A resource guide is presented that is designed to broaden and deepen K-12 educators' understanding of four major racial, ethnic, and cultural groups. For each of the four groups, African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans, a background essay on the history of that group in the United States is included as well as an annotated bibliography listing suggested resources. An appendix contains resources recommended for planning workshops about each of the four groups.
MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION RESOURCE GUIDE:
African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans

MICHIGAN STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION 1990

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION RESOURCE GUIDE:
African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans,
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FOREWORD

The Michigan State Board of Education on March 15, 1978, approved a policy and position statement on multicultural education. Included in the document was a suggested framework for action, which was intended to serve as a recommended guide for local school districts to follow as they reviewed and revised, as needed, their educational programs to insure that they reflected the multicultural nature of Michigan, American society, and the larger global community.

That document, together with a second one, entitled "Multicultural Education: Suggested Classroom Activities," has been distributed to all Michigan school districts. In addition, various types of dissemination activities focusing on the topic of multicultural education have been conducted for school administrators, school board members, curriculum directors, teachers, parents, and others.

This document represents an important next step in the Michigan Department of Education's efforts to foster multicultural education in Michigan schools. Included in the document is information about four of the ethnic, cultural, and racial groups found in Michigan and throughout the United States. The information is intended to help teachers and other educators better understand the heritages and contributions of the groups described and the nature of a pluralistic society such as ours.

The selection of the four groups addressed in this what is hoped to be an initial document should not be interpreted to mean they are the most important groups in American society. Nor should the terminology used by the writers in referring to specific groups be interpreted to be definitive in nature (e.g., African Americans rather than Afro-Americans or Native Americans rather than American Indians). Also, the ideas presented herein reflect the views of individual writers and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the State Board of Education.

It is hoped that administrators, teachers, and other appropriate individuals will make use of the Recommended Framework for Action portion of the Michigan Department of Education's Policy and Position Statement on Multicultural Education, as well as this document, to insure that a favorable structure and atmosphere exist wherein sound instruction that includes a multicultural component can occur.

I wish to express my thanks to the committee that was responsible for developing the document and to those individuals who participated in the various reviews. Their names are listed in the last section.

April 1990

Donald L. Remis
Superintendent of Public Instruction
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Introduction to the Multicultural Education Resource Guide: African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, and Native Americans

By Jerome L. Reid, M.S., J.D.

Rationale

The lack of multicultural awareness for many Michigan residents, despite the state's cultural diversity, is sharply reflected in most of the state's public school districts. For example:

1. Two-thirds of Michigan's students of European American descent attend schools with less than a 5% minority student population (Michigan State Board of Education, 1986).

2. In 1984-85, 31,051 of the state's 1,253,010 European American students went to schools with only European Americans.

3. Four out of 10 minority students in Michigan attend schools with 95% or higher minority populations.

As Michigan becomes a center of international trade and high technology, its citizens in general and work force in particular will need greater multicultural knowledge and sensitivity. Further, young people's racial stereotypes, which are often reinforced by the mass media and culture-bound home environments (Banks, 1977), need to be counteracted.

It is hoped that this resource guide will broaden and deepen K-12 teachers' and other educators' understanding of Michigan's identifiable racial, ethnic, and cultural groups. The descriptive terms used in the title are intended to be inclusive but not exhaustive of other terms used to describe these groups (Erikson, 1966). For example, some people who have been termed "Asian American" may prefer "Oriental American." The term "Hispanic" is rejected by some who prefer "Latino" or "Chicano." "Black" and "African American" are likewise modern substitutes for the term "Negro." The objective of this guide is to underscore the diverse heritages that are part of America's pluralistic society.

The Necessity for Multicultural Education

Prejudice based on the cultural variables of race, national or ethnic origin, language, and religion, in the form of systematic discrimination, has been labeled institutional racism (Knowles & Prewitt, 1976). Such prejudice usually centers on the notion that one dominant cultural group is physically and mentally superior to groups in subordinate power relationships with it (Hirsh, 1981).

In the United States, the culture of nations along the Atlantic coast of Europe tends to be the dominant one. European language, arts,
etiquette are held up as the standards by which all other cultural expressions are judged (Knowles & Prewitt, 1976). However, institutional racism does not benefit all social classes of the dominant ethnic group, nor do all European Americans have the attitudinal disposition or institutional power to discriminate (Marable, 1983). Here the term "minority" is used to distinguish subordinated groups that are not on the dominant side of the power equation in terms of "who gets what" in the United States.

The power equation is key to critical thought. As Jere Brophy, senior researcher with the Center for the Learning and Teaching of Elementary Subjects, observed, "Students should learn how things are in the world today, how they got that way, why they are the way they are, and what implication this holds for personal decision making and action" (Institute for Research on Teaching, 1988, p. 1).

W. E. B. Du Bois (1933), an educator and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), made a similar observation more than 50 years ago. He said, "Only a universal system of learning rooted in the will and condition of the masses and blossoming from that manure up towards the stars is worth the name. Once built it can only grow as it brings down sunlight and starshine and impregnates the mud" (p. 175).

The need for such a systematic multicultural foundation in grades K-12 was recently underscored by John Roy Castillo, director of the Michigan Department of Civil Rights, when he called for higher education to teach students more about discrimination. He said, "We all know there are different cultures and races... We have to educate students on the civil rights of these individuals and how discrimination works. Sometimes it is so subtle, it's hard to pick up" (cited in Gaudin, 1989, p. 1).

An example of these subtle forms of discrimination is the "fantasyland" of race relations in which television characters often live, reported the National Commission on Working Women (Jones, 1989). The Commission examined 160 episodes of 30 prime-time network series that featured minority characters and found that:

- 83% were African American
- 12% were Hispanic American
- 3% were Native American
- 90% were middle class or wealthy
- 70% of minority women characters appeared in situation comedies

It is noteworthy that Asian Americans were not considered in the survey conducted by the Commission. Television "denies any reality of racial troubles," charged Sally Steenland, author of the report. "All relevance of race is lost on shows with integrated casts," she said (Jones, 1989, p. 1).

Recent racial troubles in Howard Beach, Central Park, and Bensonhurst, New York, as well as in Cummings, Georgia; Miami, Florida; and Virginia Beach, Virginia, have indicated that racial prejudice and the violent forms it often takes are part of contemporary American society and that personal
liberty and social equality are not yet realities for all United States citizens.

First, these values must be part of the curriculum, observed Coretta Scott King (1989), chair of the King Center for Non-Violent Social Change:

It is true that brotherhood can't be legislated--it comes from the heart. But it can be taught by example and study. Young people of all races, beginning in preschool and continuing on through graduate school, if necessary, should be taught that tolerance and multicultural cooperation are patriotic as well as moral obligations. (p. 9A)

United States Culture: Melting Pot or Tossed Salad?

Educators should accurately and thoroughly address the reality of racial injustice and economic inequality in the United States. Although many European American immigrants have been assimilated into the United States version of Western European culture, the "melting pot" does not work well for people of color (Moody & Vergon, 1980). If the melting pot really worked, the Montgomery bus boycott, sit-ins, and marches on Washington, D.C., to desegregate American society would not have been necessary. Some cultural groups are stuck to the bottom of the pot of Mulligan stew, if the pot analogy is to be used at all. The groups discussed in this guide are more analogous to a "tossed salad" of cultural pluralism.

Students from all racial and ethnic groups, which are the various branches of the human family, need a positive perspective on their heritages. As affirmed in this document, each group is unique and has made an important contribution to Michigan's political, economic, cultural, and social development. To continue this development, it is important to recognize that "for none of us can an ethnocentric, self-contained, culturally hermetically sealed education meet the needs of living in this world; education for the future has to cope with the fact of linguistic and cultural diversity and variety of scale" (Grant, 1988, p. 155).

The writers of the articles contained in this guide have attempted to expose contemporary stereotypes and to highlight the rich cultural heritage of non-Western European cultures.

Multicultural Contributions to United States Society: Cooperation and Conflicts

Much of the cross-cultural cooperation and conflict among various racial, national-ethnic, linguistic, religious, and cultural groups occurs in the economic and political arenas. The effects of the major economic, social, and political forces on each group's development are the primary focus of the narrative sections of this guide. Although the writers' goal was to highlight instances of cultural cooperation, cultural conflicts that have taken place over land, jobs, and human rights have not been glossed over. Often, contributions of the cultures discussed here have been a combination of cooperation and conflict, with little or no distinction between the two at various times.
The narrative sections offer an overview of each group's culture and the contemporary social issues affecting that group. The annotated bibliographies are synopses of references for thorough inquiry into each cultural group.

In the African American narrative, McRae and Reide discuss the commerce between the Western African nation states and their northern neighbors. This trans-Saharan commerce, especially the trade in West African gold, provided the basis for the gold standard and the colonization of the New World. However, wars between Ghana, Mali, and Songhai and their trade partners, the Turaegs and Aldoravians, weakened West African societies and facilitated the slave trade. Similarly, Benin's and Oyo's trade with European nations contributed to economic dependence on Europe and made these states susceptible to the slave traders. Widespread resistance to Dutch, English, French, and Portuguese chattel slavery lasted for centuries.

The slave trade was at once a profitable economic arrangement for the slave traders and the most heinous form of genocide and involuntary servitude in human history. Some 250 years of forced free labor by African Americans allowed the massive accumulation of capital in the original colonies and the early United States, which was the foundation for much of the corporate wealth and the comparatively high standard of living in the United States today.

Resistance to slavery in the United States by African Americans, European American abolitionists, and northern industrialists led to the Civil War. The defeat of the Confederacy allowed the completion of the industrial revolution in the United States.

Betrayed and returned to the southern plantations as sharecroppers, African Americans were replaced in the fields by machines. As a result, many African Americans migrated from rural to urban areas in the North and South, providing a source of cheap labor for manufacturers. The dual market in labor and wages contributed again to the vast accumulation of capital.

Postindustrial United States society has yet to fashion an equitable remedy for social injustice, economic disfranchisement, and the denial of fundamental human rights of African Americans. High-visibility successes in music, entertainment, sports, and, more recently, politics should not be confused with the reality of the work-a-day world for most African Americans.

By the same token, Waara repudiates the myth that Asian Americans are a "model minority" of super achievers. Asian Americans' contribution to the transcontinental railroad system, of which they constituted the majority of the work force, is better known than are the group's contributions to agriculture, industry, and small business.

The acquisition of the Philippines, Guam, and part of Samoa came about through America's conflict with Spain; in addition, the Hawaiian Islands, which were politically independent, were annexed by the United States. These annexations did not prevent discrimination against Asian Americans, which has included exclusionary immigration laws and statutes that barred
inter racial marriages and prohibited United States citizenship. Residential segregation and employment discrimination led to the concentration of a majority of Asian Americans in ethnically identifiable communities until the 1950s. The injustice of coerced internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans in concentration camps in the United States during World War II, despite the fact that most of these individuals were American citizens, has only recently been acknowledged with legislation to award redress for damages to the survivors.

The diversity of the Asian American population is an important theme in Waara's narrative. A new wave of immigrants who have come to the United States since 1965 includes people from countries such as Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, who were fleeing wars and other upheavals in their own countries.

Widespread wars and conflict also played a role in the Hispanic experience in the United States. Vazquez and Ramirez-Krodel discuss how many Hispanics have come to be in the United States. For instance, the Mexican-American War and the signing of the treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in which Mexico lost half of its national territory, which included the present-day American states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Colorado, Utah, and parts of Wyoming. In the Spanish-American War, the United States seized possession of Puerto Rico, which remains an American commonwealth today. Present-day American involvement in Nicaragua and El Salvador has prompted many to flee the conflicts in their native lands to seek asylum in this country.

Hispanics are a rapidly growing portion of the American population. They will affect many different facets of American society, from labor and education to presidential elections and the reapportionment of congressional seats. Although the influence of Hispanics on American economy and politics is increasing, many Hispanics, particularly Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Central Americans, have yet to reach economic parity. Many still suffer from discrimination in education, employment, and housing, which leads to high dropout rates, unemployment, and the continuation of the cycle of poverty.

Like the groups discussed above, contemporary Native Americans are a product of cooperation and conflict with the dominant culture, as Dyer explains in her narrative. (Native Americans are the indigenous people of what is today the continental United States.)

In Michigan, Native Americans and French traders, explorers, and missionaries had a relationship of cooperation and respect for 150 years. Wars between France and England over control of territory such as the Great Lakes region led to conflicts and divisions among Native Americans over which side to support.

The 1760 defeat of France and the Native Americans by English forces put the Great Lakes region under England's military control. The Native Americans would not submit to England's unilateral policies. Pontiac, an Odawa, forged a resistance with other Native American nations and seized every major fort in the region except Fort Detroit. Pontiac needed support from the French to take Detroit. However, France had signed a peace treaty
with England and refused to cooperate with him. Pontiac’s success motivated England to forbid further colonial expansion west of the Alleghenies.

Although they remained generally neutral during the American Revolution, Native Americans lost land under the newly formed United States. Like Pontiac, the Native American leader Tecumseh united the Great Lakes nations with the Iroquois Confederacy and fought alongside England, which had no designs on Native American land, in the War of 1812.

Several treaties and a “removal” statute annexed Native Americans’ land and eroded the power of their nations. Paramilitary assimilation schools, which deprived Native American youths of their traditional culture, further undermined the group’s cultural cohesion.

Many Native Americans today live in urban centers and experience inner-city problems and negative media stereotypes regarding their cultural characteristics. These stereotypes stem from structural inequality in American society. Cherryholmes (1988) observed,

Social inequalities are present in our schools and social world. These inequalities and asymmetries privilege some social, ethnic, gender, linguistic, cultural and economic groups over others. This privilege and dominance is reproduced in many ways: direct transfer of wealth; selective interpretation of history and culture; political socialization; differential effects of schooling, testing and credentialing; and passing on career aspirations and tastes for high culture. (p. 164)

The Reverend Jesse L. Jackson, who organized a multicultural constituency in his bid for the Democratic Party’s presidential nomination in 1984 and 1985, made a similar observation:

The story has been repeated over and over again, with Chinese people brought to this country in gangs to build the railways, with slaves from Africa brought to work in the cotton fields, with Japanese and Chicano agricultural workers imported and exploited for their labor in the fields. (cited in Collins, 1986, p. 160)

**Conclusion**

The cultural characteristics of the groups discussed in this guide distinguish each of them and serve as a frame of reference or filter for their daily lives in the United States today. Failure to recognize and affirm cultural differences and similarities may lead to alienation of minority students and reinforcement of ethnocentrism among European American students.

The United States is, in large part, a nation of immigrants, annexed peoples, descendants of kidnap victims, refugees, and dispossessed indigenous peoples. It is not a monolithic “melting pot,” but is more like a contentious cultural plurality—a “tossed salad.”
Teachers must prepare students to live effectively in a pluralistic society. Students who are grounded in the cross-cultural dynamics of the development of contemporary American society should be better prepared to cope with it than those who are unprepared.

This guide may also demonstrate the cultural diversity in pedagogical approaches. In a 1967 speech entitled "Beyond Vietnam," Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (1982), observed, "The western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just" (p. 14).

Educators may wish to use the narrative and annotated bibliographies in the Multicultural Education Resource Guide to help them explore such questions as:

. Which African religious values have African Americans used in their struggle to transcend slavery and Jim Crow segregation? (Mbiti, 1969)

. How did organized religion affect the Asian American experience, particularly for Korean and Asian Indian Americans?

. What cultural values, such as the stress on strong family and interpersonal relationships and the importance of the group over the individual, have played a role in the Asian American experience?

. What provinces of meaning must bilingual Hispanic American students cross to interpret United States history?

. Why has it taken so long to "break the silence" about the World War II incarceration of Americans of Japanese descent?

. What is Native Americans' view of the relationship between their sovereign nations and United States institutions?

. What are the pedagogical similarities among the parables of the African hare, the Native American Winnebago hare, and the African American Br'er Rabbit? (Franklin, 1980; Radin, 1972; Woodson, 1948)

. How have national political movements in their home countries united and divided various groups of Asian Americans?

Included in the Appendix to this guide are lists of books suggested for use in future workshops on each of the four groups.

This guide should expand Michigan educators' understanding of other cultures. At best, this guide will lead teachers to their own inquiries into the cognitive fabric of contemporary American culture and its diverse strands. As the poet Kahlil Gibran (1976) wrote about teaching, "If [a teacher] is indeed wise he does not bid you enter the house of his wisdom, but rather leads you to the threshold of your own mind" (p. 56).
References


African Americans did not come to North America, South America, or the Caribbean by choice; they came by force of arms. The religions, languages, family system, music, and dance of Africa were prohibited.

As a rule, African Americans can identify only the continent of Africa as their ancestral homeland. Africa is vast and diverse, with some 45 nations today and close to 5,000 languages. These factors, in addition to institutional and individual attitudinal racism, distinguish African Americans from other minorities in the United States.

West African Roots

Many of the African Americans in the United States have roots in West Africa. Several of the major West African nation states, Ghana, Mali, Songhai, Kanem-Bornu, and Benin, covered an area that today stretches from Senegal on Africa's west coast to Cameroon in central Africa (Rodney, 1982).

Ghana (700-1200 A.D.) controlled much of the world's gold from its capital, Koumbi. Ghana's kings were referred to as "the lords of gold." The Soninke tribe was the largest group in ancient Ghana. The city of Djenne was also a major trade center, with a large university.

For 500 years Ghana's 200,000-man army protected the trans-Saharan trade routes to Tangier, Algiers, Tunis, and Cairo (Davidson, 1967). In 1054, Almoravids from Morocco invaded Ghana. After 14 years of war, the invaders won, the gold trade was suspended, and the Ghanaian empire declined (Davidson, 1967).

The Mali empire grew out of the ruins of Ghana. In 1230, King Sundiata, a Mandinka, came to power and restored the gold trade routes. In 1312, Mali's King Mansa Musa, with an army of 90,000, expanded Mali north to salt-rich Taghzaz and south to Galem and Bure. The cities of Timbuktu and Djenne flourished as centers of commerce, theology, medicine, and law. At Sankore University in Timbuktu, scholars from Europe, Asia, and Africa studied under Ghanaian scholars (Davidson, 1967). King Mansa Musa, a devout Muslim, led a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1324 with 60,000 men and 100 camels.

Mali declined because of constant attacks by the Turaeigs. Mali's decline and Songhai's emergence overlap. Timbuktu and Djenne were seized by the Turaeigs when Mali lost power. In 1468, Songhai's King Sunni Ali recaptured Timbuktu, and after a seven-year siege, Djene was taken in 1475 (Davidson, 1957).

The twin kingdoms of Kanem and Bornu (800-1800) existed for about 1,000 years in the area Chad occupies today. Idris Aloma (1580-1617), the sultan, strengthened Kanem-Bornu's army with Turkish muskets. His disciplined
cavalry, clad in iron-mail armor and armed with muskets, was the basis of Kanem-Bornu's power and independence from invaders.

Similarly, in Benin (1300-1750), King Euware the Great, who ruled Benin from 1440 to 1473, organized a formidable army. Benin repelled Portuguese raiders and pirates with its large, swift army. This set the stage for 100 years of diplomatic relations and trade with Portugal (Davidson, 1966).

A kingdom related to Benin was the Yoruba forest kingdom of Oyo (1100-1900). An intricate constitutional system, which regulated the relationship among Oyo's alafin (king), citizens, and provinces, reached its peak between the 16th and 18th centuries. Oyo also had a large cavalry (Rodney, 1982). Oyo expanded north of the Niger River into what is now Dahomey and into what was later called Western Nigeria. Another forest kingdom was the Kongo (1400-1700), which produced velvet-like cloth from palm fiber and bark.

The basis of these kingdoms was the collective or communal value, which states: "Whatever happens to the individual happens to the whole group, and whatever happens to the whole group happens to the individual. The individual can only say, 'I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am.' This is a cardinal point in the understanding of the African view of man" (Mbiti, 1970, p. 141). This value can be abbreviated "I am we."

Agriculture was the mainstay of the West African kingdoms. On traditional African farms, land was so important to the entire community that it did not belong to individuals but to the collective community (Jassy, 1973).

After the village or tribe had met its material needs, tributes were paid to the central governments of the kingdoms for national defense and to keep peace among the tribes. The kings were religious, political, and military leaders. They were accountable to the people through cabinet-like councils, which chose the most qualified offspring in the royal family to rule, not necessarily the oldest. The kings were frequently groomed for the throne by "queen mothers" (Rodney, 1982).

The communal value gave these societies an egalitarian tone; however, it was not absolutely egalitarian. Deference was given to elders and to religious and tribal leaders. Wealth was not the basis of social class (Davidson, 1967, 1974). Each village or tribe tended to specialize in a particular commodity. The Mandinka, Sonyinke, and Bambara mined and measured gold. Hausas made leather known in Europe as "Moroccan leather." Farmers, fishermen, cattleherders, soldiers, merchants, scholars, healers, traders, merchants, and miners each had a role to play.

The relative stability of these kingdoms and the security they maintained for the trans-Saharan trade routes laid the foundation for the international commerce system (Rodney, 1972). West African iron, cooper, leather, indigo, and cotton were of the highest quality. Its gold was the most valuable and plentiful resource. When Berbers made gold coins (dinars), they were followed by Italy, Spain, the Netherlands, France, Portugal, and England, where Charles II minted guineas (Rodney, 1982). Many of these coins had an elephant engraved on them, to signify they were made
with genuine West African gold. The gold standard, which endured until 1971, was based on gold from the West African kingdoms.

The Slave Trade, Middle Passage, and Ante-Bellum Cities

Although prisoners of war were sold as indentured servants, slavery was not a mode of production in West African civilization (Rodney, 1982). Political dissent between nations and tribes led to wars and the taking of prisoners. When Europeans created a large market for slave labor, the local agricultural production was disrupted; some nations became dependent on trade with Europe, and the communal value eroded (Rodney, 1982). "The Africans offered stiff resistance to their capture, sale, and transportation to the unknown New World. Fierce wars broke out between tribes when the members of one sought to capture members of another to sell them to the traders" (Franklin, 1980, p. 40).

Queen Nzinga (1630-1656) of Matamba (Angola today) attempted to coordinate a war of resistance against the Portuguese, as did Tomba of the Baga people in what is the Republic of Guinea today (Rodney, 1982). Although their resistance was effective, they were not able to forestall the slave trade.

Although nearly half the population of the United States entered the country through Ellis Island in New York, African Americans entered the United States from "the Ellis Island of Slavery, a place called Goree," off the coast of Senegal (Moore, 1986). From 1544 to 1848, the Portuguese, Dutch, British, and French used Goree as a transit center to ship captured Africans to the New World. On these often-fatal journeys across the Atlantic, Africans were chained together hand and foot in the holds of slave ships. It is estimated that between 60 and 100 million Africans were killed during "middle passage" (Du Bois, 1979).

Much has been written about the genocide, cruelty, and exploitation of slavery. Educators should also note the damage done to the family unit in the period from 1619 to 1866. Marriage was forbidden, a woman's status was defined by the number of children she produced, families were split up and sold away from each other for profit, and slaves could be killed if they learned to read or write. Slavery was written into law in the colonies and later into the United States Constitution. At the same time, however, the African tradition of naming, kinship patterns, and African methods of farming and food preparation continued, as did forms of worship, music, and art (Franklin, 1980).

Crispus Attucks, an African-American, was killed in the Boston Massacre in 1770, along with five other African Americans. In 1775, African Americans such as Samuel Craft, Caesar Ferret, John Ferret, and Pomp Johnson served as Minutemen at Lexington and Concord Bridge. Samuel Poor served with distinction at Bunker Hill. Close to 5,000 African Americans fought in the American Revolution in battles at Ticonderoga, White Plains, Savannah, Saratoga, and Yorktown (Franklin, 1980). A smaller number fought for the British because Lord Dunmore had promised them freedom.
In early urban life in the United States:

One reaction to the discrimination and segregation imposed by whites was the formation in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century of free Negro community institutions. In part this development also resulted from the growing number of free Negroes in the urban centers, and their tendency to concentrate in certain neighborhoods. Thus, racial separation became even more deeply embedded in American life.

The institutional organization of the Negro community took two forms: the church and the fraternal or mutual benefit organization. (Meier & Rudwick, 1976, p. 74)

Churches of freed African Americans stemmed from racial discrimination in white churches, which had "nigger pews" and "African corners" to segregate worship. Baptists and Methodists generally admitted African Americans more often than did other denominations, but rejection of African Americans as church leaders moved Richard Allen to found the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church and Absalom Jones to form the Negro Episcopal Church in America in Philadelphia in 1794 (Meier & Rudwick, 1976). The two free men had formed the Free African Society in 1787, and an African Union Society was formed in New Port Rhode Island in 1780. The groups helped members in times of distress; apprenticed youths to skilled artisans; recorded births, deaths, and marriages; and provided decent burials (Meier & Rudwick, 1976).

The African Lodge, founded in Boston in 1787 by Prince Hall (who was from Barbados), was the first Masonic order for African Americans in the United States. It spread across the North and reached California with the gold rush in 1849. Similarly, the Negro Odd Fellows was founded in New York in 1843 (Meier & Rudwick, 1976).

All of these groups were advocates of self-respect, equal rights for free African Americans, and the abolition of slavery. They made important contributions to education when they created independent schools, such as the African Free School in New York in 1787, Ashrum Institute (now Lincoln University) in 1854, and Wilberforce University in Ohio in 1856 (Meier & Rudwick, 1976). The churches, mutual aid societies, fraternal orders, and independent schools in turn led to the Negro Convention Movement in 1830 (Meier & Rudwick, 1976), which became the impetus for the abolitionist movement.

These early urban African American organizations operationalized the African "I am we" value, as did the activities of the underground railroad (Marable, 1980), which shuttled runaway slaves from the South to the North in an intricate series of clandestine routes through major cities. The "Maroon" communities of runaway slaves, which conducted sorties on plantations to destroy them and to free slaves, are another example of collective behavior (Marable, 1985).

Mutual assistance, educational and economic development, equal rights and anti-slavery agitation, runaway slave assistance, and the altruistic lifestyle of the "Maroons," who did not seek to escape slavery but rather to destroy it and to free the slaves, indicate that the African collective
value survived the mass genocide of middle passage in several significant forms. This value is clarified by elaboration of the African communal value: "In traditional life, the individual does not and cannot exist alone, except corporately. He owes his existence to other people, including those of past generations and his contemporaries. He is simply part of the whole" (Mbiti, 1970, p. 141). The group value, which free, runaway, and enslaved African Americans embraced, was strong enough to lay the foundation for the abolitionist movement and eventually the Civil War, even though they were legally excluded from the political process.

**The Civil War, Reconstruction, and Jim Crow Segregation**

The abolitionist movement helped create the social climate for the Civil War. The economic conflict of northern industrialists, who were slowed down by the inefficient plantation owners in the South, was another major factor.

At first, African Americans were not allowed to enlist in the Civil War. After the Emancipation Proclamation (which freed slaves only in the Confederate states), 186,000 African Americans were allowed to join the United States Colored Troops. One hundred were officers and 7,000 were noncommissioned officers, organized into 120 infantry regiments, artillery batteries, and seven cavalry units (Franklin, 1980). Michigan, which was never a slave state, fielded the First Michigan Colored Infantry Regiment, which trained in Detroit and was federalized as the One Hundred Second Regiment of the United States Colored Troops.

African Americans were elected to every southern legislature in the Reconstruction period after the Civil War. South Carolina had a majority of African American legislators in both houses, 20 African Americans served in the United States House of Representatives, and Mississippi elected 2 African Americans to the United States Senate. These elected officials (who embodied the will of the newly enfranchised African Americans) focused on the creation of public schools, economic security, suffrage, and civil rights (Franklin, 1980).

As wage laborers instead of slaves, African Americans organized unions such as the Colored Bricklayers Association in Philadelphia in 1868 and the Colored National Labor Union in Washington, D.C., in 1869, with representatives from 18 states. Some 60,000 African American workers joined the Knights of Labor in the 1870s and 1880s (Marable, 1985, p. 36).

An organization of African American farmers, the Colored Farmers Alliance, was founded in Texas in 1886 and grew to nearly 1,250,000 members with units in 20 states. The Alliance joined with European American farmers and controlled several state governments, which expanded educational budgets, helped elect African Americans to office, cut interest rates, and democratized the tax system. These farmers lobbied for the Lodge Federal Election Bill in 1890 and established hundreds of farmers' cooperatives in the South. These farms had considerable economic influence on southern cities as agriculture was the mainstay of commerce and trade.
Toward the end of the Reconstruction era, African Americans were returned to a form of subservience as plantation sharecroppers after the Hayes-Tilden Compromise of 1876 (Franklin, 1980). With the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, African Americans were again without legal protection and were soon disfranchised and excluded from the political process in most states where they had wielded political power.

Some African Americans acted as "buffalo soldiers" and were involved in the United States wars with Native Americans. These units were the Twenty-Fourth and Twenty-Fifth Infantry Regiments and the Ninth and Tenth Cavalry Regiments.

De jure segregation, commonly called Jim Crow segregation, was the context in which African Americans lived at the turn of the century. Collective African American political activity took three major forms. One focused on racial parity within the United States economy and "accommodation" with European American racism. The second (the "reformers") advocated destruction of Jim Crow segregation and full legal rights for African Americans. The third was the "back to Africa" movement, which was organized into the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA).

The first of these groups, the "accommodationists," were known as the Tuskegee Machine, named after the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, which Booker T. Washington founded in 1881. In the Atlanta Compromise of 1895, Washington publicly accepted African American electoral disfranchisement and European American supremacy (Marable, 1985). However, in 1899, Washington funded a Louisiana lawsuit that challenged the disfranchisement of Louisiana's African American voters. He penned anonymous editorials that urged African Americans to vote and hired former United States Senator Henry W. Blair to lobby against a bill for racial segregation on railroad lines (Marable, 1970). Washington was consulted by presidents, governors, congressmen, scholars, and philanthropists, which appears to have made the Tuskegee Machine more influential in its time than the Congressional Black Caucus is in the 1980s (Marable, 1970).

The second collective group, the "reformers," opposed the accommodation approach and were organized into the Niagara Movement by W. E. B. Du Bois and William Monroe Trotter. These activists merged with white liberals to create the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909. Du Bois (1969) wrote, "I believed in the higher education of a 'Talented Tenth,' who through their knowledge of modern culture could guide the American Negro into a higher civilization" (p. 236).

