and Rudy Mattai, State University of New York, Buffalo.

The keynote address at the banquet was provided by Stanford M. Lyman, professor and Eminent Scholar at Florida Atlantic University. His lecture was informative as well as entertaining and drew on his many years as a significant scholar in ethnic studies. The Ernest M Pon Award was received by the Asian

American Federation of Florida for its work with the Asian populations of South Florida, and the Charles C. Irby Distinguished Service Award went to Miguel Carranza, former president of NAES and the new editor of publications, for his untiring work for the Association and for furthering the study of ethnic populations and ethnicity in America.

In a departure from the usual publication of abstracts, this year's issue will not distinguish the various panels or chairs of sessions. The Executive Council appreciates the participation of faculty from Florida Atlantic University who agreed to chair sessions. Last-minute changes in the schedule and the inaccessibility of all abstracts have resulted in an abbreviated version of the proceedings this year. Respondents' comments are inserted where available for a group of papers. The new abstract format, designed by Council member Harriet Ottenheimer, will make the task for next year easier.

Angelo Costanzo, Shippensburg University. **"Jamaican Attitudes Toward Slavery."**

This paper deals with the attitudes held by many Jamaicans about the era of slavery. Other than honoring a few of the rebel freedom fighters, Jamaicans seem not to want to recall in an accurate and honest manner the effects of slavery on the cultural life of the island. Jamaicans prefer to forget or romanticize the slave past; and in so doing, they have tended to ignore the many fine accounts that lesser well-known individuals left that illustrate the courageous and dignified struggles of those who attempted to survive slavery. I have done extensive research on the little-known slave narrative by Archibald Monteith, which he dictated to an American Moravian missionary in the 1850s. This paper demonstrates what can be gained for Jamaican history and culture if Monteith's and other forgotten stories from the slave era are brought to light.

Walter J. Pierce, Barry University. **"Empowerment: A Strategy to Combat Racism."**

The concept of empowerment can be used as a strategy to combat racism. The current status of racism in America is subtle, but nevertheless, insidious. Neoconservatives refer to empowerment as individual choice, but empowerment is a group phenomenon. To enhance empowerment, techniques related to the strategies of *motivation*, *competence*, and *influence* must be incorporated into the social functioning capacities of African Americans and other powerless groups.

Torrance Stevens, Clark Atlanta University. **"No Accident—It Has to be Illegal to Think: A Sketch of the Western Origin of Racism."**

The history of racism did not start with the history of humans. The history of humans, as a result, did not begin through the myths proffered by most cultures, in particular, those of European genesis. However, it can be noted that the establishment of such myths can be inveterated to encompass the necessity of racism. The title of this paper suggests a simple thesis. This is that it has to be against the laws of Western nations for peoples of African descent to think about our past, present, and/or future. This paper will define and examine racism and racist behaviors with respect to their origin and three major social institutions: the school, the church, and politics (all of which will be discussed interchangeably as institutions).

Julie Palacio, University of Minnesota. **"The Chicano College Experience: A Chicana Perspective."**

This paper presents statistics on the national level of Chicano college students. It presents barriers Chicano students confront and strategies to cope with those barriers. I blend my personal experiences with a review of the literature. The literature review focuses on the Chicana college student. The paper explores such questions as: What factors lead to the high drop out rate for Chicanos and Chicanas? What strategies have students developed to cope with the barriers? Implications of the findings are applied to Chicano students, their parents, and faculty and policy makers.



Robert L. Trammell, Florida Atlantic University. **“Language Science, Dialect Discrimination, Education, and Racism.”**

Dialect discrimination based partly on socio-economic criteria but also on racial distinctions will continue to exist long after overt racism has finally disappeared. This paper reviews the natural evolution of separate dialects, and the linguistic—but not socio-economic—equality of different dialects, examines dialect discrimination in educational testing and curriculum, explores impediments existing in the psyches of many well-educated African Americans to changes in present educational practices, and, finally, suggests changes in teacher training and the creation of a new specialization in teacher education: Minority Education. It is only through the education of teachers and children that widespread dialect discrimination as a substitute for racial discrimination can be overcome.

June P. Murray, North Carolina State University. **“The Effects of Racially Homogenous Schools on Self-Esteem, Motivation, and Group Cohesiveness among African Americans in Hayti, Durham, NC.”**

Open-ended oral history interviews were conducted with African Americans in Durham, North Carolina, who, by age, spanned four generations. Participants discussed their experiences as students and/or teachers in the public schools between the segregated 1930s, when their education was provided by an African American administration and teaching faculty, through the current “integrated” era.

Although data from such a small, self-selected sample cannot be generalized, some common experiences among the participants have been noted: Children from families with economic advantage and/or light colored skin reported school experiences that were significantly positive, as opposed to low income children who may also have been darker in skin color. The former children self-reported high self-esteem as adults, while the later group reported lasting psychological wounds from teachers who favored the wealthy and/or “light” children.

Representatives from both groups report their disappointment with the result of integrated schools in Durham, and they believe when segregation was abolished they lost more than was gained, despite those experiences with “in-house” discrimination. This data lend credibility to the demand for separate, culturally specific schools for African American children, particularly males.

Cynthia Kasee, University of Cincinnati. **“Was Jim Crow Red? Images of Indians and Segregation in the Old South.”**

Jim Crow was the colloquial name given to the system of legalized segregation practiced in the postbellum American South. Directed mainly at African Americans, it nevertheless affected the lives of other people of color living in the former Confederacy.

One of the groups most touched by this system was indigenous Americans, especially those “tribes” with bi- or tri-racial ancestry. Those not exempted from Removal by previous acts of legislation also suffered, but were not as visible as publicly known groups (i.e., Lumbee, Pamunkey, Mattaponi, Sabine-Houma, and others).

To stress their Indian ancestry, many of these groups played up the media images of them either in traditional contexts or in Pan-Indian contexts. Bolstered by the publication of pictures taken by officials of the Smithsonian Institution and newspaper accounts of tribal events (powwows, Thanksgiving feasts, etc.), they successfully “negotiated ethnicity.”

This paper seeks to review the facts pertaining to these groups by examining Jim Crow itself, Indians’ legal status under “him,” the techniques they used to recast themselves, how image played a part in their success, and what part “persona” plays in cultural retention/innovation/invention.

Michael Patrick, University of Missouri—Rolla. **“African Americans on the Western Frontier.”**

History, folklore, and popular culture have almost entirely neglected the role of African Americans in the settling of the western frontier, despite the fact that the Buffalo Soldiers (the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry and Twenty-fourth and Twenty-fifth Infantry regiments) comprised twenty per cent of the Missouri Department of the Army; despite the fact that freedmen and women settled and homesteaded many frontier towns, particularly in Kansas and Oklahoma; and despite the fact that forty per cent of the ranch hands, trail drivers, and famous rodeo riders were either of African or

Spanish heritage. Even though the Gold Rush of 1849 occurred before emancipation, African Americans were quite prominent in mining because in the folklore of the mining camps they had a reputation as being able to find gold more easily than people of other races.

Ernest A. Champion, Bowling Green State University. **“Instituting Cultural Diversity.”**

Cultural diversity in the United States in the undergraduate curriculum in American universities has to be viewed now as an imperative and not as an option. Bowling Green State University has instituted Cultural Diversity in the United States as a requirement in the undergraduate core curriculum. This was done after a careful study and negotiations over a five-year period. This presentation reviews the various steps that led to an overwhelming vote of approval on the part of the faculty senate.

Robert L. Perry, Bowling Green State University. **“Instituting Ethnic Studies Within the Academic Mainstream.”**

Present day ethnic studies programs exist to facilitate an understanding of American culture: a culture composed of a large number of various and diverse groups. In order to educate Americans about American culture, it is important not only to nurture ethnic group members about their own rich cultures and cultural contributions, but also to instruct members of the dominant group about the legitimacy and roles of other groups within American culture. As the year 2050 approaches, the year in which the so-called “white majority” may lose its numerical majority status, it is important that Anglo Americans understand not only their relevant position in society, but also better understand other Americans who may be different from themselves.

James L. Litwin, Bowling Green State University. **“Evaluating Curriculum Reform.”**

Bowling Green State University, via its university-wide Cultural Diversity Committee, has committed itself to monitoring the early stages of its new required course in Cultural Diversity and facilitating its evaluation to a mature program.

Part of this shaping will be gathering information on what students are learning in the variety of courses offered under this requirement. Major pieces of this information will be focused on understanding what gains in knowledge and changes in attitudes and beliefs occur in students. The evaluation thus concentrates more on the impact of the courses on students and less on their satisfaction with the courses and instructors.

Two sets of findings are presented. The first is drawn from the survey data gathered from open-ended questions answered by 505 students taking cultural diversity classes in the Fall 1990 semester. The second set of findings will be drawn from a data set from nearly 900 students collected in the Fall 1991 semester.

The 1990 findings were preliminary to cultural diversity courses becoming a requirement at the university. The survey addressed what cultural diversity represents to students, student perceptions of important course outcomes, and beliefs and attitudes students rethought as a result of the course. For example, in the latter instance, students acknowledged holding stereotypes they were not aware of holding or recognized different dimensions of stereotypes.

In the 1991 survey, a more sophisticated questionnaire was developed based on the earlier findings. The 1991 version asks similar questions but was reformatted into a series of scales and forced-choice items. It also made additional inquiries. For example, students were asked to assess current relations among different racial and ethnic groups. These data are being analyzed and will include breakdowns by gender, class status, and course type.

Cortland Auser, Yorktown Heights, New York. **“Derek Walcott’s Caribbean Odysseys: Race and Ethnicity, History and Myth.”**

One of the English speaking world’s greatest contemporary poets, Derek Walcott, uses his home island of St. Lucia as a point of departure to create lyrical and epical poetry, and these poems incorporate history and myth of the Caribbean islands. Both the beauties and the barbarisms are included.

As an African/Anglo/Antillean writer, Walcott interweaves themes of the seas, voyages, slavery, racism, history, and exploitation. There are Homeric overtones in his telling because of the manner in which he fuses the two archipelagoes—the Aegean and the Caribbean.

His poems are definitely political when peoples' oppressions are in focus. Recurrently, he shows the parallels between the suppression of Native Americans on the continent of North America and of the Arawaks in the Caribbean areas.

Finally, he reenergizes the English language through his style. He innovates and establishes new meanings to words imaginatively that at the same time echoes the Elizabethans. His usage includes both classic English as well as the patois of the islands.

Luis L. Pinto, Bronx Community College. **“Juan Garrido: The First Black Conquistador in the New World.”**

There has been a tendency since colonial times, but highlighted during the Enlightenment or Romantic periods, to downplay or even deny the strong cultural influence of North Africa in the cultures of the Iberian Peninsula and the African ethnic presence in Iberia. In most cases strong arguments are made in favor of the Greek and Roman influences at the expense of other cultural influences. In that context, this paper discusses the life and achievements of Juan Garrido, the first black conquistador in the New World. His notorious contributions will be analyzed in the framework of the emerging societies of the Caribbean and New Spain, where black people were not always treated as equal or seen as capable as others. In that world of limitations, the accomplishments of Juan Garrido seem more remarkable as a clearer picture of his persona starts to emerge.

Clevis Headley, Florida A & M University. **“A Philosophical Inquiry on Afro-Hispanic Poetry and on the Epistemology of Race in Latin America.”**

This paper represents a philosophical interrogation of the notion of race in Latin America through an analytical investigation of the poetry of Afro-Hispanic poets. I show how the dominant culture views the concept of race in metaphysical terms. This essentialist approach to the notion of race entails certain negative political consequences. These problems pertain to certain ethnic considerations, i.e., the nature of culture, self, and identity. Drawing on the work of Afro-Hispanic poets, I show how they subvert the metaphysical interpretation of the concept of race in Latin American discourse by thinking of race in ethnic terms. By doing this, they show how issues such as culture, self, and identity must be approached from an historical perspective. This perspective demonstrates that concepts are historical constructs and do not reflect actual features of an external reality. Consequently, from the perspective of Afro-Hispanic poets, the concept of race, like all concepts, must be interpreted metaphorically. When viewed as metaphors, these terms show themselves to be controlled by the inescapable metaphoricity of language.

Jesse M. Vazquez, Queens College, City University of New York. **“Commentary on Papers by Auser, Pinto, and Headley.”**

The papers presented by Clevis Headley, Cortland Auser, and Luis Pinto all seek to explore the themes and images of race in the literature of Latin America and the Caribbean.

Auser's analysis examines the racial identity themes as well as the myths and historical realities that shape these in the work of Derek Walcott. He explores Walcott's focus on the marginalization of those in the Caribbean—not black, not white. Auser also suggests that Walcott's work examines the sense of the “double legacy,” that which calls up the European as well as the African heritage. Walcott's own ability to move back and forth between these racial/ethnic poles, culturally and linguistically, sometimes humorously, allows him to reflect the complex psychological and societal dimensions of these issues in his own literary expression. Auser asks us to examine Walcott's work as an opportunity to understand Afro-Latino and Afro-Caribbeans as they transition back and forth between these dual, and sometimes triple, identities and overlapping realities.

While Clevis Headley's paper begins by acknowledging that race in Latin America “has played a very crucial and critical role in the history” of that continent, he, nevertheless, seeks to examine how “Afro-Hispanic poets have sought to poeticize the notion of race from a Latin American perspective.” Headley argues against the common notion of human races as “distinct metaphysical entities.” Poets and novelists, Headley contends, are able to go beyond the metaphysics of race as representing categories of “absolute biological differences.” He suggests that Afro-Hispanic poets'/novelists' use of the notion of race is better understood as represented by the idea of ethnicity—an experience that is not and cannot be defined by concrete and immutable definitions or characteristics. Instead, he suggests, “the notion of race and of membership in races will always be open questions, continuously subject to reinterpretation.”

The poetics of race as expressed by Afro-Hispanic writers seeks to re-affirm the African and to resist what some have called “zombification” (ethnocide). The counterpoint to a form of genocide which denies African contributions and a presence in Latin American culture and society is “cultural maroonage.” Instead of taking delight in some of those aspects of “mestisaje” which might focus on the “whitening” of Latin America’s diverse populations, the Afro-Hispanic suggests that the preoccupation with looking for and identifying with the European ancestor is just another variation of the genocidal process, and a denial of self. It would have been interesting for Headley to have given some examples of Afro-Hispanic Caribbean poetry. Looking at Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico would have most certainly expanded support for his thesis. In those three countries there is a treasure of literature and music which is reflective of the kinds of themes and concerns suggested by Headley. What would be most interesting is to pursue this level of analysis in the contemporary writings of first and second generation writers in the United States. While Puerto Rican writers in the United States identify as Puerto Rican writers and not necessarily as *Afro-Hispanic/Caribbean-American* writers, the issues of race and racial/ethnic identity, nevertheless, are strong themes that continue to play a central role in the poems of writers like Tato Laviera, Martin Espada, Victor Hernandez Cruz, Sandra Maria Esteves, and others.

Luis Pinto’s presentation on Juan Garrido (the first black conquistador in the New World) explores and details the African presence on the Iberian Peninsula and the pre-historic and historic complexities and multiplicity of societies which helped shape the culture that we have come to know as essentially Spanish. On the discovery of the significant data on the presence of Juan Garrido in the Americas, Pinto credits the seminal work of Peter Gerhard and Ricardo Alegria. Pinto notes that Langston Hughes in 1966 (*Famous Negro Heroes of America*) described a Negro (this was Juan Garrido) in Cortes’s army as being the first in America to introduce wheat “onto the mainland of the New World.”

On his way to describing Juan Garrido as the first black conquistador, Pinto examines the multiplicity of cultures and peoples (Phoenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Berbers, and Semites and non-Semites from North America—and Romans) that rooted themselves in the Peninsula “where the highest level of ethnic and cultural assimilation” in all of Europe had taken place. He points out that by the middle of the twelfth century, Spain had been converted into an African province. Black free men and slaves were part of the Spanish world, and many played key roles in the business, scholarly, and religious life of the Spanish court. By 1492, “the number of black free men in Andalusia was relatively high.”

Pinto suggests that the deeply embedded Eurocentric paradigm, present since the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, and Romantic periods, prevented scholars of the period from accurately documenting the history of a black conquistador during the time of Hernan Cortes. Interestingly, those references to Garrido in the records usually described him as a servant to Cortes. However, the current interest in Juan Garrido, and other blacks of that period, will eventually yield more and more information as contemporary scholars piece together a puzzle that only a few years ago consisted of isolated references to Garrido’s life in the Americas. More no doubt will be uncovered as interest in the role that blacks played in the establishment of colonies spreads in the coming decade. In essence, the chroniclers of the time presented what was an essentially racist interpretation of the European presence in the American conquests.

In two presentations, the panelists examine the issue of race and how it runs through the fictional literature of the Caribbean and Latin America. In the third, the presenter focuses on the historical literature and illustrates how misperceptions and interpretations of race in the New World in a very real sense created a kind of fiction about the conquests of the Americas.

Michael Hodge, University of Florida, and Kevin Early, Oakland University. **“Institutional Discrimination in the Legal System: A Socio-Historical Approach.”**

Despite many of the social, political, and economic changes of the 1960s, discrimination is still prevalent in the United States. Increasingly, evidence of discrimination can be seen in our nation’s courts, institutions of higher education, and in public policy. The question of how this can be in these days of ethnic and cultural diversity has aroused considerable interest among social scientists, as well as among the general public. One area that has been the target of considerable research is the criminal justice system. Wilbanks (1987) has suggested that it is a “myth” that the criminal justice system is racist and discriminates against blacks and other minorities. This paper argues to the contrary. It is

suggested that Wilbanks has inappropriately applied a microlevel analysis to a macrolevel phenomenon. Examining the structural nature of the legal systems points to great disparities in its application.