The third major collective African American organization of this era, the UNIA, was founded in 1917 by Marcus Garvey from Jamaica, with the call, "Up you mighty race, you can accomplish what you will." The UNIA set up African American groceries, laundries, a doll factory, a print shop, and a hotel. Garvey organized men into a uniformed legion and women into Black Cross nurse corps (Marable, 1985). Garvey organized some three million African Americans in the United States, the Caribbean, Central America, Canada, and Europe with the belief in "one God, one race, one destiny." (Many Caribbeans came to the United States as contract laborers. Slavery ended in the Caribbean in the mid-1800s, as it did in the United States.
Many came from such former British colonies as Jamaica, Barbados, Trinidad, Grenada, and St. Kitts.) Garvey believed that the "black nation" in the United States would not be liberated from racial oppression until Africa was free from European domination and controlled by Africans and African Americans. He favored the Tuskegee Machine and, like Washington, attracted the criticism of Du Bois.

The altruism of the Tuskegee Machine, the Niagara Movement/NAACP, and the UNIA focused on the collective behavior that operationalized the central "I am we" value. Their methods differed, yet each group was committed to the empowerment of African Americans.

The number of African American appointed officials slowly began to increase in about 1915 and peaked under the Roosevelt administration. Voters in the Northeast and Midwest elected the most African Americans at the state and federal levels. By 1940, 23 African Americans were serving in state legislatures--6 in Pennsylvania, 5 in Illinois, 3 in New York, and the remaining 9 in Michigan, Indiana, Nebraska, Kansas, California, New Jersey, and West Virginia (Marable, 1980).

In the early 1900s, unemployment among African Americans was 25%, twice that of European Americans, despite Roosevelt's reform programs. Jim Crow segregation prevented African Americans from working in defense plants (Marable, 1985). When African American leaders met with Roosevelt to gain concessions, they left empty handed. Walter White, a NAACP leader, remarked, "Bitterness was growing at an alarming rate throughout the country" (Marable, 1985, p. 82).

Relief and unemployment marches and demonstrations led by African Americans erupted across the United States. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, led by A. Philip Randolph, called for a national march on Washington, D.C., to be held July 1, 1941. This approach differed from the legal advocacy of the NAACP and the economic development of the Urban League (which seems to embody the Tuskegee economic approach). This was direct action, a march to surround the White House and demand an end to Jim Crow segregation. Randolph called off the march when President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 8802, which forbade racist hiring practices in war production plants. This order was followed by the creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee a year later (Marable, 1985).

The demands of the aborted march seem once again to have embodied the "I am we" value. They also called for an order to abolish segregation in the armed forces, an executive order to abolish Jim Crow segregation in all United States government departments, and a presidential request for legislation to prohibit National Labor Relations Act benefits for segregated labor unions.

Membership in the NAACP grew from 50,600 in 1940 to 450,000 in 1946. (Today, its largest chapter is in Detroit.) The Congress of Racial Equality was formed in the wake of the march mobilization, and organizers of the march on Washington continued to confront discrimination in the United States government and the Democratic Party (which African Americans began to support because of Roosevelt's New Deal programs) (Marable, 1985).
Civil Rights, Human Rights, and Urban Rebellion

The new tactic of direct action bloomed in resistance to segregation in the Baton Rouge, Louisiana, bus boycott of 1953 and the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott of 1955. These struggles were the origin of the civil rights movement. The Baton Rouge boycott was launched because "the Negro passenger had been molested and insulted and intimidated and all Negroes at that time were tired of segregation, and mistreatment and injustice," explained the Reverend T. J. Jenison, an organizer of the boycott, which was 90% to 100% effective (Morris, 1984, pp. 17-18).

The Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was founded in 1955. It led the successful bus boycott and drafted the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., as its spokesperson. Morris (1984) described the MIA as a "movement center, which collectively defines the common ends of the group, devises necessary tactics and strategies along with training for their implementation, and engages in actions designed to attain group goals" (p. 41).

Similar movement centers initiated sit-ins at lunch counters in Wichita, Kansas, in 1958, led by the NAACP Youth Council. The sit-ins spread to Oklahoma and East St. Louis, Illinois. By 1960 there were student sit-ins in Greensboro, North Carolina, and 10 other cities, 7 in Virginia, 4 in South Carolina, 3 in Florida, 2 in Tennessee, 2 in Alabama, 1 in Kentucky, and 1 in Maryland (Morris, 1984).

The civil rights movement was successful in removing Jim Crow segregation from some aspects of public life. Dr. King, who had become the movement's chief spokesperson, sought to continue this struggle. He opposed the Vietnam War and apartheid in South Africa and called for a Poor People's March on Washington before he was assassinated.

The high point of nationwide direct, nonviolent action was the 1963 march on Washington. Marchers demanded the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts, which were passed in 1964 and 1965, respectively.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was formed in 1964 and challenged the state's entirely European American delegation to the Democratic National Convention (Allen, 1969). A similar group in Alabama, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, was formed in 1966 (Allen, 1969).

Another trend in African American mutual aid was a form of nationalism that incorporated some aspects of Garvey's outlook. The major spokesperson of this trend was born Malcolm Little. His father, a Baptist preacher and follower of Garvey, was killed by a white supremacist group in Lansing, Michigan (Malcolm X, 1973). His mother, who was from Grenada, was hospitalized after the murder because of emotional duress, and Malcolm and his siblings were shuffled between family and foster homes. As an eighth-grade student in Mason, Michigan, Malcolm, who was one of the school's top students, told his English teacher he wanted to become a lawyer. The teacher told him that becoming a lawyer was not a realistic goal and that he should plan on carpentry instead. This classroom event was significant in Malcolm X's life and his attitude toward European Americans (Malcolm X,
1973). In Harlem, New York, where he was known as Detroit Red, young Malcolm was involved in criminal activities; he was eventually arrested for burglary in Massachusetts.

In prison, Malcolm joined the Nation of Islam and became its national spokesperson after he was released. He embraced Sunni Islam on a pilgrimage to Mecca and met European Americans who had not been conditioned by institutional racism. After his break with the Nation of Islam, Malcolm X began to speak in his own voice and founded the Organization for African American Unity (OAAU). He identified the western power structure as oppressive to people of color as well as to European Americans. He wrote,

> When we come together, we don't come together as Baptists or Methodists. You don't catch hell because you are a Baptist, and you don't catch hell because you're a Methodist... You don't catch hell because you're a Democrat or a Republican, you don't catch hell because you're a Mason or an Elk and you sure don't catch hell because you're an American, because if you were an American, you wouldn't catch hell. You catch hell because you're a black [person]. You catch hell, all of us catch hell for the same reason. (Malcolm X, 1966, p. 4)

Recognition of this reality by the African American community creates bonds with Africans and the African diaspora in the Caribbean, South America, Europe, Asia, and the Middle East.

Malcolm insisted that the African American struggle was for human rights and should be waged in the international arena. His efforts to unify the struggles of American Americans and other minorities in the United States with Africans, Asians, and South Americans were cut short by his assassination.

The formation of the OAAU was an effort to organize African Americans for economic, political, and social control of their communities and for self-determination (Allen, 1969). This concept was later captured by the slogan "Black Power," popularized by Stokely Carmichael and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Black Panther Party.

Malcolm X and the "Black Power" advocates of the late 1960s can be understood through hindsight when cities such as Detroit, Pontiac, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Atlanta, Cleveland, Birmingham, and Oakland are examined. In these cities, African Americans exercise significant political power and control the municipal governments, yet they did not arrive at the seat of power in city hall by boycotts, sit-ins, and marches alone.

Between the militant 1960s and the political gains of the late 1980s, there was another significant form of collective African American political involvement, which was also outside the official political arena: the urban rebellions. The explosive "long, hot summers" began in Harlem in 1964 and engulfed 23 other cities that year (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968). The second series of urban rebellions, or civil disorders as they were called, touched 164 United States cities in 1967 (Allen, 1969). These rebellions were a result of the frustrations of African Americans who
lived with pervasive economic discrimination, residential segregation, and
general exclusion from the electoral process and therefore lacked power to
control the goods and services they needed to survive and prosper. In
almost every city, the rebellions were ignited by police officers’
unnecessary use of deadly force (National Advisory Commission on Civil
Disorders, 1968).

In 1967, Detroit’s police department was 5% African American and 95%
European American (Darden, 1987). A police raid in Detroit’s African
American community triggered a riot that left 33 dead, 347 wounded, 3,800
arrested, and $50 million in property damage. During the rebellion,
European American police officers deliberately shot to death three unarmed
African American men in the Algiers Motel. Two of the men were shot while
lying down or kneeling (Darden, 1987).

**Political Participation and Uneven Development**

In the aftermath of this rebellion, African Americans organized to
elect an African American mayor of Detroit in 1969. They rallied around
Richard Austin, a political moderate, who was Wayne County auditor. Austin
was supported by Detroit Congressman John Conyers and the Reverend Albert B.
Cleage, Jr. Roman S. Gribbs defeated Austin in the election. Richard
Austin was subsequently elected Michigan’s secretary of state, a post he
still holds. Conyers was reelected to the United States House of
Representatives 15 times. Young and Conyers will face each other in
Detroit’s 1989 mayoral election (McTyre, 1989).

In 1974, Coleman A. Young, a state senator and long-time civil rights
and labor activist, ran on a platform of civilian control of the police
department and the abolition of STRESS (a controversial undercover street
crimes unit). Young was elected Detroit’s first African American mayor and
has been reelected for the past 15 years.

Charles C. Diggs, Jr., was elected to the United States House of
Representatives in 1954. He was the founder of the Congressional Black
Caucus, one of the most powerful caucuses in Congress today. Diggs was
later replaced by George Crockett. Like other states with large populations
of African Americans, Michigan’s Legislative Black Caucus exerts consid-
erable influence on the state legislature in Lansing. Detroit’s City
Council and 36th District Court are predominantly African American.

The new conservative majority on the United States Supreme Court has
made it harder for affirmative action programs to balance the structural
inequality in employment, business, and education that African Americans
experience (Greenhouse, 1989). The 250 years of chattel slavery in the
United States and 100 years of Jim Crow segregation may be analogous to a
traffic jam. African Americans have been barred from the highway of
mainstream opportunity. The traffic jam has stretched from Detroit to
Chicago and down the West Coast to San Francisco. Affirmative-action
programs are similar to a traffic light, which will regulate entry into the
highway. When affirmative action works, there is still a 350-year traffic
jam to relieve. When it is weakened, the inequality between African
Americans and European Americans increases, and the traffic jam stretches across the border.

One indication of African American political efficacy is the 1987 racial composition of the Detroit Police Department. Some 47% of the department's 5,111 officers are African Americans. Another indication is the lower ratio of unemployment among African Americans in the city of Detroit as compared to the Greater Detroit area and the state as a whole (Thomas, 1988).

One must consider the uneven development of Detroit in order to understand the conditions of the city today. The unemployment, crime, and poverty that plague the inner city are rooted in the economies of Michigan in general and of Detroit in particular. "With dated production facilities, a public infrastructure in poor condition, and a highly unionized and aggressive labor force, Detroit would be hard pressed to retain business actively, let alone attract new capital investment" (Hill, 1983, p. 99).

Detroit lost 60,000 inhabitants to the suburbs between 1970 and 1978. Between 1968 and 1977, the city lost 208,200 jobs, one-third of the city's workforce. Permanent unemployment for 100,000 city residents and 256,000 residents on some form of transfer-payment subsistence contributed to the city's fiscal collapse (Hill, 1983).

As tax revenues fell below what is needed for municipal-services expenditures, the prospect of Detroit's becoming a ghost town seemed very real. These factors were all exacerbated by racism, of both the institutional and individual attitudinal varieties. Detroit's population by the early 1970s was predominantly African American, and the new majority group succeeded in electing former United Auto Workers (UAW) organizer and State Representative Coleman Young as mayor in 1974 (Hill, 1983).

Four years earlier, Henry Ford II and 20 other executives of General Motors, Chrysler, Western International, American Steel, Bendix, Amoco Oil, and other corporations formed the Detroit Renaissance coalition. This group's objective was to spur development along Detroit's riverfront. Ford's real estate subsidiary put up $81 million of the projected $337 million that was required. The Renaissance Center Complex, a 73-story, world-class luxury hotel and four 40-story office buildings, was the linchpin to anchor investment to Detroit (Detroit News, n.d.).

City and state officials provided plans, permits, and site clearance for this private project. Further, Detroit's Overall Economic Development Program aims to retain and modernize existing industrial and commercial businesses and attract new ones, which will expand tax revenues and employment, improve the city's development capacity, and increase the role of minority entrepreneurs.

The Cobo Hall Convention Center, Joe Louis Sports Arena, Millender Center, and the People Mover (monorail) are all part of the riverfront development, which has begun to draw residential, commercial, recreational, and maritime investment (Hill, 1983). This is consistent with Hymer's (1971) observation that "government in the metropolis can . . . capture some
of the surplus generated by the multinational corporations and use it to further improve their infrastructure and growth" (p. 68). Other projects to develop the central business district, the central functions area, industrial corridors, the Port of Detroit, housing and neighborhoods, and the transit corridors are on the agenda. Some of these projects will be funded by federal programs, such as Urban Development Action grants, Community Development Block grants, HUD Section 108 loans, and Economic Development Administration grants and loans.

State legislation has authorized economic development corporations, established tax-increment financing procedures, and extended Detroit's eminent domain authority to include projects that reduce unemployment and retain or expand industry (Hill, 1983). The Economic Growth Corporation, the Economic Development Corporation, the Downtown Development Authority, and the Development Corporation are coordinated by representatives from each group, the mayor, and Detroit's Planning and Community and Economic Development Departments. State legislation allows these groups to use public money to acquire, hold, develop, and dispose of land. They can issue industrial-revenue, tax-increment, and job-development-authority bonds and establish industrial-revenue districts (Hill, 1983).

City officials can leverage public funds (from federal and state sources) to private funds and have attracted substantial private investment and development in Detroit. Detroit has increased tax revenues and has a surplus in its "rainy day" fund. It has attracted new businesses and retained many old, established ones. Both General Motors and Chrysler are expanding their facilities in Detroit.

However, some of the new jobs do not pay as high salaries as the assembly-line jobs did. Downtown Detroit is booming, while the other six areas mentioned in the plan have seen comparatively less development. The impact of Michigan's restructured automobile industry on African American unemployment has been severe because the African American community has historically been dependent on automobile manufacturing jobs (Thomas, 1988). The major cities in Michigan that have the highest percentages of African Americans are Detroit (63.6%), Flint (6.5%), Saginaw (3.1%), Grand Rapids (2.7%), Ann Arbor (2.4%), Benton Harbor (2.1%), Lansing (2.0%), Muskegon (1.6%), Kalamazoo (1.3%), Battle Creek (1.1%), and Jackson (0.9%) (Thomas, 1988). It is important to consider these concentrations because 90.8% of Michigan's automotive job losses took place in these cities.

Each of the above-mentioned cities delivered the votes for Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis in 1988. They were also instrumental in the Reverend Jesse L. Jackson's victory in the Michigan Democratic Caucus (Thomas, 1989).

Between 1975 and 1984 the economic status of the African American community generally deteriorated. In 1984, only 30% of the 1,500 directors of Michigan's 178 privately owned corporations were African Americans (Thomas, 1987).
A host of African American inventors have made important contributions to science. They include Andrew J. Beard, who invented the railway coupling (Burt, 1969), and Granville T. Woods, who patented more than 150 electrical and mechanical inventions, including the steam boiler furnace (1884), the electric railway (1901), the automatic air brake (1902), and the telephone system and apparatus (1887) (Burt, 1969).

The assembly line would not be as efficient as it is today without the automatic lubrication valves invented and patented by Elijah J. McCoy of Ypsilanti, Michigan, in 1872 (Burt, 1969). Naval vessels, oil rigs, sawmills, mining and construction machinery, and moon-exploration vehicles all rely on some version of the "Real McCoy," the nickname by which the automatic lubrication valves are known in the industrial world. Auto directional signals, the automatic car wash, and automatic car transmissions were invented and patented by Richard B. Spikes between 1913 and 1932 (Burt, 1969).

African Americans' cultural contributions are also extensive. Blues, jazz, rock and roll, soul music, rhythm and blues, gospel, and most recently rap are all art forms developed by African American artists. Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, Lena Horne, James Brown, Count Basie, Charlie "Yardbird" Parker, Ella Fitzgerald, John Coltrane, B. B. King, Mahalia Jackson, and Fats Waller are among the legends.

Michigan played an important role in this contribution as the home of Motown Records and its studio, Hitsville USA, in Detroit. Diana Ross, the Supremes, Stevie Wonder, the Four Tops, Marvin Gaye, the Temptations, Smokey Robinson and the Miracles, Michael Jackson, and the Jacksons redefined popular music in the 1960s with the Motown Sound. These recording artists went on to superstardom and have inspired many European American artists to re-record their songs. Michigan is also the home of song stylists Aretha Franklin and Anita Baker (Norment, 1989) and the Wynans family of contemporary gospel singers.

African American dancers such as Sandman Sims, Katherine Dunham, Pearl Primus, Arthur Mitchell, Maurice Hines, and choreographer Alvin Ailey have had strong influences on dance in the United States. Recently, breakdancing has grown in popularity beyond the inner-city communities where it began.

Actors like Paul Robeson, Bill Cosby, Sidney Poitier, James Earl Jones, Eddie Murphy, Arsenio Hall, and Diahnn Carroll have added a unique presence to theater, the silver screen, and television. The Bill Cosby Show has had the highest Nielsen ratings for five years. It is estimated that Roots, the saga of an African American family who began in West Africa, has been seen by more viewers than any other program in the history of television.

A young African American film-maker, Spike Lee, has focused on the lives of African American youths. She's Gotta Have It addresses the double standards applied to men and women, School Daze concerns self-hatred on a predominantly African American campus, and Do the Right Thing criticizes racism and violence in the inner city ("Spike Lee," 1989).
Urban African American churches continue to address the needs and desires of the inner-city community. The Reverend Jesse Jackson (1987) explained that:

The black church sustains the black collectively by giving us a reason to live amid adversity and oppression. . . . The earliest rudiments of economic mutual development came from the black church. . . . The earliest black educational institutions were formed by the black church, were sheltered in black churches. . . . Our earliest move for political emancipation was by the black church. . . . Black church leaders played an active role in the formation of our civil rights struggle. When Rosa Parks had a toothache, she didn't go to a podiatrist she went to the black church. (pp. 116-117)

In Detroit, Hartford Baptist Church has responded to the city's economic problems with development. The church owns seven buildings worth more than $1 million and leases land to two fast-food franchises (Chandler, 1989). The Twelfth Street Missionary Baptist Church has bought or renovated 23 buildings, some of them former crack houses. The Greater Grace Temple of the Apostolic Faith operates a credit union, with more than $300,000 in assets. It also operates a preschool, an elementary school, and a printing company. Plymouth United Church of Christ built an apartment complex for families with low and moderate incomes. It has 230 apartments on 11 acres. Hartford Memorial Baptist Church oversees a social service organization that offers education, counseling, and medical and other services. The Shrine of the Black Madonna owns and manages cultural centers and book stores in Detroit, Atlanta, and Houston. These economic activities, as well as an increase in voter registration and community services, are consistent with the "I am we" value.

**Conclusion**

The struggle of African Americans for human rights, economic equality, and social justice continues. A recent report by the National Research Council, entitled "A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society," stated:

By almost all aggregate statistical measures—incomes and living standards; health and life expectancy; educational, occupational and residential opportunities—the well-being of both Blacks and whites has advanced greatly over the past five decades. By almost all the same indicators, Blacks remain substantially behind whites. (Cited in Hawkins, 1989, p. 7a)

Veteran African American Congressman Augustus F. Hawkins (1989) shared his perspective on the study findings:

These significant barriers are the result of a number of social conditions which many whites do not encounter, at least not in the high percentages which blacks do. For example, one-half of Black families with children must manage their affairs with only one parent, who is almost always a woman and overwhelmingly poor. Black youths are more
likely than their white counterparts to grow up in unsafe or unhealthy living environments.

Has anyone pondered the hardship of an elementary-school-aged child living in a drafty home, with little food to eat, who has a parent with a limited education? Many young Blacks begin their schooling with severe social and economic disadvantages. Black children simply do not start out on an equal social and economic footing as many white children do. (p. 7a)

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This book tells the story of a horrible explosion at the naval munitions depot at Port Chicago in California during World War II. This explosion claimed 320 lives, and as a result 501 African American sailors refused to load ammunition aboard naval and merchant marine vessels. Their refusal resulted in the largest mass mutiny in the history of the United States Navy.


This book deals with emerging African American schools in the South. The Hampton model of education, normal schools, common schools, and county training schools are examined. The ideological positions of liberal arts education versus vocational education are also explained. Finally, the book tells the story of African Americans' motivation and concern for education against great odds.


This book explores the genre of the slave narrative.


These three volumes examine the history of African-American athletes. The set is well researched and readable.


This author examines race relations in America during the 20th century.


Like *From Slavery to Freedom*, this book is a fine general history. It deals with the African American continuum from Africa to the United States. This edition contains an excellent chronology of events.

This book advances the idea that a number of themes have been omitted from most histories about the African American past. These neglected themes are "power emanating from weakness, patience and hope in the face of overwhelming odds and the unity of masses and elites." This book is organized around themes that reveal the complex nature of the African American experience.


Blassingame uses an interdisciplinary approach to examine antebellum plantation life from the point of view of the human beings who were enslaved.


This study is based on interviews of European American and African American respondents in northern California regarding their racial consciousness and experience. The first sample was interviewed in the 1960s, and additional samples followed. The conclusions of the European American and African American interviewers over time are very informative.


This account of Douglass's life assesses his activities and thought regarding the Civil War. The author also raises new questions about the effect of that war on African Americans.


This book is an account of the underground railroad, on a state-by-state basis, during the antebellum period.


The author chronicles the role of the African American jester in American society. The symbols of this genre are discussed, as well.

The author explains how the chronic need for housing for African Americans became a political hot potato for the European American power structure in the early 1940s. He also provides an interesting analysis of race relations in Detroit at that time and underscores the fact that the Sojourner Truth housing controversy and conflict were the prelude to the 1943 race riot in Detroit.


First published in 1956, this book illustrates the role played by African American troops during the Civil War.


This is a portrait of one of the pioneers of African American literature in the 20th century. The book also records and evaluates his work.


This book examines President Lincoln's leadership style during the Civil War. It also illustrates Lincoln's thought processes as he tried to find the answer to the perplexing problem of what to do with "the Negro."


Around 1879, thousands of African Americans fled the South because a new era of repression was occurring. They traveled by land and river to Missouri and into Kansas, where they began anew. This book chronicles the social, political, and economic development of one place, Topeka, Kansas, as it relates to the African American experience.


The author analyzes the culture of the Gullah of South Carolina, the Sea Island African Americans who have a rich and distinctive culture.


"This study examines the free Black communities of the fifteen largest cities in the antebellum United States. Leonard Curry employs a wide variety of mostly contemporary sources in a comparative approach that focuses on the free Black communities themselves (rather than on white perceptions of them) and their relation to the urban context."

The book chronicles the African slave trade. The author focuses on both the trans-Atlantic and trans-Saharan slave trades.


Davis published an important work on slavery, The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, in 1975. His latest book is an extension of his previous work. It provides penetrating insights into slavery and emancipation throughout world history.


This historical account examines the life and times of a small number of African Americans living, working, and adjusting to life as minorities in a small midwestern town. It also traces the development of racist attitudes among some of the European Americans in this town.


Reconstruction was a political process that occurred throughout the South. Some aspects of reconstruction were common to each state going through the process, whereas some factors were unique to particular states. This account details the reconstruction process as it took place in Georgia.


This is a biography of one of America's most dynamic and creative individuals. Robeson lived by uncompromising principles that led him to champion the causes of the disadvantaged without regard for his own career. The book is a major work about a great and complex man.


First published in 1896, this book is an outstanding study of the African slave trade and what was done to destroy it in the 19th century.


In this book, Fine analyzes the forces that sparked the 1967 rebellion in Detroit. He reveals how the city was divided along racial lines despite Great Society programs and the ameliorative effect of the Cavanaugh administration. The author used a number of interviews and a variety of sources in writing this book.

The author illustrates how African Americans and European Americans responded to the unique opportunity of reconstructing the South after the Civil War. This is an exciting narrative.


The author examines plantation households in terms of the relationships between the mistresses and the bondswomen. She dispels any feminist notions that there was sensitivity and bonding because of gender; rather, the plantation mistress supported the system that made it possible for her to lead a privileged life.


This book was first published in 1948; its original author, John Hope Franklin, is one of America's premier historians. The strength of this book is that it is not monographic; rather, it covers the African American experience from the great kingdoms of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai to the 1980s.


Frye Gaillard, editor of the Charlotte Observer, captures the human emotions and political implications involved in the Charlotte, North Carolina, school busing in the 1970s.


This personal portrait is probably the most comprehensive book about Martin Luther King, Jr. The author conducted more than 700 interviews and was given access to some of King's papers. This account shows the transformation of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., from a 26-year-old preacher to an international symbol of nonviolence and civil rights in America.


This book is a collection of essays concerning the experiences of African American women in the United States.

This book is a biography of Malcolm X, the African American freedom fighter. Goldman attempts to explain why, despite the lapse of years, Malcolm X is still a hero to people all over the world.


This book was originally published in 1915 by African American citizens and the state government of Michigan to celebrate 50 years of African American citizenship in Michigan. The photographs in the book are significant and informative. It is a valuable source book and record of the African American experience in the early 1900s.


The late Professor Gutman produced a major work when he wrote this book, which can be found in most libraries. Although the book was published almost 15 years ago, many of the insights and findings are still germane. Gutman's thesis is that slavery and poverty did not shatter African American family ties, as Moynihan and others argued it did.


"This story of two families, one white, one Black, spans one hundred years and three generations. It is intertwined with southern history from slavery to World War I. Its central characters are Joseph Davis, older brother of Confederate President Jefferson Davis, who at age 42 decided to create a model slave plantation, and Benjamin Montgomery, his slave and intellectual heir, who ultimately established on the former Davis lands an all-Black utopian community that became the third most successful cotton operation in the entire South."


This book contains a collection of scholarly essays on African American history. It features such scholars as the editor, John Hope Franklin, Thomas Holt, William Harris, Nathan Huggins, and Vincent Harding. After each essay there is a response and reaction to the piece by one or two historians.


This book is an account of racism in American sports. The author attacks the media and sports management and discusses the fears that beset European Americans.

"The Hortons display the variegated fabric of everyday life in Boston. Their research uncovers ways in which fugitive slaves and businessmen, washerwomen and barbers, churchgoers and abolitionists lived, worked and organized for mutual aid, survival and social action. The profile of this vital community, its characteristics and concerns, reveals the world of the antebellum free blacks and the network of family and community which surrounded and strengthened them."


In 1839, Joseph Cinque led a slave revolt aboard a Spanish slave ship, the Amistad, in the Caribbean. He brought the ship to the coast of Long Island, New York, where the ship was commandeered by the U.S. Navy. This act set in motion a chain of events that created an international controversy that had to be resolved in the American courts.


Jaynes explains how African Americans moved from slavery into the work force. He also shows how the system of sharecropping emerged.


This book focuses on the unique situation in which some free African Americans owned slaves. In 1860, about four million African Americans were enslaved. Roughly 250,000 African Americans in the North and South were free, but they existed below the subsistence level. Meanwhile, William Ellison, an unusual African American, was thriving. This former slave made cotton gins. Now a wealthy man, he owned a plantation and slaves. This book is very informative.


Jones gives a vivid and sensitive account of the joys and sorrows of African American women in America. The book is an eloquent testament to the courage and nobility of African American women as they have struggled for justice and equality.

The author has reconstructed the antebellum plantation he wrote about in *All Saints in South Carolina.* This book illuminates the day-to-day lives of slaves on this plantation--what they ate and wore and how they celebrated and mourned.


Katz has used rare antique prints, which he carefully researched, to tell the story of how African Americans and Native Americans learned to coexist and eventually to live together in selected Native American nations. He describes how they joined forces to fight the oppression imposed on them by European Americans.


Although this monograph was published almost 20 years ago, it is still in print and is an excellent study of African American Detroit in the 19th century. The author focuses on life styles, occupations, institutions, housing patterns, and politics.


This book is very informative and controversial. The following quotation from the Pulitzer-Prize-winning playwright, Arthur Miller, provides a useful overview: "Broken Alliance is a wonderfully revealing history of how the alliance between Jews and Blacks came to be, and how it was shattered. Through the lives of six participants, the dilemma is unveiled in all its complexity. It is an illumination, concise and fair, on our last threatening decades, and probably because it is so honest, something like hope emerges despite all."


The author analyzes the tobacco region of the United States at a time when cotton was not king. He delves into the social relations between African Americans and European Americans, as well as the political and economic transformation of the tobacco region.


Locke was America's first African American Rhodes scholar. As a teacher at Howard University, he influenced the lives of many young men and women. This book contains a number of biographical essays on various facets of his life.

This indispensable bc. contains more than 200 biographical sketches of significant African Americans. These scholarly accounts are rich with historical data.


Lillian Smith was a European American Georgian--a writer, a civil rights activist, and a noteworthy intellectual figure in the South. Her first novel, Strange Fruit, was a seminal and controversial work.


This 920-page reference book provides data about the African American presence in the United States, past and present.


This book deals with Douglass’s views and behavior. It illustrates the depth of his understanding of the important issues of the day and how they related to particular institutions.


More than a thousand college students, mostly European Americans, went South during the summer of 1964 to register African American voters. For many of them, this was a life-changing experience, and this book tells their story.


This book combines material culture and social history to tell the story of the everyday life of rural African Americans in the 19th century.


This book focuses on Mississippi, which is believed to have been the most racist state in America during the age of Jim Crow segregation. Nevertheless, a number of southern states were a close second.


This book is a study in race relations. The authors relate how African American workers rose above the prejudices of industrial unions and the paternalism of the Ford Motor Company.

The book revisits the origins of the civil rights movement and introduces readers to the "ordinary" people who were involved in the movement and became its foot soldiers.


This book tells the story of the American Negro Academy, which was founded March 5, 1897, and was the first major African American learned society. It also emphasizes the Academy's mission of promoting intellectual growth and refuting racist attacks with data. The book assesses the leadership of W. E. B. Du Bois, William Crogman, Alexander Crummell, and Francis J. Grimke.


The late Pauli Murray spent her autumnal days as an Episcopalian priest. Before that time, she was a magnificent rebel who made significant contributions to the civil rights and feminist movements.


From colonial days to Korea, African American men and women fought for their country. Serving in the armed forces was difficult because African American servicemen and servicewomen had to fight against a racist society as well as an external enemy. This book effectively examines the sensitive subject and is very informative.


In his foreword to the first edition of this absorbing history, Leon F. Litwack writes: "If American society on the eve of the Revolution still remained a land of opportunity for most people, Nash reminds us that some one-fourth of the population was in bondage or had been evicted from their lands and that the promise of American colonial society was ultimately and unforgettably intertwined with the exploitation of African labor and Indian land."
After Reconstruction, many African American women attended African heritage colleges in the South. They were inspired by the teachers at these institutions, who infused them with the missionary zeal to make a contribution to the race. These women became teachers and nurses, and they inspired a number of younger African Americans to carry on this legacy of self-help.

This book is an important study of European American reformers' attempt to establish model communities for emancipated African Americans. These "Black Utopias" were founded in the United States as well as Canada. The Port Royal experiment during the Civil War is an example of this phenomenon.

This book focuses on the African American enclaves in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, where the African American population was never more than 16% of the total population.

This book is based on an examination of crew lists, ship manifests, and registers, as well as data from the Bureau of Customs and protection papers.

This book is an assessment of selected African American leaders between 1870 and 1901. The essays in this volume provide a great deal of information about these leaders and their times.

The authors deal with the dualism involved in the concept of hero and what makes a person heroic.

Simply stated, the author believes that the trans-Atlantic slave trade and colonization of Africa by European nations retarded the growth of African nations.


In this book, Rothschild presents a personal account of the Southern Freedom Summers, the crusade launched by college students from the North to help prepare African Americans in Mississippi for citizenship through voter education and registration.


The writer investigates how the African American theater evolved over time, as well as how it evaluated the European American theatrical tradition and selected from it the most meaningful conventions.


The essays in this collection address the life and times of Hampton Institute in Virginia, one of the foremost African American heritage colleges. This book portrays the Institute's rich legacy.


This book tells the story of an African American man who was born in 1827, went into business and became wealthy in St. Louis, and died there in poverty in 1913. Antebellum America, Reconstruction, and the progressive era serve as a backdrop for this account.


The author used hundreds of hours of oral interviews to construct a coherent narrative of life in the rural South. Sara Brooks's narrative has an added dimension in that she includes her migration North and her adjustment to living in an African American enclave in a city.

This book underscores the notion that before there can be an African American community there must be an African American church. The author attempts to chronicle the role of the early African American churches in helping to build communities in cities on the East Coast of America.


The author contends that African Americans' values and attitudes influenced Europeans in the 18th century American South. Professor Sobel raises the point that both races influenced each other, but European Americans, secure in their feeling of racial superiority, did not realize that this process was unfolding. Both races formed a new culture in terms of attitudes about work, time, space, causality, purpose, and the natural world.


This book gives an account of how the Quakers resolved the issue of not owning slaves.


This book highlights the life and times of African Americans who moved to the West and contributed to its growth. The book contains many rare photographs that were once part of exhibits at the Black American West Museum in Denver, Colorado.


These essays illuminate the experiences of African American women in the 19th century. Their childhood, work, courtship, and family life as slaves and free women are explored.


This author illustrates how enslaved Africans from many ethnic groups merged into a single racial group with a common culture in America. Historical data for this study were gathered through investigations of art history and anthropological studies of West African cultural traditions.

The author examines the "interlocking careers and influence" of six African American clergymen "who protested the racism of the time." The six individuals are Samuel Cornish, Theodore Wright, Charles Ray, Henry Highland Garnet, Amos Beman, and James Pennington.


This book provides an in-depth analysis of the civil rights movement from 1954 to 1963. It is based on new findings and focuses on the events and players in this movement.


This is a powerful account of the participation of African American soldiers in the Vietnam War, which was fought against the backdrop of the civil rights struggle and the African American power movement at home.


"Although southern Appalachia is popularly seen as a purely white enclave, Blacks have lived in the region from early times. Some hollows and coal camps are in fact almost exclusively Black settlements. The selected readings in this new book offer the first comprehensive presentation of the Black experience in Appalachia."


The author tells how the NAACP collected funds, planned tactics, trained cadres of lawyers, and mobilized the community to secure equal educational opportunities for all.


Some readers will find this book controversial because it challenges certain of their basic beliefs. The author's thesis, based on historical evidence, is that Africans came to North and South America centuries before Columbus.


This seminal study is a valuable book for understanding how slavery existed in the cities of the South. It shows the sharp distinctions and commonalities between plantation slavery and that in the cities.

This book focuses on the African Methodist Episcopal Church and its members between the years 1861 and 1880 as it grappled with issues that affected African Americans.


Frank McWhorter was born in 1777 to slave parents in South Carolina. His owner took him west to Pulaski County, Kentucky, in 1799. McWhorter was able to purchase his freedom and that of his family and, before he died in 1854, founded a town in western Illinois.


During World War II, America was fighting for democracy and the four freedoms, as well as the destruction of fascism; yet it was trying to maintain a segregated armed forces and a system of racism. The African American press in America pursued a policy of double V for victory--victory at home and in the war. In pursuing this policy, the African American press criticized the systemic racism in the armed forces and American society. Certain government officials wanted to censor the African American press and even proposed limiting its supply of newsprint.


This book is a companion piece to the prize-winning public television series of the same name. The author recounts the history of the civil rights movement in America and tells how victory was achieved by nonviolent means in an extremely violent society that was trying desperately to maintain a system of institutional racism.


The author of this book was an African American woman who was abandoned by her husband. She had a son but was too poor to care for him, so she left him with friends while she worked in Boston around 1859. She wrote this book to earn enough money to support herself and to reclaim her son. Unfortunately, both mother and child died before this goal could be achieved. Wilson’s book is a literary landmark in that it is the first novel written by an African American in the United States. It is noteworthy also because it is an eye-witness account of how desperate life was for free African Americans in the North.

This book is a history of African Americans' role in the musical theater from Reconstruction to the present. Both major and minor vehicles of the American theater are examined. Numerous photographs that illustrate these musical plays are included.


First printed in 1960, this book is important because it provokes and inspires thought about the irony of race relations in America throughout history.


This monograph tells how the system of Jim Crow segregation was put in place after Reconstruction.


During this period in Louisville, African Americans coexisted with what the author calls "a polite form of racism." There were no riots or lynchings, which occurred elsewhere throughout the South.


Lynching in the South was a means to control African Americans, according to the beliefs of the racists of that time. Since its inception, the NAACP has waged a public relations and legal war against this inhumane extralegal procedure.
Asian Americans are the fastest-growing ethnic minority in America. Currently, half of all immigrants entering the United States each year are Asian. Because Asians were excluded by law in the 19th and early 20th centuries, growth in the Asian American population is a recent phenomenon. In 1960, there were fewer than a million Asians in the United States, representing only .5% of the total population. Twenty-five years after the Immigration Act of 1965 reopened the door to immigrants from Asia, they totaled more than five million or 2.1% of the population, an increase of 486% (compared to 34% for the general population). It is projected that, by the year 2000, Asian Americans will represent 4% of the total population of the United States (Takaki, 1989).

Four percent hardly constitutes a threat to overwhelm the majority population, yet phrases like "yellow horde" and "yellow peril" continue to surface in the popular press and in public discourse. Myths and stereotypes of Asian Americans fuel anti-Asian hostility, aggravated by Japan's extraordinary economic success and by stories of "model minority" achievements. Yet information to counteract these myths and stereotypes, although plentiful, is rarely presented. Asian Americans are diverse. Their roots reach back to China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, India, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and other countries and cultures as well. There are profound differences among Asians vis-à-vis language, family structures, eating habits, and much else that is significant to daily life. Nevertheless, Asians in America have found themselves merged in the American mind, resulting in common patterns of reception here.

For example, although Asian Americans have been in the United States for more than 150 years, they are not yet viewed and accepted as Americans. Ron Wakabayashi, National Director of the Japanese American Citizens' League, put it this way: "We feel we're a guest in someone else's house, that we can never really relax and put our feet on the table" (Takaki, 1989, p. 11). Almost every Asian American has been asked, mostly by well-meaning non-Asians, "Where are you from?" with the understanding that "Southfield" or "Grand Rapids" is not the expected answer. Asians in America are perpetual foreigners, consistently viewed and treated as strangers to this land, despite having been here for generations. Asian immigrants could not easily change their family names to fit in, as so many European immigrants to this country have done. Asians also have physical characteristics they cannot change or hide -- the shape of their eyes, the color of their hair, their complexion. Consequently, they have been subjected, not only to cultural prejudice, or ethnocentrism, but also to individual attitudinal and institutional prejudice (Takaki, 1989).

Scholars have pointed out that Asians are the only people to be denied legal immigration based solely on race. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 singled out the Chinese, and the Immigration Act of 1924 prohibited Japanese immigration. The law also barred the entry of women from China, Japan,
Korea, and India, in order to prevent the development of Asian families in the United States. Even American citizens could not bring their Asian wives into the country. Citizenship, a prerequisite for the power to vote and to defend and advance one's rights, was denied to Asians. As "aliens ineligible to citizenship," they were also prohibited by the laws of many states from land ownership. The 1922 Cable Act even provided that any American woman who married an "alien ineligible to citizenship" shall cease to be a citizen of the United States herself. The United States government recently acknowledged that one of the most tragic instances of institutionalized racial discrimination in public policy was the World War II internment of Japanese Americans in concentration camps in the western United States.

There have been two identifiable "waves" of Asian immigration to the United States. The first took place during the second half of the 19th century and the early decades of the 20th century, when Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Asian Indians emigrated to Hawaii and the United States. World War II marks a watershed in Asian immigration. The second wave, which is now occurring, was launched by the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 and then boosted by the forces of war in Southeast Asia. In these two waves of Asian immigration, there have been many differences among and between the various groups, depending on the factors that pushed them from their homelands and pulled them to the United States, the diverse historical moments at which they chose to leave home, and dissimilar circumstances awaiting them at varying times in United States history (Takaki, 1989).

The First Wave of Immigration

The first wave was part of a global-migration phenomenon stimulated by the industrialization and commercialization of western Europe. The search for better economic opportunities led Europeans to establish overseas colonies. Where indigenous populations did not provide an adequate labor supply, colonizers shipped labor from other lands--primarily enslaved Africans. When Great Britain stopped participating in the slave trade in 1807 and abolished slavery in 1833, large numbers of Asian Indians and Chinese were recruited to work overseas. In fact, the presence of Western powers in the countries of origin of all five groups of first-wave Asian immigrants should be noted. British and American businessmen had a vested interest in facilitating emigration. Employers saw laborers as commodities necessary for the development of agriculture and industry. In 1890, for example, a memorandum in Hawaii acknowledged receipt of an order for "bonemeal, canvas, Japanese laborers, macaroni . . . and Chinaman" (Takaki, 1989, p. 25).

In a pattern that was repeated again and again in Hawaii and the continental United States, employers developed an ethnically diverse work force deliberately designed to keep down the price of labor, break strikes, and repress unions. This divide-and-rule strategy prevented concerted action by workers, who were unable to communicate with each other. It intensified labor competition by pitting different nationalities against one
another, such as when Asian labor was introduced to undercut agricultural and industrial wages.

This racially divided work force generated ethnic antagonism, which developed into violence and expulsion when economic circumstances tightened. In the closing decades of the 19th century, unemployment became a national crisis. The cry to exclude Asian labor in order to relieve strain in the labor market has arisen periodically throughout the history of the United States. Anti-Japanese hostility in the Michigan automobile industry today has resulted in a tragic continuation of this pattern.

The Chinese were the first Asian immigrant group to enter America, and their experience in the 19th century is instructive. What happened to them represents a pattern for the ways Asians have been viewed and treated in the United States.

The Chinese American Experience

What brought Chinese immigrants to the United States? The California gold rush was a powerful "pull" factor, attracting thousands of immigrants from all over the world. In addition, the Chinese experienced powerful "push" factors; population pressures, economic changes, political upheavals, religious persecutions, and natural disasters contributed to South China's becoming the primary source of Chinese immigration to the United States in the 19th century. More important, South China—especially the city of Canton and surrounding areas—had become a major point of contact between China and the West. Canton's role in maritime trade with western shippers must be seen as a critical factor in Canton's supplying the majority of Chinese immigrants to the United States in the 19th century. This is why most Chinese restaurants in the United States were Cantonese until the post-World War II second wave brought a more diverse Chinese population to America (Chan, 1989).

Certainly the need for labor to develop America's and Hawaii's vast potential was a key factor. Hawaiian sugar plantation owners and their agents actively recruited Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino laborers, who built the sugar cane industry. Many of the Asian immigrants to Hawaii subsequently were recruited to the United States mainland to develop the agriculture of the West Coast. Chinese farm workers were a vital factor in the transformation of California wheat agriculture to fruit and vegetable acreage. They constructed irrigation channels and drained swamps, boosting the value of land in Salinas, for example, from $28 an acre in 1875 to $100 an acre two years later. Their contributions extended beyond California. Bing cherries were developed by a Chinese horticulturist, Ah Bing, in Oregon, and a frost-resistant orange was developed by Lue Gim Gong in Florida, giving the state its citrus industry. Despite these contributions, European American laborers' resentment led to violent anti-Chinese riots. In California, in the 1890s, Chinese were beaten and shot by European American workers; they were herded to railroad stations and loaded onto trains. The Chinese bitterly remember this violence and expulsion as the "driving out" (Chan, 1989; Kingston, 1981; Takaki, 1989).
Chinese labor was also very important in building the transcontinental railroad. Hired reluctantly at first, because of skepticism about their physical strength, Chinese workers became the backbone of the Central Pacific Railroad Company construction crews. The Union Pacific Railroad Company was awarded the contract to build westward from a point near St. Louis, across the open plains, and the Central Pacific Company was to build eastward from Sacramento, traversing several mountain ranges. The work was highly demanding and dangerous, and Chinese represented 90% of the entire work force. Central Pacific managers forced them to work through the winter of 1866-67 because time was critical to the company's interests. Avalanches buried whole crews and camps (Chen, 1980; Takaki, 1989). Yet, despite their heroic feat, Chinese workers were not invited to the 1869 ceremonies at Promontory Point, Utah, which marked the completion of America's first transcontinental railroad, hailed as one of the most remarkable engineering feats of its time.

Out of work after the railroad was completed, thousands of Chinese laborers joined Chinese ex-miners in manufacturing jobs in San Francisco. The industrial development of the city paralleled the development of the Chinese community into a Chinatown that eventually housed one-fourth of California's Chinese population. Ethnic antagonism in the mines, factories, and fields encouraged the Chinese movement into self-employment--stores, restaurants, and especially laundries. Chinese laundries are an American phenomenon. Laundering allowed many Chinese, who had been driven out of other employment, to find an economic niche for themselves, somewhere between entrepreneur and wage laborer. European Americans considered laundering an "inferior" occupation, suitable for a member of an "inferior race" (Chan, 1989; Takaki, 1989).

In 1882, as noted above, economic crisis and social strife led Congress to pass the Chinese Exclusion Law, making it unlawful for Chinese laborers to enter the United States and denying naturalized citizenship to Chinese who were already here. Support for the anti-Chinese legislation was pervasive in all the states. The exclusion law led to a sharp decline in the Chinese population--from 105,464 in 1880 to 61,639 in 1920. Ironically, while the Chinese population declined, the Japanese population doubled, even though they inherited much of the resentment and prejudice that had been directed at the Chinese (Takaki, 1989).

The Japanese American Experience

With Chinese exclusion in effect, the Hawaiian sugar boom around the turn of the century could not have occurred without the importation of a new group of Asian laborers, the Japanese. They soon outnumbered the Hawaiians and Chinese. As with the early Chinese immigration from South China, Japanese were recruited from a limited area that was facing economic hardship in southwestern Japan, primarily Kumamoto, Hiroshima, and Yamaguchi prefectures. Because of Japan's system of compulsory education, these immigrants had a higher literacy rate than their European counterparts. Most Japanese migrants also came from the farming class and were not desperately poor. The Japanese government screened prospective emigrants as overseas representatives of Japan, ensuring that they were healthy and literate and would "maintain Japan's national honor." To avoid the problems
of an itinerant bachelor society and to lend greater stability to the immigrant communities here, the Japanese government promoted the emigration of women. This policy allowed for a much greater degree of normalcy and family life among Japanese Americans, made possible by the picture-bride system, which was based on the custom of arranged marriages. The United States government agreed to allow Japanese women to immigrate, in contrast to its policy toward Chinese women, in part because Japan's modernizing efforts and stronger government inspired greater willingness to compromise on the part of the American government.

After Hawaii was annexed as a territory of the United States and contract labor was prohibited, "American fever" struck the Japanese in Hawaii, especially after recruiters spread the word about higher wages in California. On the mainland, however, Japanese were part of a racial minority whom European American workers tried to keep out of the labor market. "Jap go home!" "Dirty Jap!" and "Japs, we do not want you!" were common graffiti on sidewalks and in railroad stations. The term "Jap" was so commonplace that even intellectuals and professionals used it unwittingly. Denied access to employment in the industrial and trade labor market, many first-generation Japanese, the Issei, turned to self-employment as shopkeepers and farmers. They developed a separate Japanese economy and community, but their success again stimulated hostility. Many Japanese were fruit and vegetable truck farmers, specializing in crops that flourished under intensive cultivation. Like the Chinese, the Issei converted marginal lands into productive and profitable fields, orchards, and vineyards. Japanese also worked in the mining, railroad, and fishing industries, but their success in agriculture was resented most, especially by European American Californians, because as Japanese immigrants became landholders they also became settlers. California State Senator James Phelan bluntly campaigned on the slogan, "Keep California White." Issei farmers responded by saying, "Keep California Green" (Mears, 1927; Takaki, 1989).

Actually, Japanese accounted for only .01% of the United States population in 1920. Yet, in 1924, the United States Congress prohibited the immigration of "aliens ineligible to citizenship." Japanese knew immediately that this law was directed specifically at them because Chinese were already excluded by the 1882 Chinese Exclusion Act. Japanese protested this discrimination as betraying America's own ideals. Testimony to Congress in favor of the law declared, however, "Of all races ineligible to citizenship, the Japanese are the least assimilable and the most dangerous to this country... With great pride of race, they have no idea of assimilating in the sense of amalgamation" (Takaki, 1989, p. 209; see also Mears, 1927). The speaker was ignoring the fact that anti-Asian discrimination had driven the Japanese into ethnic enclaves. Rejected and isolated, the Issei developed group solidarity that, ironically, strengthened hostile charges that the Japanese could not assimilate.

The Nisei, or second-generation Japanese Americans, were American citizens by birth, and many felt responsible for their communities. In 1930, civil leaders formed the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) to promote the full acceptance of Japanese in America. The JACL approach was basically conservative and accommodating; self-improvement, not political militancy, should be the Nisei manner. Many Nisei felt like "split
personalities," divided by their dual identity; hence, equality would be attained only by becoming more American, more patriotic and loyal to the United States than other Americans. It is thus doubly ironic that the Japanese Americans were singled out from among all the American ethnic groups in World War II to be targets of suspicion for sabotage against the United States, and the JACL took the lead in urging cooperation when they were herded into concentration camps in the deserts.

**Japanese American internment during World War II.** The most obvious justification for the American internment during World War II of more than 120,000 Japanese, the vast majority of whom were citizens of the United States, was the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor. However, investigations by naval intelligence, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and a host of other security agencies have repeatedly concluded that, in fact, no sabotage was ever committed by America's Japanese community. Almost 10,000 Nisei men in Hawaii volunteered for service in the United States Army immediately following Pearl Harbor; many of them became members of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, probably the most decorated unit in United States military history. With absolutely no shred of evidence that Japanese in the United States posed a military threat, "military necessity" justified rounding up every man, woman, and child of Japanese descent from California, Washington, Oregon, and part of Arizona and herding them into stockyards, fairgrounds, and race tracks converted into "assembly centers" (Takaki, 1989).

The evacuees were shocked to find "the assembly center was filthy, smelly, and dirty. There were roughly two thousand people packed in one large building. No beds were provided, so they gave us gunny sacks to fill with straw, that was our bed. . . . Where a horse or cow had been kept, a Japanese American family was moved in" (Takaki, 1989). The evacuees had been instructed to bring only what they could carry and were not told where they were going. They had to sell most of their possessions in a very short time—about six days for many—so, of course, the prices they received were much lower than the items' value. They had no choice but to accept what they could get. When the evacuees reported to the train stations, they were surrounded by soldiers with rifles and bayonets. After a short stay in the assembly centers, the evacuees were put on special trains, still with no idea of their destinations.

The trains took them to ten internment camps: Amache in Colorado, Poston and Gila River in Arizona, Topaz in Utah, Jerome and Rohwer in Arkansas, Minidoka in Idaho, Manzanar and Tule Lake in California, and Heart Mountain in Wyoming, mostly remote desert areas. The internees were assigned to barracks, usually one family to a 20' x 20' room with "a pot bellied stove, a single electric light hanging from the ceiling, an Army cot for each person and a blanket for the bed" (Takaki, 1989). Barbed wire fences with guard towers surrounded the rows and rows of barracks. Meals were served in large communal mess halls, and camp life was very regimented, with schools for the children and work for the adults at low government pay rates.

Near the end of the war, when the evacuation order was rescinded and internees were permitted to leave the camps, President Roosevelt is quoted as saying that if the Japanese "scattered" themselves around the country,
they would not "discombobulate" American society. "After all ... 75 thousand families scattered all around the United States is not going to upset anybody" (Takaki, 1989). Roosevelt was acknowledging that one of the pressures to intern Japanese Americans in the first place had been the discomfort of their non-Japanese neighbors. Most of the newly freed internees returned to the West Coast, where they often were greeted with hostile signs: "No Japs Allowed," "No Japs Welcome." Many found their houses damaged and their fields ruined. A substantial number found their way to the Midwest and East Coast to make a new beginning; they settled in Michigan and other states in which not many Japanese had lived before the war.

Most of the Issei and Nisei who had been in the camps did not talk about their experience. Their pain was revealed only recently when the redress and reparation movement was begun by young third- and fourth-generation Japanese Americans. They wanted the United States government to admit its mistake in taking away the constitutional rights of Japanese Americans, to offer reparation for their losses, and to guarantee that America's minority peoples would never again be subjected to such treatment. In 1981 the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Citizens held an official public forum in which these Issei and Nisei told their side of the story for the first time. An emotional and liberating experience, it was a time of "breaking silence," a phrase that has come to embody and symbolize the redress and reparation movement. It was an important victory when the Commission concluded that the camps had been a grave injustice and recommended that an official apology be made to the Japanese American community, payment of $20,000 be given to each former internee, and a fund be established for educational projects on the camps so that the American public would not forget this tragic occurrence. In 1988, President Reagan signed into law a bill that followed these recommendations, but appropriations for the reparation payments have yet to be made. Many Issei and Nisei are elderly or have already died, so it is believed that only a small proportion of the actual number of internees will ever benefit from the law except emotionally, knowing that the injustice has finally been recognized.

The Korean American Experience

Koreans were an important source of labor for the Hawaiian plantations, but many moved on to the mainland, especially to California, for greater economic opportunity. There they were often mistaken for Japanese. This was especially galling for first-generation Koreans, whose homeland had been annexed by Japan in 1910. The struggle for Korean independence became the wellspring for Korean American community spirit, in which the Korean Christian churches usually played a central role. Nineteenth-century American Protestant missionaries to Korea had been quite successful in establishing Korean Methodist and Presbyterian churches, which accompanied Korean migration to the United States. The churches continue to be social focal points for Korean communities throughout the United States today.

For first-generation Koreans, the churches were the religious arm of patriotic-political organizations. Korean migrants felt stranded, unable to
return to their homeland while it was under Japanese rule, so the church offered something to believe in, as well as a way to preserve a Korean national identity. The nationalist movement united all classes of Koreans in a pervasive anti-Japanese sentiment that rejected all assistance and interference from the Japanese consulate. Second- and third-generation Korean Americans have been much more likely to build bridges with the Japanese American community.

Like the Chinese and Japanese, Koreans also faced anti-Asian prejudice and discrimination in the United States. They tended to meet it with an accommodationist strategy that highlighted their adherence to Christianity and their gratitude to the United States. They consciously tried to be more westernized than had the Chinese and Japanese immigrants before them and believed their productivity as workers would help open employment opportunities for Koreans in general. Most Koreans on the mainland were men who had left their families in Korea, and the overwhelming majority of them were farm laborers. Ethnic solidarity was seen as important to economic success, and Korean farm workers formed teams through labor contractors, much as the Japanese had done. But also like the Japanese and Chinese, Korean laborers encountered hostility. In 1913, for example, a team of 15 Korean fruit pickers who had been contracted to work in an orchard were met by several hundred unemployed European Americans who threatened them with physical harm if they did not leave immediately. The terrified Koreans boarded the next train out (Chan, 1989; Takaki, 1989).

Often several individuals would combine their financial resources to become agricultural entrepreneurs, leasing and working their own farms. One of the most successful was Kim Hyung-soon, a fruit wholesaler who developed new varieties of peaches and earned a fortune marketing the nectarine (developed by crossing peaches and plums). In the cities, employment opportunities were restricted, so Koreans followed the path of other Asians in America who had turned to self-employment as a way to get around racial discrimination in the labor market. Many Koreans opened hotels, providing room and board to Korean workers and arranging work for them as labor contractors. Koreans also operated barber shops and laundries. Today Korean newcomers to the United States still have a high rate of self-employment, driven by racial discrimination in the labor market but also partially explained by new factors in the second wave of Asian immigration, which are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

The Asian Indian American Experience

Asian Indians began appearing in the United States in 1897. They were a small and dispersed group: By 1920 there were only 6,400 in the United States, again mostly on the West Coast, scattered in small farming communities. As Dravidian Indo-Aryans from Asia, they brought a new diversity to America's ethnic landscape. Although Americans generally called them "Hindus," in fact the majority were Sikhs, one-third were Muslim, and just a small fraction were actually believers of Hinduism. Most had been farmers or farm laborers in the Punjab and increasingly found employment in California agriculture, after many who had first been employed in the railroad and lumber industries had been driven away by violent
European American workers. Because the supply of Chinese and Japanese laborers had been cut off by the various exclusion laws, farmers gladly turned to Asian Indians to remedy the labor shortage. In fact, farmers used Asian Indian workers to keep wages down by paying them $0.25 to $0.50 less per day than Japanese laborers. "Since many farm owners were interested in breaking the monopoly of Japanese farm workers, Indians had little difficulty in procuring jobs" (Kohli, 1989, p. 11).

Asian Indians' willingness to work for low wages must be considered in perspective, however. In India, farm laborers had received $0.05 to $0.08 a day; in America, they could make $0.75 to $2 a day. Thus, Asian Indians were driven by the same high hopes of bettering themselves as all immigrants to the United States. But this willingness to work for low wages made them feared, as it had made the Chinese, Japanese, and Koreans before them, as labor competition by European American workers. The pattern repeated itself as exclusionist forces, citing a "Hindoo invasion," pressured Congress to enact in 1917 an immigration restriction law that prohibited the entry of Asian Indian laborers. Asian Indians were not welcome in America. Even Rabindranath Tagore, winner of the 1913 Nobel Prize for literature, encountered problems trying to enter the United States merely for travel purposes. Tagore sarcastically commented, "Jesus could not get into America because, first of all, He would not have the necessary money, and secondly, He would be an Asiatic."

Asian Indians who were already living in the United States expected that they would be eligible for citizenship because they could pass for European American, but a 1923 Supreme Court decision ruled that they were not eligible for naturalization. In fact, federal authorities canceled the citizenship of scores of naturalized Asian Indians after the decision, reducing them to "citizens of no country." One man was so crushed by his loss that he committed suicide. He wrote in his suicide note that he had tried to be "as American as possible. . . . But now . . . what have I made of myself and my children? We cannot exercise our rights, we cannot leave this country. . . . I do not choose to live a life of an interned person. . . . Obstacles this way, blockades that way, and the bridges burnt behind" (Takaki, 1989). The Supreme Court decision also provided the basis for applying anti-miscegenation laws to Asian Indian men who wanted to marry European American women and denying land ownership under the California Alien Land Law. As a result of these strictures preventing advancement in America, some 3,000 Asian Indians returned to their homeland between 1920 and 1940.

Those who remained either continued or resumed working for European American farmers or found ways to get around the Alien Land Law, often by relying on European American "silent partners" who served as the legal owners of the property. Very few of the Punjabis had wives in the United States (they had initially come as sojourners), so they could not register land under their children's names, as Japanese families tended to do. A fair number did marry Mexican women, many of them immigrant farm laborers themselves, but most Asian Indians remained bachelors, working together on farm-worker "gangs" or engaging in "partnership" farming. Sikh temples, community centers where religious festivals were celebrated and where Asian Indians could gather for worship and socializing, gradually served a
shrinking and aging Punjabi population until the second wave of Asian immigration began in 1965 (Takaki, 1989).

The Filipino American Experience

The early Filipino American experience is unique in at least one major aspect: Filipino immigrants technically were not foreigners, not aliens, because they came from the Philippines when it was a territory of the United States, annexed at the end of the Spanish-American War. Introduced to ideas of democracy and opportunity under American tutelage and classified as "American nationals" (although not citizens), thousands of "Pinoys" immigrated to the United States between 1910 and 1930. Most Filipino immigrants in that period were young single men who saw themselves as sojourning Americans "born under the Stars and Stripes," and free to come and go. They found employment in agriculture (60%), domestic service (25%), and fisheries (9%). Filipinos could speak English, so service work that had been closed to other Asian immigrants was open to them. But unlike the Chinese and Japanese, Filipinos did not engage extensively in entrepreneurial activity, in part because when they arrived the retail trade had already been established by the Chinese and Japanese, and also because they came at the beginning of the Great Depression, a disastrous time for new ventures. Most Filipinos became farm laborers in California, but the rest scattered quite widely over the continent. In 1930, 787 Filipinos lived in Michigan; others lived in Illinois, New York, Colorado, Kansas, Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Mississippi (Takaki, 1989).

Filipinos were especially in demand as hotel and restaurant service workers and as household servants, for which they were stereotyped as being docile, patient, servile, and smiling—or else! "The laborer is not worthy of his hire unless he also smiles," confided a Filipino busboy. In 1930, Filipinos represented 15% of the Alaskan fishery work force, cleaning and packing salmon on a seasonal basis. This work force also included substantial numbers of Chinese and Japanese. Most Filipinos were farm workers, helping to fill the need for labor created by the exclusion of Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Asian Indians. They traveled from field to orchard, following the crops, "cutting spinach here, picking strawberries there, then to Montana, where they topped beets, to Idaho to dig potatoes, to ... Washington to pick apples, and to Oregon to hoe hops." The work was dirty and arduous, and farmers viewed Filipinos as "ideally suited for 'stoop labor.' ... They are small and work fast." A Filipino laborer told an interviewer, "Many people think that we don't suffer from stoop labor, but we do" (Takaki, 1989, p. 320). Filipino farm workers were sometimes preferred because they were single and could be housed more cheaply than farm workers with families.