**Jonathan A. Majak, University of Wisconsin—LaCrosse. “From Reverse Discrimination to Political Correctness: The Escalating Rhetoric of Opposition to Diversity Initiatives in Academe.”**

In the Bakke decision of 1978, the US Supreme Court specifically disallowed quotas but upheld other aspects of affirmative action. However, the opponents of affirmative action saw in the admission of Bakke a vindication of their charge of “reverse discrimination” and have mounted a vociferous campaign since then. This campaign created an atmosphere that has encouraged widespread racist incidents on campuses across the nation. As a result, the institutions of higher education adopted certain measures to deal with such incidents. These institutions are now being accused of requiring “politically correct” behavior.

This paper analyzes three aspects of academic policy that are at the center of current controversy: (1) admission policies; (2) social/racial relations on campus; and (3) curriculum content.

**Jesse M. Vazquez, Queens College, City University of New York. “Commentary on Panel 7: Racial Status and its Political Correctness and Legal Ramifications.” (Papers by Leslie Goldstein, Michael Hodge & Kevin Early, Johnathan A. Majak and Stanford M. Lyman)**

Although there was no direct treatment of the “political correctness” question, the First Amendment discussion by Goldstein certainly laid the groundwork for a more direct analysis of this issue. It is also quite obvious that each of the speakers in very different ways addressed the issues of “racial status” and “legal ramifications” in American society. One very interesting aspect of these papers, which I feel deserves some focus, and which goes beyond the specifics of these three insightful and scholarly papers, is a phenomenon that many of us find ourselves participating in more and more these days, and that is our response to the writings, whether popular or scholarly, of those advancing a conservative or neoconservative polemic and a more sanguine reading of race relations in America.

For example, Leslie Goldstein responds to Nadine Strossen on the matter of the limits of the First Amendment rights on university campuses. Michael Hodge, Kevin Early, and Harry Gould challenge the assertion put forth by Wilbanks which suggests that the “perception of the criminal justice system as racist is a myth.” Stanford Lyman begins his lengthy and detailed discussion of American liberalism by addressing the almost gratuitous and powerfully distorting remarks about African Americans by Francis Fukuyama in his controversial “The End of History” piece. Lyman links Fukuyama’s ideas about African Americans to those of Shelby Steele and Thomas Sowell. Lyman also challenges Fukuyama’s theoretical understanding of Hegelian dialectics, and wonders about Steele and Sowell’s willingness to individualize and psychologize the historical oppression of blacks in American society. These kinds of interpretations, Lyman suggests, distort the American reality.

In his paper, Lyman reviews a considerable body of literature, such as civil rights cases and other cases which document the petitioning for naturalization or citizenship on behalf of those who were not easily categorized as either white/Caucasian, or of African descent. He systematically shows that African Americans, and their “surrogates—Asians, Hispanics, and Native Americans,” continue to suffer “in accordance with an ideology that serves the interests of white supremacy.” He chronicles case after case of individuals seeking to negotiate a consistently racist and arbitrary immigration policy in search of American citizenship. Lyman also effectively suggests that an early precursor of affirmative action can be seen in Justice Harlan’s dissenting opinion to the Thirteenth Amendment.

While we have all considered the concept of the American “ethnic queue,” as it relates to a kind of ethnic/racial pecking order in the social and economic structure of America, Lyman’s paper certainly adds an entirely new dimension to that notion. Petitions for naturalization included, among others, Chinese, Japanese, Burmese, Koreans, Armenians, Syrians, Arabs, East Indians, Afghans, Parsees, Hindus, Filipinos, Hawaiians, Native Americans, and most intriguing, those who were labeled “Mixed Bloods.”

When the imposition of citizenship on Puerto Ricans under the Jones Act in 1917 is set against the backdrop of a long history of racially motivated naturalization decisions, it allows students of Puerto Rican history to see yet another facet of this process of annexation. Factoring in the

naturalization cases takes us beyond the usual military and economic interpretations used to understand the rationale for the colonization of Puerto Rico. The racialist rationale for the granting of US citizenship to Puerto Ricans, as suggested by Lyman, while denying petitions from many Filipinos at about the same time, further illustrates the continuing use of the legal process to justify the institutionalized racial/ethnic hierarchy in American society.

Goldstein's paper pursues a line of argument that suggests that we need not design further alterations of First Amendment law by prescribing specific punishment for "hate speech" when it is directed at racial minorities, and yet exempt such speech from punishment when it is directed at members of the dominant majority group. Instead, Goldstein proposes that we could limit "verbal terrorism" on campus simply on the basis of traditional and well-established American legal doctrine. The case put forth is well argued. As she establishes the case for the use of traditional American legal doctrine, Goldstein introduces the element of structural or institutional racism, which reflects the values and beliefs of the dominant society of juries and judges. What constitutes an "outrageous" act to some may simply be seen as a passing rebuff by others. In communities where there is more racism, sexism, and anti-Semitism, the likelihood is that jurors and jurists will interpret "intentional infliction of emotional distress" in a radically different manner than a member of the aggrieved community.

These internalized attitudes, beliefs, and values are what preoccupy the thinking of Hodge, Early, and Goldstein in their effort to demonstrate that institutional discrimination in the legal system can and does exist without the measurable presence of prejudice. They challenge the necessary linkage between prejudice and discrimination, or what they call the *prejudice-to-discrimination model*. The line of thinking posited, through the use of a socio-historical analysis of macrolevel phenomena, suggests that the use of the *individualistic model* to assess the presence or absence of prejudice to draw conclusions about the existence of discrimination is no longer viable. They too bring considerable support to their argument by presenting a set of convincing statistics which validate the idea of the enduring presence of institutional discrimination in the American legal system. What is central to their argument, and certainly to the one put forth by Lyman, is the necessity to understand America's history of social control and discrimination through written codes and laws as well as unwritten practices, policies, and "folklore."

Hodge, et al., suggest that the "control of blacks was deemed so critical that it was written into the Constitution and into the laws of various states."

There is a concerted effort to undo affirmative action, to attack ethnic studies, undermine and label as un-American the more radical programs of multicultural education. We see a growing and profound resistance to the ideas being published by Afrocentric and other scholars exploring alternative explanations of history. Ethnic studies programs, once seen as an opportunity to present an alternative view of American history and society, once again are being accused of putting forth "tribalistic" interests. Arthur Schlesinger, Diane Ravitch, and Dinesh D'Souza are given every opportunity to sound the apocalyptic alarm, warning us that the center of the Republic is being threatened. The Shelby Steeles, the Thomas Sowell, the Linda Chavez, and the Francis Fukuyamas are also given ample space in the print media to once again victimize the victims by reinterpreting history, or by calling an end to it, and by recycling the most invidious racial and ethnic stereotypes. Only a short three or four years ago, we were all responding and reacting to Bloom, Bennett, and Bellows.

These papers have carefully examined institutional racism in our legal system, the re-emergence of the First Amendment controversy in academia, and the exploration of some of the historical foundations of how our naturalization laws have consistently reinforced the relationship between race and citizenship in American society.

My questions to the panelists and to the audience are the following:

1) Where do we go from here? What do we expect will happen on our nation's campuses as the storm over First Amendment rights rages on? Is it a passing fad that will fade away with ban-the-bomb buttons? Or does this issue represent a profound crossroads in American history where we will perhaps redefine how we carry on our public discourse around issues of race, gender, religion, ethnicity, and sexual preference?

2) Where will the tendency of many of our more conservative scholars to revise history, and to distort the racial and ethnic realities of American society, take us in the next decade? Given the historical legacies, what do we have to look forward to regarding the relationship between white and non-white in America?

3) Increasingly, the racial/ethnic drama in America is being played out in our nation's legal system—the courts and the police, according to Hodge, et al., continue to respond in a discriminatory fashion. The Rodney King episode, according to an ACLU report, had no measurable impact or effect on the number of incidents of reported cases of police brutality last year. If prejudice is no longer being expressed openly by the custodians of that system, and if, as suggested, the judicial system continues to dole out a racist and discriminatory brand of justice, what, if any, are the kinds of responses we will begin to see in the minority and majority communities? Dark clouds seem to be gathering over America.

Jimmie J. John, Central Washington University. **“Racism and the Social Situation: A Case of Misconception.”**

This paper is a critique of the archetypal social situation, as it is conceptualized by social psychology. In this conception, individuals bringing their own interests come together and negotiate their differences. Out of these interactions, the rudiments of society come into being. This presupposes a reciprocity that is missing in the interracial relations in American society. Rather than the situation serving as a model for social life in society, the reverse is true in the case of interracial interactions. Racism intrudes and shapes the perceptions and behaviors of participants in interracial situations.

Arglenda Dorsey, San Jose State University. **“Role of Libraries in Ethnic Studies and the Core Curriculum in Higher Education.”**

Academic libraries can and should play a significant role in the infusion of ethnic studies into the core curriculum. The mission of the library is to support the instruction, research, and public service programs of the university. As a major educational and cultural center in the university, the library is in an excellent position to provide faculty and students with a multitude of resources and expertise pertaining to ethnic studies. These resources and subject expertise include collection development, bibliographies and publications, on-line bibliographic search services, bibliographic instruction, and accessibility to supplemental collections through media services and interlibrary loan.

Dominic Mohammed, Florida International University. **“Impact of Colonialism in East Africa.”**

Post-independent East African countries, like post-independent West African countries, are still suffering from inter-tribal hostilities which historically are attributable to slavery. Slavery in East Africa, like West Africa, was a big business. Some slave traders in East Africa were so powerful that they were merchants and brigands with their own forts and private armies of enlisted slaves.

Political instabilities in most current East African countries are directly linked to historical, foreign-induced slavery: domination, deceit, and hostilities. Most political quarrels and infighting among the various political parties in most current East African countries are tribally based. Tribal base groupings were encouraged by foreign slave traders so as to use tribal groups against each other in pursuit of slaves. This paper examines the impact of slavery in East African countries in terms of how tribal groups were encouraged and exploited during the pursuit of slaves and the implications for current political instabilities in most East African countries.

Calvin D. Buchanan, Northern District of Mississippi, Oxford, Mississippi. **“Minorities and the Political Process.”**

As witnessed through historical events, constitutional laws, and most recently through the eyes of the media, black Americans have historically not participated in numbers proportional to their population in the democratic process. An inquiry into this phenomenon may suggest that these individuals do not feel that they possess the “dignity of man” and other inalienable rights bestowed on members of a society. Some jurists theorize that the American blacks' disenchantment/disenfranchisement with the political process is due to their former position of servitude and the continuous litigation (past and present) used to permit them equal access in the society.

Freddie Young, Leisure City Elementary School, Miami, Florida. **“The Threat of Educational Genocide of African Americans in the Public Schools.”**

Since the beginning of European domination in the Americas, individuals of African ancestry have struggled to become “regular” members of the United States of America. Some scholars have hypothesized that children of African descent, especially young black males, are being systemati-



cally “murdered” through the educational system. Many believe that this genocide starts in the primary grades, and most often occurs in the public school systems.

Marvin Dunn, The Academy of Community Education, Miami, Florida. **“Black Violence: The Legacy of Enslavement.”**

This presentation deals with the concept of the legacy of enslavement: psychology, slavery, and black violence. After the Civil War, although blacks were free legally, many never left the plantation. Their dependency on whites extended beyond provisions for their physical needs. Many former slaves “needed” whites in order to define themselves.

Today the government, through social welfare programs, might be seen as an extension of the earlier dependent-bound relationship which blacks had with whites in pre-Civil War years. Are blacks still psychologically enslaved? Is black reliance on social welfare programs yet another form of pathological dependency? These and other issues are explored in this paper.

Michael N. Budd and Clay Steinman, Florida Atlantic University. **“White Racism and ‘The Cosby Show.’”**

With the end of the most blatant legal barriers to racial equality in the US in the sixties and seventies, and the reactionary politics of the eighties, a new form of white racism has emerged. Maintaining that discrimination is effectively dead, modern racism thus argues that compensatory programs like affirmative action are themselves racist because opportunities are now equal. For many white viewers, “The Cosby Show” can support this dangerous fantasy, since the program and its accompanying ads evoke a “color blind” utopia of consumer culture, refusing to address racism in an era of David Duke, Willie Horton, and resurgent racial violence.

Cornell Thomas, Texas Christian University. **“Mapping Visions.”**

Vision is the map to the future. It is what an individual thinks can and should be possible in his or her life. A vision is a target that is enticing to anyone who believes in the beauty of his/her dreams. Yet, visions for African Americans have been purposely clouded by white America. Primarily using the media as a means of transmitting information, white America has been successful in producing an unfocused, untrue, and extremely distorted picture of the African American’s true abilities, thus creating an atmosphere of extremely low expectations toward achievable levels of success. This paper explores the history of institutional racism which has permeated the very core of this society, along with solutions by which significant pathways to success may be followed.

Jonathan A. Majak, University of Wisconsin—La Crosse. **“Racial Images and the Media: Commentary on Papers by Budd and Steinman and Thomas.”**

These papers deal with different sectors of the media, but their central concern is racism.

Budd and Steinman present an exhaustive analysis of “The Cosby Show,” a show that debuted in 1984 and went on to achieve an unprecedented success for a black family sitcom. “The Cosby Show” is unique in a number of ways. First, it invigorated an otherwise moribund genre. Second, it is perhaps the only comedy show to retain the services of a psychiatrist, Dr. Alvin Pouissant, as a consultant. Third, it is progressive in its portrayal of an affluent black family, a representation that some critics consider unrealistic. Nevertheless, it is a tremendous improvement on the black family sitcoms of the 1970s, even though it is still confined to the comedy genre to which the industry seems to restrict black shows. Indeed, this may be one of the reasons why “Frank’s Place” failed despite its commendable attempt to present a broad spectrum of black experience. “Frank’s Place” was a hybrid, part drama and part comedy, or “dramedy,” as Budd and Steinman put it.

The major weakness of “The Cosby Show,” according to Budd and Steinman, is its silence on racism, a fact that Bill Cosby himself has acknowledged. The show, however, deals with it indirectly. By presenting an affluent family in a dignified manner, the show seeks to counteract the negative portrayals of the black family in previous series. Moreover, the show attempts to inspire and instruct its viewers on aspects of black upper middle class culture. For example, it provides a showcase for works by various black artists.

Perhaps it may be too much to expect “The Cosby Show” to deal directly with white racism. For one thing, it would offend not only its white viewers, but also the advertisers who are quite a force to reckon with. For another, it would not fit Cosby’s own style of comedy. Bill Cosby has assiduously

avoided the quagmire of race relations and has concentrated instead on the human condition in general and foibles of daily life in particular. This seems to be the secret of his personal success.

Cornell Thomas provides a brief historical overview of institutional racism against blacks. According to Thomas, its legacy is to be seen in the generally negative perception and depiction of blacks in the contemporary media. Thomas proposes the use of a concept he calls "mapping visions" as a means of counteracting the negative images that black youths watch daily on TV. For Thomas, it is very important for these youths not only to have confidence in themselves, but also that they have a clear vision of what they would want to be. His "mapping" strategy draws from the Afrocentric perspective. For example, he would let black youngsters know that African American history did not begin with slavery. As a former school principal, Thomas appears to have confidence in the capacity of black youths to learn and grow to become useful citizens.

These papers have provided significant perspectives on the media and have undoubtedly raised questions that merit further discussion. However, a couple of questions that come to mind at this juncture have to do with the prospects in 1990s for, (1) black shows on TV, and (2) the current crop of young black film directors. Could it be that a backlash of some sort has emerged against "The Cosby Show," since "Roseanne" and "The Simpsons" are enjoying higher ratings? As for the young film directors, what are the chances of their becoming a part of the Hollywood establishment?

**Aloma M. Mendoza, National-Louis University. "Racial and Sexual Discrimination of Caribbean-born Women in the Canadian Labour Force."**

The question of Caribbean women's socioeconomic situation in Canada centers on prejudice and discrimination due to sexism, racism, classism, and immigrant status. Evidence continues to substantiate that racial and gender prejudice and discrimination are still in existence in the Canadian labour force and are due mainly to societal customs, institutions, and historical circumstances.

An adjustment study of ninety Caribbean female immigrants living in Ontario showed that half of them admitted to having experienced some form of racial discrimination. Some of the areas that women cited as experiencing racial and sexual discrimination were: unemployment, underemployment, promotional opportunities, lack of greater responsibilities on the job, wages, hiring and firing, job assignments, immigrant status, verbal and physical abuse, and lack of Canadian certification.

**Clarence Spigner, University of Oregon. "Black Female/Male Relationships, Functionalism, and the Media."**

The mass media (books, films, theater, and television) has played a key role in shaping the current perceptions of the disintegrating black family and the dysfunctional black male. Such speculations, in part, stem from examples of black female/male antagonism depicted in prominent novels, stage plays, movies, and television programs. Yet more contextual explanations of social or economic determinants in which such negative African American lifestyles took place were seldom given sufficient emphasis in various depictions. Functionalist theory, with its emphasis on shared norms and values, is used to help explain the mass media's role regarding black behavior. The paper argues that the perception of the so-called disintegrating black family and particularly the depiction of the dysfunctional black male stems largely from a value construct of "individualism" which traditionally favors the maintenance of white (male) hegemony.

**Consuelo López Springfield, University of Wisconsin—La Crosse. "Mestizaje in the Mother-Daughter Autobiography of Rosario Morales and Aurora Levins."**

In 1986, Rosario Morales and Aurora Levins, her daughter, published *Getting Home Alive*. As the title suggests, the authors seek a personal landscape in which to express their status not only as writers but as exiled members of a larger community. They make it clear that their experiences, memories, and autobiographical objectives are examined within communal configurations. Their personal histories are intricately linked to the destiny of Puerto Rico's colonized people who have two countries, two flags, two constitutions, and two national anthems. The state of exile from which they write thus becomes a self-affirming principle as well as a narrative theme. *Getting Home Alive* is also deeply imbued with a desire to promote a cross-cultural fertilization of feminism. Their historical consciousness of *mestizaje* connects them to the world's oppressed. As a subversive strategy, *mestizaje* also depends on the authorial ability to move in and out of cultural spheres with an acute sensitivity to racial problematics.