However, Filipino farm workers did not remain docile; eventually they organized labor unions and strikes and became especially militant when growers tried to lower wages in the 1930s. Thus, they faced not only the ubiquitous European American working-class anti-Asian backlash, but also the anti-labor sentiment of middle America. Police and vigilantes violently suppressed the unions, arresting union leaders and burning camps. But the Filipino strikers held out in ways as courageous as early auto workers in
Detroit, and the Filipino Labor Union won recognition as a legitimate farm workers' union, representing the emergence of ethnic labor unionism and the entrance of Filipinos into the labor movement in America.

In the Philippines, European Americans regarded the Filipinos as "our little brown brothers," to be "civilized" and "uplifted." In America, they were called "goo-goos" and "monkeys" and were told, "Positively No Filipinos Allowed" in hotels, stores, restaurants, and barber shops. The anti-Asian exclusionists had to find a unique solution to prohibit immigration from a United States territory. "It is absolutely illogical," argued Senator Millard Tydings, "to have an immigration policy to exclude Japanese and Chinese and permit Filipinos en masse to come into the country" (Takaki, 1989, pp. 324-25). The 1934 Tydings-McDuffie Act provided for Philippine independence, reclassified Filipinos as aliens, and severely restricted further immigration. The Pinoys found themselves cut off from their families in the Philippines and unable to afford to return home. In addition to being refused, excluded, and segregated, Filipino men were also seen as sexual threats. In 1930, 80% of Filipino men in California were under 30 years of age and unmarried. The ratio of Filipino males to Filipina females in the United States was 14 to 1, and many Pinoys dated and married European American women, often those they met at "taxi-dance" halls. They paid ten cents a dance to dance with the women and to forget their problems and loneliness. To marry, they had to travel to states that did not have anti-miscegenation laws. A large number of Pinoys never married but lived as bachelors in this country, at least until the post-1965 immigration boom renewed some family ties.

The Second Wave of Immigration

World War II impelled certain changes in Americans' attitudes toward Asian immigration. Wartime alliances opened limited immigration to Chinese, Filipinos, and Asian Indians. The fight against racism abroad led to a new awareness of discrimination at home, as the Nazis made notions of white supremacy repugnant. Wars created new classifications of nonquota immigrants: "Displaced persons," refugees, and war brides came from China, Korea, and the Philippines. The courts also began to advance the civil rights of minorities, invalidating states' anti-miscegenation and alien land laws. The 1952 McCarran-Walter Act made Asian immigrants eligible for naturalized citizenship, a reform heavily lobbied by the JACL and giving elated Issei legal equality at last. As the cold war and then the civil rights movement increased public pressure against discrimination based on national origin, the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965 finally provided for fair admission quotas--20,000 immigrants annually per country--from the Eastern Hemisphere. Members of the immediate families of American citizens were exempted from the quotas.

The Immigration and Naturalization Act opened a new chapter in Asian American history. It brought about the second wave of Asian immigration to the United States. Currently, one out of every two immigrants comes from Asia. The Asian American population has soared, and its composition has also changed dramatically: In 1960, 52% of Asian Americans were Japanese, 27% Chinese, 20% Filipino, 1% Korean, and 1% Asian Indian. In 1985, 21% of
Asian Americans were Chinese, 20% Filipino, 15% Japanese, 12% Vietnamese, 11% Korean, 10% Asian Indian, 4% Laotian, 3% Cambodian, and 3% "other." The second-wave immigrants are also strikingly different from first-wave immigrants in that most are from cities and many are professionals. They are also encountering a different, high-technology and service economy that requires greater English skills than the industrial-agricultural labor market their predecessors experienced. In addition, second-wave immigrants are arriving as families intending to stay in the United States, in contrast to the earlier bachelor "sojourners" (Takaki, 1989).

The second wave includes very few Japanese because Japan's economic expansion has kept most Japanese at home, meeting the needs of their native labor market. New Chinese immigrants, however, represent the third largest group, after Mexicans and Filipinos. The Chinese community of 812,200 is now 63% foreign-born. The tide of new Chinese immigrants, like the Filipino, Korean, and Asian Indian second-wave immigrants, includes a substantial proportion of educated professionals. Chinese students have been flocking to the United States for higher education since the 1960s. Many find employment here after graduation, acquiring immigrant status under the preference category for skilled workers. They can then develop an expanding immigrant kin network under the family preference categories of the 1965 law. These second-wave Chinese include Mandarin as well as Cantonese speakers. Most were initially refugees from the People's Republic of China and usually emigrated from a second departure point, such as Hong Kong or Taiwan, rather than directly from mainland China. The Chinese American community is divided between an entrepreneurial-professional middle class and an underclass who inhabit Chinatown ghettos. Poverty, under- and unemployment, and crowded, substandard housing underlie the tourist image of Chinatown, where extremely high rates of crime, suicide, and tuberculosis threaten residents. Recent immigrants concentrate there primarily as low-wage laborers employed in restaurants and factory sweatshops. Poor English-language skills confine many to the Chinatown economy. Often it is the children in whom hope for a better future resides, while parents work to afford them a good education (Takaki, 1989).

Occupational downgrading is a problem for many recent Asian immigrants. Medical and other professionals have found that licensing requirements often prevent them from practicing their professions in the United States. With families to support, they may find temporary employment as nurses' aides and laboratory assistants while doing further study and internships. Medical professionals especially from the Philippines, Korea, and India have immigrated in large numbers, primarily because of limited employment prospects in their home countries. Seventy percent of Koreans in New York and Los Angeles arrived with college degrees. Korea's rapid economic development has concentrated an exploding population in urban areas, where competition for jobs is so intense that many are drawn to seek a living outside Korea. Koreans have been most visible in entrepreneurial ventures, particularly in the retail produce business, which they dominate in New York City. Asian Indian entrepreneurs have found a niche in the motel business; they own 28% of the hotels and motels in the United States. Many recent Asian Indian immigrants speak English, are well educated, and were assimilated in India before they came here--so very different from their farming predecessors. The issue of identity is controversial, dividing the
Asian Indian community about whether they, as Dravidian Indo-Aryans, should be considered a minority group or not. Like many Asian Americans disadvantaged by racial discrimination, some fear that claiming minority status would turn many Americans against them.

The Southeast Asian Refugee Experience

Southeast Asians have recently come to the United States in large numbers, not as immigrants choosing to move here but as refugees driven out by powerful events precipitated by the disastrous end of the Vietnam War in 1975. There have been two distinct waves of Vietnamese refugees. Most who came in 1975 were military personnel and their families, generally from the educated classes. Almost two-thirds of them could speak English with some fluency, and they generally came from urban areas, especially Saigon, which was quite westernized. About half were Christian. Their departure was sudden, chaotic, violent, and unprepared—most were given fewer than ten hours before their departure. In all, 130,000 Vietnamese refugees came to the United States in 1975. From processing camps, they were dispersed throughout the country, often under church sponsorship (Takaki, 1989).

Scores of thousands of refugees have escaped Communist Vietnam since 1975. These second-wave refugees risked their lives in crowded, leaky boats; two-thirds of these boats were attacked by vicious pirates, each boat an average of more than two times. The survivors floated to Thailand, where they were forced to live in squalid refugee camps for months and even years, hoping to be accepted by countries like Australia, Canada, France, and the United States, which has accepted the most refugees. The second-wave refugees were diverse; they included fishermen, farmers and others from rural areas, as well as educated professionals. Roughly 40% were ethnic Chinese Vietnamese, who were targets of discrimination under the new Communist regime. But like earlier Asian immigrants, the Vietnamese have been subjected to racial slurs and made to feel unwelcome. They have been viewed as a threat where jobs and low-income housing are scarce, and interethnic competition has erupted in violence, particularly between Vietnamese and European American fishermen.

Despite serious adjustment problems, many Vietnamese have begun to achieve success as entrepreneurs and professionals and are now being followed by Vietnamese immigrants entering under the Orderly Departure Program based on a 1979 agreement between Vietnam and the United States. This program allows 20,000 Vietnamese to enter the United States annually.

Not as well known to many Americans are the Cambodians and the Lao, Hmong, and Mien refugees from Laos. The latter include preliterate tribesmen from the mountains, who are facing tremendous difficulties in adjusting to American culture. Many Hmong and Mien were targeted for extermination by the Pathet Lao for having worked for the CIA in Laos, so entire villages have escaped to the crowded refugee camps in Thailand, to be transported from there to the United States. Both groups have congregated along the West Coast, but the Hmong are also located in Wisconsin, Michigan, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania. Life in America is radically different and
stressful for them. Relocation depression is common, and employment is a desperate problem for many. Some sell handicrafts like needlework and silver jewelry, but most are becoming a permanent welfare class. Some do not survive at all, falling victim to a mysterious "Hmong sudden-death syndrome." "Survivor guilt" and grief are strong emotions they share with many of the refugees from Vietnam and Cambodia. The Cambodians have fled the brutal Pol Pot "killing fields," where about one-third of Cambodia's people died, most of them from starvation and disease, under the Khmer Rouge regime from 1975 to 1979. Many Cambodians who witnessed and experienced terrible suffering during that period and while escaping to the Thai refugee camps now suffer from "post-traumatic stress disorder." They experience recurring nightmares, depression, and withdrawal.

Conclusion

Despite the problems enumerated above, a fair number of Southeast Asian refugees have succeeded in building a new and better life for themselves in the United States; some have even excelled and captured media attention as "Asian whiz kids." But this media image of super-achieving Asian Americans as the "model minority" exaggerates their success and creates a new myth. Income comparisons fail to take into account regional cost-of-living differences: Asian Americans generally live in states with high incomes AND high costs of living. The use of family incomes distorts the figures even further because Asian American families have more persons working per family than do European Americans, so higher family incomes mean only that more workers contribute to those incomes. In addition, inequalities in personal incomes persist; for example, Chinese men earn only 68% of what European American men earn, the same income ratio as African American to European American males. Asians are also conspicuously absent from higher levels of administration, which reflects a pattern known as a "glass ceiling"--a barrier through which top management positions can be seen but not reached. The "model minority" stereotype is a harmful and frustrating image for young Asian Americans, who face extreme pressure to succeed and therefore find they are forced to conform in ways that deny their individuality. As a young University of Michigan student tearfully revealed, "White Americans do not know how intense the pressure is."

Predictably, Asian Americans' "success" has been accompanied by a new wave of anti-Asian sentiment that has been exploding violently in communities across the country. In Detroit, in June 1982, Vincent Chin, a young Chinese American who was celebrating his upcoming wedding, was brutally slain by two European American auto workers who called Chin a "Jap" and cursed, "It's because of you motherfuckers that we're out of work." The killers pleaded guilty to manslaughter but were sentenced only to probation and a fine; they never spent a single night in jail for their crime. The murder of Vincent Chin aroused the anger and concern of Asian Americans across the country. They blamed the educational system for not teaching about American history in all of its racial and cultural diversity. The parallel of 1982 and 1882, the year of the Chinese Exclusion Act, is ironic. But this time all Asian Americans--Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Asian Indians, and Southeast Asians--are joining in protest, forming coalitions like the Detroit-based American Citizens for Justice, dedicated
to fighting prejudice and discrimination against Asians in America and to breaking the silence about the history of Asian America.

References


This annotated bibliography and the narrative preceding it have largely been drawn from Ronald Takaki's *Strangers From a Different Shore* and Wei Chi Poon's *A Guide for Establishing Asian American Core Collections* (Berkeley: Asian American Studies Library, University of California-Berkeley, 1989).

**Asian American--General**


Organized thematically around issues of importance to Asian American women--immigration, war, work, generations, identity, discrimination, and activism--this is an important and comprehensive anthology of autobiographical writings, short stories, poetry, and essays that speak to the past and present experiences of Asian American women and challenge the stereotype of Asian American women as passive and silent.


The scholarly essays in this collection broke new theoretical ground by examining the experiences of the Asian male and female immigrant worker in the United States within the larger political and economic context in which those experiences arose--the development of capitalism in Europe and the United States and the emergence of imperialism, especially in relation to Asia. The book is divided into three main sections: The Development of U.S. Capitalism and Its Influence on Asian Immigration; Imperialism, Distorted Development, and Asian Emigration to the U.S.; and Asian Immigration Workers and Communities. The Asian groups covered are the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, and East Indians (those from the Punjab).


This collection of sociological and psychological essays on Asian Americans is a follow-up to *Asian Americans: Psychological Perspectives*, edited by Sue and Wagner in 1973 (now out of print). This collection focuses on individual and family adaptation, contemporary issues (bilingual education, the elderly, community mental health services, Asian wives of American servicemen, federal funding, and labor organizing among Japanese American farmers), and research methods. Whereas the first volume concentrated on Chinese and Japanese Americans, this volume also includes work on the Vietnamese, Koreans, Filipinos, and Pacific Islanders.

Although published more than ten years ago, this is still the classic anthology of articles, reviews, and literature by and about Asian Americans. Among the significant historical and contemporary topics covered are racial and economic discrimination, international politics, immigrant groups, education, media, community politics, and women. The literature section is especially exciting because many of the writers have gone on to become major figures in Asian American literature.


One of the earliest books concerning contemporary Asian American women, this book examines in text and photographs the lives of 53 women of Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and Korean descent who have jobs considered nontraditional for Asian American women (union organizer, park ranger, welder, TV producer, electrician, judge, executive, and machinist). Twelve life stories illustrate how these women have attempted to overcome societal barriers, realize their potentials, and fulfill personal goals while maintaining their commitments to their families, communities, and cultures. An overview of Asian women in America, located in the back of the book, provides a social context for the individual stories.


This reference volume is divided into two major sections: essays and entries, arranged alphabetically. The 15 essays deal with the historical development of the various Asian American communities. The approximately 800 entries focus on major events, persons, places, and issues in Asian American history. A selective bibliography, a chronology of Asian American history, and a 1980 U.S. Census report on Asian Americans are included at the end of the book.


This textbook brings together material on Asian Americans that before was scattered through disparate sources. Using both historical and social-psychological perspectives, it provides an interdisciplinary approach to examining the different patterns of adaptation for the various Asian American groups. Individual chapters are devoted to each of the groups, and immigration legislation, the current socioeconomic status of Asian Americans, and a model for analyzing Asian Americans' adaptation to the United States are discussed in three other chapters. Statistical tables, census data, and a short bibliography of recommended readings are also included.

Commissioned by the ERIC Clearinghouse on Urban Education, the six essays in this volume address fundamental issues affecting the education of Asian and Pacific Americans. Each essay focuses on a specific ethnic group, with a historical overview emphasizing immigration, demographic characteristics, specific educational problems and needs, and prospects for the future. An introductory chapter highlights common patterns and relationships among the various groups in the area of education.


This was the first collection of scholarly articles and creative pieces of self-expression on the Asian American experience. It is a useful compilation of secondary writings on the subject, as well as a documentary collection of the beginning years of the Asian American movement. The prose, poetry, interviews, and artwork are organized and arranged into three thematic sections: identity, history, and community.


This scholarly yet readable study of plantation life in Hawaii focuses on the work experiences of Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and Filipino Americans, often in comparison to other workers on the plantations, such as native Hawaiians, Portuguese, Germans, and European Americans. Through extensive use of primary documents--newspapers, letters, diaries, and plantation records--Takaki reconstructs the lives of a multiethnic work force over a 100-year period. He shows how the laborers contributed to the development of Hawaii and how they collectively responded to discrimination and class conflict in the plantation system.


This is the most recent and comprehensive history of all Asian American communities, tracing the histories of Asians' immigration to America from their earliest arrival to the present. Incorporating a fascinating variety of sources including historical documents, oral histories, literature, and newspapers and magazines, this is an excellent introduction to the Asian American experience.

This anthology of essays covers the varied roles and experiences of Asian American women, including immigration history, occupation profiles, testimony before the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, intermarriage, Southeast Asian refugees, and politics and law.

**The Chinese American Experience**


The result of six years of researching more than 30,000 documents from 41 California county archives as well as unpublished manuscript censuses, this is an exhaustive study of the thousands of Chinese truck gardeners, tenant farmers, commission merchants, labor contractors, farm laborers, and farm cooks who helped make California into America's premier agricultural state. Within the context of Chinese immigration history, Chan describes in detail how and why the Chinese took up farming, what they accomplished, the obstacles they faced, their relationship to other groups, and the development of Chinese rural communities in California. This book has won numerous academic awards for its outstanding scholarship and contribution to the field.


This very readable history of the Chinese in America covers their arrival in the United States to present times. It is divided into three main sections: The Coming (1785-1882), Exclusion (1882-1943), and Integration (1943-1980). Throughout, the focus is on the cultural, political, and economic contributions Chinese Americans have made to the development of the United States. Issues of prejudice and anti-Chinese legislation are also addressed.


Comprising 13 oral histories and 58 photographs, this book documents the town of Locke, California, the only town in America built and inhabited exclusively by Chinese. Locke was built in 1915 and provided a safe haven from the violence of the West; Chinese businesses and families flourished there. This book is valuable because it documents a living yet vanishing piece of American history as the younger generations of Chinese Americans have left Locke in order to join the American mainstream.

Early Chinese immigrants—contrary to the long-held stereotype that the vast majority were illiterate—published extensively in their own language in newspapers and books in Chinatowns throughout America. In this volume, Hom has selected and translated 220 rhymes from anthologies published in 1911 and 1915, arranging them in thematic categories. The rhymes reveal the thoughts, concerns, values, and emotions of Chinese immigrants at the turn of the century. In the introduction, Hom provides a historic overview of early Chinese American literature, illustrating how the American experience was interpreted in Cantonese folk songs both in China and in the United States.


In his second book on New York’s Chinatown, Kwong breaks through the "model minority" myth to reveal the complex character of the community’s economic boom and underground economy, the new sources of internal class conflict and domination they have created, and the recent struggles of immigrant workers and political activists in fighting exploitation and speculative capital. Based on Kwong’s personal experiences as a long-time resident and activist in the community, this study offers an insider’s look at the internal dynamics of a Chinatown fraught with social, economic, and political problems. In Kwong’s opinion, these problems can be resolved only through grass-roots organizing and intercommunity alliances. A bibliography of English- and Chinese-language primary and secondary sources is included.


Many of the Chinese immigrants incarcerated at the Angel Island Immigration Station, often referred to as the West Coast counterpart of Ellis Island, carved poems on the walls of the barracks to vent their anger, frustration, and grief. The heart of this book is a selection of these poems (in the original Chinese with English translations) and oral histories of former detainees. The introduction provides a concise history of the Angel Island experience. Also included are photographs and a bibliography of Chinese and English-language sources on the subject.


Targeted for secondary school students, this book provides a highly readable overview with text and photographs of Chinese American history from early contacts between China and America to 1982. The authors also examine the dynamics of culture and community, the roles of women and family, the problems of viewing Chinese Americans as a model minority, social changes since 1965, and the issue of stereotypes versus Asian American self-expression.

This book tells the life stories of Chinese Americans who have made important but overlooked contributions to varying aspects of life in the United States. The book is divided into three sections: Pioneers, which presents Chinese-born individuals in the 19th and early 20th centuries; Generations, which covers families in transition over many years; and Contemporaries, which features living American-born men and women. Each of the 17 chapters focuses on an individual or family; photographs of their lives are interspersed with mini-profiles and photographs of other related individuals. General history is interwoven into the bibliographies so that the book chronicles 160 years of Chinese American history in human terms.

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This first biographical novel of a Chinese American woman, originally published in 1981, chronicles the life of Lalu Nathoy, also known as Polly Bemis (1853-1933), from her peasant childhood in northern China to her sale to bandits, then to a Shanghai madam, and still later to an owner of a saloon in an Idaho gold-rush town. From there, readers see her freedom gained through a poker game, her marriage, and her new life as Polly Bemis and as a homesteader on the River of No Return. At a time when Chinese were vilified in the West, she won respect and became a well-loved and enduring character in Idaho lore. This is a remarkable tale of one individual's strength and endurance.

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Using a wide variety of sources, Miller reconstructed the evolution of unfavorable images of the Chinese as idolatrous, politically servile, morally depraved, and loathsome disease. According to Miller, the anti-Chinese images held by Americans preceded their arrival in the United States, perpetuated by American traders, diplomats, and missionaries. He also maintains that these images were not held just by those in California, as was often assumed, but were national in scope.

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This study of San Francisco's Chinatown provides a penetrating examination of the community's 120-year history through oral histories and historical essays. The questions explored by the authors through chronologically arranged interviews with old bachelors, refugees, families, new immigrants, writers, and community activists include: What forces created Chinatown and continue to perpetuate its existence? What has been the source of its exceptional cohesiveness and resilience? This was one of the first books in which Chinatown residents told their own story and is thus a classic in the field.

This is an intimate insider's look at the life of Chinese hand laundry workers in Chicago in the 1930s. Siu describes the Chinese laundry and work process, the workplace, employment patterns, cousin partnerships, the division of profits, collective lending institutions, weekly labor routines, leisure activities, and the concept of the "sojourner." He uses to advantage many anecdotes, letters, interviews, documents, and stories in describing the private lives of Chinese laundrymen.


These photographs by Arnold Genthe provide a unique visual record of San Francisco's Chinatown at the turn of the century, before it was leveled by the great earthquake and fire of 1906. Through his well-researched text, Tchen outlines the history of the Chinese in California and illuminates the ironic role Genthe played in creating a mythological Chinatown while capturing the texture of everyday life.


This study focuses on the different experiences of three groups of Chinese (sojourners, American-born Chinese, and student immigrants) from their earliest arrival in the United States to the present. Each group's experiences are assessed in their historical context and in light of theories of assimilation and Sino-American relations.


This handsome book is the first to examine the experiences of Chinese women in America from their arrival in 1834 to the present. Yung uses archival documents, oral history interviews, and photographs to detail the hardships endured by early pioneers, the conflicts faced by the growing American-born population, the growth of social consciousness and activism, and the contemporary concerns of Chinese American women.

The Japanese American Experience


This is a brief but informative account of the anti-Japanese movement from its beginning in the late 19th century to the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1924. Daniels describes how anti-Asian sentiment preceded the arrival of Issei laborers in California and how their "Protestant ethic" qualities and the growing unpopularity of Japan in the United States fueled the anti-Japanese movement, which was enthusiastically supported by labor leaders, politicians, and Progressives of the period.

This book is a popular history of American-Japanese relations, the immigration experience, the anti-Japanese movement, and the Nisei (second generation) search for identity in the face of cultural conflicts, racial prejudice, and internment. It extols the trials and accomplishments of the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), particularly its Nisei members. Journalist Bill Hosokawa is a Nisei and was interned during World War II.


Until the publication of Ichioka's *The Issei* (see below), this was the classic work on early Japanese immigration to the United States. Originally published soon after the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1924, it begins with a survey of Japanese international migration; follows with a discussion of Japanese immigration to Hawaii and the mainland, the occupational roles and cultural background of Japanese Americans, and a historical examination of anti-Japanese agitation; and concludes with a survey of socioeconomic problems of the second generation.


Using primary sources, including Japanese Foreign Ministry archival documents and immigration newspapers and periodicals, Ichioka recreates the life of the Issei and the hostility they faced in the United States from their early arrival to the passage of the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1924. The book covers the political circumstances, working conditions, and social and family life of this first generation of Japanese immigrants. As Ichioka argues, the struggle of the Issei to survive and settle in America was thwarted by their exclusion from naturalization and organized American labor. Despite their valiant efforts against the anti-Japanese exclusion movement, they could not defeat the 1924 Immigration and Naturalization Act, which stopped all further Japanese immigration and left a legacy of bitterness and resentment to the Nisei generation. This is by far the best work done on the Issei generation.


*Issei* (first generation) is an important source of personal accounts of Japanese immigrants who settled in the Pacific Northwest. It covers the journey by sea, exclusion, women, occupations, culture, and community life. The book includes many rare photographs, a chronology of Japanese and Japanese American history, and other useful resources.

This study of an ordinary Japanese American woman, written by her anthropologist daughter, is divided into three parts. The first part provides background on Kikumura's research, describing her trip to Japan to find out more about her mother’s past. The second part, which is the main segment of the book and reads like a novel, contains the life history as told to the daughter by her mother, with minimal changes. The third part comprises Kikumura's personal reflections upon completing the life history. Two extensive appendices on the Japanese American family and Kikumura's research methodology provide a broader context for understanding this life story and the Japanese American experience. This story is moving and makes the experience come alive in very human terms.


This well-documented account begins with immigrant workers and penniless peasants and ends with full American citizens actively contributing to American society through politics, business, and the professions. This detailed picture of the Japanese American experience chronicles their turmoil, tragic difficulties, and apparent overall success.


This autobiography describes one Kibei (born in the United States but educated in Japan) worker’s "ganbatte" (steadfast) struggle for justice and racial equality. It simultaneously documents the history of Japanese Americans, the American labor movement, and Japan, as these larger contexts encompassed Yoneda’s life.

**Internment of Japanese Americans**


This recent publication features a long introduction to the history of the internment by John Hersey and moving photographs of the internment camp Manzanar in California, taken by Ansel Adams. When Adams first published these photographs in 1944 in a book entitled *Born Free and Equal*, the books were burned in protest by a public that was not sympathetic to the internees. Now that these photographs have been republished, readers are again offered a glimpse of the artistry of Adams and scenes of everyday life in the camp.

In this study, historian Roger Daniels uncovers the true significance of the World War II internment of Japanese Americans by showing that this "legal atrocity" was the logical outgrowth of three centuries of American prejudice. He carefully analyzes the pre-World War II anti-Japanese movement, the reasons behind the mass evacuation, cases of resistance to the policy, and the aftereffects of incarceration. This work also includes a chapter on the experiences of Japanese Canadians in their own internment camps, which is not in the 1971 version of this book, *Concentration Camps, U.S.A.*


This work is a collection of paintings, drawings, oral histories, and narrative that powerfully recaptures images of life in the internment camps. The works are drawn from collections of concentration camp art by Japanese American artists who were interned during World War II. This visual record of the mass incarceration ranges from landscape to caricatures.


Peter Irons was largely responsible for helping Fred Korematsu win his appeal to have his conviction overturned for defying orders to report to the assembly centers in the early days of the evacuation. This book is a shocking account of how the Department of War not only succeeded in effecting Executive Order 9066 in the face of Department of Justice opposition but aggressively defended it in court as both necessary and constitutional. Irons recounts how unsubstantiated rumors and mere suspicions of Japanese American espionage against the United States war effort were incorporated as fact in crucial reports that became justification for the state of "military necessity" leading to internment. He documents how government officials not only allowed misstatements of fact to go uncorrected but actually suppressed, altered, and even destroyed crucial evidence in order to strengthen their own hand when important test cases, such as Korematsu's, came before the Supreme Court in 1942 against the internment order.

Kikuchi was a 26-year-old graduate student in social welfare when World War II was declared. His diary covers the time from shortly before his internment through when he and his family were forced to live in a converted horse stall at a race track. He provides an alternative to both the official view of relocation and the current critical outrage by describing the pleasant aspects of camp life as well as the gross injustices and wider implications of evacuation. Historian John Modell assesses the historical significance of the diary in his introduction; suggestions for further reading are included at the end of the volume.


This illustrated memoir by artist Mine Okubo is the first personal documentation of the internment story, first published in 1946. Detailed drawings and descriptive captions tell the story with warm humor and first-hand insight. 13660 refers to the number assigned the Okubo family during the impersonal and humiliating evacuation process.


This is a collection of oral histories of 30 former internees of the detention camps. They are accounts of common experiences and some unique stories as well, some of pain and hardship, some bittersweet, some with touches of humor, many with an extraordinary dedication to American ideals. Underlying all the accounts is a sense of personal tragedy for having experienced a nation's betrayal. John Tateishi, who was interned at age three, now directs the Japanese American Citizens League Committee for Redress.


This is a moving personal account of life for one Japanese American family incarcerated at the Tanforan and Topaz camps during World War II. It begins with a backward look at the parents' early years in America and Yoshiko's own experiences as a Nisei growing up in California. Their peaceful lives are rudely disrupted with the evacuation of all Japanese Americans from the West Coast following the attack on Pearl Harbor. But despite their bleak day-to-day life in the camps, the Uchidas, along with many others, are able to retain a remarkable resiliency of spirit that allows them to lead productive lives, even behind barbed wire.

Weglyn's careful examination of documents relating to the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II led her to make the convincing argument that the real reason behind the internment was not military necessity but economic exploitation, prejudice, and a "barter-reprisal" reserve plan. The bibliography includes a good list of audiovisuals and oral history collections.

**The Korean American Experience**


This is a comprehensive account of the Korean experience in America from the Korean American treaty of 1882 to 1976. It covers the historical background of Korea and United States-Korea relations; economic, social, and political activities of early Korean immigrants; and characteristics and problems of postwar Korean immigration. The last two chapters contain an evaluation of Korean Americans' contributions to American society in agriculture, academia, and professions, as well as transcripts of oral histories from early immigrants. A useful bibliography is also provided.


This collection of 14 scholarly essays on Korean immigration and assimilation in America addresses three major questions: What caused the immigration of Koreans to the Hawaiian Islands and the United States mainland? How has the Korean experience in America been essentially different from that of the Japanese and Chinese? How successful have Korean immigrants and their descendants been in adjusting to American society?


Kim uses economic and political data, informant reports, participant observations, and interviews to describe and analyze the creation of the Korean community in New York since the passage of the Immigration Act of 1965. Kim focuses on the second-wave features of internal political and economic problems, social structure, and foreign policy of the Korean homeland, and on the special qualities of immigrants who are urban, educated, and middle class.

This new work offers a comprehensive case study of the causes and consequences of immigrant business ownership. The authors explain how and why Koreans have been able to find, acquire, and operate small business firms more easily than American-born residents. They also provide a context for distinguishing clashes of culture and clashes of interest that create tension between African Americans and Korean Americans in cities.


Patterson analyzes Koreans’ immigration to Hawaii by examining international questions of diplomacy among sugar planters in Hawaii, Korean officials, American and Japanese diplomats, and American businessmen and missionaries. He uses extensive primary sources to record the political intricacies involved in importing Korean laborers to Hawaii.


The 18 oral histories in this volume record the stories and experiences of Korean pioneers who immigrated to the United States at the turn of the century. Each is prefaced by introductory information, including a brief character sketch and a photograph. The pioneers’ occupational backgrounds range from farmer and housewife to grocer and diplomat.


This collection of articles explores issues of race, class, and gender in the work, family, and community life of Korean women both in Korea and in the United States. Enlarging on immigration studies, the work offers some basic information and sociological analysis of Korean women’s lives in America, including new insights into the status of women in North Korea, sex tourism in Asia, and interracial marriage.

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This is a collection of 14 scholarly essays on the characteristics, activities, problems, and feelings of Korean Americans in Los Angeles, home of the largest Korean community in this country. Covered are the history, demography, work, business, family, perceived problems, education, religion, organizations, and politics of this community.
South Asian/Indian Americans


Ten introductory essays cover topics such as immigration legislation, early immigration and restrictions, political movements in relation to India, marriage and family life, and the current economic profile of Asian Indian Americans. Statistics, tables, and an extensive bibliography are also included.