Alberto L. Pulido, University of Utah. “Ethnicity, Race, and Gender: Commentary on Mendoza, Spigner, and Springfield.”

All three presentations focus on the reality that inequality in North American society is most often dictated by three axes of social stratification—namely, race, class, and gender. These presentations reveal that there is an ongoing dialectic seeking to challenge and transform the hegemonic structures of dominant society along the lines of race, class, and gender. Whether the topic is Caribbean-born immigrants in Canada, black female/male relations within a dominant white-male hegemony, or the process of *mestizaje* in the life experiences of Rosorio Morales and Aurora Levins, individuals or groups are actively seeking to transform the cultural, political, and economic institutions of the dominant society.

This session is the beginning of a very important dialogue that must continue to achieve a clearer interpretation of social inequality. Mendoza’s research on racial and sexual discrimination against Caribbean-born immigrant women in Canada is important because it highlights a subjective perspective of racism and sexism by these women. It discovers that for the majority of these women, race is understood to be a stronger dimension than gender in terms of how they perceive their oppression and inequality. By implementing functionalist theory, Spigner teases out a perspective which argues that the depiction of the dysfunctional black male in the media favors white male hegemony as it serves to maintain a racist and sexist hegemonic structure. The perceptions of disharmony among black men and women operate to maintain white male dominance. Spigner’s most important contribution is in his claim that the dominant mass media depicts female/male relations without a social context. That is, black female/male relations are depicted without accounting for significant historical, political, economic, and social factors.

Springfield’s work reveals how a “plural autobiography” of a mother and daughter allows for the creation of a personal landscape whereby their colonial identities are transformed into liberating identities—referred to by Springfield as *mestizaje*—a process of cultural and racial miscegenation. The discussion of *mestizaje* is important because it reveals how people can begin to resolve conflicts and contradictions in their personal and social lives.

The social science perspective is complementary to the literature, suggesting that an analytical and theoretical discussion could be useful in analyzing literature. Social scientific paradigms could prove helpful for critiques that offer a literary analysis of race, class, and gender. But at the same time, the message to the social scientists from a literary perspective is one of helping collapse the differences that exist between different groups in our society, be they racial, economic, or gender based. There needs to occur a resolution or mutual respect for each of our differences. The goal is not one of Anglo-conformity or homogeneity, but one of recognizing differences and celebrating them. It is important that this type of multidisciplinary discussion continue in order to discover common themes and perspective in the analysis of race, class, and gender.

Kee Juen Eng, Asian-American Federation of Florida, Inc. “Historical and Present Prejudice Against Asians.”

Anti-Chinese agitation, a complex phenomenon, which culminated in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, resulted in decades of anti-Chinese violence, segregation, and discrimination. Given the twin deprivations of political rights, through the inability of the early Chinese immigrants to become naturalized citizens, and legal protection, through the proscription of testimony being elicited from a Chinese person in a court of law, the early Chinese were subjected to repeated acts of violence. These incidents of violence were not limited to the Chinese, as incidents of violence were noted against early Japanese, Korean, Filipino, and Asian Indian immigrants.

More recently, social scientists have described the pattern of Asian absence from the higher levels of administration as “a glass ceiling effect” in reference to the unseen barrier through which top management positions can be seen by those aspiring to reach them, but in reality, unreachable by Asian Americans.

On many college campuses, racial slurs against Asian Americans have been overheard, and graffiti disparaging Asian Americans has been splashed across walls and pinned to bulletin boards. In the college administration offices there is concern expressed about the problem of Asian American overrepresentation in enrollments. In this era of anti-Asian sentiment and misunderstanding, renewed anti-Asian violence has erupted across the United States.

Loretta Zhou Tong, Foundation for Learning, Inc. **“Overview of the Peril.”**

The first Asians to come to the United States were Chinese. Asians from other countries arrived in the US just prior to World War II. At that time many states passed legislation to prevent Asians from mixing or competing with the non-Asian population. Laws specifically developed for other minorities (originally involving African Americans) also affect Asians.

Asians have endured much discrimination due to immigration quotas and then legislation. They are now enduring prejudice again because of changes in legislation that would allow Asians to be excluded from minority bidding in state and local contracts.

Many people have stereotyped opinions of Asians. We do not only own restaurants and laundries, but we also are becoming more and more involved in all aspects of business. We still have to contend with this stereotyping when we move into various social circles.

Negativism towards the Japanese has created negativism toward other Asians, resulting in numerous instances of violence towards Asians in various parts of the US.

Khanya Moolsiri, Asian-American Federation of Florida, Inc. **“Religious Prejudice.”**

The Thai people first came to the United States in the early part of 1960. They came mainly to study. Ninety-eight percent of the Thai people are Buddhist, and when they came to the US they brought their religion with them. The Buddhist religion requires that monks be present to lead the religious services. The goal of the Buddhist communities is to establish a temple in which to worship, meet with other Buddhists, and find a place of spiritual rejuvenation. The Buddhists have had difficulties in establishing temples in many cities in the US. Potential neighbors objected to this “strange” religious group in their neighborhood, and zoning boards were required to gain necessary approvals. This paper discusses the methods used to establish these temples and to receive the appropriate zoning approvals.

Franklin Tse, Asian-American Federation of Florida, Inc. **“Early Immigration to the United States.”**

The first Asian immigrants to the United States were Chinese who arrived in the 1840s. They came to mine the gold fields and also to work on the railroads. The various states established discriminatory laws against these Chinese from the time they first arrived in the US.

Immigration quotas were established to limit the number of Asians coming into the US to 105 per year until the 1960s. Asians, however, found loopholes in these laws and were able to bring more immigrants per year into the US than were eligible.

Asians have always received prejudice from the media and the society structure in general. Asians have not traditionally brought their discrimination problems to the EEO because they have been the “silent minority.” Society and even other minorities are not aware of these prejudicial problems and are very surprised when the history of prejudice against Asians is cited.

Sang Whang, Asian-American Federation of Florida, Inc. **“Discrimination in Immigration and Employment Laws.”**

Historically, the United States government migration policy has been discriminatory against Asians. Established quotas limited the number of people immigrating from an Asian country. Even within the limited number allowed, professional people and people with special skills had priority for immigration. For this reason, a higher percentage of Asian Americans are working in the middle to upper management of government as well as the private industries. Although quotas allowing only 105 Asians per year to enter the United States are now lifted, there are still subtle discriminatory laws not only in immigration but in employment. The new proposed civil rights law is making it easier for anyone to sue if there is a disproportionate number of highly paid Asian Americans in any entity, and the burden of proof is on the management to justify the situation. There has been unfair quota for immigration, and now there may be another unfair quota system in employment.

Katrina Irving, Bentley College. **“Nativism, Gendered Space, and the Immigrant Woman: A Reading of Stephen Crane’s *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets*.”**

This paper explores how, within a number of nativist texts in turn-of-the-century America, two particular discourses are articulated to construct the immigrant woman as anathema to the safety of

the American nation. First is the construction of the American republic as the “broodland” of the Anglo-Saxon race, not under threat from an alien invasion. Second is the discourse of gendered space within which the woman’s organic connection to the home served to contain her threatening sexuality. These discourses worked together in nativist texts to construct the immigrant woman as sexually active, preternaturally fecund, and spatially mobile. As such, “she” became a figure for interracial sexuality, a portent of Anglo-Saxon race suicide, and was demonized. Stephen Crane’s *Maggie* serves as an exemplary text.

Phillips G. Davies, Iowa State University. “**Literature in a Multi-Ethnic Society: Commentary on paper by Irving.**”

This very interesting paper discusses Crane’s work as a novel which was influenced by nativist thought. Several turn-of-the-century thinkers believed that the white race would be ruined by miscegenation and other sexual contact with biologically inferior stock. Crane’s novel shows streams of Irish immigrants and their assorted smells leaving the tenements and injecting themselves into society, and, particularly so, Maggie’s burly and masculine mother, and, later on, Maggie herself as she becomes a prostitute. Among the more informative parts of this paper are the notions that the master race is not the master genetically, that the immigrant woman is seen as gross, and that the stereotype of the immigrant prostitute is undercut by the fact that most prostitutes at the time were American-born. Most of all, it is ironic that Crane chooses to treat the Irish—part of the British Isles, after all—as a serious threat. Apparently, the nativists were even more neurotic than they seemed to be.

Carol S. Gould, Florida Atlantic University. “**A Philosophical Analysis of Race and Ethnicity in Greek Antiquity.**”

The author formulates the following two philosophical questions about the concepts of race and ethnicity: (1) Are these concepts real or merely conventional? (2) To what extent are they necessary for describing a person’s unchanging identity? She argues that for Plato, they are conventional and do not bear on a person’s essence, but for Aristotle, they are real and necessary for describing a person’s essence. These responses, the author argues, rest on the two philosophers’ more fundamental philosophical commitments concerning language and human nature. She then suggests that Aristotle’s views may be one source of contemporary attitudes towards race and ethnicity.

Mano Daniel, Florida Atlantic University. “**Ethnicity, Community and the Basis of Cultural Pluralism.**”

The paper considers two “communitarian” responses to the spectre of sectarian ethnic fragmentation within a pluralistic community. Alain Locke’s “attitudinal” response to think of “unity within diversity” is supplemented by a consideration of Hannah Arendt’s controversial “humanist” stance during the Eichmann controversy. I argue that both thinkers provide valuable theoretical resources for promoting isogeny within plurality within the context of a practical-political philosophy that does not resort to absolutist or transcommunal criteria.

Otis L. Scott, California State University—Sacramento. “**A Philosophic Analysis of Race and Ethnicity: Commentary on Papers by Gould, Daniel, and Spector.**”

In general these papers have in common the attempt to inform us of the role philosophy has, as a social construct, in providing us with the bases of knowledge from which some of the crucial questions framing the existence and functioning of human societies can be raised, examined, and understood. These papers serve as a commentary on what seems to be humankind’s abiding questions:

- Why do physical differences exist?
- Why do we respond to differences as we do?
- How should we respond to differences?
- What are the consequences of our responses?

Gould and Daniel challenge some of the earliest philosophic texts on the subject of human differences, namely, the differences in physiognomy which abound among and between this planet’s human inhabitants.

Spector urges us to avoid what he considers is a failing of much of social theory. Because social

theory is “riddled with issues posed as false dichotomies,” he believes that our examinations—especially in the classroom—of social relationships run the risk of framing false issues and questions.

We can witness clearly how this operates in race relations instruction. Too often, race relations issues are posed as either-or propositions. For example, should ethnic groups assimilate into American society, or should they separate? Such propositions limit the range of the field of inquiry on this topic, and in doing so, set up sets of “truths” which are at best incomplete. Spector encourages instructors to explore social issues by using any number of approaches, e.g., dialogues, data, and the like. He urges that instructors avoid framing race relations issues within dualistic contexts.

Marking points of departure with Greek antiquity, Gould and Daniels give attention to how the architects of the canon, Plato and Aristotle, contributed to what has seemingly become a continuum of discourse on ethnicity and race. He rejects the popular thinking that Greeks constituted a unique class of human beings. Critiquing this mode of thinking, Gould asserts that while Plato acknowledged human differences in abilities, talents, and competencies, these differences should not be construed as providing the basis for a biological definition of our national identities.

Aristotle’s explication of difference, according to Gould, is antithetical to that of Plato. Arguing that physical differences are absolute and knowable, Aristotle believed differences are the bases of ordering the human community into classifications. This classification system for Aristotle resulted in three geographically based human groups and their imputed characteristics:

- Northern European: spirited, yet lack judgment and skill;
- Asians: lack spirit, have skill and judgment;
- Greeks: have spirit, skill, and judgment.

It is against this absolutist thought and practice that Daniel’s paper is largely addressed. Drawing principally on the work of African American philosopher Alain Locke with references to the work of Hannah Arendt, Daniel introduces a conceptual to ameliorating the long standing tendency of philosophers and social practitioners on the subject of ethnic differences.

Locke, according to Daniel, believed that human particularities which give rise to ethnic pluralism are inevitable, and that ethnic pluralism is not contrary to social harmony. The challenge to pluralistic societies, according to Locke, is to “discover unity and spiritual equivalence underneath the differences.” The quest, we are reminded by Locke, is to “legitimate and interpret diversity” with an eye towards finding “harmony in contrariety . . . and some commonality in divergence.”

Daniel’s paper is a call for the valorizing of difference and plurality without the absolutist’s historical tendency to hierarchically construct the human community according to some perceived and knowable worth.

Daniel argues, drawing from Locke, that it is desirable that human beings craft a new social compact which values differences and sameness. I must admit that I am less than sanguine about the possibilities, but not because I don’t believe that human beings can transcend and transform themselves. I am reminded that we human beings are also shaped by the institutional processes within which we live. And, unfortunately, our vision of what is possible can be clouded by the instrumentalities of a society which first and foremost is committed to perpetuating a racist, classist, sexist hegemony which, absent assiduous struggle by change agents, continues on its destructive course. Substantive change, the kind which evidences itself in new associations between people, comes as a result of changes in the institutional arrangements within which those relationships are shaped.

The papers are valuable not so much for the prescriptions tendered, but for the provocative questions and challenges raised. In addition to the question raised at the beginning, there are five additional ones which are elicited from these papers. Given the current debate regarding multiculturalism, diversity, and the concerns by academic traditionalists that the academic canon is under assault by philistines, responses to these questions are in order.

- Are we to be saved by a universalistic social philosophy?
- Is an overarching collectivist philosophy a representation of another hegemonic system of thought tailor-made for the exigency of demographic change?
- Why is ethnic diversity with its inclination toward cultural maintenance and valorization perceived as contentious and divisive?
- If we are reaching for a connecting and harmonizing social philosophy and praxis, at what cost to the Lockean value of particularity are we willing to pay?
- In what linguistic and philosophical forms should questions relating to ethnic, race, and gender issues be raised?

Evelyn Blanch, Wilberforce University. **“Afro-American Students Attending Historically Black Colleges and Universities: An Issue of Enhanced Self-Esteem.”**

Reasons as to why African American students are gravitating toward historically black colleges and universities in an era of “diversification” are examined. It is speculated that in the 1990s historically black institutions (HBI) serve as a resource for promoting heightened self-esteem necessary to compete in the real world while facilitating the psycho-social development of the “total person” for African American students.

Twenty-three undergraduate students attending two historically black institutions (Wilberforce and Central State University) and two historically white institutions (University of Michigan and University of Dayton) served as subjects. To assess if differences exist in institutional facilitation of self-esteem for African American students attending historically black institutions as compared to African American cohorts attending historically white institutions of higher learning, the Black Assessment Tool of Self-Esteem (BA-TOSE) survey was administered.

Fairly clear and consistent institutional differences resulted in facilitating self-esteem of African American students, which yielded a  $t=3.78$ ,  $df=1,22$ ,  $p < .001$ , where students’ perceptions and impressions were more favorable at traditionally black institutions. The results suggest that unlike African American cohorts on black college campuses, African American students at predominantly white campuses suffer more social adjustment, anxiety, and higher attrition rates. The implications are that even though predominantly white academic institutions recruit minority students, African American students attending such colleges and universities sometimes experience considerable feelings of alienation, unhappiness, uncertainty, and lowered self-esteem.

Mano Daniel, Florida Atlantic University. **“Social Psychology: Shedding Light on Racial Problems: Commentary on Papers by Blanch, Khare, and Takara.”**

In her well-articulated and thoughtful presentation, Blanch isolates and analyzes a useful set of differences that persists between Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and their counterparts, the Historically White Colleges and Universities (HWCUs). Her argument is provoked by the fact that a growing number of African American students are choosing to attend HBCUs even though facilities, curriculum, and financial aid at these institutions are often inferior to those offered at HWCUs.

Blanch ends her discussion with a thoughtful series of recommendations that HWCUs would be wise to heed if they are to serve the interests of African Americans and other minorities. Of these recommendations, the most significant is her claim that both faculty and administration should “serve as mentors with a greater sense of respect for diverse cultures.” Mentorship, within the context of academia, requires a genuine interest in the students, a recognition of the student’s weaknesses coupled with strategies to overcome them, a nurturing of the student’s strengths, and finally, a desire to empower the student with psychological, academic, and social resources.

Khare has presented a strident and compelling jeremiad against the structural and social impediments that constrain the effective assimilation and economic mobility of East Asian immigrants. Framed in terms of a testimonial, it is a particularity that points to a general malaise. Khare argues that the source of widespread discrimination is predicated on skin color, the fact of being non-white—a visible anomaly in a sea of pallid hues. Yet this visibility is accompanied by a form of invisibility, or marginalization, that inhibits political and social redress.

Khare’s account may be viewed as a specific philippic against the form of Americanization, predicated upon the melting-pot metaphor, that immigrants are forced to undergo. This form of Americanization, he suggests, discourages heterogeneity in favour of homogeneity, what he calls the “bleaching of America.” And, he rightly protests, this process robs immigrants of aspects of their identity that they should not have to submerge or surrender. Hence he calls for a different form of Americanization that does not entail these debilitating results.

Finally, Takara offers a systematic discussion of the genesis and perpetuation of racism and slavery in the Americas—an account that can be considered an attempt to confront, radicalize, and overcome the situation delineated by Khare. For Takara, the maxims of this systematic marginalization are imbedded in everyday language and even pervade the more theoretical discourse of Eurocentric philosophy. By locating and tracing the nature of this form of racial oppression, she attempts to deconstruct the debilitating ideological assumptions that undergird it.