This anthropological study of Asian Indian immigrants who have settled in the New York City area since 1965 examines the concept of ethnicity as it applies to a population that is extremely heterogeneous in terms of natal language, religion, regional origin in India, and caste.


This is the most comprehensive study of Asian Indians' immigration to Canada and the United States. It covers the reasons behind immigration and the treatment the Asian Indians received in North America. One of the best sections of the book deals with the various legal battles fought by South Asians to attain citizenship in the United States. This is one of the most fascinating chapters in the study of American immigration and naturalization law. Anthropologically, Asian Indians were considered Caucasian, but their skin color excluded them from such classification. Thus, citizenship was not based on "scientific" but on "common" knowledge.

Filipino Americans


The life stories of individual "sakadas" (Filipino laborers recruited to work in Hawaii between 1906 and 1946) form the basis for this history of Filipino adaptation to plantation life in Hawaii. Using oral history, government statistics and reports, and the files of the Kanehale Sugar Company, Alcantara analyzes the life goals and strategies of these workers in the context of changes over time in the nature of plantation life, Hawaiian society, and immigration laws.

An account of the author's experiences in the United States from 1927 to 1948, this autobiography provides background on the anti-Filipino movement in California and information on employment strikes, civil rights, yellow journalism, and social relations concerning Filipinos in California.


Using 250 photographs, documents, oral history excerpts, and short essays, this pictorial essay book provides a sweeping overview of Filipino life in America from 1783 to 1963. The wealth of material is organized into topical chapters covering the early arrival of Filipino seamen in Louisiana in the 18th century, Filipino labor, the anti-Filipino movement, family life, the second generation, community life, and World War II. The captioned photographs and oral history excerpts interspersed throughout the book illustrate and expand on points made in the overall essays.


This short, sensitive portrayal of the Filipino experience in the United States is told through historical narratives; excerpts from oral history interviews with 22 first-, second-, and third-generation Filipino Americans; and photographs. Carefully selected oral history passages, each of which conveys a personal response to the social dynamics of the times, are organized under the following topics: the homeland, impressions of America, work, World War II community, family, and religion.


In response to the needs of a bachelor society, taxi-dance halls, places where young Filipino men could buy a dance for a dime, were established in several American cities in the 1920s. This study, originally published in 1932 and based on five years of participant observation primarily in Chicago, describes what took place in the taxi-dance halls, the problems encountered by both the female dancers and the male patrons, and the relationship of the dance hall to the larger society.


In an attempt to broaden Americans' perceptions of Filipino Americans, the authors conducted more than 250 interviews with individuals representing a broad spectrum of Philippine society—ambassadors, farmers, dishwashers, ministers, and Filipino Americans. The interviewees' words—as they talk about America and describe their concepts and experiences—form the basic material for this book.

Originally published in 1931 as a report on the Filipino exclusion question, this study has become a classic in Filipino American immigration history. Lasker begins with basic immigration facts, then concentrates on the problems caused by Filipino immigration for the United States mainland and Hawaii and for the immigrants themselves, and concludes with arguments for and against Filipino exclusion. The appendices include statistics, two case studies of anti-Filipino violence, recruitment practices of the Hawaii Sugar Plantation Association, and information on Philippine interisland migration, as well as the background of Filipino immigrants.

San Juan, E., Jr., ed. **If You Want to Know What We Are: A Carlos Bulosan Reader.** Minneapolis: West End Press, 1983.

This is a collection of essays, short stories, and poems by Carlos Bulosan, well-known Filipino writer and labor organizer. As the introduction points out, these pieces, previously published in American journals, help illuminate Bulosan's life and his commitment to improving social conditions for his fellow countrymen in America as well as in the Philippines.


Written from a Filipino American perspective, this book commemorates 75 years of collective existence of Filipinos in Hawaii and describes their experience in the context of Philippine history and culture as well as historical developments in Hawaii. The topics covered include a historical overview of the Philippines, the plantation system in Hawaii, labor organizing, upward mobility, women, Philippine languages in Hawaii, and Filipino strategies for survival and social change.


This is a collection of more than 40 oral histories of Filipinos who immigrated to the United States after World War II, continuing where Robert Vallangca's *Pinoy: The First Wave* left off. Markedly different from those of the first wave, the women (Pinay) and men (Pinoy) of the second wave are mostly professionals who left a war-torn country in search of economic, educational, and professional growth for themselves and their children. Revealed through their voices and Vallangca's introductory essays are their immigration experience, their work lives in America, and their search for a new identity.

This is a collection of 17 oral histories of Pinoys (Filipino old-timers), describing what it was like to emigrate from the Philippines between 1898 and 1941. Pinoys discuss with candor and humor the jobs they were forced to take as domestics and farm hands in canneries and on pineapple and sugar plantations. Introductory essays focus on such themes as humor, marriage, religion and magic, dance halls, gambling, and the fact that not all Pinoys look alike. The 13 illustrations of Pinoy life are by the author, who painted murals on barroom walls when he was not laboring in the fields to finance his medical and legal education.

**Southeast Asian Americans**


Within the past 10 years, Orange County, California, has become known for having the largest percentage of Southeast Asian refugees in this country. This study attempts to update an earlier survey completed in 1980 regarding the process of refugee resettlement in Orange County. The results of interviews with employers, residents, and refugees are compiled into four topical areas: employment, education, welfare dependency, and Americanization/community adjustment. Taking all the statistics into account, the author concludes that the overall picture of resettlement shows progress, particularly because of the achievements of earlier Vietnamese refugees and the high degree of motivation among the younger refugees.

**Bridging Cultures: Southeast Asian Refugees in America**. Los Angeles: Asian American Community Mental Health Training Center, 1983.

This compilation of essays on refugees from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia is intended to promote a better understanding of Southeast Asian refugees among social service providers. Divided into five sections, the book provides an overview of the group's socioeconomic and political situation, explores theoretical and social policy issues that affect them, and describes mental health service approaches that meet their needs.


This is the story of how one Cambodian family survived four years of forced labor under the Khmer Rouge, escaped from Cambodia to a refugee camp in Thailand, and finally sought refuge in the United States. It is told from the perspective of Teeda Butt, a 15-year-old schoolgirl and daughter of a government official, who later became an American citizen.

Although many disciplines, subjects, and points of view are represented in this collection of papers, there is a common theme: the Hmong as they are seen in the West and the unique problems they face as a tribal people and as refugees. The book is divided into four sections: Hmong Culture and Culture Change, Hmong Language and Communication, Language Learning Issues, and The Hmong in America: Problems and Prospects.


The purpose of this reference book is to provide both the general reader and the specialist with a basic understanding of the experiences of the various refugee groups who have resettled in the United States—their home cultures and societies, their exodus and transit to America, the problems they face, and their adaptation to a new society. Part I provides an overview of refugee programs and the overall adjustment process for refugees. Part II includes chapters on specific refugee groups, including Chinese from Southeast Asia, Hmong, Cambodians, Laotians, and Vietnamese.

Hendricks, Glenn L.; Downing, Bruce; and Deinard, Amos, eds. *The Hmong in Transition*. Minneapolis: Southeast Asian Refugee Studies of the University of Minnesota, 1986.

According to the editors, 65,000 Hmong have resettled in the United States. This volume of essays provides background information about and insights into Hmong social structure, culture, and character; their marginality in China (their original home base) and in Laos; their present situation in Southeast Asia, Australia, and the United States; and such topics as language and literacy, health and welfare, and mental health.


This book chronicles the refugees' flight and resettlement in the United States, beginning with why and how they came, then describing the refugee camps—their organization, daily life, and programs to prepare the refugees for life in America—and concluding with an exploration of refugees' social and cultural adjustments in the United States.

This book deals with the period from the first 90 days after the fall of the Thieu government until the time when a satisfactory program could be worked out to settle some 140,000 refugees in various communities. It begins with a description of the designation of refugees from both the subjective (refugee) and objective (societal reaction) points of view and then follows the stages of the refugee career--flight, transit, sojourn in camp, resettlement, and adjustment.


This study grew out of an investigation conducted during the summer of 1981, in which the authors interviewed refugees in their own languages and used questionnaires developed with the participation of the refugees themselves. Strand and Jones examine in detail the adaptations the refugees made to overcome the problems they encountered and the effectiveness of governmental efforts to manage resettlement successfully.


In the first five years under Communist rule in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, nearly 1.3 million people fled their homelands; this was the greatest outflow of permanent refugees since World War II. The author has recorded their experiences thematically rather than chronologically, opening with the voyage of the Hai Hong, which signaled the massive and chaotic departure of ethnic Chinese from Vietnam. He then examines the factors that stimulated that exodus, details the Vietnamese government's role, and explains how Hong Kong and Saigon sought to deter racketeers from running refugees in Hai Hong-style freighters. Subsequent chapters deal with the burden imposed on neighboring countries and the making of a tragedy as these countries closed their doors to refugees. The closing sections trace the developments leading to a United Nations Conference in Geneva in July 1979.


This is the autobiography of a medical doctor who lost his family and witnessed the destruction of his homeland under the Communist Khmer Rouge regime in 1975. It is the story of how he survived under a brutal government that executed his family and punished him for stealing by hanging him over a slow fire for four days. But in the end, Haing Ngor managed to rescue his niece and escape to Thailand before coming to the United States. Two years later, he starred in a movie that dramatized the brutality of the Khmer Rouge, *The Killing Fields,* for which he won an Academy Award. This moving book addresses the nightmare of war and the courage and strength of one Cambodian refugee who miraculously survived it.
Asian American Literature


The works of 50 well-known as well as new Asian American poets in the United States and Canada have been included by the editor of this anthology on the basis of appeal and variety. Organized alphabetically by author, the selections are preceded by a photograph of and biographical information on the poet. As the title indicates, Bruchac's intention is to expose the creative talents of Asian American writers who "are adding to the literature and life of their nations and the world, breaking both silence and stereotypes with the affirmation of new songs."


Originally published in 1943, this is now a classic novel in Asian American literature. More a collective biography of Filipino farm workers than a personal history, it traces Bulosan's early childhood as the son of a Filipino peasant, the forces and influences that led him to migrate to the United States in 1930, and the struggles that he and other Filipino workers fought and won in an Asian-hating state in Depression America. Written from a third-world perspective, the book provides details on historical events that affected Filipinos in America and sociological aspects of their lives--the migratory work cycle, the poverty-dominated lifestyle, and legal and extralegal discrimination.


This collection of prose/poetry, plays, autobiographies, short stories, and excerpts from novels by 14 Chinese, Japanese, and Filipino American writers was forged as an angry protest against the exclusion of Asian American voices and sensibilities in American literature. The introductory essay on Asian American literature is now a classic statement on the development of such literature.


This affectionate satire on the manners and mores of New York Chinatown's bachelor society in the 1930s was the first novel written about an American Chinatown by a resident of Chinatown. The novel provides an authentic and rare picture of everyday life and conversation in the community.

This examination of novels, autobiographies, poems, and plays by Americans of Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, and Korean descent--from the 19th century to 1980--focuses on their significance in the context of the social histories of these racially distinctive groups rather than literary merit. A useful and extensive bibliography includes European Americans' portrayals of Asians and Asian Americans, as well as Asian American literature and general references. This is the most complete study of Asian American literature as a distinct genre of American literature.


The second novel in 50 years to examine what it means to be Korean in America, this is the story of survival for one immigrant family living in Los Angeles from the 1920s to the 1940s. The story is told in three sections, from three perspectives: the mother, Haesu, a "yangban" (nobility class) who is married against her wishes to a farmer's son and who must contend with a loveless marriage and servility in America; the father, Chun, who struggles to support his family and to please his resentful wife, only to lose it all in one gambling spree; and their daughter, Faye, who is torn between her parents and between two conflicting cultures.


This companion volume to The Woman Warrior (see below) tells the stories of the men of Kingston's family, from the Hawaiian great-grandfather who worked the cane fields, to the railroad grandfather who shattered Sierra granite with a hammer, to the brother who joined the Navy to avoid ground combat in Vietnam. Kingston's unique narrative style combines family history with talk story, memory, legend, and imaginative projection.


A unique vision of Chinese America, this best seller powerfully evokes the confusion, bitterness, pain, and joy experienced by a young Chinese American woman growing up in Stockton, California, during the 1940s and 1950s. Written as an autobiography, the book moves back and forth between the harsh realities of life for a daughter whose family runs a laundry and the fantasy world of China's past created by the talk stories of her mother.

This novel is about a young Burmese woman whose sheltered life in Burma is disrupted by a political coup in the country. She and her older brother are sent away to New York City for their own safety. But instead of finding sanctuary, they both suffer mental breakdowns because of the alienation and destitution they encounter. In the refuge of a mental institution, the young woman eventually recovers and comes to learn the truth behind the coffin tree legend: Living things prefer to go on living.


Originally published in 1949, this is the first collection of stories published by a Japanese American. Set in the fictional community of Yokahama, California, the stories are alive with the people, gossip, humor, and legends of Japanese America in the late 1930s and 1940s.


The title of this novel comes from two loyalty questions young Japanese American males were forced to answer during their incarceration in American concentration camps: Are you willing to serve in the Armed Forces of the United States on combat duty, wherever ordered? Will you swear unqualified allegiance to the USA? This finely drawn work revolves around one no-no boy's psychological struggle for rehabilitation in postwar America. The issues it raises touch the very heart of what it means to be an idealist in America.


This collection of 16 short stories presents a sensitive array of Filipino American portraits—from bankers, cooks, munitions workers, clerks, and college students to aging Filipinos exiled from their homeland. In describing a succession of human incidents, Santos reveals their hopes and frustrations, as well as their resiliency and good humor.


Originally published in 1953, this autobiography of an American-born Japanese woman takes the reader into the heart of a Japanese American family: from life in Seattle, Washington, in the 1930s; to Camp Harmony at Puyallup and Camp Minidoka in Idaho after Pearl Harbor; to Sone's release to a Presbyterian minister in Chicago and her scholarship to Wendell College in Indiana while her family, still interned, waits out the last stages of the war. Themes of cultural conflict, identity, and response to racism run throughout this personal account of one Nisei woman's search for acceptance in a hostile America.

This novel about the bonds that cause conflicts and affection between Chinese mothers and their American-born daughters is written as a series of vignettes that alternate between stories of the mothers in pre-1949 China and the daughters in contemporary America. The cultural and generational conflicts, although set in a Chinese and Chinese American context, can also be seen in a universal setting in which daughters leave the world of their mothers.

Films


This documentary film examines resettlement problems of Southeast Asian refugees, including the hostilities and frustration they experience. Immigration policy as it relates to political policy over the past decade is also explored.


This is an excellent documentary investigation of the 1982 Detroit murder of a Chinese American by unemployed auto workers, especially effective in its exploration of Detroit auto workers' culture and social milieu, and the effect of the case on the Asian American community.


This valuable resource guide lists more than 550 films and video programs that were either produced by or about Asians and Asian Americans. Annotations for each entry also include format, source, and rental information. Multiple indexes add to the guide's usefulness and ease of use.


This series of four half-hour programs raises issues of concern to Asian American women. For example, *Frankly Speaking: The Rarely Discussed Dilemmas of Asian American Women* deals with adolescent students' problems in communicating with their parents and teachers. The other programs profile Asian American women in nontraditional and professional occupations and their personal statements about work and survival, family demands, and the need to maintain one's cultural heritage.

The experiences of an Issei (first generation) Japanese American from life as a railroad worker to internee at an evacuation camp are recounted through flashbacks and his present-day struggles against gentrification in Los Angeles's Little Tokyo.


In this outstanding documentary, three men who defied Executive Order 9066, the order to intern 120,000 Japanese Americans during World War II, tell the story of their conviction, imprisonment, and ongoing struggle to clear their names.


This engaging documentary about Filipino American farmworkers takes its title from the experience of this early bachelor society, which earned wages of a dollar a day and spent 10 cents a dance in taxi-dance halls. Fascinating footage includes interviews with the Pinoys reminiscing about their early days in America.
THE HISPANIC AMERICAN EXPERIENCE
By Andrew Vazquez and Aurora Ramirez-Krodel

If you are like some Americans, you may conjure up stereotypical images when you think of Hispanics. You may think of a Mexican as someone with dark hair and dark eyes, wearing a sombrero and taking a siesta. You may think of a Puerto Rican as a gang member with a knife or a gun, in an urban ghetto, as in West Side Story. You may think of a Cuban as a drug smuggler, as in Miami Vice, or as a Communist spy. Revolutionaries fighting in the jungles may come to mind, or someone with a bottle of tequila or rum. You may think of rural people living in poverty, with chickens, goats, and many children. You might even imagine someone living in a grass hut on the beach, swinging in a hammock and drinking coconut milk. Most of these stereotypes have come from television, movies, textbooks, or dime-store novels. Many have come from travelers who have brought back stories and pictures of what they did not understand and often misinterpreted.

Stereotypical images must be replaced with the images of real people, and popular misconceptions must be supplanted with correct information. Hispanics are like other people, with unique identities and their own economic, political, and personal realities.

My parents, who are both successful, have raised me in a home where Spanish is seldom spoken, but it is always appreciated and respected. Both my parents were brought up in a home where not much more was offered than food to eat and a warm place to sleep, but there was always an abundance of love. It was a home in which religion and education were highly regarded. All of these Hispanic customs and morals that I value so much represent what being Hispanic means to me. These are the things that make me a truly unique individual. (Perales, 1989)

Marisa Perales, the author of the preceding passage, was the first place winner in Hispanic Magazine's 1989 Hispanic National Essay Contest.

Hispanics: Among the Oldest and Newest Immigrants

"In 1980, only about one-quarter of [Mexican Americans] were foreign-born, underscoring the fact that they are among the oldest Hispanic groups residing in the United States" (Saragoza, circa 1988). The Spanish colony of St. Augustine was established in 1563, El Paso was founded in 1598, and Santa Fe was established in 1609. The first permanent English colony, Jamestown, was not founded until 1607. Many of the Hispanics who had settled the Southwest long before the American Revolution became American citizens in 1848, when the United States acquired this area in the name of Manifest Destiny.

Recent immigrants from Latin America, such as El Salvadorans, Nicaraguans, and so on, have come to the United States for the same reasons as did the European immigrants who arrived before them--the search for
political and religious freedom and the hope for a better life. They are escaping possible persecution, political unrest, and poverty.

**Hispanics: An Umbrella Term for a Diverse Population**

The term "Hispanic" is an umbrella term used to conveniently describe a large and diverse population. Hispanic subgroups are more like a "tossed salad" than a "melting pot." Hispanics may share a language, a religion, and a similar culture, but it is erroneous to think of Hispanics as a homogeneous group because they are from many different countries, with diverse histories and ethnicities. Each Hispanic group is distinct and unique, with its own history. Each group has its own relationship to the United States, and each tends to be concentrated in a different geographic area of the nation. The Spanish language and culture are common to all Hispanics, but even that has diverse facets.

The two characteristics Hispanics have in common [are] the heritage of Spanish conquest and culture and the utilization of the Spanish language. Yet, the conquest was experienced differently in the various territories, and the culture was syncretized with specific native folk customs and practices. This produced different and easily recognizable characteristics. (Spielberg, 1980, cited in Melville, 1988)

... The music of Puerto Rico has a rhythm different from that of Mexico, the dance of Cuba is distinct and foreign to Salvadoreans. ... The symbols used to rally people, such as flags, music, dance, heroes, anniversaries are all distinct. (Melville, 1988)

Many other umbrella or pan-Latin terms have been used at different times in American history to refer to Hispanics, and many are still being used today. Some of these terms include Latinos, Spanish-speaking, Spanish-origin, Spanish-surname, and Spanish persons. "Hispanic" is the newest umbrella term. In the United States, Hispanic usually means a person from, or with ancestors from, a Spanish-speaking country (see Figure 1).

The term "Hispanic" has a political origin. It began to be used as an official term in 1968, when President Johnson declared National Hispanic Heritage Week to begin the week of September 15 and 16. This was done at the request of then Senator Joseph Montoya of New Mexico. It is worth noting that there have been only two Spanish-origin Senators, Joseph Montoya (1964-1976) and Dennis Chavez (1935-1962), also of New Mexico.

In New Mexico, the term "Hispanic" dates back to the days preceding Mexican independence, when the non-Indian colonists of New Mexico could, in fact, trace their origins to Spain. The choice of the adjective Hispanic rather than Latino, which was more common in Texas and California, can be traced to New Mexicans' influence in Congress (Melville, 1988).

Other inclusive terms are used to group diverse peoples into one pot. The U.S. Census Bureau uses terms for geographic regions, such as Central and South America, to group people from a number of different countries like El Salvador, Panama, Venezuela, and Colombia. Hispanics come from 20
different countries, and although the United States government prefers to use one umbrella term for all, they have 20 different national names: Mexican, Cuban, Venezuelan, and so on (see Figure 1). Each country has its own distinct ethnic background. They may share a common history of conquest, as well as the Spanish language and culture, but each has developed its own identity.

In the United States, names denoting country of origin take on another nationalistic dimension. Some people prefer to hyphenate their names, to show their ethnicity and that they are also a part of their adopted country, i.e., Cuban-Americans. Others have different ways of identifying themselves. For example, those of Mexican descent may call themselves Mexican, Mexicano, Chicano, or Mexican-American. Not all people from the same background like to be called the same thing. Many Chicanos do not like to be called Mexican-American, and vice versa. In New York City, Puerto Rican versus Nuyorican is another example.

The preference for one term over another for self-identification may reflect a person's political viewpoint. It may also reflect the differing historical perspective of the region of the United States in which he/she was raised, or the individual’s family history in the United States.

Although a term is needed for political unity, one that focuses on the commonality of many distinct groups, it must be remembered that "there is a strength in numbers when the identity of the component parts is not sacrificed and forgotten" (Melville, 1988).

The Fastest-Growing Minority Group in the United States

The United States currently has the fifth largest Hispanic population in the world, behind Mexico, Spain, Argentina, and Colombia. Hispanics are the second largest minority group in the United States, numbering 19.4 million in 1988. By some estimates, they may soon become the largest minority group.

In 1980, the Hispanic population comprised 6.4% of the total population of the United States; the figure grew to 8.1% in 1988. It is projected that, by the year 2000, Hispanics will make up 10% of the nation's total population. If current growth rates continue, Hispanics will become the largest minority group in the United States by the year 2030. By that same year, they will constitute the majority or near majority in California and several other southwestern states (Bureau of the Census, 1987a).

The actual number of Hispanics may be much larger than the preceding figures indicate because, as some people claim, a vast number of Hispanics were missed in the 1980 census count. In fact, it has been estimated that 5% to 10% of Hispanics were not counted in 1980 (Montana, 1989).

Mexicans are the largest group of Hispanics in the United States; they account for 62% of the total Hispanic population. Next are Puerto Ricans, who total 13% of Hispanics, not including those on the island of Puerto Rico. Cubans are the next major group, with 5%. Central and South
Figure 1.--Ethnic groups covered by the "Hispanic" umbrella.
Americans, who come from 16 different countries, represent 12% of the total Hispanic population in the United States. Other Hispanics comprise 8% of the Hispanic population.

**Factors Contributing to Population Growth**

**Fertility**

One of the factors that is considered when projecting the Hispanic population growth rate in the United States is the youthfulness of the Hispanic population. In 1988, it was estimated that the median age for Hispanics was 25.5 years, compared to 32.2 years for the general population. Among the Hispanic groups, Mexican Americans are the youngest, with a median age of 23.3 years. Puerto Ricans are slightly older, with a median age of 24.3 years. The median age for Cuban Americans, however, is the oldest at 39.1 years (Valdivieso & Davis, 1988).

The relatively low median age of Hispanic women is directly related to the high birth rate for this group. In fact, Hispanic women have the highest fertility rate of all women in the United States. The Bureau of the Census recently estimated an annual birth rate of 96 births per 1,000 Hispanic women ages 18 to 44; the birth rate for women of the same age in the general population was 71 births per thousand (Bureau of the Census, 1988b). In 1987, births to Hispanic women accounted for 11% of all births in the United States. Most of these births were to young mothers, many of them teenagers. For example, more than one in six Hispanic babies are born to teen mothers (Children's Defense Fund, 1989). Thus, the Hispanic population will remain a young one well into the 21st century.

**Immigration**

Immigration is another major factor in the growth of the Hispanic population; since 1960, 34% of all immigrants have come from Latin America, primarily from Mexico. In 1980, Mexico accounted for 29.71% of all legal immigrants, and 27.95% in 1986. "Mexico was the source of more legal immigrants in 1985 than any other country" (Bouvier & Gardner, 1986).

I used to worry about my dad a lot. That I'd never see him again because we left him behind in El Salvador. Now I plan to visit him when I graduate from high school. He will be very proud. I try to think positive, but last year I could hardly think of anything except my heartache and sadness. (Quoted from a Salvadorean teenager; cited in Olsen, 1988)

Muller and Espenshade (cited in National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1988) stated that, since 1960, 35% of all immigrants to the United States have come from Latin America. The Latin American immigrants have come mainly from Mexico (28%), El Salvador (4.7%), Guatemala (2%), Honduras (1.7%), and Nicaragua (1.3%).

Undocumented immigrants also contribute to the growth of the Hispanic population in the United States. The Population Reference Bureau
distinguishes among three types of undocumented immigrants: "settlers," who come to the U.S. on a more or less permanent basis; 'sojourners,' who stay temporarily, such as seasonal farm workers; and 'commuters,' who cross the border daily" (Bouvier & Gardner, 1986). Those who settle on a permanent basis affect both the population size and the labor market, whereas those who do not settle permanently affect only the labor market.

It is difficult to estimate with any accuracy the number of undocumented immigrants who are coming to the United States, or who are already here. In 1986, it was projected that 1.8 million undocumented immigrants would enter the United States. The counts are not accurate because they are based on the number of arrests and the notion that, for every person arrested, two or three escape. Although undocumented immigrants are to be included in the census count, many do not participate for fear of reprisal. Another problem that makes counting difficult is that many undocumented immigrants return to their homeland.

Undocumented immigrants are not protected by American law and are therefore easy targets for discrimination by changing immigration legislation. They are also easy targets for discrimination in employment, education, housing, health services, and so on.

With the implementation of the 1986 Immigration Reform Act, discrimination in employment has become more marked. This act includes sanctions against companies that employ undocumented immigrants; there were no employer sanctions before the act was passed. Under threat of large fines and other punitive measures, many companies have become overly cautious and have not hired some applicants because they look foreign or have heavy accents.

**Geographic Distribution**

Most Hispanics (89%) live in one of only nine states, five of which are southwestern. About 63% of all Hispanics live in the Southwest (California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas). About 55% live in California and Texas alone (34% and 21%, respectively); 11% live in New York, 8% in Florida, 4% in Illinois, and 3% in New Jersey. Michigan has the 11th largest Hispanic population in the country. The five cities with the largest Hispanic populations, in descending order, are New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, San Antonio, and Houston.

Each Hispanic subgroup is concentrated in a different geographic area, and each has a different history in relation to the United States. These different relationships usually have dictated why the groups are located where they are today.

Eighty-three percent of the Mexican-origin population resides in the five Southwestern states, with most living in California or Texas. More than 60 percent of all Cubans live in Florida. Puerto Ricans are concentrated in the Northeast, particularly in New York and New Jersey. A large share of Central Americans are also found in California. (Matiella, 1988)
Immigration patterns are also different among groups. Usually, immigrants from a particular subgroup will tend to locate in areas where there are large concentrations of people from a similar background.

**Socioeconomic Indicators**

**Education**

The educational attainment of some Hispanic groups is alarmingly low, a factor that contributes to some of the hardships they face in other areas of their lives. Of the Hispanics who were age 25 or over in 1988, slightly more than half (51%) had completed high school. The national figure for the same age group was 76%.

Although Hispanics generally have attained less education than the population in general, specific groups of Hispanics have fared better than others in this regard. Hispanics who trace their origins to Central and South America, as well as Cuba, tend to have more education than Puerto Ricans or Mexican Americans. For example, 64% of Central and South American Hispanics age 25 or over had four years of high school or more in 1988, as compared to 61% of Cuban Americans, 51% of Puerto Ricans, and 45% of Mexican Americans of the same age (Bureau of the Census, 1988c).

Because Hispanics have a large younger population, more and more Hispanic children will be entering school. It is estimated that, by the year 2000, Hispanics will constitute 10% of the population of the United States and about 16% of school-age children (Valdivieso & Davis, 1988).

Bilingual education remains a prevalent issue in the education of Hispanics. Many schools lack the programs and resources to handle children who do not speak English well. Spanish is looked down upon because educators believe that it inhibits learning, and children come to perceive that their language is a detriment. They must learn English quickly or be left behind. The 1974 Supreme Court case, Lau v. Nichols, made significant progress in bilingual education for all children, but recently the "English only" movement has undermined that progress.

I just sat in my classes and didn't understand anything. Sometimes I would try to look like I knew what was going on, sometimes I would just try to think about a happy time when I didn't feel stupid. My teachers never called on me or talked to me. I think they either forgot I was there or else wished I wasn't. I waited and waited, thinking someday I will know English. (Quoted from a Mexican girl who immigrated at age 13; cited in Olsen, 1988)

**Employment**

Hispanics are active members of the country's labor force. The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1988c) reported that, in 1988, 79% of Hispanic males and 52% of Hispanic females were either employed or actively looking for a job. Comparable figures for males and females in the general population were 74% and 56%, respectively (Valdivieso & Davis, 1988).
Although Hispanics are as active as others in the labor force, they are often forced to take lower-paying jobs or jobs with less status. In 1988, the largest proportion of males age 16 and over in the general population reported holding jobs that the U.S. Bureau of the Census classified as managerial and professional specialty. That job classification accounted for 26% of all males and 25% of all females surveyed that year. Only 13% of the Hispanic males, however, and 16% of the Hispanic females of the same age reported holding jobs that were classified similarly. Hispanic males were more likely to report having jobs classified as technical, sales, and administrative support (15%); service occupations (15%); precision production, craft, and repair (21%); or operators, fabricators, and laborers (28%). Hispanic females were more likely to report having jobs that were classified as technical, sales, and administrative support (41%); service occupations (22%); and operators, fabricators, and laborers (17%) (Bureau of the Census, 1988c).

Hispanics also tend to have jobs with less job security, a factor that contributes to the high rate of unemployment among Hispanics. For example, 10% of Hispanic males and 7% of Hispanic females reported that they were unemployed in 1988; that compares to 6% of the males and females in the general population who said they were currently out of work (Bureau of the Census, 1988c).

By the year 2000, an estimated 16% of 18 to 24 year olds in the United States will be Hispanic; this is the age at which they will start entering the work force (Valdivieso & Davis, 1988). To be able to enter successfully into the new high-tech work world, it is imperative that Hispanics receive better education.

**Economic Status**

Hispanics also suffer from high poverty levels. In 1987, 26% of Hispanic families were below the poverty line. In the same year, the median family income for Hispanics was $20,306, as compared to a median family income of $31,853 for the general population. Among various Hispanic groups, there are vast differences in incomes. The median family income for Cuban Americans, for example, was $27,294, a figure close to that for families nationwide. On the opposite end of the spectrum, the median family income reported by Puerto Ricans was only $15,185 (Bureau of the Census, 1988c).

**The Americas' Spanish Heritage**

In 1492, Spanish ships headed by Christopher Columbus landed in the Americas. Within 50 years the Spanish had conquered and colonized many Caribbean islands, Mexico, and Central and South America. These areas stayed under Spanish colonial rule for more than 303 years. By the early part of the 19th century, most of the colonies were unhappy with their treatment under the Spanish. They did not want to be governed by a distant country that did not understand their needs. They wanted independence. Mexico declared independence in 1810 and finally achieved it in 1821. By the end of the third decade of the 19th century, virtually all of the
Spanish American colonies had won their independence. Cuba and Puerto Rico remained under Spanish control until 1898, when Spain was defeated in the Spanish-American War.

Through this long history of Spanish domination, Spain left its mark on its former colonies. The language, religion, certain religious holidays, and cultural norms all owe their history to Spain. The Spanish also left another significant mark on their colonies--a whole new ethnic group called "mestizos," people of mixed European (mainly Spanish) and native Indian ancestry. However, each indigenous culture also left its mark, to some degree, on each former Spanish colony.

Hispanics in general have a very diverse racial background. They are the product of the interrelationships between the native Indians, the Spanish and other Europeans, and Africans. Asians have also contributed to the racial make-up of Hispanics. The U.S. Bureau of the Census (1987a) reflects this whenever they speak of Hispanics: "Persons of Hispanic origin may be of any race."

Areas under Spanish rule experienced different degrees of racial mixing. In Mexico and also in sections of Central and South America, the mixture was predominantly Spanish and native Indian. In the Caribbean Islands of Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic, the mixture was more dominated by the combinations of Spanish and Africans, and to a lesser extent by the native Indian populations. In many sections of Central and South America, the combinations were similar to those of the Caribbean Islands, but with a greater native Indian influence than in the Islands.

Mexican Americans: Strangers in Their Native Land

"It is important to remember that many ancestors of today's U.S. Hispanics were here before the [Northern European] settlers arrived on this continent" (O'Hare, 1989). Along with the Native Americans, Mexicans are natives to the Southwest. They were born of Native American mothers who were indigenous to the land and of Spanish fathers who explored the area long before the British came to the Americas. Most of what is called the Southwest (including Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and parts of Wyoming) was Spanish and then Mexican territory. In the years between 1820 and 1850, the United States believed in its Manifest Destiny to annex the continent from ocean to ocean.

Aware of the American doctrine of Manifest Destiny, Mexico was concerned about its northern territories. Mexico allowed Northern European settlers into Texas, as long as they agreed to become Mexican citizens, to join the Catholic faith, and not to have slaves. Samuel Houston was granted large parcels of land, and he led many Northern European Americans in to settle in Texas. Mexico hoped that these settlers would be buffers against American expansion. However, Samuel Houston had other ideas about why he was in Texas. He also believed in the Manifest Destiny of the Northern European Americans to rule the continent. He asserted, "The Anglo-Saxon race must pervade the whole southern extremity of this vast continent. The Mexicans are no better than the Indians and I see no reason why we should not take their land" (cited in Chicano Communications Center, 1976).
In 1836, Texas broke with Mexico to become an independent nation, the Lone Star Republic. Many Texan Mexicans agreed with the Northern European Texans and fought side by side for the secession of Texas from Mexico. The United States did not annex Texas immediately, wishing to avoid a conflict with Mexico.

In 1845, the United States decided to take Texas as a state, which prompted the Mexican-American War. The United States won the war, and in 1848 Mexico signed the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which ceded more than half of its national territory to the United States. The Mexicans living in the ceded territories were given the option to keep their Mexican citizenship (and given resident alien status) or to take American citizenship. They were given one year to decide what citizenship they wanted. If they did not formally decide within that time, by default they became American citizens. These Mexicans did not immigrate; the border moved on them!

The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo guaranteed all of the Mexicans residing in the ceded territories who became United States citizens "all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution." It also guaranteed to those who became American citizens, and those who remained Mexican citizens, all rights to their property. According to Articles VIII and IX of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo,

Mexicans now established in territories previously belonging to Mexico . . . shall be free to continue where they now reside, or to remove to the Mexican Republic, retaining the property which they possess in the said territories . . . .

In the said territories, property of every kind now belonging to Mexicans not established there, shall be inviolably respected. The present owners, the heirs of these, and all Mexicans who may hereafter acquire said property by contract, shall enjoy with respect to it guarantees equally ample as if the same belonged to citizens of the United States. (cited in Lamb, 1970)

This treaty soon became a sham, and the provisions of the treaty, such as those stated above, were ignored. The land rights were not respected, and Mexicans, even those who were now "Americans," lost their land. They were cheated out of it or physically thrown off of it. The gold rush in California, the introduction of the railroads, and cattle ranches all played a part in the dispossession of the Mexicans from their land. The activist Reies Tijerina, during the 1960s and 1970s in New Mexico, tried to draw attention to the Mexicans' dispossession from their land.

The Twentieth Century

During the early 1900s and continuing into the 1920s, American business was booming. To keep up with the demand for workers, Americans brought in Mexicans to provide cheap labor in the fields and the factories. Many of the Mexican urban enclaves like those in Chicago and Detroit were created during that period.

In the 1930s, the atmosphere changed for the Mexican workers. The Depression came, and many people, including Mexicans, were out of work.
Politicians and businessmen alike made Mexicans the scapegoats for the country's economic problems. To try to solve the problem of job competition, the government decided to repatriate the Mexicans. Thousands were deported, many of them American citizens.

During World War II, the United States implemented the "bracero" program. Because of the war there was a labor shortage, and braceros or Mexican workers were brought to the United States to work for a company, usually agricultural, that had invited them. When the work was done, the workers were sent back to Mexico until they were needed again. Many of the braceros stayed in the United States; those who returned to Mexico told of jobs and a chance at a better life. Many of the immigrants came to the United States in search of a better life, just as those who came from all parts of Europe had done, but the Mexican immigrants were not as welcome as their European counterparts. The bracero program lasted until 1965, when it was discontinued by Congress.

Today, many people continue to emigrate from Mexico. They are escaping extreme poverty and are in search of a better life. Mexico is a major source of both legal and undocumented immigrants to the United States. Undocumented immigrants are a source of cheap labor and are working in low-paying, hard-labor jobs that would otherwise go unfilled.

### Puerto Ricans: Americans by Conquest

On November 19, 1493, Christopher Columbus and his men landed on the island that they were to call Puerto Rico, literally Rich Port, because they found gold there. The indigenous Indians called the island Boriquen. The Spanish introduced the "encomienda" system, which was similar to the indentured-servant scheme used in the British colonies. As the native Indian population died out from overwork, malnutrition, and disease, the Spanish turned to African slaves to meet their labor needs. In 1503, the Spanish Crown granted permission to import African slaves to the Americas. By the 17th century, the population of Puerto Rico could be described as European, African, and mulatto. The culture of the island became a mesh of African and Spanish; an example of this meshing is religion, which is a mixture of Catholicism and African religious beliefs. Slavery was abolished on the island in 1873 (Lopez, 1980).

Despite movements for independence, starting with the Lares Revolt, led by Ramon Betances in 1868, Spanish elites, fearing slave revolts and loss of control, prevented Puerto Rico's move toward independence. The island remained under Spanish rule until 1898.

In 1898, the United States gained control of Puerto Rico after its victory over Spain in the Spanish-American War. The island was annexed as a territory and later became a commonwealth of the United States. In 1917, Puerto Ricans were granted American citizenship. Thousands of young Puerto Ricans enlisted in the United States Army and died in Europe. Puerto Ricans were now free to enter and leave the United States mainland as they pleased. This brought about a unique dilemma. As American citizens by birth, Puerto Ricans were not subject to immigration laws, but because of their linguistic
and cultural difference from the majority, they were treated as unwelcome immigrants.

Today, Puerto Ricans living on the island—even though they are American citizens—are not allowed to vote in presidential elections. They have only one representative to Congress, who is allowed to speak but does not have a vote. Puerto Rico is headed by a governor who is freely elected by the people.

Major emigration from Puerto Rico to the United States began in the 1940s because of economic problems on the island and because the mainland industrial cities appeared to offer better employment opportunities. Emigration was facilitated by low air fares authorized at the request of the government. Upon their arrival on the mainland, Puerto Ricans faced cultural and ethnic discrimination. Most of these people came to earn a better living, but the majority had plans to move back to the island. Their dreams of a better life often did not completely materialize; they remain the poorest of all Hispanic groups in the United States (Lopez, 1980).

Puerto Ricans are mainly concentrated in New York and New Jersey. Islanders continue to move to the mainland for educational opportunities, and many remain because of employment opportunities. Puerto Ricans differ from Mexicans and Cubans because they can go back and forth between their home country and the mainland more easily than the other immigrant groups.

Cuban Immigrants

In 1492, after landing on the island of Hispaniola, which is now shared by the Dominican Republic and Haiti, Columbus charted the coast of Cuba before returning to Spain. Soon after, Cuba along with other Caribbean islands was conquered and colonized. As had occurred in Puerto Rico, the indigenous Indian population began to die out as a result of disease and overwork, so African slaves were brought in to meet labor needs. After a relatively short time, Cuba's population could also be described as European, African, and mulatto. The mixture of African and Spanish traditions can be observed today, as in the religious beliefs and musical traditions.

The Cuban presence in Florida dates back to the 1830s when Cuban cigar manufacturers, trying to avoid high U.S. tariffs, relocated their operations in Key West. The city provided an ideal setting for cigar production, since it offered easy access to the tobacco regions of western Cuba and the commercial centers of Havanna [sic]. (Masud-Piolo, 1988)

Most Cuban Americans are political refugees. The first major wave of Cuban immigrants came as a result of the Communist takeover in 1959. Most were from the upper-middle to upper class, who fled persecution. The majority of them had a high educational level and were primarily white-collar professionals. Extended families were separated during the immigration process because some were not able to leave before the Communist takeover.

The second wave of Cuban immigrants came to the United States about 1980 (the Mariel Sealift). These immigrants had a harder time adjusting to
their new environment than did the first wave because they were poorer and had lower educational levels. They did, however, have some advantages over many other immigrant groups because they came to an established Cuban community located mostly in Miami/Dade County, Florida.

Cuban Americans are concentrated primarily in the Miami metropolitan area and in central Florida. As political refugees, Cubans are not able to return to their homeland. This has been especially difficult for the older generation.

**El Salvadoreans, Guatemalans, and Nicaraguans: Recent Trends in Immigration**

In recent times, Central Americans have come to the United States in increasing numbers. Because of political conflict and extreme poverty in their countries, more and more Central Americans are making their way north every year. Many of those who arrive seek political asylum from their war-torn nations. A large number find themselves being taken back to the place from which they have just fled. Most of them are poor and illiterate and have scraped together all the resources they have to make the trip here, only to be sent back by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Recent immigration legislation has confined them to detention centers in southern Texas while a decision is made on their request for political asylum. Many Central Americans are also being held at detention centers in Miami, Florida, although some have settled in California and other parts of the United States. As in the case of Mexican immigrants, families are often separated during the immigration process. Children are arriving in this country alone in hopes of finding a better life.

**South Americans**

South Americans are also immigrating to the United States, but in much smaller numbers than other Hispanics. Because of the distance involved, usually only the wealthy can afford to make the trip here. Most of those coming to the United States are high-caliber professionals, such as surgeons, engineers, and biochemists. They are well trained and highly educated and quite easily make the transition to professional life in the United States. Most have a good knowledge of English before they arrive (Valdivieso & Davis, 1988).

**The Hispanic Agenda**

**The Growing Hispanic Population**

The Hispanic population is possibly the fastest growing in the United States, and this trend is expected to continue well into the 21st century. This growth will have a profound effect on public policy making, education, political representation, service implementation, the labor force, and other areas of American society.
Census Counts

Efforts have been made not to include undocumented persons in census counts. For example, a recent court case, Ridge v. Verity, challenged the constitutionality of including undocumented immigrants in census counts. The case was thrown out of court. The U.S. Constitution states that all persons in the United States shall be counted in the census. Congressman Ridge is now sponsoring the Census Equity Act, which is currently pending. A bill, with similar aims to exclude undocumented persons from the census, was sponsored by Senator Shelby of Alabama. It has already passed in the Senate. Such attempts to undermine Hispanics' political representation and to limit services to the Hispanic population are being backed by the Federation for American Immigration Reform, the group that is behind the "English-only" movement (Camarillo, 1989).

Immigration Law

Historically, immigration legislation has targeted Hispanic groups and has affected the Hispanic community in many important ways. For example, limiting the number of immigrants during a given year affects all Hispanics (except Puerto Ricans). At other times, legislation designed to assist immigrants has often fallen short—for example, the 1986 Immigration Reform Act, which outlined a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants. Those who could prove that they had resided in the United States since 1982 were given temporary resident status. Many individuals did not come forward because they did not have the required documents. They were fearful and distrustful of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, an agency they had learned to avoid.

Effect on the Future Work Force

By the turn of the century, Hispanics will comprise the majority of entry-level workers in the United States. As the general population ages and leaves the work force, the younger, growing population of Hispanics will enter the job market. By the year 2000, the younger Hispanics will account for 22% of the growth in the labor force; however, the manufacturing and manual-labor jobs that have historically been filled by Hispanics are disappearing. "If the current occupational profile of Hispanics is maintained, they would occupy only 5 percent of the jobs in the year 2000" (Valdivieso & Davis, 1988). Hispanics and other minorities are concentrated in jobs requiring a low level of skill, whereas future jobs will require high-level skills. Hence, Hispanics need more education to prepare them for jobs in new fields of skilled, technological employment (Johnston & Packer, 1987).

Economic Effect

Hispanics suffer from higher poverty levels than non-Hispanics, but it is estimated that, nationwide, the Hispanic market is worth $130 billion a year. This hidden market is relatively untapped, but new Spanish-language advertising is starting to reach it. Hispanics have the potential to be a
major commercial force in the United States. As more Hispanics are employed, this market share will continue to grow.

**Education**

As the employment picture changes from unskilled to highly skilled labor needs, Hispanic will be left behind without an education. Immigrants and native citizens alike require bilingual programs, math and science, and many other services to be able to compete successfully in the job market.

For me, they shouldn’t have put me in Basic Math. I should have been in Algebra. But there is more English vocabulary in Algebra so they said I couldn’t take it until I learned more English. I felt I was spending time with things I already knew, but then that’s required of Latin immigrants. We waste our time because we don’t know English yet. (Quoted from a Mexican student who immigrated at age 14; cited in Olsen, 1988)

**“English Only”**

Proponents of the “English only” movement claim that the official language of the United States should be English. Further, those in the movement think that the newly arrived Hispanics and Asians wish to remain in their own communities, living and working there, and not having to learn English or adapt to American society. The “English only” movement has been directed at Hispanics and Asians, and it threatens the few bilingual programs that do exist.

The appeal of this movement results from a variety of sources—patriotism, fear of the consequences of bilingualism, visions of uncontrollable immigration, a misunderstanding of the movement’s true agenda, chauvinism, and racism.

Because it arises from attitudes that those who speak only English are somehow superior to those who speak other languages, it sends a clear message to newcomers that their languages and cultures are unwelcome and inferior (National Coalition of Advocates for Students, 1988).

When "English only" legislation passes, it usually means that the state may not print, disseminate, or provide services bilingually. Currently, Michigan driver’s license tests are printed in Spanish and English. Voting ballots can be requested in Spanish. Court translators are allowed to help Spanish-speaking defendants and plaintiffs. If "English only" were to pass in Michigan, all of these services would be cut or made illegal.

The "English only" legislation has passed in 17 states and has resulted in employment discrimination, affected the fairness of the judicial system, and negatively influenced Hispanics’ voting rights in these states. Proponents of a similar movement, known as "U.S. English," are working to have English declared the official language of the United States. The effects of this type of legislation on the civil rights of Hispanics are broad and could have a lasting negative effect.
Political Representation and Participation

Hispanics are adding tremendously to the growth of the United States as a whole but, more important, to a few states in particular. Many of these states, like California and Texas, are very important to the presidential campaigns because of their electoral votes. Growth in the Hispanic population in these states will make them even more important to presidential elections and will also shift the balance in Congress.

The New Image of Hispanics

Hispanics have made great contributions to American society and are an integral part of the nation's heritage. Many American cities and states, such as Los Angeles, San Antonio, San Francisco, Colorado, Florida, and California, stand as reminders of America's Hispanic heritage. Many Spanish words have become part of everyday English, e.g., fiesta, siesta, rodeo, mesa, lasso (from lazo), and ranch (from rancho).

Hispanics have made significant contributions to the arts and drama. Hispanics like Carlos Santana and Diego Rivera have influenced American music and art. In movies and on television, the images of Hispanics are slowly changing from stereotypes to strong characters portrayed by Hispanic actors and actresses such as Linda Carter, Edward James Olmos, Jimmy Smits, Elizabeth Pena, Raquel Welch, Charlie Sheen, and many others. In politics, Hispanics are active at many levels of government, from state to federal, from Mayor Suarez in Miami to Secretary of Education Lauro Cavazos, with many steps in between.

References


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Overview

Comprehensive References


This document describes and analyzes the role of Hispanics in American history. It includes a historical overview of Hispanics' immigration to the United States, focusing separately on four groups: Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Hispanics. The contributions of Hispanic immigrants to American government, learning, and culture are also discussed.


This is a comprehensive survey covering the history, politics, and culture of all major Hispanic groups in the United States. Various parts cover the Spanish legacy of the Southwest and Mexican immigration after the turn of the century; immigrants from Puerto Rico, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Central America; changes in the demographic composition of the nation and the issues involved in the national debate over immigration; the immigrants themselves, their culture and adaptation to life in the United States; and a demographic portrait of Hispanics in the United States and their social attitudes.


This anthology of writings by the major Hispanic writers of the United States includes prize-winning stories, poems, and essays by writers like Miguel Algarin, Rudy Anaya, Andres Berger, Rolando Hinojosa, Miguel Pinero, and Tomas Rivera.


This collection of resource materials for teachers was compiled for National Hispanic Heritage Week. It includes a historical overview of the immigration of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and other Hispanic groups. A bibliography of teacher resources is included.

Pineda, H. "The Hispanic Character (El Caracter Hispano)." *Agenda* 10 (July-August 1980): 28-33, 47.

Pineda discusses the Hispanic character and comments on the emulation of an ideal self; the sociopolitical background centered on a large, loving family network; congeniality; sense of humor; work ethics, attitudes, and habits; and religion.

Schon, I. *Hispanic Heritage: References, Resources and Realities.* Hispanic Heritage Series II. New York: Scarecrow.

This booklet is a resource guide to use in teaching about the contributions Hispanics have made to the United States. Part I highlights Hispanic countries, with brief facts on their demography, sociology, economy, history, and so on. Part II describes accomplishments of Hispanic individuals.

**Demographic Studies and Research Reports**


This report analyzes U.S. immigration from the beginning of the nation to 1985. The authors discuss important immigration legislation and what that legislation means to immigration to the United States.


In California, the high Latino birth rate is leading to a stratified population of working younger Latinos supporting the social programs of aged European Americans. Policy decisions must aim for economic and educational gains and social cohesion for Latinos and other minorities.


This report explores strategies and options that can be used to integrate more Hispanic young people into stable sectors of the work force, where they are needed today and will be even more vital in the future. The report outlines the mismatch between the skill level of Hispanic youths and the skill level required in the job market.


This study documents future trends in the labor market. As Hispanic immigrants and women become a larger part of the work force, there will be an incongruity between their job skill level and the high-level skills required in a technological society. Education of these future participants in the work force is required to meet future labor needs.

Undocumented Hispanic migrants to the United States are 60% Mexican, male, and usually between the ages of 15 and 39. Because of the decreasing birth rate in the United States, immigrants will be needed for the low-skill labor market for many years.


The authors provide demographic data on immigrants from Latin America to the United States, showing points of origin and destination and giving information on the gender, age, educational background, and professions of immigrants.


This paper provides a broad overview of the current socioeconomic status and the recent socioeconomic advancement of the rapidly growing Hispanic population. Several noneconomic measures are also used to assess the level of assimilation of this group.


Comprehensive information on Hispanic Americans is compiled in this almanac. Included are a historical overview of Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans; a socioeconomic profile of Hispanics and an analysis of each subgroup; demographic, cultural, and economic profiles of the top 20 Hispanic markets; and the size and extent of Hispanic electoral participation and voting patterns.


"This report presents data on selected demographic, social, and economic characteristics of the Hispanic population of the United States."

Education

The author examines population trends projected between 1980 and 2000 and the implications of these trends for the future of American elementary and midlevel education.

Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and Cubans have had different geographical and cultural experiences. Problems specific to each group, and educational strategies to solve them, are presented to promote cultural pluralism in the schools.


The author gives a good overview of the differentiation among immigrants and their educational implications.


"New Voices is the first national report to document the encounter between the children of the great immigration wave of the 1970s-80s and U.S. public schools. It identifies a host of problems which these students and the schools create for each other, and offers recommendations for changes in school policy and practice which we believe will result in greater school success for young immigrants."


The author addresses goals for Hispanic education and the current political situation in which these goals must be pursued. The article discusses how the agenda of Hispanic researchers and advocacy organizations is rapidly expanding beyond a traditional focus on language and bilingual education.


The author outlines the experience of immigration—the causes and process. The book also contains background information about Mexican immigrant children and the process of adjustment they experience in the United States. Also discussed are potential problems caused by culture clash.


Using the 1980 High School and Beyond data set, the writer examines the educational aspirations of Hispanic parents for their children in high school. Hispanic parents had high aspirations for their children and wanted them to receive education beyond high school. Aspiration levels were comparable to those of American parents in general.

The researchers investigated the problem Hispanic students may have in adjusting to a school culture different from their home culture. Findings suggest that effective teachers understand the significance of collective work in the Mexican family.


This work "provides an overview of the educational status of Hispanic Americans, and quick and easy access to some of the recent and important data on education and Hispanics. The focus is on participation in elementary and secondary schools, and on the factors that prevent school completion and access to higher education."

Women


The author discusses the differences among Mexican American, Puerto Rican, and Cuban American women in terms of immigration patterns, occupations, and socioeconomic status.


This is the story of Jesusita, a midwife at the age of 14, in her own words, of her early training as a midwife, her forced departure from home, her solitary struggle to support her two children, and her gradual emergence as a leader in the community. Supplemental sections by the author illuminate Jesusita's culture and past, together with a historical account of the network of medical care provided by Hispanic female healers.


This book is an anthology of personal accounts of selecte Cuban women of different generations in the United States.


The authors present a collection of life stories told by Hispanic women of New Mexico, speaking together to create an oral history of Hispanas' experiences in the Southwest.

This book presents writings about the concerns and struggles of Latinas. The writings were authorized by Latinas: writers who identify as United States third-world women. Articles are in Spanish, English, "Spanlish," and "Tex-Spanglish." The writings attempt to capture the expressions, feelings, and concerns of Latinas. The range of writings elaborates and recreates the richness and complexity of being a Latina in the United States, the Caribbean, and Latin America.


The book begins with an overview of the role of Chicanas in various historical periods from pre-Columbian society to the present. The lives of contemporary Chicanas are influenced by many cultural expectations that originated in these ancient Indian and Mexican cultures. The authors pay particular attention to the role Chicanas played in the development of the American Southwest.


This collection of five short stories and a novella offers a portrait of Hispanic women in New York City.


This is the story of a Tarahumara woman who, in the course of the work, gives up the primitive but wondrous indigena life. After numerous tragedies and betrayals, she crosses the border as an undocumented migrant in order to give birth to her child in the United States. She later achieves her dream of land ownership.


The authors describe working conditions, wages, housing, language abilities, and ages of undocumented and documented Mexican women migrants in Los Angeles County, California.


This is a collection of stories by Puerto Rican women. Some of the stories are translated from Spanish, and others are bilingual.

This anthology contains prose and poetry by the leading Hispanic women writers. Among the 40 writers represented are Ana Castillo, Sandra Maria Esteves, and Nicholasa Mohr.

**Arts and Literature**

**Art and Music**


This article traces the history of Mexican muralism (1920s to 1970s) as an art of advocacy intended to change consciousness and promote political action and shows how it can still be used in an educative manner in schools. The effects of three great muralists (Diego Rivera, Jose Clemente Orozco, and David Alvaro Siqueiros) are emphasized.


Discussing the literary and artistic expression of Hispanics in the United States, this article focuses on such thematic and ideological manifestations as the Hispanic historical experience, the sentimental journey "back home" into the community, the depiction of conflicts, the destruction of stereotypes, and the reflection of the artists' cultures and societies.


"Over the past century, Latin music has been the greatest outside influence on the popular music styles of the United States. Virtually all of the major popular forms--Tin Pan Alley, stage and film music, rock--have been affected throughout their development by the idioms of Brazil, Cuba, or Mexico. Moreover, these Latin ingredients have gained in strength over the years."


The purpose of this research was to study New Yorican-made external murals in the Lower East Side of Manhattan, New York City. The murals communicate culturally specific feelings and emotions, social structure of behavior, and characteristics of the Puerto Rican world view.

The purpose of this study was to examine the lives and art of New York Puerto Rican painters to discern to what extent their art reflected their experiences in New York.

Film and Theater


This play focuses on the lives of a Cuban family living in exile in New York. Roberto, the father, refuses to learn English and lives for the day he and his family can return to Havana. His daughter, on the other hand, loses no time in assimilating. The play won New York City’s ACE best drama award and Miami’s ACCA best original drama award.


The author based this article on his experiences as an actor-director in the Chicano Theater. In sketches based on satirically cutting acts, often using a mixture of Spanish and English, the Chicano Theater examines everything from television commercials and stereotypes to the American Dream, in order to enhance Mexican Americans’ identity.


This is a collection of studies on the Mexican American, Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Spanish stage in the United States over the last 150 years.


In this collection of interviews, essays, and vaudeville skits from the 1930s to the 1950s, all pertaining to Mexican American theater, characters, acting styles, trends, and theaters are portrayed.


This volume, the first publication dedicated to Chicano cinema, is the product of the programs, activities, and resource identification from Eastern Michigan University’s Chicano film festival. This is a pioneer work that has benefited from the contributions of many people developing the art of Chicano film.

The author focuses on the up-and-coming Latino actors and actresses in Hollywood.


Pinto discusses Hollywood's Spanish-language films made during the 1930s for Spanish and Latin American audiences and mentions the Mexican, Latin American, Portuguese, and Spanish stars who appeared in them.


This article spotlights a new era of Hispanic entertainers in Hollywood movies. Hispanic actors and actresses are demanding nonstereotypical roles and presenting more positive images.

Tom and Musca (producers) and Menéndez, Ramón (director), Stand and Deliver [film]. Burbank, Calif.: Warner Brothers, 1988.

Edward James Olmos gives a fierce, widely acclaimed performance as Jaime Escalante, a math teacher at East Los Angeles's Garfield High School, who refuses to write off his inner-city Hispanic students as losers. The film is based on a true story.

Characterization in Literature


This article discusses acceptable and unacceptable treatments of Mexico, its people, and its culture in books for children and young adults.


The author discusses nine detrimental and six distinguished books about Hispanic people and cultures, intended for young readers, that have been published since 1979. Many recent books about Hispanics repeat the same stereotypes and misconceptions that were prevalent in books published in the 1960s and 1970s. The distinguished books tell about the jobs, wisdom, and fantasy of Hispanics, as well as the beauties of ancient cities and the works of Hispanic poets and performers.
Cultural Traditions and Social Customs


Arora examines the use of proverbs among 304 Mexican Americans (aged 16 to 85) in Los Angeles, California. Information is also provided on how or where particular proverbs were learned, with whom or what kind of individual their use is associated, the occasions on which proverbs are used, and general attitudes toward their use.


The author defines "little" cultural traditions as those customs, behaviors, and attitudes of ordinary people involved in the day-to-day problems of living and survival. The origins, historic influences, and general characteristics of Hispanic culture and of its Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Cuban subcultures are traced.


Social customs such as the Afro-Catholic religion of Santeria, the debutante's Fiesta de Quinze, and voodoo thrive in Miami's Little Havana, the home of Cuban refugees and the largest Cuban community outside Havana.


This study examines the Children's Verbal Folklore, or CVF in Spanish and English, of third- and fourth-grade Puerto Rican students in a bilingual program in New Haven, Connecticut. This material includes children's orally transmitted rhymes, sayings, and chants. CVF can be used to improve students' self-esteem, as well as first- and second-language skills, and can help lay the foundation for literacy. This study provides insights for educators who wish to investigate children's folklore or to use it in the classroom.


The authors delineate folk beliefs, social customs, and ceremonies associated with Hispanic culture in New Mexico, from the 16th through the 20th centuries.

Torres presents the history and present practice of curanderismo—Mexican American folk healing practices—and gives biographical sketches of three famous 19th-century folk healers—Don Pedrito Jaramillo, Nino Fidencio, and Teresita Urrea. Characteristics and training of curanderos (healers) are discussed, and the specialties within curanderismo are explained.


This book explores the legends, proverbs, songs, folk crafts, games, and food of Mexican Americans. It attempts to bring out the similarities in European American and Mexican American folklore, as well as the unique characteristics of the latter.


The wool blankets and rugs woven during the 19th and 20th centuries in the Rio Grande Valley of northern New Mexico represent a combination of the three cultures of the Navajo and Pueblo Indians and Hispanic Americans.

Family Life


This issue focuses on Hispanic families. The articles include "Voices and Issues: A Celebration of Hispanic Diversity," and "Some Facts in Understanding Latino Families." Lists of Hispanic programs, resources, and organizations are given.


This book investigates the social and economic history of families of Mexican heritage in the Southwest since 1848. It emphasizes the urban experience of families in four towns and explores the conflicts between the beliefs and values of Mexican Americans and European Americans.


This is an excellent source on Hispanic family values and traditions. The book includes a historical and ethnographic profile of Hispanic ethnic groups in the United States, the Latino presence in the United States, demographic trends, and family life issues.

The Puerto Rican cultural value of familism, emphasizing obligation and duties of family members to one another, has endured changes in cultural values caused by migrations between the United States and Puerto Rico, influences of social and economic trends, and pressures to acculturate to American society. An understanding of familism is useful to those working with Puerto Rican families.