Annette White-Parks, University of Wisconsin. **“History of the Chinese and Chinese Canadians.”**

The Chinese and Chinese Canadian populations in Montreal, Quebec, at the turn from the nineteenth to the twentieth centuries include three general categories: travelers to and from China who, especially after the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 in the United States, often used Canada as a passage across North America; a small but steadfast community of permanent Montreal residents; and thousands of indentured laborers who were transported by the Canadian Pacific Railway in bond across Canada for servitude in the West Indies, South America, and Europe.

The story of this latter group’s bondage and virtual slavery has been buried in history, as has Montreal’s position as an entrepot between China and the Americas for the export of Chinese labor. Edith Eaton or Sui Sin Far, a writer of Chinese and English parentage, in the 1890s claimed to be “fighting the battles” of Chinese Montrealers in local papers. This was puzzling because most historical accounts of Chinese North American immigration cited few or no Chinese in eastern Canada at this date. Their stories began to unfold through the crumbling pages of archival newspapers and in letters between railway and government officials and labor contractors in the archives of CPR.

Noel Jacob Kent, University of Hawaii. **“The New Racism Meets the New American Order.”**

Political economy and racial ideology have historically been mutually reinforcing in the United States. Each provides the other with essential elements, the concrete framework within which life is lived in a society and the justification for structures of inequality. In tandem, in dialectic, they become understandable; in isolation, they only mystify. This paper examines the way(s) in which the racism of late twentieth-century America intersects with the contemporary US political economy, and in doing so, illuminates both processes.

Kumiko Takahara, University of Colorado. **“Racism in the News Media.”**

Social prejudice toward ethnic minorities by virtue of their distinct culture or racial origins is derived from a distorted perception of the people of these categories. Because of the relative isolation of cultural ethnics and non-whites, attitudes toward minorities on the part of the mainstream public may be formed through ignorance and misinformation presented by the news media which can literally communicate racism. This study discusses the basic linguistic strategies of racist journalism by analyzing the coverage of three incidents which involved Japanese American internees in Colorado’s war relocation camp during the period of 1942-45.

Ashton Wesley Welch, Creighton University. **“Muckrakers as Challengers to the Old Order: Re-Opening of the Issue of African Americans, A Preliminary Exploration.”**

New realities emerged in the United States after the Civil War. Intellectualism became suspect and was rejected even more than before. Few social interpreters questioned the emerging social and political practices before the rise of muckraking. By 1901 African Americans were second-class citizens. Their new position received only scant attention from the popular media and from intellectuals. The rise of the progressive movement with its renewal of intellectualism ended the indifference of critics. Muckrakers focused on the place of blacks in American society. *McClure’s* pioneered the new journalism of indignant and factual articles of exposé and must be credited with reopening the issue of blacks. *McClure’s* stimulated other journals and writers such as Ray Stannard Baker and Thomas Page Nelson to address the place of blacks in the new order.

Peter B. Levy, York College. **“Civil War on Race Street: The Black Freedom Struggle and White Resistance in Cambridge, Maryland, 1960-64.”**

This paper examines the civil rights movement on the local level, in Cambridge, Maryland, from 1960-64. By looking outside the traditional focus of most studies of the movement, those that follow Martin Luther King, Jr., the author argues that we can improve our understanding of the movement and of race relations today. This study of Cambridge reveals the central role that women played in the movement, as the key leader was Gloria Richardson, who some compared to Joan of Arc; it reminds us that desegregation and legal equality were secondary concerns to many activists, that their main objective was equality in the fullest sense of the term, as an inalienable right; and the study depicts the degree to which whites resisted change, unfortunately, with considerable success.



Calvin E. Harris, Suffolk University. **“Ethnic, Race, and Gender Conflict: The Democratic Process in Transition.”**

Race, ethnicity, and gender issues will have a serious impact on the democratic process for years to come. Pluralistic democracy requires at least the semblance of a consensus in order to function effectively. Judging from events of the past few decades, any one of these issues has the potential to destroy the consensus-making process at any point. Taken together, they present almost insurmountable obstacles. The rise of the US civil rights movement during the 1950s and 1960s helped to bring to the surface many issues that go beyond matters of race and ethnic conflict. The question of whether or not the United States has ever operated under a genuine consensus is a somewhat broader subject. A fragile consensus on race, ethnicity, and gender issues is slowly emerging. A consensus which, in words at least, calls for the creation of a culturally pluralistic society.

The focus in this paper is how these three issues seem to be affecting consensus building within the American political arena. Race and ethnicity conflicts are the more volatile points of confrontation. They are political in nature as well as having economic, social, and cultural ramifications. Besides the conflict between racial and ethnic groups, there is also the problem of intra-racial, intra-ethnic struggles, centered on the question of cultural transformation.

Ella O. Williams, Pierce College. **“Dimensions: A Humanities Multicultural Program.”**

Dimensions is an independent studies multicultural humanities program which involves consultants on multicultural issues of national and global concern. The program utilizes a coordinator who assists the students in selecting advisors from among faculty and administrators. Advisors, in turn, help students arrange schedules, select projects, and determine methods of research. After consulting with selected advisors, students are encouraged to research subjects of their choice in multicultural humanities in areas of science and technology, arts and literature, politics, government and racial issues, and philosophy and religion. The program utilizes multicultural scholars, artisans, researchers, and guest lecturers. Open forums and seminars are scheduled at which time students share projects in the form of videotapes, oral readings, and artistic projects or demonstrations. Projects are evaluated according to quality of work, topic choices, maturity of presentation, and audience participation and response.

Gloria Abernathy-Lear, University of Illinois—Chicago. **“Teaching Multicultural Courses: An Experiential Narrative.”**

It is crucial that students are provided the opportunity to discover information about various ethnic groups which reside in the US. The dilemma for many higher education institutions is not only how to fit another course into the core curriculum, but also how to find faculty willing and capable of directing the course.

This paper is presented as an experiential narrative by a person who adapted her own area of expertise and experience to an existing core curriculum course which had to change to meet a new curriculum imperative. Those who desire or are forced to approach courses from a multicultural perspective, but yet lack the encyclopedic knowledge about a variety of cultures, might find this discussion useful.

Three pedagogical approaches which focus on incorporating ethnic group information into a Communication Department curriculum are presented. Each approach provides a student/faculty exchange learning strategy as well as challenges the student’s critical thinking skills. The pitfalls of each approach are also discussed.

## Contributors

RUSSELL ENDO teaches and does research in Asian American Studies at the University of Colorado. He recently co-edited *Contemporary Perspectives on Asian and Pacific American Education*.

GLENN M. KRAIG has taught in the School of Education at California State University San Bernardino, and in the San Bernardino public schools. A long-time member of NAES, he has been an active participant in the association's annual conferences and contributor to NAES publications.

OTIS L. SCOTT is a Professor of Government and Ethnic Studies and the coordinator of the Ethnic Studies Center at California State University-Sacramento. His research interests include responses by ethnic groups to oppressive institutional environments.

MALIK SIMBA holds a Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota, and is currently an Associate Professor of Ethnic and African American Studies at California State University-Fresno. His research areas include U.S. constitutional history and race relations law. He has published in a variety of periodicals and served as a consultant for Salem Press's *African American Encyclopedia*.

JESSE M. VAZQUEZ is a Professor of Education and Director of the Puerto Rican Studies Program at Queens College, City University of New York. His recent work has explored the ideology and language of the new multiculturalism, ethnic studies, curricular reform in higher education, the struggles of Puerto Ricans and other racial/ethnic minority scholars in the academy, and counseling and multiculturalism.

*News from*  
NATIVE CALIFORNIA



A unique quarterly magazine devoted to California Indians and featuring:

A calendar of events; articles on art, education, legal and political action, native foods, music, religion; first person reminiscences; historical and contemporary photos; and much more.

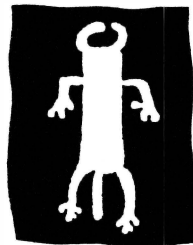
FOR SUBSCRIPTION OR INFORMATION:

*News from Native California*

P.O. Box 9145

Berkeley, CA 94709

(415) 549-3564



One year subscription (4 issues) \$15.95

Sample issue \$4.00.

*"Intermarriage may be the social phenomenon of the next decades. It is a sequel to the immigrant streams from the four corners of the earth who have converged on American soil."*

## chinese american intermarriage

by Betty Lee Sung

**T**his book is a sociological study of the phenomenon of intermarriage based upon the Chinese American experience in New York City.

Once forbidden by law and condemned by society, intermarriage is becoming more commonplace among Chinese Americans. To what extent is it occurring? What type of person marries out of his or her race and for what reasons?

What is the attraction and what are the pitfalls? This book answers those questions with data from marriage license applications and personal interviews.

The book shows how family objection is the worst obstacle, how spousal relations are affected by cultural differences, how society views and treats the couple, and how mixed children of the union cope with their dual identities.