**Language Use**


The author discusses verbal performance of East Austin (Texas) Chicano children; how their attitudes about language influence their choice of English-Spanish codes, the favored verbal code being Spanish-English code-switching; their ability to maintain code separation; and how their two major cultural heritages are fully exploited to create a resolutely Chicano expressive profile.


This study describes and analyzes the role of Spanish and English in the lives of bilingual children in a community setting. Its specific focus is the functions and linguistic characteristics of code switching in children of different ages and language-proficiency levels. The research was conducted over a period of 18 months on a Puerto Rican block in East Harlem. The research revealed that the community values and uses both Spanish and English in all aspects of life in networks that alternately reinforce Spanish or English or code switching.

**Personal Narratives**


Helen Caire, who lived on her father's ranch on Santa Cruz Island, California, reminisces about some of the vaqueros (Mexican American cowboys) she knew as a child.


The author presents an excerpt from the diary of an unnamed 12-year-old Cuban boy, documenting his difficult departure from Cuba in 1980 and his first experiences in a Pennsylvania relocation camp before his family settled with a sponsor in Michigan.

The book is a study of Mexican immigration to the United States, based on extensive personal interviews with Mexicans living throughout the United States, particularly the Southwest.


This study compares the literary works of Mexican fiction writers with the actual experiences and folk songs of braceros, in order to test the extent to which images presented in the news media, books, and magazines correspond to the image the bracero has of himself. In a unique method of oral history investigation, braceros, documented and undocumented temporary workers, were interviewed.


Members of the Puerto Rican community of New Bedford, Massachusetts, recount their personal histories and current situations. They discuss immigration, jobs, housing, their neighborhood, and their minority status.

Photographic Essays


This powerful account of Chicano history was designed as a response to U.S. Bicentennial activities. The book contains black and white photographs; the narrative is in Spanish and English.


The photographs in this book vividly depict Nicaraguan people caught between the contra and the Sandinista factions, trying to live life amid the devastation of civil war.


Hall gives a compelling description, in narrative and photographs, of the Mexican/American border communities—a hybrid of two nations. He introduces the people who live on the border, live with it, cross it, and try to cross it. Most of the narrative is taken from interviews with ranchers, refugees, smugglers, priests, artists, and teachers.

This monograph provides a record of the history of Mexican Los Angeles, founded by the Spanish in 1781. Two centuries of history are covered from both a social and cultural perspective, highlighted by illustrations, photographs, and maps.


This is a photographic essay, with brief commentary, of life in the Puerto Rican barrio of Long Island, New York, in 1981.

Major Hispanic Subgroups

Mexican Americans


This is a collection of stories of migrant workers moving across the country, from South Texas up through the northern plains. There is a chorus of voices: mothers, fathers, sons, daughters, young, old, dreamers, priests, laborers, and poets.


Two strikingly contrasting cultural groups, Latin Americans and European Americans, overlap in the international boundary between the United States and Mexico. This began with Cortes's conquest of the Aztecs, which triggered the intermixing of Spaniards and Indians that produced a mestizo people and a Mexican culture. European intrusion began when Mexico opened her northern frontier to trade and allowed colonization by non-Mexicans. The annexation of Texas and the cession of territory in 1948 redefined Mexico's northern border, making Mexican residents in the area American citizens. This Mexican-origin population has played a major role in the Hispanicization of United States.


The common assumption that Cuban immigrants are more successful in the United States than Mexican immigrants because of class origin is only a half-truth. Cuban immigrants have received considerable assistance from the American government because they are political exiles, whereas Mexican migrants have been denied such help.

This chapter provides a demographic profile of the Mexican American population and an overview of specific cultural and familial characteristics of Mexican Americans.


Rodriguez presents a brief memoir of life as a Mexican American growing up in California and reflects on the identity of Mexican Americans, their place in their adopted country, and their image of Mexico.


The Mexican American identity is a dynamic image, emerging from a process of human development in which variations from European and indigenous peoples are combined within a complex historical situation.

Mexican American History


This is a classic book describing the events that led to the colonization of Chicanos. Part I describes the United States invasion of Mexico in the mid-1830s and the relationship between the European Americans and Mexicans. Part II deals with the Mexicans during the 20th century and the effect that their lack of access to North American institutions has had in depriving them of basic human rights.


In spite of the contemporary Chicano movement, 19th- and early 20th-century myths and stereotypes about Mexicans and Mexican Americans are perpetuated by movies and television. These media often ignore Chicanos' decades of contributions to American culture.


Drawing on 2,000 years of Mexican and American history, this epic poem is one of the most powerful social statements ever made by Chicanos. Through the voice of Joaquin, the heroes and villains of Chicano history come to life.

The author briefly surveys Hispanic California from the first discoveries and settlement to secularization of the missions, focusing on the establishment of missions, presidios, and pueblos in Alta California.


Originally published in 1948, this is still considered the definitive study of the Mexicans in the American Southwest.


The author traces Mexican Americans' efforts to end segregation in Texas from World War II to the 1970s. Before World War II, the Texas state government was dominated by rural political and economic interests. Postwar urban growth and the development of a Mexican American middle class, as well as an increasing liberal influence in the Democratic Party, helped bring a gradual end to discriminatory laws, segregated schools, and discrimination in employment and housing.


This book contains a valuable collection of historical documents about the depth of anti-Mexican sentiment in the United States, as well as the effect of the Mexican War and the Texas Revolution on Mexicans in America. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo guaranteed those Mexicans the rights of American citizens but was largely unenforced, leaving the Mexicans a mistreated minority in a European culture.

Mexican American Literature


This is a novel about adolescence in the Mexican community, told from a child's point of view. The main influence in the boy's life is Ultima, the female spiritual leader of the community. This book is representative of Mexican culture and provides insight into the religion, myths, and people of Mexico.


In his autobiography, Galarza recounts his journey from a Mexican village to Sacramento, California. His family leaves their village in the turmoil of the 1910 Mexican Revolution. In his new home he is subjected to unique experiences and influences and is able to preserve his personal integrity, overcome the prejudices he experienced as a child, and develop a strong sense of self.

This is the story of a young Mexican girl in Texas's Rio Grande Valley who matures and takes on the leadership of her family when her parents become separated while crossing the border into the United States.


This is a comprehensive anthology of current Mexican American literature and art in Texas. Among the writers featured are Cecilio Garcia-Camarillo, Rolando Hinojosa, and Rosaura Sanches. Graphic artists Luis Jimenes, Amado Pena, and Rudy Trevino are also featured.


This novel is the true story of Jose Policarpo Rodriguez, who came to the Republic of Texas from Mexico in 1839 and associated with the Mexicans, Indians, and Europeans who lived there. As the Mexican War approached, he faced the decision of where to place his loyalties.


The author recounts the story of Gregorio Cortes Lira, a Texas-Mexican ranch hand who was convicted of murdering the sheriff who had shot and killed his brother. Actually, Lira was the victim of double standards in justice that existed for European Texans and Mexican Texans.


This book provides insight into the militancy and origins of the Chicano movement. The author traces the Chicano culture through its economic, political, philosophical, and spiritual history, from the arrival of the Spaniards to confrontations with police in East Los Angeles in 1970.


The bilingual text of this book tells a growing-up story through the eyes of the young son of migrant farm workers.


This is the autobiography of Mexican American Richard Rodriguez. He describes alienation from his past, parents, and culture as the price he paid as a minority student to "make it" in middle-class America.
Puerto Ricans


This book provides a descriptive and analytical overview of Puerto Ricans in the mainland United States, with a special focus on those in New York City. It gives a brief historical sketch of the Puerto Ricans and examines the meaning of migration and assimilation for both Puerto Ricans and New Yorkers.


This chapter provides a demographic overview of Puerto Ricans and describes their cultural and familial characteristics.


Articles in this book cover Puerto Rican history from the Spanish colonization to the present-day experience of Puerto Ricans in the United States. Political, social, economic, cultural, and historical issues are addressed. Issues of poverty among and discrimination against Puerto Ricans in the mainland United States are also presented.


Puerto Ricans are highly segregated residentially from non-Hispanic European Americans and moderately segregated from African Americans. These findings are the opposite of those observed for other Hispanic groups. The Puerto Rican anomaly stems from their very low socioeconomic status and their African ancestry.


This is an excellent anthropological study of a Puerto Rican community in New York. The themes of cultural variation and conflict within the Puerto Rican community are documented.


The focus of this collection of essays is the survival of Puerto Rican culture—history, language, arts, preferences, practices, symbols, spirit, and style. The aim of this monograph is to highlight the process of assimilation and the means that Puerto Ricans have used in their struggle to maintain their identity in the United States.

Wakefield reports about the life of poverty and ill health in one of the world's worst slums--Spanish Harlem, the Puerto Rican settlement in New York City. He describes the lifestyle and events he has observed there.

**Puerto Rican History**


The authors describe American colonialism and capitalist expansion in Puerto Rico since 1900, migration of Puerto Ricans to the United States, which has increased dramatically since 1950, and their consistently low place in the American economic scene.


This journalistic study of the effect of colonialism in Puerto Rico provides a social history of Puerto Rico under the colonialism of both Spain and the United States.


This article describes the experience of Angel and Aurea Ortiz, who migrated from Puerto Rico in 1959 and 1949, respectively; married and lived in Hoboken, New Jersey; and returned twice to the island only to return each time to New Jersey due to economic conditions.


Hawaii and Puerto Rico, both annexed by the United States in 1898, soon became aware of their complementary problems--the overpopulation of Puerto Rico and the need for workers in Hawaii. Migration began in 1900, and the Roman Catholic, Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans found work, as well as unanticipated economic and cultural problems.

**Puerto Rican Literature**


Opening in a tiny village in Puerto Rico, this debut novel moves from the lush atmosphere of island life to a tough immigrant neighborhood in New Jersey, juxtaposing one culture with two different worlds.

In this book of poetry by a New York lyricist, an "AmeRican" identity is forged out of mainland and island traditions.


A celebration of the Puerto Rican experience in New York, these poems give the feeling of being surrounded by the inner society of New York Puerto Ricans.


This collection of Puerto Rican literature provides insight into the migration experience. In novels, stories, poetry, and drama, Puerto Ricans themselves describe several generations of migrant experience.


This is a collection of stories about the Puerto Rican neighborhood of the Bronx.


This classic novel of a Puerto Rican girl's coming of age in New York during World War II tells a story of hardship and discrimination.


The author "chronicles the journey of [his] family from a small Puerto Rican village to New York City... In his awareness of what is both beautiful and lost to him of his Puerto Rican heritage, in his ambiguous ambition to "make it" in his new world Edward Rivera has created an intimate portrayal of a specific family."


In this autobiography, Thomas describes his experiences growing up and living in New York's Spanish Harlem.


This is a collection of tales set in New York, dealing with issues facing Puerto Ricans in the United States.
Cuban Americans


This book is a discussion of the major social, economic, political, and geographical topics relating to Cuban settlement and culture in the United States. It examines Cubans as an ethnic minority, analyzes their distribution and residential patterns, their growth and impact in Miami, demographic characteristics, language and religious patterns, art, and cuisine.


because of racial pressures, the Cuban immigrant community in Tampa split into separate white and black sections during the 1890s. The Afro-Cuban community in Tampa organized its own social club, La Union Marti-Maceo, which has continued to thrive. The community has recently been invigorated by the retirement of many Afro-Cubans from the North, who have moved to Tampa and surrounding areas.


This novel is about a child’s coming of age and of immigration from Cuba to Florida. It presents a mosaic of Cuban American culture.


In the 19th century, important Cuban communities existed in Tampa, Key West, and New York. The post-1959 Cuban immigrants have concentrated in the Miami area. In comparison with other major Hispanic groups in the United States, Cubans have a large proportion of middle-aged and elderly persons, a female majority, low fertility, and relatively high socioeconomic status.


The Mariel immigrants of 1980 differed in some important ways from earlier Cuban refugees in Miami. Generally, Mariel immigrants tended to be single and included more Afro-Cubans than did earlier groups. They also experienced discrimination from older Cubans who had long been settled in the United States, thus indicating the possibility of a split Cuban American community.

The author addresses the reasons, motivations, and circumstances for the migration of nearly 90,000 Cubans to the United States from 1959 through 1980. The emphasis is on events that made the migration unique (Cuba Children's Program, Camarioca boatlift). Some of the events affecting Cuban-American relations--the Cold War, the Bay of Pigs invasion, and the exile community--are discussed.


Key West played an important role in the continuous effort to liberate Cuba from Spanish rule after the Zanjon Pact of 1878. Dedicated rebels continued sacrifices to further the goal of freedom despite economic deprivation and political demoralization. But a recession curtailed cigar production and divided the Cuban community. Resurgence occurred during the late 1880s, and with it came the birth of a new revolutionary center at Tampa Bay.


Tampa, Florida, cigarworkers provided emigre unity with Cubans in Key West to support Jose Marti's Cuban revolutionary movement.

The author discusses how the Cuban cigar industry influenced the development of Tampa, Florida, when Don Vincente Martinez Ybor built what is now part of Tampa, Ybor City, to support his cigar business.
THE NATIVE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

By Patricia Dyer

Precontact

Before the first contact with Europeans in Michigan, Native American civilization had been advancing for thousands of years. Archaeologists have identified three distinct cultural patterns devised by the first residents, who made a living from a wide variety of natural resources in Michigan's changing environment. The first residents were called Paleo-Indians. They lived in small, mobile groups from 10,000 B.C. to 8000 B.C. and hunted bison, mastodons, and giant mammoths on the edge of giant glaciers that then covered much of the state. By 6000 B.C., the glaciers had receded and temperatures warmed. The giant land-dwelling mammals hunted by the Paleo-Indians became extinct. Other Native American tribal groups, such as the Archaic and Woodland, soon followed. The Archaic, who did not travel as extensively as the Paleo-Indian, lived between 6000 B.C. and 1000 B.C. They lived around the waterways and are known for inventing and managing a sophisticated technology for abundant fish stocks and a host of plants. The last tribal group before contact were the Woodland peoples, who lived from 1000 B.C. through 300 B.C. These horticulturists cultivated corn, beans, and sunflowers. They lived in larger, more permanent villages than any of the peoples before them. They left evidence of their highly developed religion, political system, and cross-continent trade routes. By the time Michigan's history began to be recorded in the 1600s, the Woodland peoples' way of life, which was based on farming, fishing, hunting, and gathering, had remained relatively unchanged (Cleland, 1975; Fitting, 1975).

Historic Tribes

The Historic Period began with the arrival of the French in the Great Lakes region in the early 1600s. Three prominent tribes in Michigan's Historic Period are the Chippewa (Ojibway), the Ottawa (Odawa), and the Potawatomi. These tribes are closely related in language and culture, and in their general historical past. Their oral traditions indicate that their ancestors moved to Michigan from somewhere near the Atlantic Ocean, long before recorded history. These Indians related to each other like members of a family. The Odawa and Potawatomi called the Ojibway "older brothers," indicating the relative age of this tribe and the respectful relationship that the Odawa and Potawatomi tribes maintained with them. The Odawa were the next born, and the Potawatomi were the "younger brothers." Together these tribes formed the Three Fires Confederacy, an alliance that promoted

1Michigan's first residents were Native Americans. The following terms are used to designate these peoples: Paleo-Indians, Archaic, Woodland Indians, Anishnabek, Odawa, Ojibway, Wyandotte, and Potawatomi.
the mutual interests and territories of the three brothers. They did not call themselves Indians but Anishnabek, the "real people" (Clifton, Cornell, & McClurken, 1986), although there are several interpretations of this word.

The older brothers of the Three Fires Confederacy were called Ojibway by the early French explorers. Translated, this name meant "to roast 'til puckered up." It described the unique style of moccasin these people wore. However, the Sault Band of Ojibway referred to themselves as Pahouitingwach Irini, or "people of the falls." The Ojibway maintained a large fishing village at the Rapids of the St. Mary's River at modern-day Sault Ste. Marie. Although some settled along the St. Clair River, the Saginaw River drainage, and on Grand Traverse Bay, the majority of Michigan Ojibway people lived in the Upper Peninsula in the 1600s. These people were known to be skilled hunters and fishermen. They produced highly valued hides for the North American fur trade (Ritzenthaler, 1978; Rogers, 1978).

The next born, the Odawa, were recognized as exceptionally skillful intertribal traders. Odawa means "to trade" or to buy and sell. However, some Odawa elders have understood the name Ottawa to mean "people at home everywhere." As their name implies, these people were recognized as exceptionally skillful intertribal traders. Women wove carpet-like mats, bags, and baskets; grew crops; and gathered maple sugar, berries, and other plants--items the Odawa men traded. The Odawa, like the Ojibway, excelled in making birchbark canoes. This factor enabled the Odawa to trade with tribes from all over the North American continent. In addition to their extensive traveling, the men also fished extensively and worked with women to prepare important fields. In 1650, the Iroquois pursued the Odawa from Canadian lands bordering the Georgian Bay to Michigan. From the Straits of Mackinac they gradually settled along the shores of Lake Michigan in the Lower Peninsula (Feest & Feest, 1978).

The younger brothers of the Confederacy, the Potawatomi, were called "the people of the place of the fire." Some scholars have considered them Michigan's first farmers because they relied more on their horticultural skills than on hunting and fishing for a living. The more temperate regions of lower Michigan allowed the Potawatomi to produce more reliable crops of squash, corn, melons, beans, and tobacco than the Ojibway and Odawa could raise in their more northern territories. As a result, their villages were larger and more permanent than those of the Ojibway and some Odawa settlements (Clifton, 1986).

A fourth tribe, the Huron or Wyandotte, moved to Michigan with the Odawa in 1600, although the majority of these people left the state for reservations in Kansas before 1840. These people called themselves Wendat, meaning "dwellers in a peninsula," which referred to their Canadian home. The French called them Huron or "boar's head" because the Wyandotte men shaved all of their hair except a single lock that ran across the top of their head in a way that reminded the French of a boar's bristles. Many cultural differences separated these people from other Michigan tribes.

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2Grand Traverse Community oral history, as told by Charles Keway to the Concannon family and many others in 1983.
Whereas the Three Brothers spoke an Algonquin dialect, the Wyandotte spoke an Iroquoian language, which is as similar to Algonquin as Chinese is to English. Rather than living in small houses that sheltered a small family group, the Wyandotte lived in houses up to 130 feet long that sheltered an entire extended family. Each family had its own cooking fire in a central aisle. It was not unusual to find 12 fires in one house. For many years before the French arrived in the Great Lakes region, the Wyandotte had made their living primarily by trade; they manufactured snowshoes, moccasins, collars of porcupine quills, purses, paddles, fur caps, mittens, and sashes. More important, they exchanged corn from their fertile fields with the northern peoples, whose short growing seasons would not allow them to raise this crop. In return, the Wyandotte received furs, which they forwarded to southern peoples whose own stocks were not as fine a quality as those of the north (Tooker, 1978; Trigger, 1969).

A Way of Life

Each tribe developed unique adaptations to the environment in which they lived and a cultural emphasis on creativity, which makes efforts at generalization difficult. Still, Michigan Anishnabek shared many cultural traits. These include reliance on the same basic natural resources, a common technology used to exploit those assets, shared ethics, and a similar socio-political organization.

Anthropologically, Michigan Native Americans followed a seasonal cycle of production from the resources of their environment. During the spring and summer, when the food sources in the environment produced the most abundantly, members of the tribe would come together. During the spring thaw, families throughout the state went to their favorite grove of sugar maples and made syrup and sugar. When this task was completed, men would fish while women prepared and planted their gardens. As spring turned to summer, the forests and prairies produced an abundance of natural fruits, including a variety of berries, wild potatoes, and greens. Throughout the summer, people lived in large groups and enjoyed each other's company. At this time of the year, the most important religious festivals were held. Women gathered cattails, basswood, black ash, and spruce root for their mats, baskets, and containers, as well as birchbark to cover their houses. Men, too, gathered wood for their tools and birchbark for their canoes. Work intensified during the harvest. Vegetables, fruit, wild game, and fish had to be dried and stored in the fall to sustain the people through winter. In the winter, the Ojibway camps broke into nuclear families, all of whom went to the far interior of their lands to hunt and trap until spring. The Odawa and Potawatomi, who had larger amounts of storable foods, tended to remain in larger groups for a longer time. Often they would leave people in the summer village year around while the men trapped animals for pelts. In the spring, people would come together once again (Kinietz, 1963; McClurken, 1986).

Michigan Native Americans had no formal written governmental or political institutions like the colonists. Rather, the "honor system" or the bonds of kinship kept the rules of acceptable behavior in balance. Each tribe or nation comprised a number of autonomous bands. A band contained
one or more extended family members who lived in a single village. Much like the European American custom of surnames, Native American families drew their identity from their mother's or father's side. The Ojibway, Odawa, and Potawatomi were patrilineal; that is, they drew their identity through the male family line. The Wyandotte were matrilineal; their identity and inheritance came from the female family line (Cleland, 1975).

At birth, a child became a member of either the father's or mother's clan, a "super-family" that transcended mere human families and provided the child with genealogical connections to the very Creator of his family. Michigan Native Americans believed that each human family was the direct descendant of an animal whose body was used by the Creator to make humans. A person might be the descendant of a turtle, loon, crane, eagle, bear, wolf, marten, fish, or catfish, to name a few. Each person inherited special innate traits from the founder of his/her clan. For example, a person from the crane clan was known to be an effective leader, a wolf clan member had the traits of guardianship and perseverance, an eagle clan person inherited the gift of preknowledge and courage, and a bear clan member had special strength and courage. All of these traits helped the Anishnabek meet the five basic needs of their society: leadership, defense, sustenance, learning, and medicine (Johnston, 1988).

All clans were respected because they contributed unique gifts to assist the people of their community through hardships created by drought, famine, or a sudden change of seasons. Clan members were expected to treat other members of the clan just as they would their biological family. If a wolf clan member needed emergency shelter and food but had no way to obtain them, another wolf clan member was expected to provide those necessities. Indeed, it was considered an honor to help someone from one's own clan because one never knew when he/she would have to rely on the super-family for physical support. Clan obligations transcended tribal boundaries. If a person traveled, he/she could count on the hospitality of a clansman in another village to provide his/her needs.

The Circle of Life

Native Americans transmitted cultural knowledge about the Creator and the actions of His creations through the generations in the form of legends. Legends were told by family members, often during the long, cold days of winter and the festivals of summer.

Elders were often the teachers, advisors, and role models as they retold ancient tales. These stories enabled the Anishnabek to learn cultural expectations for proper behavior, the sequence and form of the religious ceremonies required to perpetuate their way of life, and reverence for everything the Creator had made. As the Anishnabek conceived of their year as a continuous cycle, so they thought of their own lives. They believed in the sacred circle of life that the Creator had made (Cornell, 1986). The Anishnabek elders believed then, and still believe, that gatherings were useful in reinforcing the tribe's history and culture. They believed the circle of life held animals, plants, humans, and the elements of water, air, and fire. Each element in the circle depended on all others...
to maintain the universe. Everything that was needed for survival was provided by the Creator; thus, every rock, tree, and animal was to be treated with respect. The Anishnabek idea was to take only what was needed to live and nothing more. This way of life was a hard path to follow but led to physical and spiritual fulfillment (Cornell, 1986).

Teaching, child care, and disciplining of children were not exclusive to the elders; these responsibilities were shared by the parents, aunts, and uncles. Everyone in the village was accountable for the protection and security of young children. A child was considered a valuable gift from the Creator; consequently, there were no orphans because the extended family or others in the village would raise them. Teaching a child his/her place in the family and the great circle of life began when the youngster could convey the language effectively. When the child acted inappropriately, family members or other village dwellers would humiliate him/her in front of others. Because no one likes being singled out and verbally reprimanded in front of his/her friends and family, the undesirable behaviors would stop. Children would then observe and repeat behaviors that brought rewards and admiration (Cornell, 1986).

Boys and girls began learning the skills they needed to provide for the material needs of the village as soon as they expressed a desire to help. It was important for everyone to contribute to the prosperity of the village, so a child received encouragement in whatever task he/she attempted. Everyone had work to do, for future survival depended on it. Teaching was done through verbal and visual demonstrations. Women showed girls what herbs to use for teas and how to differentiate between similar plants that could be medicinal or poisonous. Men took time to demonstrate techniques for hunting wild game and fish. Both boys and girls learned their specific tasks in making animal-skin coats, gloves and hat, snowshoes, moccasins, birchbark containers, cooking utensils, fishing nets, traps and snares, canoes, and all the other material goods that helped their people make a living (Kinietz, 1963; McClurken, 1986; Ritzenthaler, 1978; Warren, 1984).

The Anishnabek did not believe that acquisition of material skills alone made a complete individual. The Ojibway, Odawa, Potawatomi, and Wyandotte all shared at least three significant culturally defined ethics: recognition of the Creator, responsibility and sharing with kinsmen, and honor and independence. Recognition of the Creator was important to Native Americans because this Being made all things, animate and inanimate. No animal or human was thought to be superior to another, for they all contributed to the continuation of life. The riches of the earth and forests were not to be possessed or exploited by any one person. The Creator made everything for a reason. When people killed an animal for sustenance, they were sure to thank the animal's spirit and the Creator who had made it. The second significant belief was the ethic of sharing. Michigan's Native Americans had a strong community perspective. The practice of sharing was established by custom. The strong defended the elderly, the weak, and the young. One attained status and respect by how much he/she shared with others, not by how much one accumulated. Sharing extended to labor, shelter, goods, and food. The last significant belief concerned honor and independence. The Anishnabek were a fiercely
individualistic people. No one person had the right to order another around. All individuals had the right to make their own decisions affecting their futures. No leader had the power to make decisions that were binding on the whole tribe. When the group acted together on any matter, it was because they had reached a mutual understanding. Yet the concept of honor helped govern people’s behavior. The community reprimanded a person for behavior that they found reprehensible and rewarded conduct that benefited their people with honor. Behavior that consistently threatened the welfare of the village or tribe would result in the perpetrator’s death (Cleland, 1975).

Once a person had attained the skills requisite to meet the material needs of the village and had incorporated the tribe’s cultural values into his/her behavior, he/she was considered an adult. Those who excelled and gained honor for their families were recognized as special persons. Often they would settle disputes that arose in the village or outside. The most important and most honored persons were known as Ogema, or leaders—individuals chosen for their expertise, modesty, and altruism. Others were skilled at organizing village activities. These persons, the Ogemase or little leaders, worked with the Ogema to assure the smooth running of the village. Other people were born orators and were selected to speak the opinions of the others. These persons, the Ogema Gigdo or head speakers, were renowned for their poetic presentation. Not all adults in the village attained the skills necessary for these positions, but they were encouraged to keep trying (McClurken, 1988). Everyone had a role in helping the community prosper, and this perpetuated the great circle of life.

**Michigan Native Americans in the Historic Period**

Few detailed histories have been written that focus exclusively on Michigan Native Americans. Until recently, historians have concentrated their analyses on the exploration of North America by Spanish, French, and British explorers. If these accounts depicted Native Americans at all, they portrayed them as inferior and backward savages. Most early Michigan Anishnabek history was written in the mid-20th century, when historians began writing from a perspective of greater cultural relativism. Most of the present knowledge of the Anishnabek has come from the journals, reports, books, and letters of missionaries, explorers, fur traders, and settlers. Since the Anishnabek themselves left no written documentation, these sources are the only tangible link with the past. They are useful in reconstructing Native American history, but they must be used with caution, separating the bias of the reporter from the understandings of the Anishnabek and their interpretation of their lives.

French explorers, missionaries, and fur traders were the first Europeans to have sustained contact with the Michigan Anishnabek. Most historians have portrayed the interaction of the French and Anishnabek as one of mutual accommodation. When the French first came to the Great Lakes region, there were few Frenchmen and thousands of Native Americans. The French sought to expand their global empire and to enrich their mother land by investing in the furs the Great Lakes Native Americans produced. They brought with them unique tools, jewelry, and clothing that the Native
Americans valued as trade commodities. These European items were nonessential for a people who had produced all they needed for thousands of years. Without the Anishnabeks' knowledge, technology, and labor, European economic and political investments would not have been possible (Trigger, 1987).

For more than 150 years, the French worked out a mutually agreeable relationship with Great Lakes Native Americans. By accommodating their customs, the French met the Native Americans more than half way. Frenchmen quickly learned the Anishnabek languages and took Anishnabek women as wives and consorts. Their offspring united the two peoples in bonds of kinship. The French also adopted the social custom of reciprocity, an essential feature of Anishnabek society, whereby gifts were exchanged between family members. Michigan tribes did not believe in accumulating material goods. Rather, they shared their personal wealth with others who were less fortunate, such as the elderly, sick, or disabled. Reciprocity was a protective measure that ensured the continuity and unity of the Anishnabek. Ogemuk (leaders) were selected for their generosity, as well as for their political insights. By participating in the reciprocity system, the French were able to make many economic gains (Cleland, 1975; McClurken, 1988).

When the French established their first permanent settlement in North America in 1608, they had already met Odawa and Ojibway peoples from some of the many small villages scattered throughout the upper Great Lakes. Although Champlain met a group of Odawa people on the French River in Ontario, no sustained contact took place until the Anishnabek moved to Michigan in 1650. They and their Ojibway brothers became the primary purveyors of furs to French settlements on the St. Lawrence River in the late 1650s. In the 1670s, the Odawa established the Straits of Mackinac as their center of operations and flourished throughout the rest of the French Period (Clifton, 1981).

During the French Period, Great Britain was to compete for North American territories and resources. France and Great Britain fought four wars between 1689 and 1763: King William's War (1689-1697), Queen Anne's War (1702-1713), King George's War (1744-1748), and the French and Indian War (1754-1760). Most Michigan Anishnabek were to ally themselves with their French kinsmen and trading partners. This caused internal divisions when other Native Americans aligned with Great Britain (Bald, 1954). In 1760, the Ojibway and Odawa fought beside French General Wolfe and were defeated at the Battle at the Plains of Abraham. The French were forced to surrender their Great Lakes lands to British General Montcalm, who represented the British Crown (Cleland, 1975).

Early British policy toward the Michigan Anishnabek differed substantially from that of the French. Whereas the French had dealt with the people as kinsmen and trade partners, the British attempted to impose their will on the Native Americans. The British reasoned that, because they had defeated the Anishnabek in battle, they had the right to dictate the terms of future interactions; however, the Native Americans viewed the outcome of the French and Indian War differently. As far as Native Americans were concerned, they were still the major landholders in the Great Lakes region (Cleland, 1975).
Michigan's Native Americans soon grew angry with the arrogant nature of British policies and the demeaning way they were treated by the British. In 1763, one of Michigan's distinguished military and political strategists appeared. His name was Pontiac. Pontiac was an Odawa, born near Fort Detroit. He gained influence with other tribes by adopting the teachings of Neolin, a Delaware religious leader and prophet. He stressed the importance of returning to the old ways, abandoning European authority and such trade items as guns, axes, cloth, sewing needles, hoes, knives, and metal kettles. These goods, Pontiac argued, made the Native Americans dependent on the British. If the Native Americans stopped trading their furs for these commodities, the British position in the Great Lakes region would be damaged. The Native Americans would once again rely on the materials and values of the circle of life and become strong (Peckham, 1947).