**CHINESE AMERICAN INTERMARRIAGE** adds to the literature on marriage and family. It is the first time that a systematic study has been done on this subject.

1990. Pp. 250. Tables, Figures, Index. ISBN 0-934733-47-3, \$19.50 (cloth).  
ISBN 0-934733-48-1, \$14.50 (paper).

---

### Order From:

#### Center for Migration Studies

209 Flagg Place, Staten Island, NY 10304-1199  
Phone: (718) 351-8800 Fax: (718) 667-4598



*Illustration by Ibrahim  
El Salahi.*

# RESEARCH IN AFRICAN LITERATURES

Edited by Richard Bjornson

*Research in African Literatures* provides a stimulating forum for the discussion of the oral and written literatures of Africa. In addition, *RAL* serves the broader needs of the academic community by including reports on recent research, university literature programs, library and archival resources, dissertations, and conferences in the field. Each issue includes a lively book review section, and there are frequent illustrations by African artists. Published quarterly.

## **Subscription information:**

Individual: \$30.00

African institution: \$40.00

All other institutions: \$55.00

Surface post to Africa, \$4.00

All other foreign surface post,  
\$10.00

Send orders to Indiana  
University Press, Journals  
Division, 601 N. Morton,  
Bloomington, IN 47404.  
Telephone credit card  
information to 812-855-9449 or  
fax to 812-855-7931.



# Leading the field in sociology and the related social sciences:

## **sociological abstracts (sa)**

and

## **Social Planning/Policy & Development Abstracts (SOPODA)**

Our subject specialists track the broad spectrum of theoretical and applied sociology from the more than 1,800 discipline-specific and related journals published in North America, Europe, Asia, Africa, Australia, and South America.

**sa** and **SOPODA** each offer you in-depth abstracts and precise indexing of timely journal articles and books, enhanced dissertation listings, and a bibliography of book reviews from the journals screened.

**sa** and **SOPODA** are available together on the **sociofile** CD-ROM and are hosted online by BRS, DATA-

STAR, DIALOG, and DIMDI. Hardcopy subscriptions can be ordered from the address below.

The **sa** and **SOPODA** information products are supported by:

- Database-specific user manuals
- The latest journal coverage list
- The **sociofile** Quick Reference Guide and User's Handbook
- The **Thesaurus of Sociological Indexing Terms**
- Your Guide to Searching **sa** using a Personal Computer
- A professional workshop program

The **sa** family of databases — your fast track to the information you need, in the format you want.

### **sociological abstracts, inc.**

p.o. box 22206 • san diego, ca 92192-0206  
phone (619) 695-8803/FAX (619) 695-0416/Help Desk (800) 752-3945

# canadian ethnic studies

## études ethniques au canada



An interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, immigration, inter-group relations and the history and cultural life of ethnic groups in Canada.

Une revue interdisciplinaire consacré à l'étude de l'éthnicité, de l'immigration, des relations entre groupes, et de l'histoire et de la vie culturelle collective au Canada.

### SPECIAL ISSUES AVAILABLE/NUMEROS SPECIAUX EN VENTE

- |                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1987, Vol. XIX, no. 3   | — The Chinese Experience in Canada                   |
| 1988, Vol. XX, no. 3    | — Atlantic Canada                                    |
| 1990, Vol. XXII, no. 1  | — State of the Art                                   |
| 1990, Vol. XXII, no. 3  | — First Nations: The Politics of Change and Survival |
| 1991, Vol. XXIII, no. 3 | — Popular Culture and Ethnicity                      |

### RECENT REGULAR ISSUES INCLUDE/NUMERO REGULIERS RECENTS COMPRENMENT

- |                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| 1990, Vol. XXII, no. 1  | — "Silent or Silenced Co-Founders of Canada? Reflections on the History of German Canadians" by Gerhard P. Bassler    |
| 1990, Vol. XXII, no. 1  | — "Femmes et migration au Canada: Bilan et perspectives" by Micheline Labelle   |
| 1990, Vol. XXII, no. 2  | — "Opportunism, Humanitarianism, and Revulsion: 'The Old Clo' Move' Comes to Manitoba, 1882-83" by Henry Trachtenberg |
| 1991, Vol. XXIII, no. 1 | — "Racism in Canadian Immigration Policy" by K.W. Taylor  |
| 1991, Vol. XXIII, no. 2 | — "Ethnic Strategies in the Urban Economy" by Sherry Olson  |

\$10.00 for individual issues: \*\$12.00 for Ethnicity in Quebec/\$10.00 pour un seul numéro: \*\$12.00 pour Le Pluralisme au Québec

For all issues prior to 1988, enquire at the Calgary journal address below/pour les numéros avant 1988 disponibles adressez vos demandes au bureau du journal à Calgary à l'adresse ci-dessous.

Issues also include book and film reviews, opinions, immigrant memoirs, translations of primary sources, books received, an index and annual bibliography.

Chaque numéro comprend des recensions de livres et de films, des opinions, des memoires d'immigrants, des traductions de sources primaires, livres reçus, et des bibliographies.

#### Subscription rates/frais d'abonnement:

#### One year/un an

Individuals/particuliers	\$35.00
Students/étudiants	\$15.00
Institutions/institutions	\$40.00

Above rates include a newsletter and membership in the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association/Les frais comprennent les bulletins et la qualité de membre de la Société d'études ethniques au Canada.

Articles for publication, books for review and general correspondence should be addressed to CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES, c/o The University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive N.W., Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4 Canada. Single orders and back issues can be obtained from this address.

Subscription orders and inquiries should be addressed to CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES ASSOCIATION, The Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2 Canada.

Tous les articles, les recensions, et la correspondance générale doivent être adressés aux ETUDES ETHNIQUES AU CANADA, University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive N.W., Calgary, Alberta T2N 1N4 Canada. tout numéro courant et ancien de la revue peut être commandé à l'adresse ci-dessus.

Pour les abonnements et les informations prière de vous adresser à la SOCIÉTÉ D'ETUDES ETHNIQUES AU CANADA, The Centre for Ukrainian Canadian Studies, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Manitoba R3T 2N2 Canada.



## Notes for Contributors

*Explorations in Ethnic Studies* is a multi-disciplinary, nonspecialized, international journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, methodological considerations, theoretical concerns, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. *Explorations* is a forum for the exchange of ideas.

The editorial staff welcomes manuscripts integrating theory and practice; the staff is equally interested in receiving manuscripts which are exploratory in nature. Contributors should note carefully the following procedures for submissions.

- A. Manuscripts must be typewritten, double-spaced (including notes) and are not to exceed twenty pages (including notes).
- B. *Explorations* publishes neither bibliographies nor reference lists with articles.
- C. Notes should conform to the humanities style as found in the *Chicago Manual of Style*, as follows:

<b>Book</b>	<sup>1</sup> Tomás Rivera, <i>Y No Se Lo Tragó La Tierra</i> (Berkeley: Justa, 1977), 55.
<b>Journal Article</b>	<sup>2</sup> Orlin Malicher, "A Role for Social Workers in the Consumer Movement, <i>Social Work</i> 18 (January 1973): 65-66.
<b>Newsletter Article</b>	<sup>3</sup> James H. Williams, "Ethnicity and Human Rights: Raising the National Consciousness," <i>NAIES Newsletter</i> 5 (October, 1980): 19.
<b>Newspaper Article</b>	<sup>4</sup> Robert Moses, Master Builder, Is Dead at 92," <i>New York Times</i> , 30 July 1981, Midwest edition.
<b>Article in a Book</b>	<sup>5</sup> Lawrence Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence: The Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Socialization," in <i>Hand-book of Socialization</i> , ed. D. Goslin (New York: Rand McNally, 1969), 347-580.
<b>Thesis/Dissertation</b>	<sup>6</sup> Michael G. Kami, "Yhteishyra'-or For the Common Good: Finnish Radicalism in the Western Great Lakes Region 1900-1940 (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1975), 115-95.
<b>Subsequent References</b>	<sup>7</sup> Williams, 20.
<b>Additionally</b>	<sup>8</sup> Informational notes are acceptable.

- D. Submit four copies of manuscript with author name(s) appearing on a separate page.
- E. Clip proper postage to self-addressed envelope.
- F. Authors must be members of the Association when their works appear in the journal.
- G. NAES has a Style Manual available upon request.

All submissions for *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* are refereed by two or more persons, and it usually takes two months for the readers' reports.

Submit all materials to:

Gretchen M. Bataille, Editor  
NAES Publications  
Department of English  
Arizona State University  
Tempe, AZ 85287-0302



## **Patrons of the Association**

**Slovenski Raziskovalni InSTITUTE  
Trieste, Italy**

**Institut Za Narodnostna Vprasanja  
Ljubljana, Yugoslavia**

**Calvin E. Harris  
Suffolk University**

**College of Liberal Arts and Sciences  
Arizona State University**

**Dr. Jerrold A. Hiura  
San Jose, California**