Many other Great Lakes tribes, including the Ojibway, Seneca, Delaware, and Shawnee, joined in Pontiac's rebellion against the British. Pontiac masterfully united these groups and maintained control over the operation by employing two French secretaries. One acquired and read his mail, and the other wrote his responses. In this way Pontiac alone knew the complete situation. On May 16, 1763, Pontiac took action; a company of his allies seized Forts St. Joseph, Michilimackinac, Sandusky, Venango, Presque Isle, Le Boeuf, Miami, and Ouiatenon. By June 26, Pontiac had essentially defeated the British west of the Alleghenies. His victory, however, was short-lived. In the press of military engagement, the French refused to deliver the military supplies Pontiac needed to take Fort Detroit. They had signed a peace treaty with Great Britain, so they wanted to keep the peace. With winter fast approaching, many warriors were forced to leave because their families needed food and other provisions. Pontiac was forced to discontinue his attack. The proof of Pontiac's expertise as a leader lies in the bravery and unity he inspired among his warriors. His success as a political figure with international influence can be seen in the fact that this military operation led the British king to make the Crown Proclamation of 1763, which forbade Americans to settle lands west of the Allegheny Mountains. This mandate became unpalatable to greedy speculators and land-hungry settlers, such as Patrick Henry and George Washington. They had claimed ownership of vast acres of Native American lands in the Ohio Valley, which would not be recognized by Britain. The Crown Proclamation was to become one of many causes of the American Revolution (Cleland, 1975).

The fighting of the American Revolution in 1775 became another issue on which Michigan's Anishnabek were forced to choose sides. Courted by both sides in the conflict, they could support the British, who had expressed little interest in taking Native American lands, or the Americans, who explicitly stated their desire to displace Native Americans. The Native Americans knew the cost of supporting a losing side. Although several Potawatomi villages supported the British with warriors and supplies, most Odawa and Ojibway preferred to remain neutral. Only a few warriors fought on the side of the British. With the American victory, land became the central issue between Native Americans and the United States government for the next 25 years (Cleland, 1975).

The new United States government began land negotiations by passing the Ordinance of 1785. This Ordinance attempted to establish a clear boundary
between Native American land and United States territories. However, because of mutual land stipulations, the government was unable to halt the onslaught of unauthorized traders, settlers, and land speculators on Native American land (Clifton et al., 1986). In 1807, a Shawnee leader named Tecumseh became angry about governmental and settler violations of Native American lands. He began organizing Native Americans from all over the eastern United States. Tecumseh, like Pontiac, stressed returning to the old ways. Only by giving up guns, all forms of Christianity, and other European goods, he asserted, could the Native Americans govern their own fate (Cleland, 1975; Tucker, 1956).

Throughout the first decade of the 19th century, the British and Americans continued to compete for power and furs in the Great Lakes region. Although the Americans had won the Revolutionary War, the British still held all of the major forts in the Great Lakes region. The continued presence of British trade with the Native Americans and hence their continued political influence, their refusal to relinquish their forts, and interference in American international trade led to the War of 1812 (Cleland, 1975).

When the British and the Americans went to war in 1812, many Great Lakes Native Americans, including members of the Iroquois Confederacy, united with Tecumseh on the side of the British. Tecumseh won the Native Americans' loyalty by vowing to defend their lands from American invasion. The Michigan Anishnabek fought victoriously against the Americans throughout much of 1813. But on September 10, 1813, Lieutenant Oliver Perry blocked the supply route to Detroit by overthrowing a British fleet on Lake Erie. The British were forced to flee into Canada. In October, during the final British and American battle at Moraviantown, Ontario, Tecumseh was killed. All convictions of military opposition went with him. "When he fell, the Indians stopped fighting and the battle ended as they mourned his death" (McClurken, 1986, p. 21; Noonday, 1908). With the British overthrown and Tecumseh dead, Great Lakes Anishnabek realized they could never protect their lands or interests through military resistance. The Americans were now in control and were determined to acquire Native American lands. New tactics were required to ensure survival of Michigan Native Americans.

**The Treaty Era**

Historians call the years between 1813 and 1860 Michigan's Treaty Era. These were the years when title to the Anishnabek tribal estates passed parcel by parcel to the United States. The young American government chose not to fight the Anishnabek militarily for their tribal lands. Military action would have proven financially expensive and would had led to many deaths on both sides. The United States chose to deal with the Anishnabek as they would with any other sovereign nation--through the conventional mechanism of treaties. The Native Americans, who saw themselves as unconquered peoples, negotiated with the United States government under incredibly difficult odds. Ogemuk (leaders) often were called upon to relinquish their entire territorial base to maintain their existence as a coherent political group. The treaties made with the United States established a trust relationship with the Anishnabek, which continues today. Although the government negotiated in good faith, the execution of the
The United States acquired lands that became the state of Michigan through a series of treaties: the 1795 Treaty of Greenville, the 1807 Treaty of Detroit, the 1815 Treaty of Spring Wells, the 1819 Treaty of Saginaw, the 1821 Treaty of Chicago, the 1836 Treaty of Washington, the 1842 Treaty of LaPointe, and the 1855 Treaty of Detroit. (See Map 1.) These treaties ceded title to the greatest portion of former Native American lands in return for annuities and agricultural equipment. Government-sponsored laborers, who included carpenters, blacksmiths, and agricultural experts and teachers, were to help them accommodate to American society. Schools were established to educate Native American children into the dominant culture (Kappler, 1972).

In 1830, the federal government passed the Indian Removal Act, which specified that if Native Americans did not meet the standards that Americans (meaning Christian landholders who paid taxes and were self-supporting) considered "civilized," they would be moved to the lands west of the Mississippi River. Through a long series of complex and sophisticated political maneuvers, skilled Native American leaders averted the threat of removal. Many Anishnabek used their annuity money to purchase the land on which their homes and fields were located. They built sturdy, permanent homes, joined churches, and adopted the American furnishings and symbols of civilized living. A few tribal bands were relocated, such as the Ojibway from St. Clair and a small number of Wyandotte. The small band of Ojibway (about 60 people) voluntarily moved to Kansas, hoping to profit financially from the reservation the United States government offered them. By 1830, however, only a few Michigan Wyandotte remained near the city of Monroe. They eventually joined their kinsmen in Sandusky, Ohio, and then moved to Kansas (Clifton, 1987; McClurken, 1988; Neumeyer, 1958).

The government made another serious attempt to remove Anishnabek in the Lower Peninsula in 1840. Some Odawa and Potawatomi left Michigan for new homes on Walpole and Manitoulin Islands, both of which were British reservations in Canada. A few Potawatomi were rounded up by the United States Army and placed in the charge of private "conductors"—men who contracted to move Native Americans to reservations in Kansas. The number of people who moved in this instance is unclear. The majority of Anishnabek in the Lower Peninsula refused to move, saying that they were civilized taxpayers, entitled to enjoy the benefits of their property like all citizens. One last removal effort occurred in the Upper Peninsula in 1850, when the federal government attempted to move the Anishnabek from the L'Anse community to Minnesota. Again, the Odawa, Ojibway, and Potawatomi refused to move and remained in their homes. That year Michigan revised its constitution, making all civilized Anishnabek citizens of the state (Clifton, 1984; McClurken, 1988).

In 1855, the Michigan Odawa and Ojibway ended the treaty of removal by negotiating the Treaty of Detroit, which recognized the Anishnabeks' refusal to move west. These Native Americans made significant strides despite the problems they faced as settlers claimed lands and resources they had relied on for centuries. The 1855 Treaty established reservations for the several
MICHIGAN TREATY BOUNDARIES BETWEEN 1795 AND 1842

Source: James M. McClurken, People of the Three Fires: The Ottawa, Potawatomi and Ojibway of Michigan (Grand Rapids: Grand Rapids Inter-Tribal Council, 1986). Reprinted with permission.
Odawa and Ojibway bands who lived in the following regions: Sault Ste. Marie, Mackinac Island, Beaver Island, High Island, Garden Island, Emmett County, Grand Traverse Bay, Cheboygan County and Oceana and Mason Counties. After five years, these parcels would be divided into 80-acre plots that would be deeded to heads of families; 40-acre sections would go to individuals who were adults at the time the treaty was made. After each entitled individual received his allotment, the remainder of the land would be sold on the open market. Although American settlers had already claimed some of the parcels set aside and errors occurred in the issuing of titles, many Anishnabek received titles between 1870 and 1875. After the titles had been distributed, the majority of reservations in Michigan ceased to exist. Only the Isabella Reservation at Mt. Pleasant and the Ojibway Reservation at L'Anse/Baraga remained at the end of the allotment period (Kappler, 1972).

The changes that Michigan Anishnabek initiated in their society in the short time between 1812 and 1860 were profound. Within 50 years they had reshaped the emphasis of their economy from hunting and gathering to intensive exploitation of the land through animal-powered farming and commercial fishing. They lived in villages of permanent log and plank houses, attended Christian churches, and sent their children to schools where they were taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Not all of the Anishnabek were able or willing to completely revise their beliefs and preferred way of life. Alcoholism became a damaging force in some communities. Families were sometimes destroyed when the system that had given them meaning and a sense of personal worth was revised. Even those who adopted wholesale change found themselves competing in a marketplace and political system that benefited Americans rather than Anishnabek. Although Native Americans rapidly learned American ways, they were not yet able to compete with incoming settlers in complex transactions, including mortgages, loans, and foreclosures. During the heyday of lumbering in Michigan (1860-1890), a considerable number of local political officials, Native American agents, lumber barons, and land speculators outright defrauded Michigan Anishnabek and took their allotments or privately held lands for the timber they contained (Clifton, 1984; McClurken, 1988; Rubenstein, 1974).

While Michigan's Native Americans were struggling with a new economic system, the United States government was initiating a new federal policy regarding Native Americans. This policy was to be called assimilation. Education was seen as an assimilation tool with which Native Americans could be made "civilized." In Michigan, the Assimilation Policy was carried out by establishing three boarding schools between 1887 and 1934. These schools were located in Mt. Pleasant, Harbor Springs, and L'Anse. A paramilitary atmosphere was established, whose principal purpose was to force Native American children to separate physically and emotionally from their own culture and to assimilate into the dominant culture. Prejudice played a major role in Native Americans' inability to get into public schools. Throughout the latter half of the 19th century and well into the early 20th century, Native Americans were denied higher education. The emotional and psychological scars of the boarding schools remain today because that school experience was instrumental in disrupting Native American culture (Dobson, 1978). The experience led to the first generation of Native American youths who did not have a firm understanding of their culture. This type of assimilation created a Native American population that is painfully trying
to account for the break in time with their culture. Not all Native Americans have been able to enjoy the economic benefits that assimilation was intended to bring.

Without positive reinforcement, many Anishnabek students became ashamed of their native language and culture. Because they had endured so much prejudice, they later made sure their own children did not learn their native language. The Anishnabek thought that if their children did not learn English and other subjects, they would be unable to survive economically. Until 1934, the American government judged the boarding schools to be a success because, now, Native Americans would no longer stand in the way of progress. They would assimilate into the American mainstream and vanish.

**Today**

Many Native Americans still face homelessness and high unemployment in urban and rural areas. High rates of alcoholism, suicide, teen pregnancy, drug addiction, school drop-out, domestic violence, and criminal activity still exist (Cornell, 1987; McDonald, 1989). Unskilled workers find themselves eligible only for low-paying jobs; as a result, those living in downtown Detroit and other Michigan cities are often relegated to poor housing conditions and receive inadequate medical services. Yet other Native Americans have made employment advances. Today, the majority of Michigan's Native Americans reside in urban areas, not on reservations. (See Map 2.) Despite the high incidence of social problems, many urban and rural middle-class Native Americans have found a balance between their native culture and earning a living in American society. They have strengthened the core of their cultural heritage by meeting their families' basic needs for food and shelter, reinforced with love. Some Native Americans still teach their children their cultural history and traditional arts.

Several reservations in Michigan with strong tribal governments have been able, with federal funds, to improve housing and medical conditions. Other reservations have gone further by developing educational programs for their members. Two reservations that have established their own schools are Hannahville and Bay Mills. The Hannahville Potawatomi reservation, located in Wilson, Michigan, established the Nah-tah-wahsh (Soaring Eagle) school because of the high rate of student attrition. The school ranges from preschool through twelfth grade. Students learn the same subjects as are taught in the local public school, but they also learn the Ojibway language and their cultural heritage. The Bay Mills reservation has established Bay Mills Community College, which provides classes in mid-level management, secretarial science, human service training, accounting, Native American substance-abuse counseling, and tribal management.

Education is still seen as an important priority for many Native American parents in urban and rural areas and on reservations. Many, however, believe that meeting social and emotional needs is just as important. In large cities, many Native Americans from all economic ranges can be found volunteering or working at Native American centers. These
Total Native American population in Michigan in 1982 was 61,714. Large concentrations of Native American populations are circled on the map.

*The Native American population of Wayne County as designated on this map is the count taken by the federal census of 1980. There are some strong indications that the actual and stable Native American population in Wayne County is closer to 18,000. This figure is supported by the Detroit Indian Center and by a survey recently conducted by the University of Michigan.*
centers are important because they are the lifeline between the federal, state, and local governments and the Native American community. Centers are seen as places of refuge where many Native Americans can come to socialize or find help for their emergency needs. Some of the programs offered by these centers are senior hot lunch programs, traditional arts classes, and field trips for youths. One social function they serve is to bring together many people for Native American pow-wows. A pow-wow provides the opportunity to wear traditional clothing and to dance various dances with friends and relatives. Pow-wows are usually held outdoors, where traders sell traditional works of art, such as black ash baskets, porcupine quill baskets, beadwork, and Native American tapes, records, and books. Money raised from pow-wows is used to help supplement the center's finances. Because Native American centers are nonprofit organizations, they depend on federal, state, and local funds.

Native American centers have helped many Native American youths learn about themselves, but issues of self-identity need to be addressed. Much confusion has been caused by the negative stereotypes of Native Americans portrayed by the various media (including children's literature, historical literature, toys, television, and Hollywood movies). By the time American children are seven years old, they have been inundated with hundreds of pictures of mean, silly, or noble Native Americans. Non-Native American children will come to accept these negative stereotypes as factual and knowingly or unwittingly discriminate against Native American children. It should come as no surprise, then, that many Native American children who continually see their people treated unfairly or portrayed negatively are prevented from developing healthy self-images and racial identities (Hirschfelder, 1982).

The textbooks used in a classroom setting can also cause problems for Native American children. This is where teacher sensitivity can benefit both Native American and non-Native American students. To many Native Americans, the Bering Strait theory is just that--a theory (Hunter, 1989). They believe that some Native American tribes may have come over the land bridge, but not the majority. In Michigan, many Native American cosmologies (deeply held religious beliefs) say the Anishnabek were created by the Creator in their home territories. Despite the difference in perspectives about origins, the Bering Straits theory will continue to be a topic of controversy among non-Native American scholars and Native Americans.

Various issues have been identified that are affecting Native Americans today. One important issue for Native American parents (and indeed everyone) concerns the type of information that is presented in classrooms about racial and cultural groups. Education is seen as a stepping stone to advancement in society, yet many Native American parents believe the omission of Native American history and lack of recognition of Native Americans' contributions to modern society have adversely affected their children's ability to compete in the educational system. Native Americans have many reasons to be proud of their identity. Recognition of this fact in the classroom can help retain Native American children in school. By instilling positive attitudes and information about racial and cultural groups, teachers can beneficially influence children's perceptions of themselves and their value in modern society.
References


ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

**History**


This is a collection of bibliographic essays describing what new directions have been pursued by historians and where new directions are needed.


This scholarly work examines Native Americans in their homelands, Native American/non-Native American relations in the past, and the development of reservations. Two brief chapters are included on government and Native American tribal relations.


The Native American and the origins of modern man are the focus of this book.


The goal of this book is to present a selection of scholarly materials in history, anthropology, religion, arts, and literature. The time periods covered range from ancient times to contemporary life.


In this history of America, the authors focus on the historic relationships between Europeans and Native Americans in what ordinarily is called the colonial period of United States history.


This book provides a concise summary of the history of anthropological theory from evolution to modern studies of political economy.


This National Geographic book, written by a Native American author and recognized experts, demonstrates what the Native American's beliefs, customs, and appearance were in the past and what they are today.
Great Lakes Native Americans

Allen, Robert S. "His Majesty's Indian Allies: Native Peoples, the British Crown and the War of 1812." Michigan Historical Review 14 (Fall 1988).

This article briefly discusses relations between the British and Native Americans during the War of 1812.


This book is a study of the British period in Mackinac, Michigan. It focuses specifically on the residents and their material culture.


This article traces Detroit's Native American population from 1701 through the 1960s.


The writer describes the gradual changes in the homes, games, clothing, transportation, weapons, handicrafts, foods, and religion of the Native Americans in Michigan after the arrival of European Americans.


This book spans the historic movements of Michigan Native Americans before and after contact.


This book is for young readers who are just beginning to explore the history, culture, and dynamics of Michigan's Native Americans.


This reader presents an informative portrayal of Native American life from prehistoric to modern times.


Through text and illustrations, the authors describe pictographs that Native Americans used to record their hunting and ceremonial accomplishments.

This book contains papers, maps, pictures, and stories, which are used to describe the early Native American copper miners in the Lake Superior region.


The author presents a guide to the prehistory of the Great Lakes region.


This book is a study of Michigan’s major Native American tribes.


The author examines wild-rice-producing Native Americans of two linguistic stocks, the Algonquian Chippewas, Ottawas, Potawatomis, and other Upper Great Lakes peoples from the 17th to the 19th centuries.


This is a history of Michigan’s social, political, and economic growth, with emphasis on the ethnic make-up of the state’s population.


The author surveys documents relating to Michigan Native Americans during the contact period. The book focuses on the location of the tribe, characteristics, dress and ornamentation, economic and social life, astronomy, and religion.


Text and illustrations are used to present a survey of the homes built by various North and South American Indian tribes.


This book provides background information and activities for 12 lessons in Native American culture.

The book is intended for individuals who have a general interest in the Upper Great Lakes region.


This book is written about the Woodland Indians from Lake Superior to the New England states. Information on all the peoples in this area is generalized and summarized according to various categories (food, life cycle, social), from a historical perspective.


This book focuses on Great Lakes Native Americans and their lands in eastern Michigan and Ohio from 1400 to 1873.


Vogel presents the findings of his research on the Native American names of Michigan's cities, counties, lakes, and parks.

**Treaty Law**


This book discusses United States government relations with Native Americans from 1869 to 1934.


Cohen explains federal Native American law pertaining to trade, property, taxation, civil rights, federal services, and criminal and civil jurisdiction.


This is a collection of essays written from a topical approach. The emphasis is on covering the major areas that should be considered before any effort is made to describe federal policy regarding Native Americans.

This book expresses a Native American attorney’s perspective of Native Americans in history. It also includes the federal government’s responsibility for and power over Native American affairs, the Native American judicial system, criminal and civil jurisdiction in Native American country, and public policy.


This volume lists 225 publications of the printed constitutions, statutes, session acts, and resolutions passed by Native American tribal governments and the United States.

"Indian Roots of American Democracy." *Northeast Indian Quarterly* 4 (Winter 1987) and 5 (Spring 1988).

This special constitution bicentennial edition features Native American leaders, academic speakers, and legal scholars. The major focus is on Native Americans’ political contributions to the formation of the United States.


This five-volume set is a compilation of all United States laws governing Native American affairs. Volume two is a complete compilation of the treaties negotiated between the United States government and Great Lakes Native Americans.


This book was published in cooperation with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Legal topics range from federal power over Native American tribes to tribal sovereignty.


The author investigates the process whereby Native Americans moved from sovereign nations to government wards to citizens.

**Contemporary Native American Issues**


The author compares Native Americans’ religion with Christianity.
In this book the author traces the history of broken treaties with Native Americans regarding fishing and water rights, mineral royalties, and land and resource use.

The author examines America's ecological crisis, inflation, racial conflicts, and power conflicts from a Native American perspective.

This book discusses the historical and modern issues associated with Native American nations in relation to self-determination and self-government.

This book directs readers toward materials that will contribute to an understanding of Native Americans in the 1970s.

These two volumes contain a compilation of annotations of literature on Native Americans published between 1954 and 1983.

This book focuses on published articles concerning Native Americans in geography, political science, history, American and ethnic studies, sociology, and economics.

This scholarly work examines the importance of sociology in the study of Native Americans. Demographic and sociocultural changes, religion and religious movements, economics, political and educational issues, and social stratification are also discussed.

The authors examine the differences between Native Americans in urban and rural areas. They also focus on the fertility and mortality rates and the social and cultural influences of modern American society on Native Americans.

This book includes essays by Native American specialists in the field of Native American studies, regarding contemporary economics and social-cultural and scholarly issues.

**Ojibway/Chippewa**


This article is a study of the last remaining villages and camps of the Chippewa tribe in northern and central Minnesota at the turn of the century.


This is a narrative account by George Copway, or Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh, depicting the origin, traditional tales, form of government, and religious beliefs of the Ojibway.


This book covers the Woodland life, the monumental impact of three centuries of European and American societies on their culture, and how the retention of their tribal identity and traditions proved such a source of strength for the Chippewas that the federal government abandoned its policy of coercive assimilation of the tribe.


This book covers many aspects of Ojibwa life, including their dwellings, clothing, food, treatment of the sick, care of infants, and much more.


The author focuses on the economic and historical background of Chippewa of Lake Superior.


Johann Kohl, a German traveler, describes Ojibwa life in northern Wisconsin and Michigan in 1855.

This is a collection of writings by and about the Anishnabek of the eastern Upper Peninsula of Michigan.


This is a history of the Ojibwe people, as developed by the Ojibwe Curriculum Committee at the University of Minnesota and the Minnesota Historical Society.


This book examines the varying world-view perspective of the Ojibwa regarding their philosophy and culture.

Smith, James G. E. "Leadership Among the Southwestern Ojibway." Ethnology (Ottawa), no. 7 (1973).

In this account, Smith examines southwestern Ojibwas who moved into the Great Lakes region in the late 17th century. Other major focuses include 19th century leaders' reaction to land cessions; social, economic, and political changes; and southern migration.


This book identifies sources for beginning students and advanced scholars who are interested in the Ojibwa.


This book recounts various Ojibwa members' reminiscences of their traditional origins, boarding school experiences, and contemporary concerns.


This book is a history of the Ojibways, based on traditions and oral statements.

This book contains photographs of the second exhibit featuring Ottawa craftsmanship at the Andrew Blackbird Museum. Also included is an article by Christian F. Feist, entitled "Ottawa Bags, Baskets and Beadwork."


This is a personal narrative history of Cross Village, Middle Village, and Good Hart, Michigan. It includes moral commandments.


This article describes how the Ottawa lived and survived with their natural environment. Their relationships with the French and British are also discussed.


The author briefly discusses the factors that 19th century Odawa leaders used to avoid removal from their home villages to lands west of the Mississippi River between 1836 and 1855.


This is an ethnohistory of the Michigan Odawa between 1820 and 1860. McClurken examines the nature of their culture and the way these people resisted United States removal policies, adapting their traditional values and skills to the expanding American system.


This publication focuses on a historical exhibition of Ottawa quillwork on birchbark executed between 1830 and 1983.


Ottawa councils at the top of Greensky Hill in Charlevoix County, Michigan, are the subject of this book.
Potawatomi


In this article, Clifton briefly discusses the leadership and influence of Leopold Pokagon of the St. Joseph River Potawatomi between 1825 and 1842.

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The author examines the migration of Michigan Native Americans to British Canada during the early years of European Americans' expansion into Michigan.

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This is an ethnohistorical reconstruction of the Pokagon band of Potawatomis in southwestern Michigan. The book provides a rich description of Potawatomi history, culture, and interaction with the government and citizens of the United States.

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This classic ethnography of the Prairie Potawatomi, who lived in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, recounts 300 years of historical and cultural change.

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Dowd recounts the life of Shabbona, a Potawatomi Peace Chief, who witnessed the War of 1812, the Black Hawk War, and the loss of tribal lands.

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This book is a study of relations between the Potawatomis and European Americans. It documents forgotten Potawatomi leaders and mixed bloods who led the tribe throughout the removal period.

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The author examines the Treaty Era and traces the governmental policies that led to removal of the Potawatomi and other tribes.

The section on the Midwest includes a bibliography on Potawatomis from Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana.

Wyandotte/Huron


The book contains traditional stories of the Wyandottes and of Tecumseh and his league in the years 1811 and 1812.


This is a brief history of the Wyandottes.


Tooker briefly explains the cultural changes of the Wyandotte during the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries.


This is the only complete ethnohistory of the Huron people from contact that has studied the Iroquoian attack and its effects on Huron culture.


This is a historical ethnography, in which Huron culture is viewed as a working system with the focus on interrelationships.

Oral History


This book focuses on various techniques for processing oral-history information.


In this picture book, the author discusses the origins and history of the Ojibway.

This Native American author shares Native ceremonies, prayers, stories, songs, dances, and rituals to explain the heritage of Ojibway-speaking peoples and their Algonkian brothers and sisters.


Nabokov reports on modern-day running and explores ancient roots of Native American running in America.


This book is about the method and the meaning of history. It is an excellent introduction to the use of oral sources.

**Legends**


This book provides a written account of numerous legends told in the Wyandotte/Huron communities. The introduction should be read with an understanding of the biases of the time it was written.


This general work considers astronomical theories in Native American art and oral tradition. Tribes referenced include the Wyandot, Ojibway, and many other western tribes.


This book is a collection of legends told by Michigan's Native Americans. These stories focus on the Mackinac area.


The author uses published works from the past to the present.


This book covers the unique landscape of Sleeping Bear Dunes and includes information on Native Americans before and after contact.
Stereotypes in Popular Culture


This book analyzes the myths and media stereotyping of the Native American in Hollywood films.


This is a study of racial attitudes in Native American preschool children and a control group of non-Native Americans.


The authors analyze the romantic and noble savage as depicted in paintings, dime novels, and movies.


This book presents evidence from a variety of sources, such as advertisements, toys, and pageants, that demonstrates the pervasiveness of the problem of negative stereotyping.


Various movies portraying Native Americans are analyzed in this book.


This is a book about belief. Pearce takes a historical perspective to demonstrate how "civilized" men differentiated themselves from American "savages."


This book is a catalogue of 400 films and videotapes produced by independent and Native American film makers between 1970 and 1981 for television, special film collections, and independent productions.
Native Americans' Contributions to Science, Art and Music, and Foods and Herbs

Science


This is a collection of papers focusing on an interdisciplinary review of the astronomy used by early Native Americans. Pictures and drawings are included as evidence of early astrological science.


The author cites examples of Native Americans' contributions and enunciates the need for interdisciplinary research in appropriate areas of ethnoscience.


The author has collected legends about the stars from various Native American cultures, including explanations of the Milky Way and constellations such as the Big Dipper.


In this article, Vogel briefly examines the influence Native American medicine and pharmacology have had on the non-Native society.


The purpose of this book is to show the effect of Native Americans' medicinal practices on European American civilization.


This author briefly investigates the differences that appear when a heavily scientific culture (primarily European American population) comes in contact with a culture (Native American) whose basic orientation toward nature and man is of a religious and magical nature.


This book is a handsome and reliable guide to engrossing material that is usually scattered throughout journals, magazines, and news items. The author studies medicine wheels, rock shelters, mounds, and oral histories relating to the skies.
Art and Music


This article gives suggestions for how teachers can introduce Native American songs and history into the classroom setting.


The purpose of this book is to show how recordings of songs and field notes can be used to analyze the music of the Chippewa.

_____ *Indian Action Songs.* Boston: Birchard, 1921.

This is a collection of descriptive songs of the Chippewa Indians, with directions for pantomimic representation in schools and community assemblies.


This book contains Native American legends and tells how the flute came to the Sioux people.


This book focuses on historic or "post contact" art from the Arctic Coast, Woodlands, Plains, Plateau, Great Basin, Southwest, California, and Pacific Northwest Native American cultures in North America.


This book approaches Native American music from a topical, theoretical, and historical point of view. The author compares music from different geographical regions in North America.


This source refers to numerous books and articles on selected recordings of Native Americans. The journal also contains several articles on various topics in Native American music.


This book discusses drums, flutes, and rattles used in all types of sacred and secular settings.

This book explains the history of Native American music from the Northwest Coast, Great Basin, California-Yuman, Athabascan, Plains-Pueblo, and Eastern areas.


This study is based on beadwork artifacts in the Museum of the American Indian in New York.


This is an introduction to wooden sculpture, horse imagery, dreams and designs, and beaded twined bags.


This recording features various songs by Great Lakes Native Americans. Ojibway and Ottawa songs are included.


In this book the author explains the Ojibwa and their music, the making and repairing of a drum, and the use of dance drums.

**Foods and Herbs**


This book describes the medicinal and artistic uses of plants. Numerous pictures are included.


This study was done during the 1920s among women and men from five Chippewa reservations in Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Ontario, Canada, who were able to relate former methods of preparing foods.


This excellent book was developed by the American Indian Archaeological Institute. It includes pictures and recipes for Native American seasonings, vegetables for Native soups, wilderness beverages, medicines and cosmetics, wild smoking mixtures, and more.

Scully discusses Native American herbs—their lore and their use for food, drugs, and medicine.
LIST OF BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR FUTURE WORKSHOPS ON
AFRICAN AMERICANS, ASIAN AMERICANS, HISPANIC
AMERICANS, AND NATIVE AMERICANS

The following books are recommended for future workshops on African Americans:


The following books are recommended for future workshops on Asian Americans:


The following books are recommended for future workshops on Hispanic Americans:


The following books are recommended for future workshops on Native Americans:


CONTRIBUTORS TO THE MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION RESOURCE GUIDE

Writers

African Americans
Norman McRae, Ph.D.
Director of Social Studies
Detroit Public Schools

Jerome L. Reide, M.S., J.D.
Michigan State University

Asian Americans
Carol L. Waara
Former Outreach Coordinator
Asian Studies Center
University of Michigan

Hispanic Americans
Aurora Ramirez-Krodel
Research Associate
Programs for Educational Opportunity
University of Michigan

Andrew Vazquez
Research Assistant
Programs for Educational Opportunity
University of Michigan

Native Americans
Patricia Dyer
Master's degree candidate
Michigan State University

Editor
Jerome L. Reide

Copy Editor
Susan Cooley

Supporting Organization
Programs for Educational Opportunity
School of Education
University of Michigan
Percy Bates, Ph.D., Director
Norma Barquet, Associate Director
MICHIGAN STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION

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